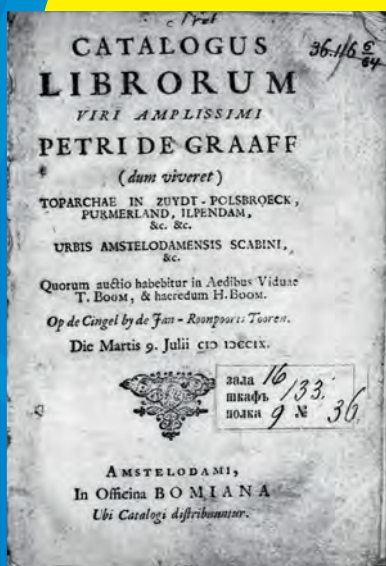


PIETER DE GRAEFF (1638-1707) AND HIS *TREFFELYKE* *BIBLIOTHEEK*

*Exploring and Reconstructing
an Early Modern Private Library as
a Book Collection and as a Physical Space*

Chiara Piccoli



Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707) and His *treffelyke bibliotheek*

Library of the Written Word

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By

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Vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum
CICERO, Philippic IX



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Prologue

It is difficult to underestimate the importance of libraries in humanity's history. Public libraries have guaranteed access to culture for those who could not afford books. Private libraries have served a similar function for a wealthy elite of bibliophiles and became a domestic status symbol. In book historical studies, the reconstruction of a private library is a fundamental step in the investigation of a variety of topics, including personal (reading) interests, book ownership, circulation and trade, and, more generally, the evolution, transmission and impact of ideas and knowledge.¹ For the Dutch Republic, the abundance of extant book auction catalogues has made them a central source for scholars researching these topics, together with probate inventories, which at times contain references to books and the rooms where they were stored. However, as an ample body of research has shown, relying solely on these sources to draw conclusions about individual book ownership and reading interests is problematic.²

It is particularly challenging to establish the extent to which entries in auction catalogues correspond to the books owned by the person advertised on their title page. Moreover, both sorts of sources provide only a 'snapshot' of the book collection, usually taken at the end of a person's life. The dynamics leading to its creation remain unclear and untraceable: unanswered are questions about how certain books entered the collection, which ones exited before a catalogue was compiled, and when and why this happened. Moreover, these sources provide no evidence of the evolution of a given individual's taste and interests over time, nor do they indicate potential 'intruders' included around the time of the auction by heirs or publishers eager to sell their stock.³ Finally,

-
- 1 See e.g. Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The library. A fragile history* (New York: Profile Books, 2021); R. Jagersma, H. Blom, E. Chayes and A.-M. Hansen (eds.), *Private Libraries and their Documentation, 1665–1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2023); Paul G. Hoftijzer, 'The library of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649)', *LIAS* 25, nr. 2 (1998), pp. 201–216; Frans A. Janssen, 'The library of Jacob de Wilde', *Quaerendo* 50 (2020), pp. 339–361; D. Pearson, 'The English private library in the seventeenth century', *The library* 13, nr. 4 (2012), pp. 379–399; J. Raven, 'Debating bibliomania and the collection of books in the eighteenth century', *Library and information history* 29, nr. 3 (2013), pp. 196–209.
 - 2 See most notably Bert van Selm, *Een menighe treffelijcke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987); Hannie van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen. Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999).
 - 3 For example, the Leiden publisher Pieter van der Aa, who auctioned off his stocks under the name of the nonexistent scholar W. Snellonius (Paul G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733). Leids drukker en boekverkoper* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), p. 85).

if books or other printed or manuscript materials existed that an individual owned, read or borrowed from somebody else, there is no trace of them in these documents.

Because the extent to which auction catalogues genuinely represent a given collection is an open question, their usefulness in establishing firm conclusions on individual readers is limited. Likewise, the potentially partial record provided by inventories poses similar challenges. To reconstruct a book collection, scholars have therefore often retrieved or inferred the presence of additional books in a particular library by examining different sources. For artists and writers, one viable approach has been to analyse a person's production and influences. Golahny, starting from the books mentioned in Rembrandt's inventory drawn up on the occasion of the artist's bankruptcy in 1656, derived other books that he might have read based on the subjects depicted in his paintings.⁴ In the case of the poet Jan Six van Chandelier (1620–1695), Schenkeveld-van der Dussen examined his poems to search for the authors mentioned to derive the books that he read.⁵ Only in exceptional cases do additional primary sources exist allowing for a more nuanced picture of an individual's book collection. The most notable example for the Dutch Republic is the Leiden-born lawyer and book collector Johannes Thysius (1622–1653), whose will made his collection of about two thousand books available 'tot publicque dienst der studie' ('for the public service of study').⁶ The preserved family and library archive, with documents spanning the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, is a rich source for scholars aiming to reconstruct Thysius's library and his legacy.⁷

The present book unveils an important early modern private library that has been completely overlooked in the scholarly literature, notwithstanding abundant archival materials and other sources that would allow for a reconstruction. This is the library of Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707), Lord of Zuid-Polsbroek

4 Amy Golahny, *Rembrandt's reading. The artist's bookshelf of ancient poetry and history* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003).

5 Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 'Contouren van een collectie: Jan Six van Chandelier als Lezer en gebruiker van boeken', in J.A.A.M. Biemans (ed.), *Boeken verzamelen. Opstellen aangeboden aan Mr. J.R. de Groot bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden* (Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 1983), pp. 261–271.

6 See Paul G. Hoftijzer, 'Bibliotheca Thysiana. Tot publicque dienst der studie', *Jaarverslag 2008 van de Koninklijke Brill nv* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

7 See 'Inventaris van de archieven van de Bibliotheca Thysiana en van leden van de familie Thijs en aanverwante families, 16de–20ste', Leiden University Library (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1918704>); Wim van Anrooij and Paul G. Hoftijzer, *Vijftien strekkende meter nieuwe onderzoeksmogelijkheden in het archief van de Bibliotheca Thysiana* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2017); Esther Mourits, *Een kamer gevuld met de mooiste boeken de bibliotheek van Johannes Thysius (1622–1653)* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2016).

(south-west of Utrecht), Purmerland and IJpendam (north of Amsterdam), alderman (*schepen*) of the city of Amsterdam and director of the Dutch East India Company in the Amsterdam chamber from 1664. In his case, the rich body of evidence to be discussed enables us to outline a profile of him as a book buyer, collector and reader. Moreover, it allows us to combine the reconstruction of his collection with that of the private library (*boeken kamer*) in his home, thus shedding light on an aspect of domestic book consumption in the early modern period heretofore little examined due to the lack of preserved information. What this book does as well is to highlight the *limitations* of book auction catalogues and probate inventories when they are the only sorts of documentation used to reconstruct a library. The additional primary sources that will be examined in the various chapters offer scholars working in this field a measure of what might be missing from the accounts of items recorded in those documents.

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When I first laid eyes on the section in Pieter de Graeff's inventory entitled "De Boeken kamer" my interest was immediately piqued. The note at the end of the section mentioning a "quantity of books" housed within further sparked my curiosity to find out more about this library and its contents. Although I had begun to imagine what the library might have looked like, I had not yet grasped that this seemingly minor case study from my postdoctoral research would provide material ample enough to evolve into a monograph. I am much indebted to Paul Hoftijzer, who first saw the potential of this research when he read the drafts of two (admittedly too long) articles I had written on this library and suggested that they could be the basis for a book on the subject. Paul has been a pillar of support throughout the research process, offering insightful commentary that has greatly improved the manuscript. Our numerous discussions on various aspects of this library have always left me energized and inspired, each time with a renewed sense of curiosity to delve deeper into the topic. I would also like to thank the *Library of the Written Word* series editors Andrew Pettegree for enthusiastically accepting the manuscript proposal and for his encouraging feedback on the first draft, and Arthur der Weduwen for his availability in answering my question on the USTC records and his final check to the manuscript draft.

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I prepared the interactive and annotated 3D environment of the library within the Pure3D project, led by Costas Papadopoulos and Susan Schreibman (Maastricht University). I thank the Pure3D project team and my fellow Pure3D participants for their support and feedback during the process, and Kelly Gillikin-Schoueri in particular for her help with the technical issues I encountered. Thanks also to the reviewers of the 3D environment for their useful comments and suggestions. My deepest appreciation goes to the Smithsonian team who developed the Voyager web viewer that we used for creating and annotating our 3D scenes. It is very exciting to see how the field of enriched 3D publications is expanding and progressing. I would like to express my gratitude also to my colleagues at the 4D Research Lab of the University of Amsterdam for its always stimulating and inspiring work environment and to Leon van Wissen (CREATE) for his suggestions on the standardized ontologies to include in the book catalogue's annotated transcription. Special thanks to Jim Gibbons for his copyediting of the text and help in preparing the bibliography for this monograph. At Brill, I would like to thank Liesbeth Hugenholtz and, more recently, Ivo Romein, Arjan van Dijk, Wai Min Kan and Theo Joppe, who ensured a smooth publication process.

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Abbreviations

ACA	Amsterdam City Archives
ACA 76	Amsterdam City Archives, Archief van de Familie De Graeff
ACA 5075	Amsterdam City Archives, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam
BSCO	Book Sales Catalogues Online
EMLO	Early Modern Letters Online
NA	National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague
NA 3.01.17	Inventaris van het archief van Johan de Witt, raadpensionaris van Holland, 1653–1672
NA 1.04.02	Inventaris van het archief van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1602–1795 (1811)
NNBW	Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek
STCN	Short Title Catalogue Netherlands
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue

Introducing the Library of Pieter de Graeff: Sources for an Attempt at Reconstruction

On 24 June 1709, an announcement appeared in the *Opregte Leydse courant*, advertising the auction of the beautiful library ('treffelyke bibliotheek') of Pieter de Graeff, Lord of Zuid Polsbroek, Purmerland and Ilpendam. The auction was to be held in Amsterdam on Tuesday 9 July at the shop of the publishing family Boom (Fig. 1.1). According to the advertisement, the library was composed of many rare old books in good condition ('zeer veel raare oude en wel geconditioneerde Boeken'), and its catalogue could be found in numerous booksellers in various Dutch cities.¹ The only surviving copy of this auction catalogue is currently in the collection of the Foreign Books Department of the National Library of Russia, in St Petersburg (Fig. 1.2).² This document is one of the many auction catalogues that have been found in libraries in Europe and beyond via the *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800* project, initiated by the Leiden book historian Bert van Selm.³ This specific copy was

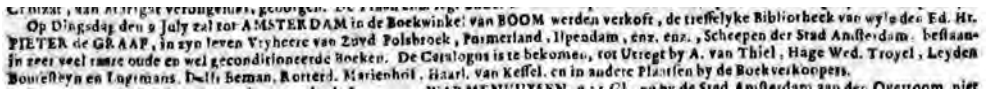


FIGURE 1.1 The advertisement of the auction of Pieter's books in the *Opregte Leydse courant* (24 June 1709), digitized by Delpher. Transcription in note 1

- 1 *Opregte Leydse courant*, 24 June 1709: 'Op Dingsdag den 9 July zal tot Amsterdam in de Boekwinkel van Boom werden verkocht, de treffelyke Bibliotheek van wyle den Ed[ele] H[er] Pieter de Graeff, in zyn leven Vryheere van Zuyd Polsbroek, Purmerland, Ilpendam, enz. enz., Scheepen der Stad Amsterdam, bestaan[de] in zeer veel raare oude en wel geconditioneerde Boeken. De Catalogus is te bekomen, tot Utrecht by A. van Thiel, Hage Wed[uwe] Troyel, Leyden Bouresteyn en Lugtmans, Delft Beman, Rotterd[am] Marienhof, Haarl[em] van Keffel, en in andere Plaatsen by de Boekverkopers.'
- 2 *Catalogus Librorum Viri Amplissimi Petri De Graeff (dum viveret) Toparchae In Zuydt-Polsbroeck, Purmerland, Ilpendam, &c. &c. Urbis Amstelodamensis Scabini &c. Quorum auctio habebitur in Aedibus Viduae T. Boom, & haeredum H. Boom. Op de Cingel by de Jan-Roonpoorts Tooren. Die Martis 9. Julii MDCCIX. Amstelodami, In Officina Bomiana Ubi Catalogi distribuntur.* Shelf number: NL:16.133.9.36; a digitized version is available via *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, ongoing), and the digital annotated transcription prepared in the context of this publication is available online DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.10833194.
- 3 See Bert van Selm, 'The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue', *Quaerendo* 15, nr. 2 (1985), pp. 115–149; *id.*, *Een menigthe treffelijcke boecken*.



FIGURE 1.2

Title-page of the catalogue of the auction of Pieter de Graeff's library, preserved at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (Brill Book Sales Catalogues Online, NL: 16.133.9.36)

amongst the catalogues recorded by his Nijmegen colleague Otto Lankhorst at the National Library of Russia, together with about 830 other Dutch catalogues, half of them unique and not preserved anywhere else.⁴ Apart from Lankhorst's discovery, this catalogue has gone unnoticed in the literature, let alone analysed in detail.

The collection, auctioned under the name of Pieter de Graeff on 9 July 1709, aptly represents the aspirations of a *homo universalis* whose library strived to cover all aspects of human knowledge. The catalogue lists more than 2,300 titles, as usual divided by subject (*Libri Theologici, Juridici, Medici & Philosophici* and *Miscellanei*) and subsequently grouped by format and by language. Several characteristics of this collection point to the existence of a learned humanistic library. Law, theology and classics account for about 50% of the total, and almost 65% of the books are written in Latin. For its size, we are looking at a book collection that, though not so large as those of contemporaries such as

⁴ See Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Vijftien pakketten catalogi teruggevonden. Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in Sint Petersburg', *De Boekenwereld*, 9 (1992), pp. 66–76.

Adriaan Pauw (about 16,000 titles auctioned in 1653) and the humanist scholar Nicolaas Heinsius (13,000 books auctioned in 1683), was much larger than what an average household would have possessed at that time.⁵ In his study of the Amsterdam inventories from 1700 to 1710, Faber found that the number of books in households was not high and that these books' subjects mainly related to their owners' occupation. The first tax grouping, to which Pieter would have belonged, owned an average of 138 books which were valued on average at 162 guilders each.⁶ These findings are echoed by the numbers identified by De Kruif within the sample of inventories from The Hague that she studied. There, libraries with more than 150 books are already exceptional, with wealth and religion being important factors in determining the number of books one owned.⁷ In size Pieter's library was comparable to the average number of books owned by professors at that time and by prominent members of the political scene, such as his contemporary Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), burgomaster and director of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the Amsterdam chamber.⁸

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- 5 For Pauw's library, see: H. De La Fontaine Verwey, 'Adriaan Pauw en zijn bibliotheek', in *Uit de wereld van het boek. Vol. 4 Boeken, banden en bibliofielen* ('t Goy: Hes Uitgevers, 1997), pp. 183–196. For an analysis of Heinsius's library, see J.A. Sibbald, 'The Heinsiana – Almost a seventeenth-century Universal Short Title Catalogue', in M. Walsby and N. Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the early modern book world. Inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 141–159.
- 6 J. Faber, 'Inhabitants of Amsterdam and their possessions, 1701–1710', in A. van der Woude and A. Schuurman (eds.), *Probate inventories. A new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture and agricultural development. Papers presented at the Leeuwenborch conference (Wageningen, 5–7 May 1980)*, (Utrecht: Hes, 1980), p. 153. It must be noted, however, that these numbers are considerably lower than what is observed by Van Selm in book auction catalogues and what would be expected from advertisements (see Van Selm, *Een menighe treffelijcke boecken*, p. 137, note 97).
- 7 José de Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), pp. 100 and 111.
- 8 Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Dutch book auctions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Under the hammer. Book auctions since the seventeenth century*, (London: Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2001), pp. 65–88; Paul G. Hoftijzer, 'Leidse studentenbibliotheeken in de zeventiende eeuw', in J.M.M. Hermans, G.T. Jensma, J. van Sluis and L. Wierda (eds.), *De Franeker universiteitsbibliotheek in de zeventiende eeuw: Beleid en belang van een academiebibliotheek*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), p. 138. Regarding Law professors, Ahsmann calculated an average of about 1,500 items in the seventeenth century and about 3,100 in the eighteenth century: M.J.A.M. Ahsmann, 'De jurist en zijn bibliotheek. Nederlandse veilingcatalogi 1599–1800', in A.M.J.A. Berkvens and A.F. Gehlen (eds.), *Tot beter directie van de saken van justiciën. Handelingen van het XII^e Belgisch-Nederlands rechtshistorisch congres, Rijksuniversiteit Limburg Maastricht 20–21 November 1992* (Antwerpen-Apeldoorn: MAKLU, 1994), p. 75. The library of Nicolaes Witsen has been analysed by Marion Peters in M. Peters, *De wijze*

Looking at the titles and the years of publication of the books in Pieter's catalogue makes it clear that the auction's advertisement described the books truthfully, at least as far as their being old. If we consider the folio books, where for the vast majority (87%) the year of publication is specified, it appears that about 75% of them were published before 1650 (Appendix 2, fig. 9.5). Do these books, we are immediately prompted to ask, truly relate to Pieter's interests, or are they instead merely items he had inherited from certain family members? Another conspicuous characteristic here are the numerous Italian-language books, much higher than what would generally be expected in such a library. In this case, too, it is necessary to delve into Pieter's life and the lives of his family members to understand whether these titles can be associated with his interests and language skills or whether they had once belonged to someone else.

To attempt to answer these and other questions about Pieter's book ownership, several archival documents have been consulted and integrated into the analysis. Specifically, the VOC almanacs in which he kept daily (mostly business-related) notes for over forty years have been surveyed so as to find their references to books; the probate inventories of his house in Amsterdam and his country houses have been analysed to establish which books were recorded there; and, finally, other archival documents, such as his testaments and other personal notes, have been consulted to shed light on books he possessed and inherited and to illuminate his life and those of his relatives. Besides identifying books that he owned in addition to those sold at an auction under his name, this research aims to better contextualize his books by relating them to personal circumstances, people and events. Moreover, it allows us to follow (to some extent) the evolution of his collection over time.

1 Book Structure, Content and Sources

Each chapter of this book discusses one specific aspect that can build our understanding of Pieter's library. Chapter 2 starts by charting the biographies of Pieter and his closest family members about whom enough information is preserved. The most important sources for Pieter's biography have been the archival documents held at the Amsterdam City Archives (in particular his almanacs, his diplomas and his probate inventory) and at the Archives of Loiret in Orléans, where Pieter obtained his doctorate in law. Regarding his father Cornelis and his grandfathers Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and Pieter

koopman. Het wereldwijde onderzoek van Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), Burgemeester en VOC-Bewindhebber van Amsterdam (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010).

Jansz Hooft, much information comes from the draft version of Pieter's *Groot Geslacht boeck* ('Great Genealogy book'), a folio manuscript bound in red leather that Pieter assembled about his family history still preserved in the De Graeff family archive.⁹ This manuscript presents a patchwork of biographies, extracts, transcriptions and inserted paper cuttings and letters often accompanied by explanatory notes, additions and reworkings, piled up in a fascinating stratification of different handwritings (Fig. 1.3). Pieter's main purpose was to reconstruct the genealogy of his family and the history and ownership of their possessions at Purmerland and IJpendam and at Zuid-Polsbroek. The manuscript therefore features excerpts and transcriptions of (mostly genealogical) notes of Pieter's and his wife Jacoba Bicker's shared ancestor Cornelis Andriesz Boelens Loen, Pieter's great-grandfathers Dirck Jansz de Graeff and Jan Pietersz Hooft, his great-uncle Volkert Overlander, his uncles Andries de Graeff and Frans Banninck Cocq, Jacoba's father Jan Bicker. Featuring more prominently are the life accounts of Pieter's father and paternal grandfather.¹⁰ The manuscript concludes with two accounts of the events preceding and culminating in the murder of Johan and Cornelis de Witt in 1672. A folio manuscript kept in the Amsterdam City Archives shows the end result of this genealogical research. Transcribed in neat handwriting, it presents a more structured and organised selection of the materials originally gathered in the draft version.¹¹ An antiquarian note, inserted in the book, suggests it was likely written by Gerrit de Graeff (Pieter's grandchild) in the eighteenth century. Given that Pieter is always the first person speaking in the text, and that short autobiographical notes by Pieter's son Jan and his wife Johanna Hooft (Gerrit's parents) appear on two pages of the manuscript in sequential numbering, it seems plausible that this was Gerrit's transcription of the original genealogy book commissioned by Pieter. A detailed analysis of the book's characteristics could potentially provide a more accurate estimation of its creation date.

The *Groot Geslacht boeck* is in many cases the only available source on certain episodes in the lives of Pieter's grandparents and father. This draft is the origin of much information reported by Abraham Jacob van der Aa in his *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, by the Dutch historian Johan Engelbert Elias in his *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795* (1903–5) and by the authors of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* in the

9 Amsterdam City Archives, 76 Archief van de Familie De Graeff (henceforth ACA 76), inv. nr. 227. Pieter refers to his *Groot Geslacht boeck* in a note on the upper left corner of p. 257.

10 On Cornelis: ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 1–31 and 351–2; on Jacob Dircksz: pp. 273–339.

11 ACA, 15030 Inventaris van de Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: bibliotheek, inv. nr. 77972 ('Handschrift genealogie familie De Graeff / [Gerrit de Graeff] s.l., s.n., 1740').



FIGURE 1.3

A page from the draft of Pieter's *Groot Geslacht boeck* where he collected and drafted pieces about his family history and properties (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227). Here displayed a page on Zuid-Polsbroek written in an earlier style of handwriting, with Pieter's notes on the margin and on the cut-out pieces

biographies of Pieter's relatives.¹² Because it is a very personal account of his family, we may wonder about its reliability. Pieter could write more extensively about his grandparents – as he notes in one of the introductory texts – than he could for his ancestors, since he either had direct memories of the former or he was told stories about them by his parents.¹³ However, it goes without saying that we are looking here at histories mediated not only by Pieter's memory but also by his admiration for his father and his grandfathers. An effort has been made to integrate or confirm some of the information contained in the *Groot Geslacht boeck* by retrieving additional sources, for example the academic diplomas and matriculations that validate the study paths and interests recorded in the manuscript. The lives of other close family members (such as

12 A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1852–1878); J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578–1795*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963); P.J. Blok, P.C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911–1937), from now on *NNBW*.

13 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 273–275.

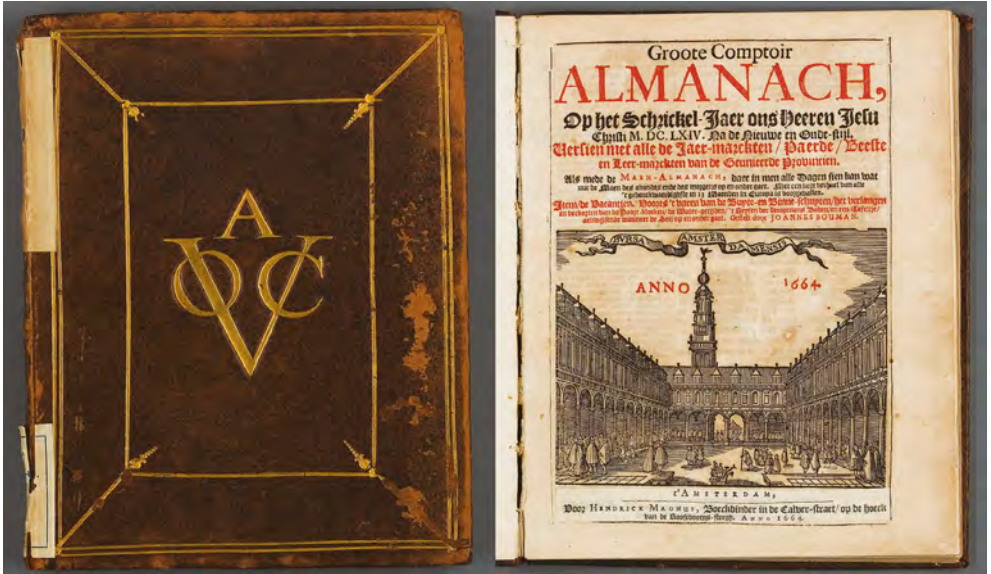


FIGURE 1.4 Cover and title page of Pieter's VOC almanac of 1664 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 186)

his brother Jacob, his mother Catharina Hooft, his wife Jacoba and their eldest son Cornelis), on the other hand, are reconstructed primarily on the basis of Pieter's almanacs; available primary (most notably letters) and secondary sources are also integrated into these accounts.

Chapter 3 analyses the over forty volumes of Pieter's almanacs, the *VOC Groote Comptoir Almanach*, in which he meticulously kept notes from 1664, the year he was appointed *bewindhebber* (director) of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company, until a few months before his death in 1707 (Fig. 1.4). These ego-documents are a rich source of information on his daily occupations, epistolary contacts and transactions.¹⁴ Besides his businesses as shareholder in VOC investments and the related divisions of spices and his profits as house and landowner, these almanacs contain a wealth of information on the construction work on his house and some references to books that he had in his keeping. Although these notes have been extensively consulted in relation to his contacts with artists and mapmakers, they have never been used to track down the handwritten and printed documents and books he owned, lent or borrowed.¹⁵ The purpose of chapter 3 is to provide the evidence needed

14 ACA 76, inv. nrs. 186–226 (1664–1707).

15 E.g. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'In presentie van de Heer Gerard Ter Borgh', in A.-M. Logan (ed.), *Essays in northern European art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his*

present a variegated image of Pieter as book-owner and shed light on the books of other family members, most notably Pieter's great-uncle Frans Banninck Cocq and his brother, Jacob de Graeff.

In chapter 4, the notarial probate inventories compiled after Pieter's death take centre stage so that we can examine the books listed in some of the houses he owned. The overview begins with the inventory of his family house on Herengracht (current number 573) in Amsterdam (Fig. 1.5), followed by his country-house Valkenburg in the village of Heemstede, south of Haarlem, the country-house in Velsen, north of Haarlem (which came into his possession via his brother's inheritance) and, finally, *'t Hoff* Ilpenstein at Ilpendam, north of Amsterdam.¹⁶ The interiors of the houses will be investigated based on the spatial information derived from the inventories and complemented by other sources. This will make it possible to identify the rooms in which books were kept in relation to the rest of the house, as well as to highlight differences in their function amongst Pieter's various properties. The examination of the books at Ilpenstein pairs up with an annotated transcription available online, where the books recorded in the inventory are transcribed and accompanied by their full titles and authors' names.¹⁷

Chapter 5 presents a detailed analysis of Pieter's book auction catalogue. Instead of using it as the point of departure for the reconstruction of Pieter's library, this document is discussed to incorporate all the evidence that has been gathered in previous chapters. The extent of the collection only allows for a selection of the titles to be mentioned in detail. To give the reader first-hand access to the catalogue, a fully searchable annotated transcription of the catalogue is deposited online, supplied with additional information such as the full title, a unique identifier for each author (VIAF) and, when possible, the USTC matches.¹⁸ This digital resource is made available in hopes that it may foster further analysis and comparisons with similar catalogues. Appendix 2 offers a synthetic overview, with breakdowns on subjects, languages, formats, dates and places of publication of the books listed in the catalogue. This chapter will demonstrate that the auction catalogue reflects a complex stratification of books both belonging to Pieter's family members and those he acquired himself.

16 Pieter usually refers to it as the 'Hoff tot Ilpendam' (ACA 76, inv. nrs. 186–226 [1664–1707], *passim*).

17 <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10833824>. The transcriptions will also be deposited in DANS, the Dutch national repository for research data.

18 <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10833194>.

Chapter 6 zooms in on the room at Herengracht 573 that Pieter used as his private library. By combining references to this room found in the inventory and in his almanacs with comparative sources, an attempt is made to reconstruct the library's physical space and its furniture. Computer graphics have been used to visualize the results of this research in an interactive 3D room that provides access to the underlying sources. In the context of the Pure3D project, a 3D scholarly edition has been prepared by the author which allows users to explore a few of the titles listed in Pieter's book auction catalogue, discover background information about the house, and gain insight into the 3D reconstruction process.¹⁹ The purpose of the 3D model will be not only to visualize a plausible hypothetical reconstruction of the interior space but also to serve as a tool to estimate how many books might have been kept there. Based on this estimate and on the information gathered in the previous chapters, it will be possible to establish whether other locations in this house or other houses need to be considered as additional storage places for his books.

The book closes with an epilogue which explores the fate of Pieter's library after his death and the afterlife of the book auction catalogue of his library as a collector's item. In addition, some concluding remarks underscore the significance of this library, not just as a personal collection, but as a valuable resource for cultural history studies highlighting how it contributes to our understanding of the historical and cultural context of the seventeenth century Dutch Republic.

¹⁹ The 3D scholarly edition of the library can be accessed here: <https://editions.pure3d.eu/project/18/edition/1/index.html>. On the Pure3D project see <https://pure3d.eu/> (last accessed April 2024).

Unravelling the Threads: Pieter de Graeff, His Life and Family

Pieter de Graeff was born in Amsterdam on 15 August 1638 as the eldest son of the burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff (1599–1664) and Catharina Hooft (1618–1691). On 17 August, Pieter was baptised in the Nieuwe Kerk by predikant Eleazar Swalmius, godparents were his uncle Andries de Graeff (in lieu of his grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff) and his maternal grandmother Gertruid Overlander.¹ Pieter was four years older than his brother Jacob, who was born in 1642.² The painting by Jan Victors, reproduced in Fig. 2.1, represents Cornelis and Catharina as the biblical family of Isaac and Rebecca with their sons. In 1655, at the age of seventeen, the Amsterdam burgomaster Johan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen took Pieter – together with Huydecoper’s son Joan – on a diplomatic mission to Berlin as a part of the young man’s political training.³ The occasion was solemn: they represented Amsterdam at the baptism of the son of Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, and Louise Henriette of Nassau (Frederick Henry’s daughter). Pieter’s penchant for meticulous note-taking is already evident in the travel diary Pieter kept during this journey. In neat handwriting, he recorded details that caught his attention, such as the disposition of guests around the table and his impressions on people and places (Fig. 2.2).⁴

As a burgomaster’s son, he had access to the best education available and, enrolling at the University of Orléans, he was awarded the ‘licentia’ in both

1 According to ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 237. In the Nieuwe Kerk’s baptismal registers, the godparents are instead Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and Catharina Hooft (ACA 5001 Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam [retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand], inv. nr. 42, p. 95).

2 Before Pieter, the couple had another child in January 1637 who died a few hours after the birth (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 334).

3 The friendship between the two families spanned several generations, starting from when Pieter’s great grandfather Dirck Jansz had entrusted Jan Jacobs Huydecoper with two iron chests containing 6,000 guilders before the former fled to Germany (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 373 and 376).

4 The diary in which he took notes on his journey is kept at the Amsterdam City Archives (ACA 76, inv. nr. 185). This travel account is partially edited and discussed in J.F.L. De Balbian Verster, ‘Amsterdam and de Grootte Keurvorst’, *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 16 (1918), pp. 115–168.

Canon and Civil Law on 16 November 1660 (Fig. 2.3).⁵ As the oldest and most important law school in north western Europe, Orléans attracted many Dutch students, some of whom continued their scholarly careers and became famous scholars, like Hugo Grotius, amongst many others.⁶ The German, Scandinavian, Swiss and Dutch students gathered in the fraternity of the *Natio Germanica* and had a well-furnished library at their disposal. Indeed, in this *Natio's Acta Procuratoria* we find Pieter's name amongst the students who graduated in 1660. We also learn that he received a letter of *salvus conductus* (safe-conduct) to reach Orléans on the occasion of his doctoral examination.⁷ Prior to that, his education was likely conducted by private tutors as he does not figure in any *Alba studiosorum*.⁸

The years 1658–61 were dedicated to enriching his education through travels in France and England, as the De Witt brothers had done a few years earlier.⁹

5 His diplomas are kept in the Amsterdam City Archives: ACA 76, inv. nr. 122. The transcription and English translation are provided in Appendix 1. Since a fire at the Archive du Loiret in June 1940 destroyed the registers of the students' dissertation for the period under consideration, the title of the dissertation that Pieter prepared is not known. I thank the Archive's director Frédérique Hamm for the information she kindly provided me.

6 See C.M. Ridderikhoff, 'Orleans and the Dutch Revolt', in C.C. Barfoot and R. Todd (eds.), *The great emporium. The Low Countries as a cultural crossroads in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), p. 61. Regarding which locations Dutch students could choose to study Law at, see M. Ahsmann, 'Teaching the *ius hodiernum*. Legal education of advocates in the northern Netherlands (1575–1800)', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d'histoire du droit / Legal history review* 65, nr. 4 (1997), pp. 423–457. On the Dutch Grand Tour, see A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandische Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1983) and H. Bots and W. Frijhoff, 'Academiereis of educatiereis? Noordbrabantse studenten in het buitenland, 1550–1750', *Batavia Academica*, 1 (1983), pp. 13–30.

7 Archive du Loiret, inv. nr. D 221 (Livre des procureurs de la Nation Germanique 1672–1689).

8 The literature reports that Pieter and his brother Jacob were privately tutored by the exiled Czech philosopher and pedagogue Johann Amos Comenius (D. van Miert, *Humanism in an age of science. The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the golden age, 1632–1704* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 129). This is corroborated by a resolution from the Amsterdam burgomasters in December 1656, which states that during his stay in Amsterdam, Comenius would serve as the private tutor for the burgomasters' sons in 1657 and receive compensation for this service (see ACA 5024 Archief van de Burgemeesters: dagelijkse notulen, resoluties en missivenboeken, inv. nr. 2, fol. 99: 'Resoluties van regerende en oud-burgemeesters', dated December 1656, signed among others by Cornelis de Graeff and Cornelis Witsen). However, in the dedication to his book *Diogenes cynicus redivivus* (Amsterdam, 1658), Comenius only mentions teaching Jacob de Graeff and Nicolaes Witsen (son of Cornelis). Pieter or other burgomasters' sons are not mentioned. Therefore, there is no concrete evidence that Pieter was tutored by Comenius. I thank Dirk van Miert for having looked into his data on the Athenaeum to search for traces of Pieter there.

9 Between 1645 and 1647. See Ineke Huysman, 'De grand tour van Johan en Cornelis de Witt', https://johandewitt.nl/?page_id=1154 (last accessed April 2024). See also A. Moss, *Gemaakt*



FIGURE 2.1 Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hooft painted in 1652 by Jan Victors as the Old Testament couple Isaac and Rebecca with their sons Pieter and Jacob depicted as the biblical Esau and Jacob (Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde Der Rembrandt-Schüler*, vol. iv (Landau: Pfalz, 1989), p. 2605, n. 1755, private collection)

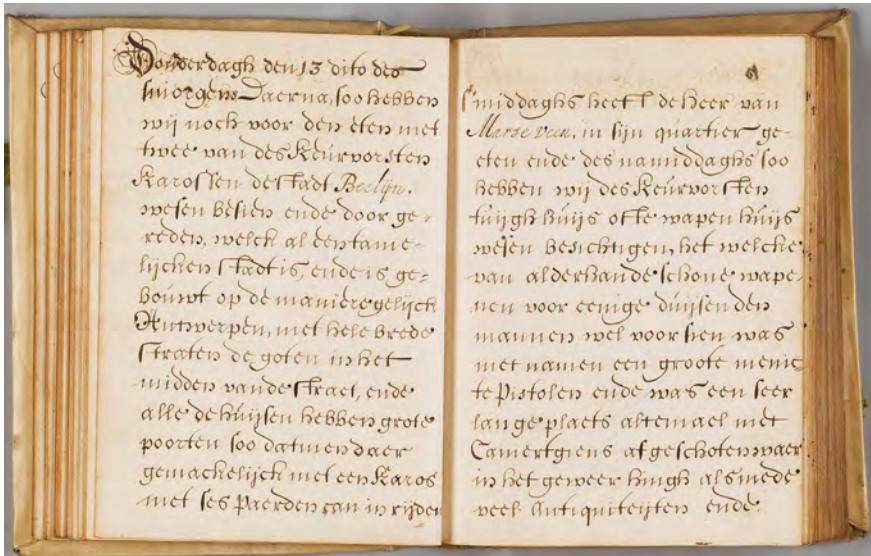


FIGURE 2.2 A page from the travel diary that Pieter kept during the diplomatic mission to Berlin in 1655. Here he describes his first impression of the city (ACA 76, inv. nr. 185 'Journael van myn Reyse, gedaen van Amsterdam nae Berlyn, gelegen int Marck Graefschap van Brandenburg')



FIGURE 2.3 Pieter de Graeff's Orléans diploma in Civil Law preserved at the Amsterdam City Archives together with the similar diploma in Canon Law (ACA 76, nr. 122). The transcription and English translation are provided in Appendix 1

Apparently he kept diaries during these journeys, but regrettably they are not preserved in the Amsterdam archives.¹⁰ Although we have no direct evidence on his destinations, the travel diaries of his contemporary Christiaan Huygens, son of Constantijn Huygens, offer some information about Pieter's whereabouts

op reis. Nederlandse jongeren op reis in de zeventiende eeuw (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2023).

¹⁰ Gerrit van Enst Koning, *Het Huis te Ipendam en deszelfs voornaamste bezitters* (Amsterdam: H.J. Poelders, 1836), pp. 32 and 58 mentions a diary that Pieter kept during his travels in England.

during this period. He is mentioned in a couple of passages relating to Huygens's visit to Paris in December 1660 and his trip to London in April 1661, when the two men were occasionally part of the same company.¹¹ Back in Amsterdam, Pieter courted Jacoba Bicker (1640–1695) who, despite her initial preference for another suitor, eventually consented to marry him (Fig. 2.4).¹² Their marriage on 11 April 1662 sealed the long-standing alliance between two of Amsterdam's most influential families.¹³ The festivities at Ilpenstein were attended by family and friends and celebrated in numerous epithalamia. Poems in honour of the couple were composed by the pastor, poet and family friend Gerard Brandt, by the poet and philologist Robertus Keuchenius, and by the literary authors Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos.¹⁴ In the poems of these last two we find references to Pieter's sojourns in France and England. Vondel provides glimpses of Pieter's stay in Paris – 'Geen stadt, maer eer een weerelt in het kleine' (not a city but a miniature world) – and his visit to the court of Louis XIV;¹⁵ Jan Vos put Pieter initially amongst the 'godtvergeten Britten' (godforsaken Britons) where he had 'found Oliver sitting on Charles's chair' ('Hier vondt hy Olyvier op

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- 11 See 'Journal de Chr. Huygens. Le voyage à Paris et à Londres de 1660–1661' in J.A. Vollgraaf (ed.), *Christiaan Huygens, oeuvres complètes. Tome xxii. Supplément à la correspondance. Varia. Biographie. Catalogue de vente* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 525–576: 22 December 1660 (p. 542); 17 April 1661 (p. 572).
- 12 The other suitor, who initially had Jacoba's preference, was Nicolaas van Vlooswijk, Lord of Papekop. This detail and others about Pieter's courtship were provided by Gerard Bicker van Swieten (husband of Jacoba's sister Cornelia) in a letter that he sent to his brother-in-law Johan de Witt on 21 Januari 1662: see R. Fruin (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Johan de Witt II (1660–1672)* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1922), pp. 118–119.
- 13 Pieter's letter inviting Johan de Witt and his wife, Wendela, to the wedding is dated 28 March 1662 and is kept in the De Witt's archive (NA, Inventaris van het archief van Johan de Witt, raadpensionaris van Holland, 1653–1672, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2536, nr. 1).
- 14 ACA 76, inv. nr. 177, 'Dichtregelen van Gerard 'op hem en zijn vrouw'; ACA 76, inv. nr. 123, 'Bruilofsvers op zijn huwelijk, door Rob. Keuchenius, 1662'. Keuchenius taught Roman history at the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* and dedicated works to Cornelis de Graeff, who, according to Keuchenius, was instrumental in granting him his appointment; see Van Miert, *Humanism in an age of science*, p. 86, and the biography in *NNBW, s.v. Keuchenius, Robertus*, col. 457.
- 15 J. van den Vondel, 'Ter bruiloft van den weledelen heer Peter de Graef, Jongkheer van Zuitpolsbroek en de weledele mejoffer Jakoba Bikker' in J.F.M. Sterck etc. (eds.), *De werken van Vondel. Deel 9. 1660–1663* (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor goede en goedkoope lectuur, 1936), pp. 659–662. Vondel also wrote short poems in praise of Pieter ('Aen den hooghedelen heer Pieter de Graef, vryheer van Zuitpolsbroek, op den oorspronck van het geslagt der graven') as well as of Jacoba Bicker and her kin ('Aen den hooghedelen mevrou Jakoba Bikker vryvrou van Zuitpolsbroek, op den oorspronck van het geslacht der Bikkeren'), in *id.*, eds., *De werken van Vondel. Deel 10. 1663–1674* (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor goede en goedkoope lectuur, 1937), pp. 681–682.



FIGURE 2.4 The pendant portraits of Pieter de Graeff and Jacoba Bicker painted in 1663 by Caspar Netscher. They hung in the grand salon (*grote kamer*, adjacent to the library) on the first floor of their house at Herengracht 573

Karels zetel zitten') not long before Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658, and then in France.¹⁶ After the wedding the couple resided for a period with Pieter's parents at Herengracht 216.¹⁷ In his description of Amsterdam, Melchior Fokkens referred to this house as a 'cierlijk huis van binnen kostelijk getimmerd' (an elegant house adorned with costly woodwork).¹⁸

1 A Rapid Ascent Interrupted by the *Rampjaar* (Disaster Year)

After his marriage, Pieter seemed destined to ascend rapidly. On 24 January 1664, he was nominated one of the directors (*bewindhebbers*) of the Amsterdam

16 J. Vos, 'Huwelyk van den Eed. Heer Pieter de Graaf, longheer van Zuidt-Polsbroek, en Mejuffer Jakoba Bikker', in J. Vos, *Alle de gedichten van den poëet Jan Vos* (Jacob Lescaijje, Amsterdam, 1662), pp. 791–794.

17 ACA 76, 227, p. 27.

18 Melchior Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde koop-stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam, 1662), pp. 73–74.

chamber of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather.¹⁹ Pieter was one of the twenty *bewindhebbers* elected to the Amsterdam chamber, the most powerful of the six which made up the VOC's complex organizational structure.²⁰ The directors' tasks included supervising the building and equipping of ships, the storage and auctioning of goods received from Asia, the preparation of the list of orders for the return fleet (*eis van retouren*) as well as the commissioning of maps and globes.²¹ To facilitate the handling of the various administrative activities, the Amsterdam chamber was divided into four committees: the *Rekenkamer* (committee for the audit office), the *Ontvang* (reception committee), the *Pakhuis* (warehouse masters) and the *Equipage* (equipage committee).²² Upon his election Pieter was assigned a seat in the *Rekenkamer* (like his father), as we learn from the register of the chamber's decisions.²³ Twice a week he attended the directors' meetings at the *Oost-Indisch huis* (East India house, fig. 2.5) in Amsterdam, and he was often sent as a representative of the chamber to the triannual meetings of the board directors, the *Lords Seventeen* (*Heeren XVII*) (Fig. 2.6).²⁴ He was

19 His father had resigned from his position on 10 January (and would die only a few months later). On 24 January Pieter was chosen from the three candidates put forward (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 27; NA, 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 237, fols. 266–7 and 275–6). See also the letter dated 22 January 1664, in which he informs Johan de Witt of the news of his appointment (NA, Archief Johan de Witt, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2534, nr. 17).

20 The others were Zeeland (with twelve *bewindhebbers*), Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen (with seven *bewindhebbers* each). For the structure of the VOC, see N. Oosterhof, 'De politieke en bestuurlijke structuur van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie', in F.M. Wieringa (ed.), *De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Amsterdam. Verslag van een werkgroep* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982), pp. 155–188; F.S. Gaastra, 'The organization of the VOC/Organisasi VOC/ De organisatie van de VOC', in G.L. Balk, F. van Dijk, and D.J. Kortlang (eds.), *The archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Jakarta/Leiden/Boston: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/Brill, 2007), pp. 13–59.

21 See J.H. Landwehr, 'De VOC in de wereld van het boek. Sponsor en uitgever', *De Boekenwereld*, 6 (1989–1990), pp. 134–145.

22 For a more detailed explanation of the tasks of each committee, see F.S. Gaastra, 'The organization of the VOC', in *Introduction to the Archives of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, [p. 14] (retrieved from https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf, last accessed April 2024).

23 NA, 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 237, fol. 276.

24 For the period 1672–1701, see the tables summarizing the presence at these meetings in F.S. Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672–1702* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1989), pp. 268–272.



FIGURE 2.5 “T Oost Indisch Huys” (current Bushuis, Kloveniersburgwal 48), the headquarters of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company, in O. Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1663). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM: OF 06-1137

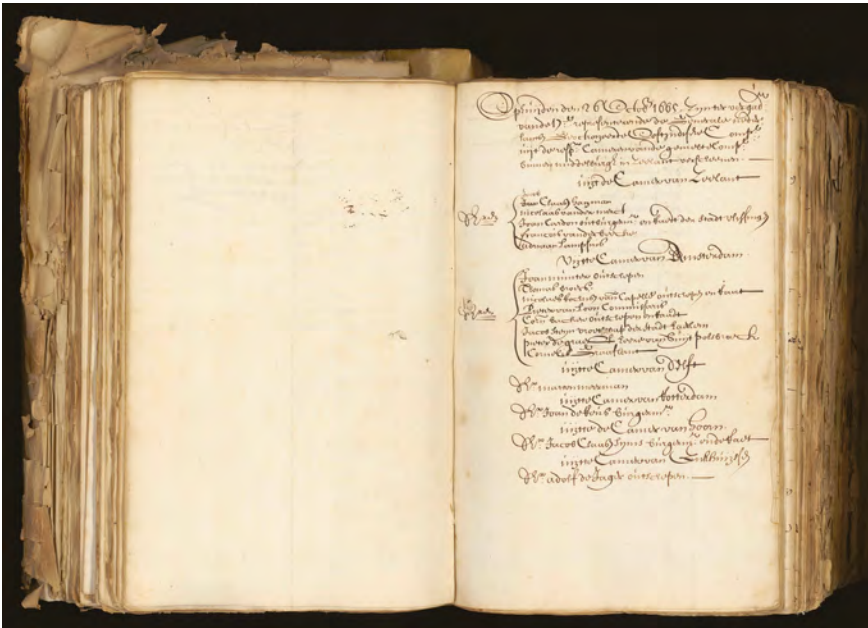


FIGURE 2.6 List of the *bewindhebers* present at the *Heeren XVII* meeting of 26 October 1665. ‘Pieter de Graeff Heer van Zuijt Polsbroeck’ is the second to last in the list of the Amsterdam chamber (NA, 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 25, fol. 252)

also one of the five members of the investigation committee set up after episodes of fraud in the Hoorn and Zeeland chambers came to light.²⁵

In the same year his VOC appointment began, he and his father jointly purchased four contiguous parcels of land, two along the Herengracht and two facing the Reguliersmarkt.²⁶ On 21 January 1664 he also started to write in his *Groote Comptoir Almanach*.²⁷ The construction of the house where the newlywed couple would reside (current nr. 573) commenced the following year, and its progress can be traced in the almanacs.²⁸ In the meantime, their first child, Agneta, was born in April 1663, followed by their son Joannes in March 1664.²⁹ These were the years when Amsterdam was hit by one of the plague outbreaks which caused thousands of deaths in the city.³⁰ The family retreated to Soestdijk (the country estate of Pieter's father) together with Pieter's parents to escape the epidemic.³¹ After this, they stayed for a period at the house of the widow Latfeur and finally moved into their new house in April 1666, soon after Jacoba had brought in her belongings.³² At that time, however, the house was far from finished and construction works as well as finishing touches to the interior continued in the following years. After the premature death of Joannes in December 1666, two other children, named Cornelia and Cornelis after

25 See Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid*, pp. 62–68.

26 On 24 January 1664, they purchased from the city of Amsterdam the parcels nrs. 8 and 9 on the Herengracht and the parcels nrs. 27 and 28 on the Reguliersmarkt for a total of *fl* 20400 (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 2723, p. 951 (29 April 1664, not. Vincent Swanenburgh [nr. 119])). The parcels' location and dimensions can be seen in ACA, Collectie Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Kaart voor de gronduitgifte van de kavels tussen de Herengracht (28 January 1664), reproduced in fig. 4.1. In January 1665, Pieter will become the sole owner of the house (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 2725, pp. 75–76 (12 January 1665, not. Vincent Swanenburgh [nr. 119])).

27 ACA 76, nr. inv. 186 (1664), 21 January.

28 The initial step of excavating the ground and preparing it to lay the foundation of the house began on 23 March 1665, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 187 (1665).

29 ACA 76, inv. nr. 179, *passim*. Agneta was baptized on 4 April 1663 by domine Laurens Laurentius in the Nieuwe Kerk (godparents were her grandfather Cornelis de Graeff, Christina de Graeff and Jean Deutz) and Joannes on 2 April 1664 by Laurentius Homma in the same church (godparents were his grandmother Catharina Hooft and Johan de Witt; Jean Deutz was present in De Witt's place). See ACA, DTB Dopen, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 44, pp. 35 and 73, act nr. DTB 44, and ACA 76, inv. nr. 179).

30 L. Noordegraaf and G. Valk, *De gave gods. De pest in Holland vanaf de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1996), p. 234.

31 De Witt asked Pieter for an update on the situation on 20 October 1663 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 12, nr. 452); Pieter replied on 23 October 1663 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2534, nr. 16). See also J.-M. van Tol, 'Afgelopen week 375 doden in Amsterdam', 1 August 2021, <https://www.johandewitt.nl/?p=1478> (last accessed April 2024).

32 ACA 76, nr. inv. 188 (1666), 14 April: 'Dito heeft mijn huysvrouwe haer principaelste meubelen of huysraet overgebracht in haer nieuwe huys' and 29 April: 'den 29 April syn wy v[er]huyst uyt 't huys van de Wed[ue] Latfeur in ons nieuwe huys op de heeregracht'.

their grandfather, were born in July 1669 and in August 1671, respectively.³³ In October 1673, the couple would welcome into the world their last child, Jan.³⁴

As the family expanded, so did Pieter's involvement in the city administration. His contemporary the merchant and city administrator Hans Bontemantel described him as a gentle and polite man ('van sacht en beleeft humeur'), though also capable of standing his ground if necessary.³⁵ His roles included service as commissioner of maritime affairs for the Amsterdam government in 1666, as alderman (*schepen*) in 1668, as commissioner for marriage registrations in 1669, and as commissioner of insolvent estates in 1671 and 1672.³⁶ He also served as captain of the 48th and then of the 59th *wijk* (the civic militia districts into which Amsterdam was divided).³⁷ In the eventful year of 1672, however, his promising *cursus honorum* was abruptly interrupted. The lynching of the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis and the appointment of Willem III as stadholder led Pieter and the rest of his family having Republican sympathies to be removed from their political roles.

De Witt was not only a political ally but also a close friend and a family member (he had married Jacoba's sister Wendela). He regarded Pieter's father Cornelis as a trusted advisor and affectionately called him 'uncle of Polsbroek' ('oom van Polsbroek'), from Cornelis's lordship of Zuid-Polsbroek.³⁸ He remained a point of reference for the De Graeff family, which would also ask

33 Cornelia was baptized on 14 July 1669 in the Zuiderkerk by Henricus Kieft (godparents were Andries de Graeff, Jacob de Graeff and Cornelia Bicker; Geertruid Bicker was present in her place) and Cornelis on 26 August 1671 in the Nieuwe Kerk by Gerardus Havitijs (godparents were Catharina Hooft and Johan de Witt; Jean Deutz was present in De Witt's place). See ACA, DTB Dopen, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 95, p. 352, act nr. DTB 95 and inv. nr. 44, p. 324, act. nr. DTB 44, respectively and ACA 76, inv. nr. 179.

34 This is how his name is usually spelled by Pieter in his almanacs, with the alternative spellings Joan or Johan appearing in other documents. Jan was baptized on 1 November 1673 in the Amstelkerk by the minister Bernardus Homoet (see DTB Dopen, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 119, p. 26, act nr. DTB 119 and ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 1 November).

35 H. Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam, soo in 't civiel als crimineel en militaire (1653–1672)*, vol. 1, ed. G.W. Kernkamp (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), p. 17.

36 ACA 76, inv. nr. 188 (1666), 22 July and J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoulen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe*, vol. XIII (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1768), *passim*.

37 ACA 76, inv. nr. 187 (1665), 17 June and inv. nr. 192 (1672), 2 July. His house on the Herengracht was located in the 59th district.

38 E.g. letter from De Witt to Jean Deutz, 14 January 1664, in R. Fruin (ed.), *Brieven aan Johan de Witt. Tweede deel (1657) 1658–1664* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1909), p. 514. See also L. Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam: Olympus, 2020), p. 183.

him to intervene in a delicate matter related to Jacob's love affairs.³⁹ In one of his letters to De Witt, Pieter tells him that they are waiting to once again enjoy his company, always pleasant and desired ('aengenaem ende altydt gewenst geselschap'), and Pieter thanks him for the pleasurable time spent together during their visit.⁴⁰ In times of need, the two families relied on each other: when Pieter was ill, De Witt came to visit him;⁴¹ after Wendela's sudden death in July 1668, Jacoba often went to The Hague to help Johan with their children and the De Witt daughters stayed at their aunt and uncle's home in Amsterdam.⁴² When the Grand Pensionary died, Pieter, Jacob van Beveren, Nicolaas Vivien and Gerard Bicker van Zwieten became his children's guardians.⁴³

De Witt's death had a great impact on Pieter. In the last preserved letter he sent to Johan, dated 8 August 1672, Pieter closed by wishing and trusting that 'the truth will triumph'.⁴⁴ On 20 August 1672, he wrote in his almanac that his brother-in-law had been assassinated 'in a scandalous and beastly way', and the next day he noted having sent a letter to Jacob de Witt, the father of Johan and Cornelis, about 'the sad loss and horrifying murder' of his sons.⁴⁵ At the end of the draft for his genealogy book, several pages are dedicated to two detailed accounts of the events leading to the assassination of the De Witt brothers.⁴⁶ After their deaths, Pieter would commission several plaster-busts, medals and

39 See below 'Pieter's brother, Jacob de Graeff (1642–1690)'.

40 NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 85 (1 July 1670): 'by desen ander mael danck seggen, voor al 't genoten playsier, goet tractement ende vrolyck geselschap waermede ons al weder geduerende ons aenwesen by U Ed. hebt gelieven te regaleren.' The transcriptions from archival documents that are included in this monograph have been made by the author and by Bart Reuvekamp. Of these, the transcriptions of Pieter's almanac entries and of his probate inventory of Herengracht 573 have been proofread by Judith Brouwer.

41 NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 83 (3 June 1670).

42 See ACA 76, inv. nr. 189 (1668), 25 October and Jacoba's letter to Johan de Witt dated 29 October 1668 where she updated him on the progress that his daughter Agneta was making in writing and singing, and asked him to keep her longer in Amsterdam with her (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2160, nr. 2 (29 October 1668)). See also Saskia Kuus, 'De verkoop van een aantal van Wendela's juwelen door Jacoba Bicker', 24 October 2020, <https://www.johande.witt.nl/?p=1165> (last accessed April 2024) and *eadem*, 'Dingen en knibbelen. Jacoba Bicker aan Johan de Witt: 29 oktober 1668', in I. Huysman and R. Peeters (eds.), *Vrouwen rondom Johan de Witt* (Soest: Catullus, 2024) pp. 213–219.

43 De Graeff's almanacs contain references to the numerous epistolary contacts the guardians exchanged about the administration of the finances of De Witt's children (ACA 76, inv. nrs. 192 ff, *passim*).

44 NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 96 (8 August 1672).

45 ACA 76, inv. nr. 179, fol. 230: '20 Augusti saturday, nae de middagh is myn schoonbroeder Johan de Witt [...] in s Gravenhaege schandelyck en deerlyck vermoort [...]'; ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672) 21 August.

46 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 413 ff.

prints depicting Johan, which he either sent to relatives and acquaintances or kept at his house at Herengracht 573, where he also had several portraits of him.⁴⁷ In the grand salon on the upper floor (*grote kamer*) in the Herengracht house, portraits of Van Oldenbarnevelt and De Witt hung side by side amongst several other portraits of Pieter and his family members.⁴⁸ A bust of De Witt with a pedestal was placed in the same room as the pendant to a bust of his uncle Andries.⁴⁹ In addition, four other busts were kept in the attic (apparently the remaining ones that Pieter did not manage to send to acquaintances) and a drawing depicting De Witt was recorded in his son's room.⁵⁰ Ilpenstein contributed to the preservation of De Witt's memory through a room named after him ('de zaal genaamt Johan de Witt Zaal') and the display of several portraits of him.⁵¹

Regardless of this caesura in his political career, Pieter would maintain his role as *bewindhebber* of the VOC – an appointment usually granted for life – until his death. In his almanacs he recorded his investments, the spices he received, and the letters he exchanged with prominent members of the VOC,

47 ACA 76, inv. nrs. 193 (1673), 30 November; 194 (1674), 8 November; 195 (1675), 23 November; 196 (1676), 12 January; 199 (1679), 7 and 13 May; 201 (1681), 12 April; 201 (1681), 16 May; 207 (1687), 14 February; 216 (1696), 24 April. See also F. Scholten and M. Hoyle, 'Quellinus's burgomasters. A portrait gallery of Amsterdam republicanism', *Siniolus. Netherlands quarterly for the history of art*, 32, nr. 3/2 (2006), pp. 111 ff.

48 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, p. 446: De Witt is portrayed in two paintings in this room. A spatial analysis of the paintings in the Herengracht house is discussed in W. Li and C. Piccoli, 'Placing value in domestic interiors. 3D spatial mapping of Pieter de Graeff and Jacoba Bicker's home art collection', *BMGV – Low Countries Historical Review*, 139, nr. 2 (2024), pp. 4–37.

49 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, p. 445. These two busts (each valued *fl.* 12) are to be identified with copies of BK-C-2013-2 (Johan) BK-18305 (Andries) made by the sculptor Artus Quellinus and currently at the Rijksmuseum. The originals were in fact valued at 286 guilders and 10 stuivers (ACA 76, inv. nr. 610, fol. 10, cited in Scholten and Hoyle, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters', p. 111, note 98). De Witt's bust, placed in the *grote kamer* at Herengracht 573, was most likely the one that Pieter refers to in his almanac entry dated 8 November 1674. On this occasion, he mentioned a copy of the bust made by Quellinus that he commissioned to Hendrick Melchersz (ACA 76, inv. nr. 194: '8 dito, Hendrick Melchersz laeten volgen 't orgineel beelt door Artus Quilinus nae wylen mijn schoonbroeder Johan de Witt in potaerde geboodseert').

50 ACA Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, pp. 428 and 449.

51 The room named after De Witt is mentioned both in Catharina Hoof's probate inventory (ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 32, fol. 5r) and in Pieter's (ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, p. 512).

such as the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies Joan Maetsuycker.⁵² His portrait by Gerard Ter Borch around 1674 indicates his position clearly: we see not only the ships in the background but also a large atlas on the table, opened at the sea chart depicting the Zuiderzee, the navigation route vital to the VOC's trade (Fig. 2.7).⁵³ His house's interior decoration was also a constant reminder and display of his position and his family's status. According to his inventory, the portrait by Ter Borch hung in the grand salon (*grote kamer*) amongst several other portraits of family members.⁵⁴ Moreover, in 1682, Pieter would commission Paulus de Fouchier to paint the ceiling of the smaller reception room (*kleijne zijdelkamer*) located on the left side of the entrance hall, the centrepiece of which was the personification of Amsterdam holding a ship (*koggeschip*) in her right hand, flanked by Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom, and by Reason, and surrounded by the personifications of the four continents (Europe, Africa, Asia and America). The painting clearly made reference to the domination of Amsterdam through its far-reaching commercial enterprises as the centre of world trade (Fig. 2.8).⁵⁵ On the walls of this room were portraits of the male members of the De Graeff and Bicker families: besides uncle Andries painted by Rembrandt, there were Jacoba's father Jan Bicker, Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz, his brother and himself.⁵⁶ The room, with its portraits, the ceiling and its richly appointed interior, was certainly meant to make a statement about the importance of this household. Echoing the family's status and prestige were the wall carpets depicting the deeds of Alexander the Great that hung on the walls of the larger reception room (*grote tapijete kamer*) located on the

52 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 197 (1677), 30 November.

53 I could not find any explicit reference of the commission of this painting in Pieter's almanacs. The proposed date, however, fits well with the period between 1673 and 1674, during which time he frequently mentioned his contacts with Gerard Ter Borch in his almanacs.

54 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 484.

55 The progression of these works can be followed in Pieter's almanacs (ACA 76, inv. nr. 202 (1682), 10 and 12 August; 19 November). Its iconography is discussed in Jephtha Dullaart, *Met plank of doek bekleed. Amsterdamse figuratieve plafondschilderingen uit de zeventiende en begin achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 76–77.

56 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, pp. 492–493. The name 'Jacob de Graeff' features in two entries in this room's inventory: in one portrait by Bartholomeus van der Helst ('Een portraict van den Heer Jacob de Graaf door van der Helst') and in one by Thomas de Keyser ('Twee portraicten, 't eene vanden Heer Pieter de Graeff ende 't ander vanden H[ee]r Jacob de Graeff, beyde gedaan door Thomas de Keyser'). Here it is proposed to identify Pieter's grandfather as the sitter of Van der Helst's painting (assuming he depicted Jacob Dircksz in one of his earliest paintings), and Pieter's brother as the subject of De Keyser's painting due to its proximity and shared author with Pieter's portrait.



FIGURE 2.7 Portrait of Pieter de Graeff by Gerard Ter Borch in ca. 1674. The ships in the background and the atlas on the table opened onto the Zuiderzee sea chart are clear indications of De Graeff's appointment as *bewindhebber* of the *voc* (Douwes Fine Art, reproduced with permission)

other side of the entrance hall. The fascination with Alexander was popular in the upper social echelons, especially in court circles. In France, Louis XIV was a great admirer of the Macedonian king and between 1661 and 1679 he commissioned a series of canvases depicting Alexander's triumphs from his court painter Charles Le Brun. Transformed into tapestries at the royal tapestry manufactory at the Gobelins in Paris, Le Brun's designs gained popularity not only



FIGURE 2.8 The ceiling of the *kleijne zijdelkamer*, the smaller reception room in the house at Herengracht 573, painted by Paulus de Fouchier in 1682 (RKD archive)

in France but also internationally, being reproduced in prints and woven replicas. They may have served as templates or inspiration for the wall carpet in the *grote tapijte kamer*.⁵⁷ As will be discussed later, some of the books in Pieter's

57 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 451: 'De tapijte in deselve kamer verbeeldende de daden van Alexander de Groot'. On Alexander's legacy in paintings, tapestries and decorative art, see A. Trofimova (ed.), *The immortal Alexander the Great. The myth, the reality, his journey, the legacy* (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk/Hermitage Amsterdam, 2010). Le Brun's designs and popularity are discussed in C. Powell, 'Charles Le Brun and the replicas of The Triumphs of Alexander. Extending a reputation through weaving and print', MA dissertation, Smithsonian Design Museum and Parsons

auction catalogue cast a more ambivalent light to the celebratory portrayal of Alexander's character and enterprises, serving as cautionary reminders of the dangers of overweening ambition and exotic excesses.

Several of Pieter's almanac entries are dedicated to another of his capital intensive and lucrative activities, namely that of land and house owner. He frequently records his inspections of his lands in Bunschoten, north of Amersfoort, where Cornelis Melisz grazed his stocks.⁵⁸ As evidenced by the *Registers van Goede Mannen*, Pieter is listed with several other VOC directors and regents amongst the *voornaemste en gequalificeerste osseweyers* ('main and most qualified ox-grazers').⁵⁹ To avoid conflict of interests, VOC directors were prohibited to provide cattle for the VOC ships. However, the fact that tenants were the official users of the land may have offered a loophole in the rules.⁶⁰ From his almanac entries we gather that Pieter helped Cornelis Melisz to sell his oxen to the VOC in 1669 and that the following year Cornelis Melisz sold Pieter's brother's oxen to the VOC.⁶¹ Discussing this episode in his work on the international cattle trade, Gijsbers wonders whether Pieter was only helpful or was doing this for his own benefit. While the sources on this particular case are not conclusive, they certainly show that the prohibition could have been easily circumvented. Besides his inspections of his land, Pieter also meticulously maintained a record of his tenants in Amsterdam, documenting who was renting his houses, individual rooms, or cellars, along with the corresponding rental charges.⁶²

School of Design, 2016. On the broader theme of the representation of power in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic, see J. Oddens, A. Metlica and G. Moorman (eds.), *Contending representations I: The Dutch Republic and the lure of monarchy* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2023).

58 Cornelis Melisz is indicated as living in Bunschoten and cattle trader ('ossecoper van beroep') in his testament dated 7 June 1665 (Utrecht Archives, Notarial Archives, Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560–1905, archive nr. 34–4, inv. nr. 554, 7 June 1665, not. H. van Werckhoven, act nr. 116). In one almanac entry, dated 8 May 1670, Pieter noted that Cornelis Melisz sold him and his brother-in-law Gerard Bicker van Swieten 39 oxen, which he grazed on their land in Bunschoten (ACA 76, inv. nr. 188 (1666), 29 April).

59 See W.M. Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen. De internationale handel in slachtvee in Noordwest-Europa 1300–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), pp. 245–246. Pieter and Joan Blaeu II also featured amongst the prominent ox-grazers in the list. For their activities see Kees Zandvliet, *De wereld van de familie Blaeu* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2023), pp. 193 and 198–199.

60 Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, p. 250.

61 ACA 76, inv. nr. 189A (1669), 22 January and inv. nr. 190 (1670), 6 November. These and other related entries are discussed and contextualized in Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, pp. 250–251.

62 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 22 December; inv. nr. 201 (1681), 30 January.

2 “Myne seer geliefde en waerde Huysvrouw”: Glimpses of Jacoba Bicker

Pieter and Jacoba both hailed from a common lineage. Jacoba was the daughter of Jan Bicker (1591–1653), a wealthy merchant with a focus on the Mediterranean Sea, particularly Italy and the Levant.⁶³ Her mother was Agneta de Graeff van Polsbroek (1603–1656), Pieter’s aunt. Their shared ancestry extended even further back to the Boelens Loen, one of Amsterdam’s oldest families. Jacoba’s father invested part of his profits in shipbuilding and in 1631 he bought Vooreiland, one of the three artificial islands that were created in the IJ, located west of Amsterdam (known as the ‘Westelijke Eilanden’).⁶⁴ Since then, the island has bore the name of ‘Bickers eiland’ (‘Bicker’s island’). There, he built an imposing house with a high tower from which he could see his ships coming in, a shipyard, slipways, warehouses as well as houses for the ship carpenters.⁶⁵ Due to existing rules, Jan was ineligible to join the *vroedschap* as his brother, Andries, was already a member. It was only in 1647 that he assumed the role of *schepen*, and he became shortly burgomaster in 1653, the year in which he died. In his *Groot Geslacht Boeck* Pieter transcribed an extract of Jan’s notes.⁶⁶ This extract recorded the birth and death dates, along with the baptismal information, for all ten children born to Agneta. Of these children, only five daughters (Jacoba, Elisabeth, Geertruid, Wendela, and Cornelia) reached adulthood.⁶⁷

Jacoba lived with her parents and sisters in a house on Keizersgracht (nr. 221). During the summer months they would retreat to their country house ‘De Eult’ in Baarn, which was situated across from Soestdijk, the country estate of Pieter’s parents. Glimpses of Jacoba can be found in the notes in Pieter’s almanacs and in some of her surviving letters. Pieter noted when she hired servants, rented out the cellar (*pakkelder*) under their house or took decision

63 He ranked number forty-three in Zandvliet’s book on the 500 wealthiest persons in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic: K. Zandvliet, *De 500 Rijksten van de Republiek. Rijkdom, geloof, macht en cultuur* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2018), p. 167. See also K. Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2006), p. 74. On Jan and his brothers (the ‘Bickers league’, due to their prominent positions in Amsterdam, and their far-reaching commercial enterprises) see e.g. H. De Bruyn Kops-Rahusen, ‘De thuishaven van de familie Bicker’, *Amstelodanum*, 9, nr. 1 (2012), pp. 37–40.

64 A short biography is included in Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten*, pp. 73–75.

65 Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten*, p. 74.

66 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 205–208.

67 Another daughter, Aeltje, died at the age of 17 (1628–1645); the other children, including the only son Gerrit, all died at young ages (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 205–208).

together regarding changes, additions or reparations in their houses.⁶⁸ She kept a household account book which is unfortunately not preserved in the family archive, contrary to her sister Wendela's account book which gives us an indication of the type of notes such books contained.⁶⁹ Like other upper-class women living in Amsterdam's grand canal houses, Jacoba could afford to have a dollhouse, fashioned as a miniature domestic world that she could furnish according to her own tastes.⁷⁰ A few items recorded in Pieter's probate inventory give us an impression of its furnishing and interior décor.⁷¹ Apart from her dollhouse, she surely had a leading role in the decision-making process of how the family's house at the Herengracht was furnished. Through her husband's notes we gain insight in some of the objects she purchased for the house.⁷² It is evident that the couple often made these purchases together, as demonstrated

68 On hiring servants: e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 188 (1666), 10 and 24 March; on renting out the cellar: ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 28 April; agreements on changes to one of the rented houses: e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 200 (1680), 27 May.

69 The evidence of this book's existence comes from one of Pieter's almanac entries (noting the hiring of a nanny and a kitchen maid, he added 'in myn huysvrouws boeck fol. 157' as a reference: ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 4 October) and from ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated, where Jacoba's account book is mentioned. Her sister Wendela's account book is kept in the De Graeff family archive: ACA 76, inv. nr. 610, Rekeningboek Wendela Bicker.

70 For the meaning and use of dollhouses by upper-class women, see J. Pijzel-Dommisse, *Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis interieur en huishouden in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wbooks, 2000); M. Westermann, "'Costly and curious, full of pleasure and home contentment.' Making home in the Dutch Republic", in M. Westermann (ed.), *Art and home, Dutch interiors in the age of Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), pp. 15–81; E. Koldewey, "'Wat er op de vloer omme-gaet': Poppenhuisvloeren en de realiteit", in E. Koldewey (ed.), *Over de vloer. Met voeten getreden erfgoed* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), pp. 132–153. Pijzel-Dommisse, *Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis*, provides the most detailed account of surviving Dutch dollhouses, with individual descriptions of miniature objects and furniture.

71 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 462. Under 'Poppenhuijs' (pp. 430–431) the following items are listed: 'Een eykenhoute geschildert glase kasje met glasen'; 'Vier stoelkussentjens Haarlemmergoed'; 'Nog vier kussens'; 'Een beeren huid'; 'Een sakje met blaauw linnengoed'; 'Een oude paarde haire matrasje'; 'Een koffertje'; 'Twee matte beugel stoelen'; 'Een vuiren hout kisje'. In the section of the inventory dedicated to silver and golden objects, there are furthermore '70 stuks zilver poppegoed' ('70 silver accessories for dolls'), miniature objects mostly likely part of the interior decoration and objects of the dollhouse. 'Zilver poppengoet' was also present in Catharina Hooft's testament, which passed on to Pieter's and Jacoba's daughter Agneta (ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 24).

72 Among her purchases: a tablecloth at the death-house of Salomon Sweers, who had been a councilor in the High Government of the Indies and the husband of her late cousin Elisabeth Bicker (ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 8 and 9 April).

in case of the joint negotiation on the price of large carpets.⁷³ From a rare reference to a conversation between her and an acquaintance written down by Pieter in his almanac, moreover, we see how knowledgeable and well aware she was of the rules governing what a house belonging to members of her social status should look like. When the wife of Carel Rudolf van Kuffeler (who was renting one of Pieter's houses at that time) requested that the gilt leather of the room behind the entrance hall be moved to the front room upstairs, Jacoba replied that doing so would irreparably damage the gilt leather since it would be impossible to hang it twice, and that most people preferred to have it downstairs instead of upstairs. Moreover, because of its particularly precious and delicate nature, such expensive material would normally have been displayed in reception rooms and other areas of the house where visitors could see it, rather than in the more private upstairs floors.⁷⁴

She would often write to family members and acquaintances, sometimes sending small gifts (such as gilt-paper candle-holders she made) as well as food.⁷⁵ Her social network extended beyond Amsterdam and nearby Dutch cities, and even abroad, as can be seen in the letters she sent to Catharina Ferine, wife of Paulus Ferine, *Maistre de la Garderobe* of the King of England at Westminster;⁷⁶ to Geertruyd Chasteleyn, daughter of Anthony Chasteleyn Anthonyszn, *bewindhebber* of the VOC in Amsterdam, and wife of Pieter van Helsdingen, who at the time was *fiscaal* (public prosecutor in the governmental administration of the VOC) in Malacca;⁷⁷ and to Catharina van Quaelberg, daughter of Cornelis van Quaelberg, governor of Malacca, and wife of Cornelis Chastelein, VOC accountant in Batavia.⁷⁸ As little remains of her correspondence, it is impossible to shed light on the content of these letters. In the only surviving letter written by her in the De Graeff family archive, she asks her husband to bring something for the daughter of Romeyn de Hooghe (the reference to the artist must account for this letter being preserved).⁷⁹ A few other letters

73 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 23 June.

74 ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 11 January. The Van Kuffeler had rented the house at the Kloveniersburgwal previously belonging to Pieter's brother Jacob.

75 On the paper candle-holders: ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 24 January; on food gifts: e.g., ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 19 August; inv. nr. 201 (1681), 9 August.

76 ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 12 April and inv. nr. 196 (1676), 21 January.

77 ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 24 October.

78 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 May. Jacoba wrote to Chastelein himself on 22 November 1688 (inv. nr. 208). On Chastelein and his legacy, see N. Peters and G. Snoeijer, *Depok. De droom van Cornelis Chastelein* (Volendam: LM Publishers, 2019) and Jan-Karel Kwisthout, *Drie eeuwen Depok. De erfenis van Cornelis Chastelein (1657–1714) aan zijn vrijgemaakte christenslaven* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2024).

79 ACA 76, inv. nr. 175.

by Jacoba are kept in the archive of Johan de Witt. Amongst these are the letter she sent him on 16 November 1668 to invite him and his daughter Anna to stay with them over Christmas (the first to be spent without his wife Wendela, who had died that year in July), and those related to her efforts to sell some of Wendela's jewels at a fair price so that the money could be equally divided amongst her children.⁸⁰ Further research may well bring more letters to light.⁸¹

3 A Passion for Numismatics and Genealogical Research

Besides allowing them the means to create a luxurious house, Pieter and Jacoba's wealth enabled Pieter to pursue an expensive interest, common amongst the elite of the era, namely the collecting of commemorative medals and coins.⁸² Numerous medals and coins in both silver and gold had been gifted to the couple as wedding presents.⁸³ These objects depicted renowned historical and political figures in the Dutch Republic, England, France, Spain, Germany and Sweden (amongst them, for example, the Elector of Brandenburg, Oliver Cromwell, the mother of the King of France, and Maria de' Medici) and commemorated important events such as the death of Cromwell or of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus and the stadholder Prince Willem II, as well as various peace treaties. Their wedding medal, made of gold, was created by Johannes Lutma and depicted the story of Hippomenes and Atlantes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, also referred to by Vondel in the epithalamium he composed for the couple.⁸⁴ Collecting these sorts of artefacts was a pursuit that continued to engage Pieter for most of his life, as is evident from numerous references to such items in his almanacs. There, he noted not only the coins and medals that he sought or exchanged but also those he received, often in

80 NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2160. For further details on Wendela's jewels, see Kuus, 'De verkoop'.

81 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated, records the presence of letters to her among the family papers listed upon Pieter's death.

82 Amongst well-known collectors was the burgomaster and VOC director Nicolaes Witsen, see R.P. Brienen, 'Nicolaes Witsen's collection, his influence, and the primacy of the image', in D.T. Cashion, H. Luttikhuisen, and A.D. West (eds.), *The primacy of the image in northern European art, 1400–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 222–238 (esp. p. 227).

83 ACA 76, inv. nr. 604, pp. 'Notitie en staet van gouwe en silvere medalien en potgelt en eenige weinigh kleynodien en rariteyten van silver gelyck gehad heb op myn trouwdagh den 11 April 1662' and 'Notitie en staet van juwelen, kleynodien, eenigh silver werck, gouwe en silvere medalien, potgeld gelyck myn huysvrouw gehadt heeft op haer trouwdagh 11 April A[nn]o 1662.'

84 See Dirk Jan Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver. Penningen van Johannes Lutma Junior', *Oud Holland*, 127, nrs. 2–3 (2014), pp. 138–139.

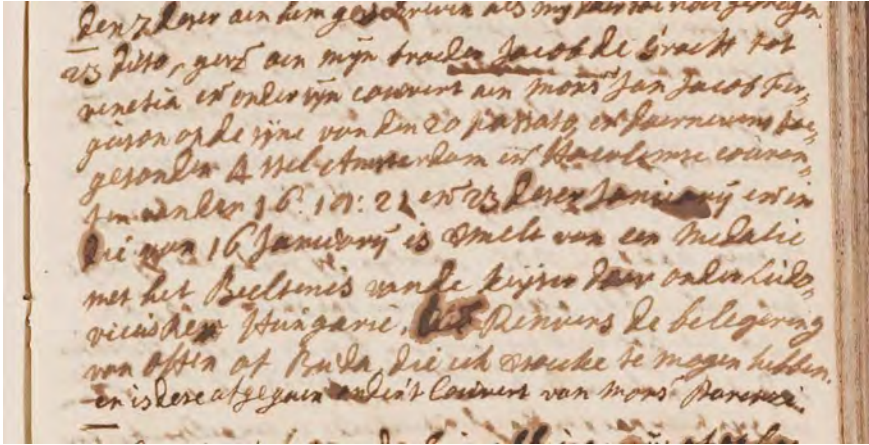


FIGURE 2.9 Entry in Pieter's almanacs where he noted having sent some newspapers to his brother in Italy. Amongst them is one where a medal he is interested in is mentioned (ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 23 January; transcription in note 86)

lieu of payments, coming for example from various locations in the Ottoman Empire and in the Italian peninsula.⁸⁵ Their subjects mostly concerned recent events and prominent players on the geopolitical scene, such as the King of England, the De Witt brothers, and Cardinal Richelieu; there is no mention of coins from antiquity. On some occasions the information he noted in his almanacs indicate the specifics of the medals that he was looking for. For example, when his brother was in Venice in the late 1680s, Pieter wrote him a letter and enclosed with it some copies of newspapers (the *Amsterdamsche courant* and the *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*) containing the description of a medal commemorating the Siege of Buda (1686) that he wanted his brother to search for on his behalf while there (Figs. 2.9 and 2.10).⁸⁶

Over the years Pieter built a large numismatic collection which was valued at 20,000 guilders.⁸⁷ His almanacs allow us to follow the fluctuations in his

85 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 16 February and ACA 76, inv. nr. 201 (1681), 4 July.

86 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 23 January: '23 dito, ges[onden] aen mijn broeder Jacob de Graeff tot Venetia en[de] onder sijn couvert aen Mons[ieu]r Jan Jacob Ferguson op de sijne van den 20 passato, en[de] daernevens toegesonden 4 stel Amsterdam en[de] Haerlemse couranten onder 16, 19, 21 en[de] 23 deser Januarij en[de] in die van 16 Januarij is v[er]melt van een medalie met het Beeltenis vande keijser daer onder Ludovicus Rex Hungarie, etc. Renvers de belegering van Offen of Buda, die ick v[er]soecke te mogen hebben. en is dese afgegaen onder 't Couvert van Mons[ieu]r Parenzi.'

87 Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver', p. 139. See also ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 Serie A, nr. 66 (21 February 1702) and ACA 76, inv. nr. 613 Portefeuille 6: Akte van boedelscheiding van de

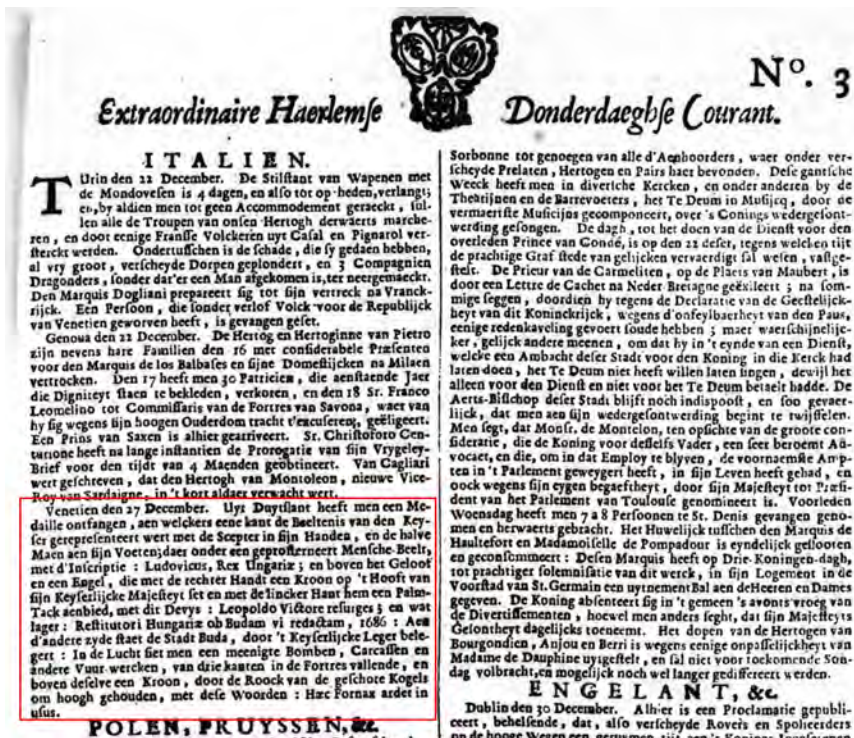


FIGURE 2.10 The section of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Donderdaeghse Courant* of 16 January 1687 pertaining to the medal (first column, under “Italien”, Venetien den 27 December). Pieter sent the newspaper to his brother in Venice so he could search out the medal for him

exchanges and purchases, highlighting certain years (such as 1677) of intense activity and others lacking any indication of new acquisitions. References in the almanacs tell us that he had a book specifically dedicated to keeping track of which medals he gifted or received.⁸⁸ As recorded in the probate inventory of his house on the Herengracht, his collection was on display in the *grote kamer* (the grand salon), the largest room on the first floor, in three cabinets dedicated to this purpose.⁸⁹ One almanac entry dated February 1675 pinpoints

fidei-commissaire goederen door wijlen Johan de Graeff geërfd van zijn ouders, tussen zijn kinderen Jacoba Adriana, Gerrit en Alida Joanna, 1734, fols. 5v–6v.

88 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 25 and 28 September: ‘medalieboek.’

89 ACA Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 445 (‘Op de groote kamer’): ‘Twee noteboome cabinetjens tot medailles’ and ‘Een Oost Indisch verlakt medaille cabinet met desselfs vergulde voet’. Pieter bequeathed the cabinets and their contents to his



FIGURE 2.11 The entry recording the commission of the new furniture pieces to host his collection of coins and medals (ACA 76, inv. nr. 195 (1675), [9] February; transcription in note 90)

the time of his commissioning twelve new drawers in an existing walnut-tree cabinet and of an additional new cabinet to be made in a similar fashion.⁹⁰ His collection was growing and he needed more space to store and display it (Fig. 2.11). We can therefore safely assume that the books on numismatics present in the catalogue were used by Pieter himself as works of reference for his collection.

Archival sources allow us to identify another of his keen interests, namely genealogy. Genealogical research was a common endeavour for members of

son Jan on 21 February 1702 (see ACA 76, inv. nr. 613 Portefeuille 6: Akte van boedelscheiding van de fidei-commissaire goederen door wijlen Johan de Graeff geërfd van zijn ouders, tussen zijn kinderen Jacoba Adriana, Gerrit en Alida Joanna, 1734, fols. 5v). Some of De Graeff's medals are discussed in Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver', pp. 116–154.

90 ACA 76, inv. nr. 195 (1675), [9] February: 'Jan Tavenier ter hant gestelt een noteboome Cabinetge om medalien in te leggen en[de] dat om daer in te maeken 12 nieuwe laeden geheel dun van droogh eycke en[de] van vooren met noteboome hout, en[de] dat volgens een memorie daer van papier behouden hebbe hem daer van ter hant gestelt, en heeft voor ieder laede f 1 g[u][den] geeyst, komt 12 g[u][den] ten tweede, sal maecken een gelyck Cabinetge van suycker kisten hout daer voor geeyst heeft 16 g[u][den] behalven 't sluytwerck doch hebbe met hem geen accoort gemaect, oock ter hant gestelt om daer toe te gebruycken een stuck en twee gesaeghde blaedties noteboomen hout. afgereken[t] en betaelt 26 Maert 1675.'

elite families aiming to trace noble roots in their ancestry to legitimate their power.⁹¹ Amongst the members of the De Graeff family to share this interest are Pieter's father Cornelis, his uncles Andries and Frans Banninck Cocq. Andries, particularly active in this regard, had obtained a patent of nobility ('adelsdiploma') issued by Holy Roman Emperor Leopold on 19 July 1677, addressed to him and his son Cornelis as 'Andrea et Cornelius Nobiles de Graeff'.⁹² This document was meant to confirm the findings of certain Amsterdam genealogists who had traced the ancestry of the De Graeffs to the noble Von Graben family from Tyrol.

Pieter also actively searched for information about his family. He inserted into the draft of his *Groot Geslacht boeck* some letters that he received in reply to his requests, and a list of unresolved questions about names and dates he lacked.⁹³ As will be discussed in the following chapter, his almanacs add some pieces of information about his plan for publishing his genealogy book. It is interesting to note that he makes references to seventeenth-century historians when recounting certain events that directly involved his relatives.⁹⁴ On one page, for example, he refers to P.C. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historien*, Pieter Christiaansz Bor's *Nederlandsche oorlogen*, Emanuel van Meteren's *Historie* and Christianus Schotanus's *Friesche Historien* by citing the specific pages where such events were recounted (Fig. 2.12).⁹⁵ On another page, he refers to Gerard Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie*.⁹⁶ In another passage, he added a note with another version of the story that adhered to 'what other historians and

91 See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Op zoek naar Romulus en Remus, zeventiende-eeuws onderzoek naar de Oudste magistraten van Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum*, 87 (1995), pp. 43–70 and *id.*, 'Amsterdamse burgemeesters zonder stamboom. De dichter Vondel en de schilder Colijns vervalsen geschiedenis', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 144–150.

92 Some pages of Pieter's family book contain the transcription of this 'adelsdiploma' (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 219–28). Another copy made by notary Pieter Sas together with the Dutch translation of 1678 is kept under ACA 76, inv. nr. 64. The 'adelsdiploma' of Volkert Overlander (dated 1620) is also preserved in the De Graeff archive (ACA 76, inv. nr. 114). On the phenomenon of patricians' 'aristocratisation', see Luuc Kooijmans 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering in Holland tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in J. Aelbers and M. Prak (eds.), *De bloem der natie. Adel en patriciaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Meppel: Boom, 1987), pp. 259–306.

93 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 261 and 247.

94 This practice was common; see e.g. the notes on historical works by Nicolaes Witsen, voc director and Amsterdam burgomaster, in M. Peters, 'From the study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717). His life with books and manuscripts', *Lias. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas* 21, nr. 1 (1994), p. 34.

95 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 275 and 402.

96 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 383.

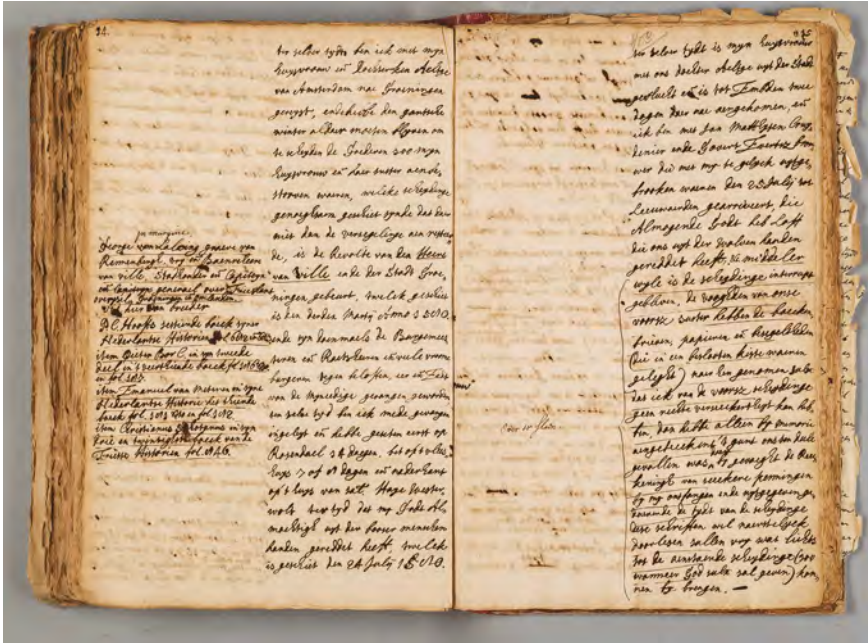


FIGURE 2.12 One of the marginal notes in the draft of his *Groot Geslacht boeck* where Pieter lists the authors who more broadly describe and confirm the events he is discussing, namely P.C. Hooft, Pieter C. Bor, Emanuel van Meteren and Christianus Schotanus (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 402)

genealogists said'.⁹⁷ These notes in the margins are therefore useful indications of books that he consulted for his genealogical research; they will be used in the following chapters in comparison with the pieces of information from his almanacs and his book auction catalogue.

4 Snapshots of Everyday Life, Illnesses and Death

Through Pieter's almanacs we can capture snapshots of his everyday life and whereabouts. He usually took note of the place where he met somebody or heard some news: at the *Beurs* (stock exchange building), over the Rokin canal by Dam square, the meeting place *par excellence* for merchants and dealers (Fig. 2.13); in the reception office (*ontvangkamer*) of the *Oost-Indisch huis*, or crossing the Dam, or attending the sermon at the Amstelkerk, about

⁹⁷ ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 316 (and p. 330 for a similar example).



FIGURE 2.13 The courtyard of the *Beurs* in Amsterdam in a painting by Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692), 1653 (Museum Boijmans van Beuningen)

a five-minute walk from his residence.⁹⁸ These notes allow us to reconstruct some of his movements in the city and elsewhere. Examples of his personal errands include when he had his hair cut by a certain Monsieur Pecheur who also sold Spa water in the Pijlsteeg (April 1670), or when he bought two pairs of

98 E.g. at the *Beurs* he heard that captain Gerrit Koot had bought a *hofstede* in the Purmer (ACA 76, inv. nr. 200 (1680), 15 March); on 27 January 1689 he ran into two regents of the Aalmoezenershuis (almonry for orphaned children) in the *ontvangkamer* of the Oost-Indisch huis (ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 [1689]); a conversation at the Dam is noted on 30 February 1683 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 203). On 14 February 1694 he noted meeting by chance and talking to Jan van Strijen after attending the sermon at the Amstelkerk (ACA 76, inv.

new shoes for 5 guilders from shoemaker Herpert van Enst (October 1672), or a pair of peasant shoes 'lined with cushions' ('boere schoenen met kusselties gevoert') for just over 2 guilders by Cornelis Adamsz, shoemaker in Nigtevecht (February 1675).⁹⁹ He frequently documented his visits to family and friends, occasionally noting the reason for the visit or any agreements made. For instance, we learn about a visit he made to the home of Burgomaster Johannes Hudde, during which he voiced his concerns about the circulating rumours of a plan to construct a church on the Reguliersmarkt.¹⁰⁰ When he was not travelling in his coach through the city (for which he had received a special permit from the burgomasters), he walked with a walking stick which served on occasions as a measurement unit: at the bottom of one page of his almanacs, he records the measurements of the wheels of his brother-in-law's coach as being 'twice my thin walking stick'.¹⁰¹

We can also see which products ended up on the family table in greater or lesser proportions: besides large quantities of butter, cheese, meat and (spelt) beer, they could afford Norwegian salmon, grey peas, Turkish white beans, Turkish figs, candied nuts, tamarind and ginger, honey from Alicante and Portugal, German, French and sometimes Spanish or Italian wine.¹⁰² On Christmas day 1689 Pieter noted his payment to Cornelis van Tetrode for 50 oysters, another time for 300 oysters.¹⁰³ We can get an idea of the possible dishes that were served at the De Graeffs' table from *De geoeffende en ervaren keuken-meester* (Leiden, 1701), the cookbook listed in Pieter's auction catalogue. This adaptation of the successful *Le cuisinier françois* (Paris, 1651) certainly served as inspiration for a menu *à la française*.¹⁰⁴ In the customary habit of gifts exchange, special foods, spices and drinks were also gifted to relatives

nr. 214). The Amstelkerk appears in another couple of entries (ACA 76, inv. nr. 215 [1695], 2 January; nr. 219 [1699], 30 August; nr. 221 [1702], 31 December), while on 21 November 1702 he noted to have listed to the sermon of Engelbertus Franciscus Le Boucq in the Nieuwe Kerk (ACA 76, inv. nr. 221 [1702]).

99 ACA 76, inv. nr. 190 (1670), 26 April; inv. nr. 192 (1672), 4 October; inv. nr. 195 (1675) 25 February.

100 ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 31 August. The design of the church, which was ultimately never built, can be seen in the print *View of the Botermarkt (Reguliersmarkt) in Amsterdam with a never-built dome church* (Rijksmuseum, nr. RP-P-AO-27-44).

101 In a few entries he mentions this permit, of which he had informed acquaintance, e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 214 (1694), 6 April. On the walking stick: ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), first page of the month of July.

102 ACA 76, inv. nrs. 186–226, *passim*.

103 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 25 December and inv. nr. 207 (1687), 4 January.

104 *Catalogus*, p. 54, nr. 293. On this book, see C. Muusers, 'Meid, meester, cuisinier. Een drie-hoeksverhouding?', *De Boekenwereld*, 31, nr. 3 (2015), pp. 50–55.

and acquaintances, such as a 'very curious' type of tea sent to his brother in The Hague, or white pepper, nutmeg and cinnamon to the wife of Johan van Groenevelt in Woerden.¹⁰⁵ In November 1679 Pieter noted to 'have honoured' Jan Six with Greek and Persian wine, precisely a bottle of 'muscadel from the island of Samos' and another bottle 'with wine of Seraes in Persia' (Shiraz wine);¹⁰⁶ in April 1689 he notes that he received a platter of anchovies from Jan Six and that he sent the platter back to him with six 'Chinese orange apples' (oranges) in it.¹⁰⁷ In June 1699, passing by Haarlem, he gifted coffee to the wife of Romeyn de Hooghe.¹⁰⁸

In addition to food, another recurring theme in Pieter's almanacs is the mention of illnesses and medicaments. There are references to various remedies, such as one for toothache and for the gout.¹⁰⁹ He also mentioned advice received by acquaintances about specific doctors or treatments.¹¹⁰ Jacoba, weakened by complicated childbirths, often suffered from fevers and *benauwdheid* (shortness of breath).¹¹¹ A prolonged fever she endured when she was eight month pregnant with Cornelia was particularly alarming.¹¹² Pieter documented several visits from doctors, mostly Jewish, who attended to Jacoba. These included Isaac Fray Vincente Rocamora, Abraham Quina and Balthasar (Isaac) Orobio.¹¹³ A recurrent name is Maria Spal, wife of *droogscheerder* (cloth worker) Johannes Coninx living in the Hooglandsekerk Choorsteeg in Leiden,

105 ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 20 March and ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676) 27 April, respectively. Pieter mentioned both 'noten muscaten' and 'foulie', meaning the nutmeg and its aril.

106 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 17 November.

107 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 23 April.

108 ACA 76, inv. nr. 219 (1699), 25 June.

109 On tooth pain: ACA 76, inv. nr. 188A (1667), under entry dated 23 August; on the *Aristolochia Longa* recommended to treat the gout: ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 27 January.

110 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 217 (1697), 26 July.

111 On complicated childbirths: letters to Johan de Witt, NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2534, nrs. 11 (13 April 1663) and inv. nr. 2535, nr. 71 (28 July 1669) and 73 (13 August 1669); on Jacoba's *benauwdheid*, e.g. letter to Johan de Witt, NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 39 (12 July 1668) and nr. 88 (14 July 1670), and ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673) 13–14–15 November; fever, e.g.: NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 81 (11 March 1670).

112 Letter to Johan de Witt, NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nrs. 57 and 59 (3 and 8 May 1669). On 12 July 1669 Pieter wrote Johan with the happy news of their daughter's birth. After all they had endured (Jacoba's illness and the loss of their first son, Johannes), he added, he trusted that their daughter would be endowed with all brave and heroic talents ('dese onse jonge dochter 't syner tydt met alle dappere ende heroique gaven sal versien syn', NA, 3.01.17, A.3.1, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 69).

113 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 197 (1677), 23 December. For these doctors, see Nathan Koren, *Jewish physicians. A biographical index* (Jerusalem: Israel University Press, 1973), p. 34 (Orobio) and p. 113 (Rocamora); and Frank Heynick, *Jews and medicine. An epic saga* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 2002), pp. 202–204.

who stayed with the family for fourteen days in November 1683 and prepared several remedies ('diverse medicine').¹¹⁴

In the last decades of his life Pieter's health had gradually deteriorated. He often suffered from painful attacks of urinary gravel ('graveel') that he would try to cure with medicinal powders, 'spiritus' and oils which he obtained from relatives and acquaintances.¹¹⁵ On two occasions, in June 1688 and February 1695, he underwent complex surgeries carried out by the Jewish *chirurgijn* Abraham Cyprianus to remove the stones.¹¹⁶ In his last few years, somebody would help him write the entries in his almanacs, which became progressively sparser. When he came to the notary Michiel Servaas on 26 April 1706 to make a change in his testament regarding the names of his will's executors, he was, according to Servaas, weak in body but in full possession of his mental faculties.¹¹⁷ Pieter died on 3 June 1707, a little over two months before his sixty-ninth birthday and was buried in the family grave in the Oude Kerk. Letters of condolence received by his son Jan upon Pieter's death confirm that he was in poor health at the end of his life.¹¹⁸

5 Relatives of Pieter de Graeff: a Family Portrait

Pieter was born into a family whose members were part of the cultural elite of their era and were amongst the major players on the Dutch political stage. As will become clearer later in this chapter, understanding Pieter's book collection requires investigating his family members and their interests. The focus here will be on a few key figures for whom the available sources allow us to sketch a more comprehensive profile. In the case of Pieter's grandfathers and his father, first-hand information is provided by Pieter himself, as he writes about them in detail in his *Groot Geslacht boeck*. Just as things seen at distance appear smaller and are difficult to discern, Pieter writes when introducing the

114 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 8 November.

115 ACA 76, inv. nr. 200 (1680), 1 April, 16 and 21 December; inv. nr. 201 (1681), 9 August; inv. nr. 207 (1687), 21 February.

116 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 16 June (written after entry dated 20 June) and inv. nr. 215 (1695), February.

117 ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2 (unpaginated): '[...] hoe noch swak van lichaam, nogtans desselfs verstand magtig [...].'

118 For example, to comfort Jan for his loss, Adriana van Hogeveen, widow of Cornelis Bicker van Swieten, speaks of Pieter's death as a way to liberate him from the 'great misery and weakness' ('grote elende en swakheijd') that he was suffering (ACA 76, inv. nr. 246, series nr. 16 (11 June 1707)).

biography of his paternal grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff, so are for him the histories of his ancestors Pieter, Jan and Dirck de Graeff.¹¹⁹ Their lives happened so long ago that it was difficult for him to find out the truth, thus he did not write extensively about them. As for his grandfather, however, he had more to say: he had heard about his grandfather directly from his father, who had experienced events involving Jacob Dircksz in person or had been told about them by his parents.¹²⁰ The details, sometimes anecdotal, regarding his family members discussed below are therefore mainly taken from the *Groot Geslacht boeck* if available; otherwise they have been collected from a combination of other sources. For example, a few letters and the references to him in Pieter's almanacs allow one to sketch a profile of his brother Jacob that supplements what is already known about his interrupted political career. As the inheritor of all of his parents' books, the biography of Cornelis II is also discussed, based mostly on the information collected from Pieter's almanacs, surviving letters and other archival documents.

5.1 *The Generation of His Grandparents*

Pieter's paternal grandfather, Jacob Dircksz de Graeff (1571–1638) (Fig. 2.14), was the son of Agnes van Neck and Dirck Jansz de Graeff (1529–1589), an influential Amsterdam-born merchant and the owner of a large number of ships.¹²¹ The family, like so many other Dutch Reformed families, took refuge in Emden to escape from the harsh repression by the Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, during the Dutch Revolt.¹²² After the death of Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, Alba's successor as governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Dirck

119 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 273.

120 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 273: 'Gelyck de dingen die van seer verre gesien werden, niet alleen seer verkleynen in 't gesicht, maer oock haer soo duyster openbaeren, dat met dickmael twyfelt aen de rechte gestaltenisse der selver, soo gebeurt 't oock dat de saecken die over langen tydt gebeurt syn ons voorkomen uyt sulcken mist van duysternissen dat men beswaerlyck de waerheyd der selver kan uytvinden; dit is de oorsaek dat ick seer weynigh heb komen aenteekenen raekende de memorie van myne voorouders, Pieter, Jan ende Dirck de om dat myn voornemen was niet aenteteekenen als 't geene, waer van myn sekerere kennisse wat toegekomen, maer nu tredende tot de aentekening van 't geene raect myn Grootvader Jacob de Graeff sal[iger] wat klaerder ende bre[der] komen spreken, als syne saeken die myn verhaelt [sijn] van mijn vader selfs, die dese ten deele selfs gesien ende beleeft heeft ende ten deele uyt de eygen [me]mor[ie] van syn Vader ende Moeder saliger selfs heeft hooren v[er]haelen.'

121 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 377. Pieter's notes about the family Van Neck are kept in ACA 76, inv. nr. 180. On Dirck Jansz de Graeff, steel merchant, see *NNBW*, s.v. Graeff, Dirk Janszoon de. Dirck Jansz's father, Jan Pietersz de Graeff, cloth wholesaler, entered the *vroedschap* in 1542 and became *schepen* in 1543 (see *NNBW*, s.v. Graeff, Jan de (1)).

122 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 275 and 375.

Jansz came back to Holland with his children, his wife having died in Emden in 1576.¹²³ He first lived in Hoorn, then returned to Amsterdam after the city joined the Prince of Orange and other cities in the rebellion against the King of Spain with the *Satisfactie* act of 8 February 1578.¹²⁴ He would be elected one of the burgomasters (the first De Graeff to hold this position) in the new city government installed after the *Alteratie*.¹²⁵ The Rijksmuseum keeps the armchair where Willem I of Orange apparently sat when visiting Dirck Jansz in his house 'De Keyser' on the Damrak (one of the family 'memorabilia' that were kept at Ilpenstein).¹²⁶

Jacob Dircksz did not remain long in Amsterdam. After his father married Teeuwe Jans Kat (daughter of burgomaster Jan Claesz Kat), he sent Jacob Dircksz to Leiden for his studies and entrusted him to the tutelage of Rudolphus Snellius, professor of mathematics at Leiden University.¹²⁷ He lived in Snellius's house until the completion of his studies, during which he became proficient in Latin and Greek as well as in all the 'liberal sciences'.¹²⁸ In 1591, he embarked on a journey together with a group of other students and the famous scholar Justus Lipsius, who that year was concluding his 'Leiden period'.¹²⁹ This journey took him to Heidelberg, from where he continued his tour in Germany and later in France, Switzerland and Italy. He then spent three years in Geneva, where he lived at the house of the brother of Johannes Deodatus (Giovanni Diodati), a Calvinist theologian and pastor who would succeed Theodorus Beza as professor of theology.¹³⁰ Upon his return to Amsterdam in 1597, Jacob

123 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 275 and 376. The family archive includes two documents related to the grave of Agnes van Neck in Emden dated 18 October 1576 and 20 August 1578 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 3).

124 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 276.

125 J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578–1795*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), p. 61.

126 This information comes from a copper plaque affixed to the chair which records Pieter's words (translated from Dutch): 'Willem I, Prince of Orange, sat in this chair in 1568 when he stayed with my great-grandfather, burgomaster Dirk Jansz de Graeff, who then lived in a house called De Keijser by the water'. The same text present on the copper plaque appears on a paper sheet kept in the De Graeff family archive (ACA 76, inv. nr. 178). The armchair is catalogued as BK-KOG-1777 (part of the collection of the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap).

127 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 277 and 339.

128 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 277.

129 See J. De Landtsheer and S. Sué (eds.), *Iusti Lipsi epistolae, IV, 1591* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie van België voor wetenschappen en kunsten, 2012), p. 9.

130 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 278. Jacob Dircksz's stay in Geneva mentioned by Pieter in his notes is confirmed by Jacob Dircksz's presence in the matriculation list (on 30 October 1594), see J. De Wal, 'Nederlanders, en personen, die later met Nederland in betrekking stonden,

Dircksz married Aaltje Boelens Loen (1579–1630), member of one of the oldest families in the city.¹³¹ The inheritance from Aaltje's father, Cornelis Andriesz Boelens (a trusted advisor to Willem I and friend to Dirck Jansz de Graeff), significantly enhanced their wealth. Between 1598 and 1617 Aaltje gave birth to twelve children.¹³² Of these, Pieter's father Cornelis, Dirck, Agneta (Jacob's mother), Wendela, Christina and Andries reached adulthood. The couple's deceased children included the twin brothers portrayed in the painting *Twins in Swaddling-Clothes* which is listed amongst the objects in the attic room in Pieter's probate inventory.¹³³

The year after marrying Aaltje, Jacob Dircksz became *schepen* and in 1603 he entered the *vroedschap*.¹³⁴ In these roles, he was directly involved in the complex planning and organisation of Amsterdam's city expansion in the early seventeenth century.¹³⁵ In 1610, he bought the fief of Zuid-Polsbroek from Charles of Arenberg and succeeded him as Lord of Zuid-Polsbroek.¹³⁶ In 1611

studenten te Heidelberg en te Genève, sedert het begin der kerkhervorming', *Jaarboek van de maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde*, 1865, p. 96 (nr. 151). Born into a refugee Protestant family who had emigrated from Lucca, Johannes Deodatus would become famous for his translation of the Bible into Italian; he represented the church of Geneva at the Synod of Dordrecht.

- 131 ACA 76, 227, p. 389 and Ondertrouwregister, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 408, p. 229 (17 September 1597). Pieter transcribed the autobiographical notes made by Aaltje's father in his *Groot Geslacht Boeck* (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 400–409). On the Boelens family, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Oligarchieën in Amsterdam voor de Alteratie van 1578', in M. Jonker, L. Noordegraaf and M. Wagenaar (eds.), *Van stadskern tot stadsgewest. Stedebouwkundige geschiedenis van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1984), pp. 35–62.
- 132 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 213–214.
- 133 Anonymous, 1617, Rijksmuseum (nr. SK-A-981). See ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 435 ('Een schilderije van twee gebakerde kindertjens'). The note of his grandfather Jacob Dircksz that Pieter transcribed in his *Groot Geslacht Boeck* (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 214) confirms the supposition by Yvette Bruijnen that both twins were male (see Y. Bruijnen, 'Anonymous, Twins in Swaddling-Clothes. The children of Jacob de Graeff and Aeltge Boelens, who died in Infancy, c. 1617', in J. Bikker (ed.), *Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century in the Rijksmuseum, online coll. cat.* Amsterdam, 2017 <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-981/catalogus-entry?pdfView=False> (last accessed April 2024). The second to be born died a few hours after birth on 7 April 1617. The firstborn, baptized Jan, died on 30 April 1617.
- 134 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 279.
- 135 See J.E. Abrahamse, 'De grote uitleg van Amsterdam: Stadsontwikkeling in de zeventiende eeuw', PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2010, pp. 46 and 50.
- 136 Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 266. The practice of purchasing fiefs to acquire noble titles was a way for patricians to elevate their status; on this, see Kooijmans, 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering', pp. 99–100 and R. van der Laarse, 'Burgers op het kasteel: Elitedistinctie en representatie onder Hollandse heren buiten de ridderstand in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Virtus*, 29 (2022), pp. 34–64.



FIGURE 2.14 Pieter's paternal grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff, anonymous, ca. 1625–1638 (RKD archive)

he became scholarch of the Latin school and would act as burgomaster several times from 1613 to 1637.¹³⁷ Pieter also mentions other offices held by his grandfather, such as treasurer and commissioner of the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ In 1613, 1628, 1630, 1631, 1633, 1637 (Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 266).

¹³⁸ ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 305.

A few years before his first tenure as burgomaster, the theological dispute over predestination had broken out pitting Jacobus Arminius, then professor of theology at Leiden University, against his colleague Franciscus Gomarus. After Arminius's death in 1609, the minister Johannes Uytenbogaert, Arminius's close friend, had become the leader of the so-called 'Arminians', and in 1610 he presented their five theses to the States of Holland in the 'Remonstrance', which gained the faction the name of Remonstrants. The different views held by the Remonstrants and the Gomarist Contra-remonstrants included conflicting ideas about the control the state exerted over the Dutch Reformed Church. The controversy would evolve into a lacerating political and social battle which further exacerbated the friction between the Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and stadholder Prince Maurice, who took the side of the Contra-remonstrants.¹³⁹ The ensuing religious and political crisis led to the Synod of Dordrecht declaring the Remonstrants heretical, to the execution of Van Oldenbarnevelt and the incarceration of Hugo Grotius in Loevestein castle in 1619. Pieter writes that his grandfather, having absorbed Calvinist doctrine in Geneva, was at first a supporter of the Contra-Remonstrants. However, after he became a member of the *Gecommitteerde Raden* (Committee of the Council of the States of Holland) in The Hague and frequented Uytenbogaert, he felt himself to be more in line with Remonstrant beliefs and supported Van Oldenbarnevelt. For this reason, Jacob Dircksz was amongst the regents removed from their positions in 1618.¹⁴⁰ He would return to occupy the burgomaster's seat in 1628 after the situation changed, Prince Frederick Henry having succeeded his half-brother Prince Maurice in 1625.¹⁴¹

Jacob Dircksz's direct connection to these events is not the only interesting piece of information about him to be retrieved from Pieter's writings: more personal aspects emerge in the *Groot Geslacht boeck*. According to Pieter, his grandfather was broadly interested in theology, politics and history, and his studies in these disciplines were certainly facilitated by his impressive memory.¹⁴² During the time in which the dispute about predestination began, Jacob Dircksz dedicated himself to theological studies in such a way that he

139 For a more detailed account of the events, and to contextualize Arminius and his involvement in the Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam see C. Bangs, *Arminius. A study in the Dutch Reformation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971); for Grotius's involvement, see P. Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese, and free trade in the East Indies* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), pp. 31–38.

140 Pieter's account of these events can be found in ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 280 ff.

141 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 284.

142 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 308.

came to understand the matters at hand 'like few theologians'.¹⁴³ He also loved hunting and kept hunting dogs, was good at shooting, horse-riding, fencing and playing the lute and the *viola da gamba* and had become well-versed in Italian and French during his journeys.¹⁴⁴ When he was tired of his political engagements and studies, he entertained himself at a distillery he had set up behind his house.¹⁴⁵ Besides his interests and studies, Pieter also notes features of his grandfather's personality: a quick-witted and cheerful man, he was generous towards others but was content with little for himself.¹⁴⁶ The death of his wife, however, took its toll: he became quieter and more restrained after this loss. To describe how his grandfather approached death, Pieter draws on Latin poetry and chooses the famous phrase from Horace's *Satires*, 'ut conviva satur': he left life content like a sated diner.¹⁴⁷

His maternal grandfather, Pieter Jansz Hooft (1575–1636), was born in Amsterdam, son of the Mennonite merchant Jan Pietersz and Geertje Jans Lons, daughter of a cheese-maker in Wormer, north-west of Amsterdam (Fig. 2.15, left).¹⁴⁸ His parents ran a business of exporting dairy products 'in de huypot' in Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal (now Spuistraat).¹⁴⁹ As the business was not lucrative, it was only at the end of 1606, when he was already in his early thirties, that Pieter Jansz could enrol at the faculty of philosophy in Leiden; he was there with his cousin, the writer Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, who enrolled in law.¹⁵⁰ They first shared a room in Breestraat, but after a while Pieter Jansz departed in order to travel abroad.¹⁵¹ He travelled in England, France, Italy and Germany, particularly at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, who was also an enthusiast of the sciences and of alchemy in particular.¹⁵² In a marginal note in his *Groot Geslacht boeck* Pieter writes that the familiarity

143 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 307–8: '[...] ten tyde wanneer de dispuuten begonden van de Predestinatie ende gevolge begaf sigh tot de Theologische studie en sonderling over 't geene raecte de swevende differenten twelck hy oock soo wel verstont ende had ingenomen als weynigh Theologanten [...].'

144 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 308 and 278.

145 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 308.

146 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 308–309.

147 Hor. *Sat.* I, 1, 118–119.

148 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 257–258.

149 J. den Tex, 'Oratio Congratulatoria van Pieter Jansz Hooft', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 31 (1961), p. 251.

150 *Ibid.*

151 *Ibid.* and H.S. Haasse and A.-J. Gelderblom, *Het licht der schitterige dagen. Het leven van P.C. Hooft* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1997), p. 64.

152 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 258: 'een groot liefhebber van alle wetenschappen en in sonderheijt der Chijmie.'



FIGURE 2.15 Pieter's maternal grandparents Pieter Jansz Hooft and Gertruid Overlander, anonymous, 1621 (RKD archive)

his grandfather enjoyed at the Emperor's court was also reported by P.C. Hooft 'on folio 558 in his thirteenth book'.¹⁵³ Here again we find one of the numerous references to the historical books that Pieter consulted to verify and compare his family history. In July 1612 Pieter Jansz was in Padua, where he enrolled as a law student at the university.¹⁵⁴ Given his mature age and his knowledge of Latin, he was immediately appointed 'syndicus' (secretary) of the *Natio Germanica Iuristarum*.¹⁵⁵ The *Oratio Congratulatoria* that he delivered on 11 September 1612, in front of the newly appointed Venetian Doge Marcantonio

153 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 258. On p. 182 a note in the margin indicates 'p. 558 or 566'. In the 1703 edition consulted for this research this information is on p. 556: 'ook dien schranderen onderzoeker der naature, Pieter Janszoon Hooft, den vinder van dat vermaarde werktuigh der Eeuwige Beweeghing (voordeezen t'onrecht aan Drebbe van Alkmaar toegeschreeven) die, naa 't bezoeken van veele Landen en Hooven, zeer liefgetal was by Kaizar Rudolf, en eindelyk, in zyn vaderlyke stadt gekeert, het Scheepen- en Vroedschapamp met lof bekleedde [...]' (P.C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche historien* [Amsterdam: H. Wetstein and P. Sceperus, 1703]). This passage is also mentioned in 't Leeven van [...] Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft' (p. 2) written by Gerard Brandt as a foreword to P.C. Hooft, *Vervolgh zyner Nederlandsche historien* (Amsterdam: Henrik and Dirk Boom, 1677).

154 Den Tex, 'Oratio Congratulatoria', p. 251.

155 Den Tex, 'Oratio Congratulatoria', p. 251.

Memmo, appeared in print in 1613. Drawing from Latin authors such as Tacitus, Horace and Sallustius, Pieter Jansz extolled the ‘florentissima ac sapientissima’ (most flourishing and wise) Republic of Venice, ‘ocelle urbium’ (pearl amongst the cities) and expressed his own political vision. Praising the Doge but clearly referring also to Prince Maurice, his words aimed to highlight the importance of a virtuous ruler who is of noble descent and elected amongst the most worthy.¹⁵⁶

Pieter Jansz stayed in Padua no longer than two full semesters, as he obtained his doctorate in Canon and Civil Law in Heidelberg on 15 July 1613.¹⁵⁷ Back in Amsterdam, he married Gertruid Overlander (1577–1653), daughter of merchant Claes Pietersz and Trijn Claes Chijs, in 1614 (Fig. 2.15, right). It is indeed as ‘rechten doctor’ (Doctor of Law) that he is defined in their marriage banns.¹⁵⁸ The couple lived for the first five years of their marriage at the home of Gertruid’s mother (then a widow) at the Warmoestraat, where their only daughter, Catharina, was born.¹⁵⁹ After the family moved to Haarlem for a few years (according to Pieter, to try to avoid Pieter Jansz being involved in the city government), they moved back to Amsterdam and bought a house at the Singel, near the Mennonite Church called ‘The Sun’.¹⁶⁰ Pieter notes that this is the house where he and his brother Jacob would be born, years later.¹⁶¹ It seems that at this point his grandfather could no longer escape public service, as he was elected alderman (*schepen*) in 1630 and councilor in the Amsterdam government in 1631. In 1632, he was also elected curator of the newly established *Athenaeum Illustre* and scholar of the Latin school.¹⁶²

From Pieter’s notes we learn that his grandparents were friends and shared a special interest in alchemy.¹⁶³ The two gathered in a ‘special laboratory’ (‘een

156 *Oratio congratulatoria ad sereniss. principem M. Antonium Memum duces Venetorum in faelicissima Principatus sui auspicia. Nomine Incl. Nat. Germ. studij Patauini. Sub Consiliatu nobilissimi domini Henni de Steinbergh in Bodenburgh. habita a clarissimo, doctissimoque viro domino Petro Hoofft. dictae Incl. Nat. Ger. syndico. Die 11 Sept. An. 1612* (Padua, printed by Lorenzo Pasquati). Two copies are preserved at the Biblioteca Civica in Padua (BP 93.XI11 and BP.669.10); USTC 4040193 records another copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The text has been transcribed, translated into Dutch and commented on by Jan den Tex (Den Tex, ‘Oratio Congratulatoria’).

157 His diploma is kept in the Amsterdam City Archives: ACA 76, inv. nr. 119. See also ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 258.

158 Ondertrouwregister, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 418, p. 107 (6 June 1614).

159 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 258.

160 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 259. The church was located at Singel 118. For an impression of the interior in the seventeenth century, see ACA, 10094 Inventaris van de Collectie Atlas Dreesmann, inv. nr. 10008464: ‘De Kerk der Mennonisten De Son genaemt Interieur van de Doopsgezinde kerk De Zon, Singel 118’ (1693).

161 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 259.

162 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 259; see also Den Tex, ‘Oratio Congratulatoria’, p. 252.

163 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 258; see also Elias, *Vroedschap*, nr. 129, p. 399.

bijzonder laboratorium') which Pieter also calls a distillery house ('distileerhuys') on the Heiligeweg outside the city in order to conduct experiments and to create a device that they called a 'perpetuum mobile'.¹⁶⁴ Surviving correspondence between P.C. Hooft and Constantijn Huygens informs us of a procedure they tried out in an effort to turn iron into gold.¹⁶⁵ Pieter's grandmothers, Gertruid Overlander and Aaltje Boelens, were also friends: they attended the same French school in Haarlem, so their bond had its roots in their childhoods.¹⁶⁶

Through his maternal grandmother, Pieter was related to the merchant and Amsterdam burgomaster Volkert Overlander (1571–1630). Via inheritance from him the De Graeffs came into possession of the estate of Ilpendam and Purmerland and of Ilpenstein, which Volkert had built in 1622. The ties between the two families were close, as Volkert was married to Pieter Jansz Hooft's sister Geertruid. After finishing his studies in Amsterdam, Volkert left with Jacob Dircksz to continue in Leiden, where they both attended university.¹⁶⁷ The two travelled together abroad in Germany and France, and in fact we find Volkert on the *matriculae* list, first of Heidelberg and then of Geneva.¹⁶⁸ He finally obtained his *Licentia* in Law from the University of Basel in 1595.¹⁶⁹ After a rapid political career and the bestowal of the title of knight from the King of England in 1620, he was elected burgomaster in 1628.¹⁷⁰

In 1630, Maria Overlander, one of the daughters of Volkert and Geertruid Hooft, married Frans Banninck Cocq, the burgomaster and captain of the civil guards immortalized in Rembrandt's *Night Watch*.¹⁷¹ The couple inherited

164 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 259–60 and 308.

165 See W. Ploeg, *Constantijn Huygens en de natuurwetenschappen* (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1934), pp. 79–81.

166 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 101.

167 ACA 76, inv. nr. 277, p. 359. Overlander is listed in Willem Nicolaas Du Rieu (ed.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575–1875*, vol. 1 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1875), col. 26, 9 October 1589 (Rector Julius Beima).

168 He is present in the list of *matriculae* on 4 Decembre 1591 (Heidelberg) and 8 November 1594 (Geneva), see De Wal, 'Nederlanders', pp. 78 (316) and 96 (nr. 152).

169 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 360. His diploma in Civil Law is preserved at the Amsterdam City Archives: ACA 76, inv. nr. 110 (dated 25 February 1695). He is listed in H.G. Wackernagel (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, Vol. II (1523/33–1600/01)* (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1956), p. 404, nr. 31, years 1592–1593.

170 The Imperial *bull*a was in Pieter's keeping and was amongst the objects bequeathed to his eldest son Cornelis: 'een Engels Koninklijke dito [i.e. bulla], verleend aan wijlen d' H[ee]r Volkhard Overlander' (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated). On Volkert in the *Groot Geslacht boeck*, see e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 360. For additional details on his life, see Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 274.

171 On Frans Banninck Cocq, his family and the *Night Watch* see D.C. Meijer, 'De Amsterdamse schutters-stukken in en buiten het nieuwe Rijksmuseum II', *Oud Holland*, 2, nr. 4



FIGURE 2.16 Copy of Rembrandt's intact 'Company of Captain Frans Banninck Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch', known as 'The Night Watch', Gerrit Lundens, ca. 1642–ca. 1655 (Rijksmuseum, SK-C-1453)

Ilpenstein and the title of Lord and Lady of Purmerland and Ilpendam from Maria's parents. As their marriage was childless, Maria decided in her testament that Ilpenstein and its contents would be inherited by Pieter's brother Jacob (and by Pieter in case of Jacob's death), granting their mother Catharina Hooft the right to reside at Ilpenstein as long as she lived.¹⁷² With Maria's inheritance, Pieter came into possession of the copy of Rembrandt's *Night Watch* made by Gerrit Lundens which, although smaller in size, displays the full extent of the original painting before a section of it was cut off (Fig. 2.16). Pieter and Jacoba

(1886), pp. 198–221.

172 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nrs. A2 (not. Cornelis Hoogeboom, 20 June 1667) and A3 (not. David Doornick, 14 August 1677), unpaginated and ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 1942, pp. 125–135 (not. David Doornick, 11 January 1675), esp. pp. 125–8. The probate inventory of Maria Overlander's properties can be found in ACA 5075, inv. nr. 1970B, pp. 1382–1393 (not. David Doornick, 15 April 1678). Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, Pieter and Jacob de Graeff are mentioned as executors of her will (p. 1392).

hung it in their dining room ('eetzaal').¹⁷³ In chapter 3 this inheritance will be further discussed to explain the provenance of certain books mentioned by Pieter in his almanacs. In chapter 4, Ilpenstein and the selection of books inventoried there will be analysed more closely.

5.2 *Pieter's Parents: Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hoof*

Cornelis was undoubtedly one of the De Graeff family's most prominent members. He and his brother Andries (1611–1678) served as burgomasters of Amsterdam several times.¹⁷⁴ A trusted advisor of De Witt, he appears in characterizations of his contemporaries as a savvy politician ('even Aristotle could learn politics from him').¹⁷⁵ Information recorded by Pieter about his father in his memoir acquaint us with a few episodes from his youth before he began his *cursus honorum*.¹⁷⁶ Born in the house called 'de Keyershoedt' (Lange Niezel nr. 10), after a bad fall down the stairs at the age of nine (which left him disfigured for life), Cornelis was treated by Jannetje Paulus, an elderly woman who was the widow of the *chirurgijn* Jan Paulus in Utrecht. Jannetje had great knowledge of how to treat and cure several diseases, and for six months she looked after Cornelis, who lived with her during that period.¹⁷⁷ The bond that he and Jannetje created must have been strong as the widow, not having children of her own, wanted to bequeath her goods to Cornelis. Since his father Jacob Dircksz did not allow this, Cornelis at least received from her 'various

173 'Een schilderije van de burgerije', see ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 462. About this painting, see A. Bredius, 'Iets over de copie van Gerrit Lundens naar Rembrandt's "Nachtwacht"', *Oud Holland* 30 (1912), pp. 197–200.

174 The career of their brother Dirck (1601–1637) would be curtailed by his premature death. On Andries de Graeff and the politically charged three-part ceiling painting that he commissioned Gerard de Lairese to create for his house at Herengracht 446, see Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Tatjana van Run, 'Changing heavens: Political messages in Gerard de Lairese's ceiling painting for Andries de Graeff in the year of disaster 1672', in J. Oddens, A. Metlica and G. Moorman (eds.), *Contending representations 1: The Dutch Republic and the lure of monarchy* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2023), pp. 170–196 and Margriet van Eikema Hommes, *De hemel van Gerard de Lairese. Een plafondschildering uit het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2024).

175 Letter by Lieuwe van Aitzema to John Thurloe, Secretary of State to Oliver Cromwell (13 November 1654) cited in R. Fruin (ed.), *Brieven aan Johan de Witt. Eerste deel (1648–1660)* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1919) p. 296.

176 See Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 422. As already mentioned, Pieter's draft of his genealogy book (ACA 76, inv. nr. 227) has also been the main source for the biographical information on Cornelis included in *NNBW*, s.v. Graeff, Cornelis de.

177 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 3.

good medical books' ('verscheijde goede medicijnboecken') which Pieter still possessed ('die ik nogh hebbe in mijn bewaringe').¹⁷⁸

After the treatment, Cornelis started his studies under Matthaeus Sladius, rector of the Amsterdam Latin school, also known as the 'trivial school', and became very proficient in several sciences, in history and classical and oriental languages (amongst them Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syrian and Arabic).¹⁷⁹ In 1626 he travelled with his younger brother Dirck and with Willem Nooms, lord of Aarlanderveen, to France 'to see the country as well as to learn the language' ('soo om 't Lant te sien als tael te leeren').¹⁸⁰ He paid a visit to Hugo Grotius in Paris 'who showed him much friendship'.¹⁸¹ From there Cornelis went south to Orléans and Blois, where he stayed for a time to practice his French, and continued his journey along the Loire until Nantes, then went to La Rochelle and Poitiers, to return finally to Paris. He came back in 1628 to Amsterdam, where he continued his studies with great diligence ('met groote neerstighheijt').¹⁸² One of his favourite pastimes was to accompany his father in hare and partridge hunting with his dog in the Zijpe polder (near Schagen, Noord-Holland) where Jacob Dircksz had a house called 'het Slootje'.¹⁸³ In 1633 he married Geertruyd Overlander (daughter of the burgomaster Volkert and Geertruid Hooft), who died only a few weeks after their wedding.¹⁸⁴ On 14 August 1635 he then married Catharina Hooft, who, as the daughter of Pieter Jansz Hooft and Gertruid Overlander, was in fact his first wife's cousin.¹⁸⁵

178 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 4.

179 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 5. The trivial school was named after the so-called 'trivium' (grammar, dialectics and rhetoric), see W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *Dutch culture in a European perspective. 1650, Hard-won unity*, vol. 1 (Assen/Houndmills: Royal van Gorcum/Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 244. On the importance of knowing these languages for direct access to the Sacred Scriptures, see Dirk van Miert, *Illuster onderwijs. Het Amsterdamse Athenaeum in de gouden eeuw, 1632–1704* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2005), p. 170.

180 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 351.

181 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 6 ('(...) Hugo de Groot, als ambassadeur van zijn conincklijke majesteijt van Sweden, die hem veel vrientschap bewees'). On the concept of 'vriendschap' in the early modern period, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, pp. 215–217 and L. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2016).

182 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 5–6 and 351. The other draft account of Cornelis's life (handwritten by Pieter) includes a different phrasing ('met groote last') on p. 351. While the diploma of his brother Andries, who graduated in Canon and Civil Law at Poitiers in 1634, is still preserved at the Amsterdam City Archives (ACA 76, inv. nr. 53A), there is no trace of Cornelis's diploma.

183 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 6 and 18.

184 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 351–352.

185 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 7.



FIGURE 2.17 The arquebusiers' civic guard company of captain Cornelis de Graeff (on the far-left side, seated) and lieutenant Hendrik Lauwerszn in Amsterdam by the workshop of Jacob Adriaensz Backer (private collection). Small scale copy of the original (Rijksmuseum, SK-C-1174) with children added (presumably Pieter – behind his father – and Jacob de Graeff)

The following year Cornelis became *bewindhebber* of the VOC (his tenure lasting from 16 May 1636 until 10 January 1664, a couple of months before his death).¹⁸⁶ He entered the *vroedschap* in 1639 and became *schepen* in 1640. Between 1638 and 1642 he was captain of the civic guard (Fig. 2.17). In 1643, he would be elected burgomaster for the first of a total of ten times and in 1645 he served in the *Gecommitteerde Raden* for three years until 1 May 1648.¹⁸⁷ His sharp intellect and diplomatic skills made him a valuable member of the Amsterdam city government. The Dutch Republic faced complex challenges both on the international and domestic fronts during this period. Internationally, the Republic had to redefine its position in the wake of the Eighty Years' War, while engaging in new conflicts with France and England. Domestically, a power struggle had emerged between the supporters of the stadholder and

186 He was chosen as a new VOC *bewindhebber* on 16 May 1636 (NA, 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 231, fol. 281) and assigned to the *Rekenkamer* (NA, 1.04.02 (VOC), inv. nr. 231, fol. 285).

187 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 11. He was burgomaster in the years 1643, 1648, 1651, 1652, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1659, 1661, 1662 (Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 422).

the advocates of the *ware vrijheid* ('true freedom'), who perceived the *stadhouderschap* as a form of tyranny and envisioned a political future without it. Together with Johan de Witt, Cornelis was at the forefront of the Republican party in the struggle to keep the House of Orange and the Orangist faction away from power. When the States of Holland decided to leave the office vacant after the death of Willem II in 1650, Cornelis, Johan de Witt and other regents would be entrusted with the education of Prince Willem III, who would become the 'state's child' ('Statenkind').¹⁸⁸ The house on the Herengracht where Cornelis and Catharina lived made no secret of their political preferences. As recorded in the probate inventory drawn up after Catharina's death in 1691, in their front room (*voorkamer*), two print boards ('printebortjes') portraying De Witt and Johan van Oldenbarnevelt hung side by side.¹⁸⁹

Cornelis's poor health, however, often hindered him from participating in political gatherings and diplomatic missions abroad.¹⁹⁰ He suffered from urinary gravel ('graveel') and gout ('podagra').¹⁹¹ For example, as he explains in a letter to Johan de Witt, he refused an offer to become ambassador in Sweden as the 'graveel' made such a trip impossible.¹⁹² In the summer, he was often at his *hofstede* Soestdijk, between Baarn and Soest, which he had built around 1650 on land he had acquired a few years earlier.¹⁹³ In a painting by Jacob van Ruisdael (landscape) and Thomas de Keyser (portraits), we see Cornelis and Catharina in their four-horse coach, followed by their two sons (Pieter on the black horse, and Jacob on the brown one), arriving at their *hofstede* at Soestdijk (Fig. 2.18). The standing figures have been identified as the family members Willem Schrijver, Pieter Trip and Andries de Graeff.¹⁹⁴ As will be discussed later in this chapter, Soestdijk would be sold by Jacob to Prince Willem III and later became (with several enlargements and modifications) the private residence of the Dutch royal family up through 2017.

Between 1648 and 1650, Cornelis was one of the curators of the *Athenaeum Illustre* and scholarch of the Latin School.¹⁹⁵ Due to his influence, writers

188 For a more detailed account, see Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid*, pp. 284–293.

189 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 34, p. 106, drawn up between 24 December 1691 and 18 August 1692. See also Scholten and Hoyle, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters', p. 114.

190 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 20–22, see also *NBW*, s.v. Graeff, Cornelis de (p. 496).

191 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 22–23 and 27.

192 Fruin, *Brieven aan Johan de Witt (1648–1660)*, p. 168.

193 See H. Tromp, *Het huys te Soestdijk* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1987).

194 <https://rkd.nl/images/165117> (last accessed April 2024).

195 Elias, *Vroedschap*, p. 422. See also P.J. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad. Het Athenaeum Illustre en de Universiteit van Amsterdam 1632–1960* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), p. 48.



FIGURE 2.18 Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hooft with their sons arriving at Soestdijk, Jacob van Ruisdael and Thomas de Keyser, ca. 1660, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. The three standing figures on the left were Willem Schrijver, Pieter Trip and Andries de Graeff

often dedicated their books to him in an attempt to establish or nourish a relationship of patronage. Amongst them, most notably, was Joost van den Vondel, who dedicated to Pieter his Dutch translation of the *Aeneid's* Book 11, published in 1655;¹⁹⁶ to Cornelis his translation of the entire corpus of Virgil's works (*Wercken*) in 1660;¹⁹⁷ and to Pieter's brother the following year the *Adonias*, one of his plays.¹⁹⁸ In the book dedicated to Pieter, Vondel draws on examples from classical antiquity to show him the importance of having a poet as teacher and friend and hence to invite him to become his patron: Roman emperors and politicians, Vondel remarks, had always benefitted from the tutoring of poets, who were also instrumental in boosting their reputations and immortalizing them for posterity. In the *Parnasloof*, the ode at the

196 J. van den Vondel, *Ondergang van Troje, Virgilius tweede boeck van Eneas*, in *Nederduitsch gedicht* (Amsterdam: Thomas Fontein, 1655). USTC 1823751.

197 J. van den Vondel, *Publius Virgilius Maroos wercken*. In *Nederduitsch dicht vertaelt door J. v. Vondel* (Amsterdam: Thomas Fontein, 1660). USTC 1845708.

198 On Vondel and his translations of Virgil's work, see S. Reinders and F.R.E. Blom, "Men zou Virgilius zien opgaen in zijn' tolck". De functie van Vergilius in het artistiek ondernemerschap van Joost van den Vondel', *Zeventiende Eeuw*, 27, nr. 2 (2011), pp. 194–213.



FIGURE 2.19 Left) The first page of the *Parnasloof* with the hand-coloured coat of arms of De Graeff. Right) Vondel's handwritten dedication to Cornelis de Graeff (Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, ORM: Vondel 3 G 17)

beginning of the *Wercken*, Vondel writes about his muse, who is now ready to find in Cornelis the maecenas who can appreciate her verses.¹⁹⁹ The copy of the *Wercken* that Vondel presented to Cornelis is now kept at the Amsterdam University Library.²⁰⁰ The book had gilt edges and was bound in red velvet with red and blue ribbons. These colours had been carefully chosen to match the hand-coloured image of the coat of arms of the De Graeff family, which was printed to precede the text of the *Parnasloof* (Fig. 2.19, left).²⁰¹ The copy also

199 See P. Calis, *Vondel. Het verhaal van zijn leven (1587–1679)* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff, 2008).

200 The book was on display during the exhibition on Vondel held in February 1879 by the Amsterdam artists' society *Arti et Amicitiae* (see *Catalogus der Vondel tentoonstelling, gehouden in februari 1879 in Arti et Amicitiae te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam: Gebroeders Binger, nr. 351, p. 35). The browning of the page with Vondel's handwritten dedication and the following one, and some other traces on this page, clearly show that the book remained a long time on display opened on that page. At the time of the exhibition, it was owned by Daniel Adriaan Koenen, son of Dionysia Catharina van Halteren and Hendrik Jacob Koenen (writer and curator of the Athenaeum and the Latin School). See *Catalogus*, p. 35 and J.H.W. Hunger, 'Vondeliana. II. Vondel's handschriften (Slot)', *Oud Holland*, 2 (1884), p. 302.

201 As we learn from one of his almanac entries, Pieter gave Johannes Leupenius, surveyor and draughtsman, his father's printed coat of arms 'as Vondel had printed in front of his

stands out for its size (a quarto on larger and thicker paper than was used for the regular edition). At the end of the *Parnasloof*, moreover, we find Vondel's handwritten dedication dated 4 September ('Herfstmaent') 1600, in which he casts himself as Cornelis's 'honourable, stern, humble servant' ('Uwe Weledele gestrenghe ootmoedige dienaar') (Fig. 2.19, right). Vondel's attempt did not lead to a patronage arrangement by De Graeff, but the writer did receive four *ankers* (about 180 bottles) of his favourite wine bestowed to him in gratitude by Cornelis.²⁰²

The relations of the De Graeffs with artists were equally close as those with poets and writers. According to Arnold Houbraken, the painter Govaert Flinck was so familiar with Cornelis that he often arrived uninvited at the latter's home in the evenings for visits.²⁰³ Artists such as Rembrandt, Gerard Ter Borch and Jan Lievens depicted numerous family members in their paintings.²⁰⁴ As we can gather from Pieter's probate inventory, the house at Herengracht 573 was full of portraits of Pieter's and Jacoba's relatives.²⁰⁵ Pieter was in contact particularly with the artist Romeyn de Hooghe, commissioning from him the sketches for the grisailles in his entrance hall in 1691.²⁰⁶ Not only were painters creating works for the De Graeff family, but goldsmiths were also crafting elaborate pieces. Cornelis commissioned numerous designs and objects from

book of Virgil', ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 24 October. In August of the same year, Pieter had commissioned Leupenius a map of his *hofstede* in Heemstede (ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 6 August and 2 October). The printed coat of arms that Pieter gave to Leupenius may have therefore served as an example to draw a coat of arms on this map.

- 202 Calis, *Vondel*, p. 313. On book patronage in the seventeenth century, see P.J. Verkruijsse, 'Het boekenmecenaat in de zeventiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 137–142.
- 203 Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 2nd ed., vol. II of 3 vols. (The Hague: Swart Boucquet and Gaillard, 1753), p. 22.
- 204 For example, on Andries, see Marjorie E. Wieseman, 'Portrait of Andries de Graeff (1611–1678), Burgomaster of Amsterdam', in Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Lara Yeager-Crassel (eds.), *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2017), <https://theleidencollection.com/artwork/portrait-of-andries-de-graeff/> (accessed April 2024).
- 205 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, pp. 425–493. On their paintings, see Li and Piccoli, 'Placing value'.
- 206 ACA, 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 21 August, 19 and 24 November. See also Pieter's travel journals, where he mentions visiting de Hooghe in Haarlem on 30 July, 12 and 17 November, and 21 December 1691 to talk about the making of these canvases (ACA, 76, inv. nr. 184A, *passim*). A proposed reconstruction hypothesis of Pieter's entrance hall is presented and discussed in C. Piccoli, 'Home-making in 17th century Amsterdam: A 3D reconstruction to investigate visual cues in the entrance hall of Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707)', in G. Landeschi and E. Betts (eds.), *Capturing the senses. Digital methods for sensory archaeologies* (New York: Springer, 2023), pp. 211–236.

the Lutma family, whose classicist baroque style he greatly appreciated.²⁰⁷ In 1652, Johannes Lutma junior dedicated two large etchings of the Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona in Rome to Cornelis, 'as a testimony of respect and of artistic talent'.²⁰⁸ One of the finest expressions of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's exquisite craftsmanship and innovative design, the fountain was created in 1651 for Pope Innocent X to symbolize the pacifying role of the papal influence over the four continents. The dedication of the etchings, one year later, allows us to appreciate how Lutma reimagined the fountain's symbolism: it became a tribute to Cornelis, the burgomaster of Amsterdam, and to the city's global influence.

An example of the De Graeff's patronage being rewarded not only with dedications but also with political support is evident in their relationship with the Blaeu family. Between 1620 and 1670, members of the De Graeff family were important political patrons of the Blaeu family.²⁰⁹ This relationship started with Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and was further solidified under Cornelis. In 1633, Willem Jansz Blaeu was appointed as the mapmaker of the VOC.²¹⁰ With the marriage between Catharina and Cornelis, the Blaeus, already relatives of the Hoofts, also became related to the De Graeffs.²¹¹ This connection provided Joan Blaeu with opportunities to further improve his position in Amsterdam. In 1650, he was appointed as one of the four headmen of the longbow civic guard (*handboogdoelen*) and in 1651 he entered the *vroedschap*.²¹² Joan Blaeu would then support members of the De Graeff family or aligned families, and in

207 See Dirk Jan Biemond, 'Beschermeren van de kunst. Virtuoze edelsmeden en hun klan-tenkring in de Republiek', *De Stavelij* (2023–2024), pp. 31–53.

208 Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1880-A-4106 and RP-P-1880-A-4107, discussed in *id.*, 'Beschermeren van de kunst', pp. 45–46. The dedication reads: 'Nobiliss[imo] consultiss[imo] spectatiss[imo]q[ue] viro, D[omino] D[octo] Cornelio de Graef Domino in Polsbroeck, inclytæ urbis Amstelodamensis Consuli ac Senatori fontem hunc observantiae artisq[ue] testimonium D[onum] D[edit] D[edicavit] Ioannes Lutma junior.

209 Kees Zandvliet, *De wereld van de familie Blaeu* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2023), pp. 41 and 104.

210 Zandvliet, *De wereld*, p. 673 and D. van Netten, *Koopman in kennis. De uitgever Willem Jansz Blaeu in de geleerde wereld (1571–1638)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2014).

211 See Zandvliet, *De wereld*, pp. 114–115.

212 The portrait of the headmen of the longbow civic guard house by Bartholomeus van Helst (1653) depicts him on the right at the table with Frans Bannink Cocq, holding a golden cup, opposite him (<https://rkd.nl/images/164530>). The other two men were Jan van der Poll, at the front, right of Bannink Cocq, and Albert Dircksz Pater, behind the table. At the back, there are the sons of three of the sitters: Harmen van de Poll, Pieter Blaeu and Dirk Pater. A hand-drawn sketch of this painting is present in Frans Bannink Cocq's *Geslacht-Register der Heeren en Vrouwen van Purmerlant en Ipendam*, fol. 341 (Rijksmuseum, nr. SK-C-1102).

1668, he was able to pass on his appointment as alderman (*schepen*) to his son Willem.²¹³ In his volume *Admiranda Urbis Romæ* (Amsterdam, 1663), which focuses on the circuses, theatres, and obelisks of ancient Rome, he dedicated the representation of another monument from the Imperial city to Cornelis de Graeff, namely the reconstruction drawing of the Circus Flaminius.²¹⁴ Blaeu's presence is visible in Pieter's book auction catalogue too: there, we find the *Atlas Maior* in 11 volumes (1662) valued 82 guilders (the second most expensive item in the catalogue), the *Atlas Novus* in 2 volumes (1662), and the *Nouvel Atlas* in 4 volumes.²¹⁵ There is also the *Tweevoudigh onderwijs van de hemelsche en aerdsche globen* in quarto format (Amsterdam, 1634) by Willem Jansz Blaeu.²¹⁶ The relationship between the two families continued into Pieter's time. When Willem Blaeu, Joan's brother, faced significant financial problems, it was Pieter who was asked for a loan.²¹⁷

Cornelis also left his mark on Amsterdam's architectural design, in particular through the construction of the new Town Hall in the Dutch classicist style. The building was meant to supplant the outdated medieval town hall, now in striking contrast to its surroundings, and to manifest materially the new image that the city wanted to project of itself, in the aftermath of the Eighty Years' War.²¹⁸ Exceptional quantities of Carrara marble (the import of which was revived after the Peace of Münster) and an unprecedented profusion of sculptures and bas-reliefs adorned the building. It was designed to serve as a symbol of the new order in the Republic and the leading role of Amsterdam.²¹⁹ Its festive inauguration on 29 July 1655 was held in grand style and included church services, a parade of the six companies of the citizens' militia, a

213 Zandvliet, *De wereld*, p. 129.

214 Zandvliet, *De wereld*, pp. 132–133. The context of this publication is discussed in G. Moorman, 'Discovering Rome through Joan Blaeu's *Admiranda Urbis Romæ*. The creation of the town atlas of Rome (Amsterdam, 1663) in the light of Italian-Dutch relationships in the seventeenth century', MA dissertation, Leiden University, 2014.

215 *Catalogus*, p. 13, nrs. 258, 259 and 261.

216 *Catalogus*, p. 35, nr. 291.

217 In 1686 it was one of Willem's creditors who had tried to convince Pieter to lend him money (ACA, 76, inv. nr. 206 (1686), 19 March, discussed in Zandvliet, *De wereld*, p. 242). In 1694, Willem's brother asked Pieter for a loan of 3000 guilders with interest, offering properties in Hillegom as collateral for that debt. Pieter accepted the request on the condition that Willem's two brothers act as guarantors. Years later, when the debt was still not paid off, he agreed to further postpone the deadline for repayment. The unfolding of this situation is described in greater detail in Zandvliet, *De wereld*, p. 242.

218 P. Vlaardingbroek, 'Bouw- en restauratiegeschiedenis van het Amsterdamse stadhuis/paleis in vogelvlucht (1648–1968)', *Bulletin KNOB*, 112, nr. 2 (2013), pp. 58–67.

219 See P. Vlaardingbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle: Wbooks, 2011).

banquet, and Cornelis's opening speech as the ruling burgomaster and *maître de cérémonie*.²²⁰ Cornelis had been not only one of the project's initiators, he also actively participated in its realisation by choosing artists and decoration themes. For example, it was he who, together with the architect Jacob van Campen, chose Artus Quellinus to make the sculptures for the building.²²¹ Van Campen and Quellinus were also entrusted with the task to turn the baptistery on the west side of the Oude Kerk, which Cornelis had purchased in 1648, into his burial family chapel (the large glass window was commissioned to glass painter Pieter Jansz and executed by his pupil, Jan Pietersz Somer).²²² In addition to this, Quellinus also created the bas-reliefs that represent Cornelis and Catharina, seen in profile, employing an iconography typical of Roman emperors on coins (Fig. 2.20). Considering Cornelis's role in promoting Dutch classicism, it is not surprising to find books such as the Dutch translation of parts of Vincenzo Scamozzi's *L'idea dell'architettura universale*, entitled *Bouwkonstige wercken* (Amsterdam, 1661) dedicated to him.²²³

Cornelis died on 4 May 1664, having suffered from frail health for a significant part of his life. The remedies prepared by alchemist Giuseppe Francesco Borri (1627–1695) in a final attempt to improve his condition were unsuccessful

220 See Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, pp. 429–430 and Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62.

221 F. Scholten, *Artus Quellinus. Beeldhouwer van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2010), p. 15. Prints of the new Town Hall and ground plans hung at Ilpenstein 'in 't portaal voor de camertie', according to the probate inventory of Catharina Hooft ('de prenten van Stathuys van Amsterdam met en plattegronden in ses verdeelingen met swarte lysten', ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 32, fol. 17r). In the room that follows in the inventory ('voorste camertie van d'overloop', on the same folio) we find the design of another project that Cornelis had commissioned in the name of the city, that of the choir screen in the Nieuwe Kerk ('een prente bortie vant voorste van 't choor van de nieuwe kerck 't Amsterdam'). See Biemond, 'Beschermeren', pp. 46–47.

222 See Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, 'Onbekend werk van Pieter Jansz., glasschilder uit Amsterdam', *Oud Holland*, 122, nr. 2/3 (2009), pp. 121–144. On the Oude Kerk and its building history, see H. Janse, *De Oude Kerk te Amsterdam. Bouwgeschiedenis en restauratie* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2004).

223 For the reception of Scamozzi in the Dutch Republic, see Koen Ottenheim, *Schoonheid op maat. Vincenzo Scamozzi en de architectuur van de gouden eeuw* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers, 2010). Several other works were dedicated to Cornelis during his years as burgomaster. For example, Leonard Forster suggests that Cornelis was presumably one of the recipients of the vellum copies of the poem written by Huygens on 10 January 1657 on the occasion of the opening of the new town hall. This poem ('Geluck aende E.E. Heeren Regeerders van Amsterdam, in haer nieuwe Stadthuys') was addressed to the Amsterdam burgomasters, see L. Foster, 'An unique copy on vellum of Constantijn Huygens's poem on the new town hall of Amsterdam, 1657', *Het Boek*, 3, nr. 36 (1963–1964), pp. 216–221.



FIGURE 2.20 Pendant portraits of Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hooft made by Artus Quellinus in 1660 (Rijksmuseum, BK-KOG-1458-A and -B)

(and rather too strong, judging from Cornelis's words to Borri reported by Pieter: 'You are not treating me like a human being but like a horse').²²⁴ Pieter's inclusion of a particular episode in the *Groot Geslacht boeck* reveals much about Cornelis's views on religion and ecclesiastical authority. When asked if he wished to summon a pastor, Cornelis replied that he saw no need for it, having already reflected on all that was necessary and found himself at peace. However, when asked again after some time, he consented in order to avoid people saying that burgomaster De Graeff had passed away without a priest's presence. Consequently, Lucas Vinkius was summoned to perform the final rites.²²⁵

In the case of Catharina Hooft, we lack a more personal account of her life and interests, as Pieter's *Groot Geslacht boeck* primarily focused on his male relatives. Her earliest known depiction is a portrait of her as a child with her nanny, made by Frans Hals around 1620, which hung in Pieter and Jacoba's *groene kamer*, adjacent to the library on the opposite side of the *grote kamer*.²²⁶ When she married Cornelis, who was nineteen years her senior, she was sixteen years old. Pendant portraits of the couple were made in the year of their marriage and in subsequent years. These depicted them as a patriarch and matriarch in 1652 (Fig. 2.1) and as a Roman emperor and empress in

224 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 29.

225 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 29–30.

226 <https://rkd.nl/images/144386> (last accessed April 2024). ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, notary Michiel Servaes (nr. 199), 8 March 1709, p. 489.

Quellinus's bas-reliefs in 1660 (Fig. 2.20).²²⁷ This iconography vividly depicted and emphasized their high social standing and influence. After the death of Maria Overlander (Frans Banninck Cocq's widow), Catharina became Lady of Purmerland and IJpendam. Through the surviving correspondence and references to her in Pieter's almanacs, we can piece together a portrait of her strong-willed personality and the responsibilities she shouldered as the head of the household following her husband's death, whom she outlived by thirty years.

The characterisation that has been consigned to posterity of her is that of an 'unreasonable, grouchy, and complaining old woman', a description her son Jacob penned in a letter to Johan de Witt in July 1669.²²⁸ These words were born out of Jacob's frustration and disappointment, stemming from his mother's staunch opposition to his potential engagement with Anna Christina Pauw, the beautiful heiress of a wealthy and influential family of regents and merchants in The Hague.²²⁹ Catharina's reasons for her opposition were rooted in an age-old antagonism between the two families.²³⁰ Firm in her convictions and threatening to disinherit Jacob, she asked the intervention of De Witt.²³¹ Pieter, finding himself in the midst of this dispute that had caused a significant rift between his mother and brother, also sought De Witt's assistance in an attempt to steer Jacob away from his 'bekende Amours' ('well know love affair').²³² Ultimately, Jacob's courtship proved to be unsuccessful. After some time, mother and son reconciled and were on good terms again. In a letter to

227 <https://rkd.nl/images/196640> (Govert Flinck, 1635); <https://rkd.nl/images/127399> (Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy, 1635), last accessed April 2024. For the interpretation of the Isaac and Rebecca iconography, which comes back in one of the commemorative medals gifted to Pieter on the occasion of his marriage, see Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver', pp. 139–141.

228 Letter by Jacob de Graeff to Johan de Witt, 9 July 1669 '(...) het is een andere saeck te sijn bij een wijse, weetende en vrolijcke Raedtpensionaris van Hollandt, als bij een onverstandige, knorrighe en morrige oude vrouwe, het welck mij dagelijcks Godt beeter.' (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2533, nr. 9).

229 A more detailed unfolding of the events is presented in C.A. van Sypesteyn, *Haagsche stemmen*, 52 (The Hague: W.P. van Stockum en Zoon, 1889), pp. 669–681; see also H. Krol, 'Anna Christina Pauw (1649–1719) als gewilde huwelijkspartner', *Librarians. Een weblog gewijd aan bibliotheken, boeken en verzamelen alsmede aan historisch Heemstede en Zuid-Kennemerland* (blog), 6 January 2012, <https://librarians.wordpress.com/2012/01/06/anna-christina-pauw-1649-1719-als-gewilde-huweljkspartner/> (accessed April 2024).

230 See C.A. van Sypesteyn, *Haagsche stemmen*, 52 (24 August 1889), p. 670 and Mary S. Sprunger, 'Iemand burgemeester maken. Doopsgezinden en regenten geslachten in de Gouden Eeuw te Amsterdam', *Doopsgezind Bijdragen*, 32 (2006), pp. 75–121 (esp. 83–98).

231 Letter to De Witt dated 23 April 1669 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2610, nr. 13).

232 See e.g. letter to De Witt dated 4 June 1669 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 63).

De Witt, Pieter reported that his brother and mother had spent three weeks together at Soestdijk, and that ‘the past storm was completely over’.²³³

Another letter from Pieter to De Witt not only showcases Catharina’s strong will but also provides evidence of how she wielded her political influence. In this letter, Pieter conveyed to the Grand Pensionary that his mother recommended to him that Jacob Boreel be considered for a vacant position.²³⁴ Apologetically, Pieter added a marginal note to his letter, explaining that he mentioned this recommendation only because his mother insisted.²³⁵ Interestingly, in a few occasions, Pieter noted some of his mother’s activities in his almanacs, remarking that he had not been informed about them. For instance, he only found out late about the sale of Maria Overlander’s belongings which Catharina had attended, and heard from Pieter Abels, who was called as a witness, that she had made her testament by notary Meyer.²³⁶ Certainly not lacking in initiative, it was she who – at the age of sixty-one – travelled to Paris to bring her granddaughter Agneta home after her stay with the Boreel family, where she served as a companion to Mrs. Boreel.²³⁷ Via one of Pieter’s almanac entries we happen to know of a special gift she gave to Agneta: a golden bell with a chain.²³⁸

5.3 *Pieter’s Brother, Jacob de Graeff (1642–1690)*

Pieter had a close relationship with his brother, as is evident from the numerous references to Jacob in his almanacs and from the letters they exchanged. The episode of his early life consigned to posterity is the ceremony held on 28 October 1648, when the six-year-old Jacob laid the foundation stone for the new Amsterdam town hall, for which, as mentioned above, his father the burgomaster De Graeff had been a keen initiator. The engraved silver trowel made by Johannes Lutma commemorating the event and the leather apron worn

233 Letter to De Witt dated 13 August 1669 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 73). On Jacob’s courtship of Anna Christina Pauw see also L. Kooijmans, ‘Geen genegenheid voor Pauwen. Catharina Hooft aan Johan de Witt: 22 april 1669’, in I. Huysman and R. Peeters (eds.), *Vrouwen rondom Johan de Witt* (Soest: Catullus, 2024), pp. 229–235.

234 NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2534, nr. 9 (19 January 1663): ‘myn moeder heeft myn belast U Ed[ele] op hoogst te recommanderen de persoon van myn H[ee]r Boreel tot ‘t bewuste vacerende ampt, vertrouwende U Ed[ele] daartoe seer veel soude kunnen contribueren, en de haer op hoogst sou aengenaem syn en ‘t de vacerende plaets met eer en reputatie sou bekleden.’

235 NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2534, nr. 9 (19 January 1663): ‘Nota U Ed[ele] moet myn recommandatie niet qualyck afnemen alsoo ‘t selve myn moeder heb moeten voorleesen en doch op ‘t serieust begeert heeft.’

236 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 21 March and inv. nr. 198 (1678), 16 May.

237 Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, p. 181.

238 ACA, 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 19 May. A golden child’s bell with gold chain perhaps corresponding to her grandmother’s gift is listed in Agneta’s probate inventory (‘een goude kinderbel met goude ketting’, ACA 76, inv. nr. 611 Portfeuille 4, ‘De Vrouwe van Zuijdt Polsbroek’, unpaginated).



FIGURE 2.21 The eighteen-year-old Jacob de Graeff depicted in the procession of riders welcoming Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange, and her son Willem III at the Haarlemmerpoort in Amsterdam on 15 July 1660 (ACA, inv. nr. 10094 Inventaris van de Collectie Atlas Dree)

by Jacob in that occasion are preserved at the Rijksmuseum, in the collection of the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap.²³⁹ On 15 July 1660, Jacob appears as a junior officer (cornet) in the procession of horsemen welcoming Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange, and her son Willem III at the Haarlemmerpoort in Amsterdam (Fig. 2.21). This is the episode that Vondel refers to in his dedication to Jacob of his tragedy *Adonias* (Amsterdam, 1661), in which Vondel designates Jacob as a worthy successor to the latter's namesake, his grandfather Jacob Dircksz.²⁴⁰ As the poet recalls in the dedication, Vondel and Jacob's

239 Object nr. BK-KOG-1494 (trowel) and NG-KOG-1494-1 (apron). I thank Kees Zandvliet for alerting me to the existence of the apron and Yuri van der Linden for his help in retrieving it.

240 J. van den Vondel, *Adonias* (Amsterdam, 1661), fol. A3v: 'Uwe edelmoedigheid blijktt alreede, gelijk in een voorspel, in het ridderlijk oefenen van brave paerden, om onder onze jonge ridderschap de kornet te voeren, en princen en princessen t'onthaelen.'

grandfather had met each other: Jacob Dircksz had given him the honour of attending the opening on 3 January 1638 of Jacob van Campen's newly built theatre, the Schouwburg, on Keizersgracht, at which Vondel's tragedy *Gijsbreght van Aemstel* was first performed.²⁴¹

As far as his education, in 1657 Jacob received private lessons from Johann Amos Comenius, the exiled Czech philosopher and pedagogue who became famous for his novel didactic method based on the principle of learning through play.²⁴² In 1662, Jacob appears in the Harderwijk *Album studiosorum* as 'Jacobus de Graeff, Amstelo Batavus. Jur. Candidatus'.²⁴³ His diploma kept at the Amsterdam City Archives confirms that he became *Juris Utriusque Doctor* at the *Academie* in Harderwijk in the same year.²⁴⁴ He then held a series of administrative positions such as commissioner of maritime affairs and regent of the city orphanage in 1667, captain of the civic guard in 1671, and alderman (*schepen*) in 1672.²⁴⁵ As with his brother, the *Rampjaar* marked the end of his career. It must have been in hopes of securing Prince Willem III's goodwill that Jacob sold him the *hofstede* in Soestdijk in June 1673 for the small amount of *fl.* 18,755.²⁴⁶ For the same reason, he voluntarily joined the army of the later stadholder against the French from July 1673 to September 1674.²⁴⁷ As we can gather from correspondence with his brother, this is the period when they commissioned Gerard Ter Borch to paint a portrait of him in two copies (Fig. 2.22).²⁴⁸ In this portrait, Jacob wears the black raincoat that Pieter had gifted to him in September 1673.²⁴⁹

241 Vondel, *Adonias*, fol. A4r.

242 During his stay in Amsterdam in 1657, Comenius had been the private tutor of some of the burgomasters' sons (see note 8). On him, see also: Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, pp. 28–29 and 289–290.

243 Gelders Archief, 13 Academie te Harderwijk, 137 *Album Studiosorum*, 1648–1812. fol. 46 (5 May 1662).

244 ACA 76, inv. nr. 228.

245 *NNBW*, s.v. Graeff, Jacob de, and Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam*, p. 477.

246 See R. Fruin, 'Brieven van Jacob de Graeff, uit het leger van Prins Willem III in 1673 en '74 geschreven aan zijn broeder Pieter de Graeff, Oud-Schepen van Amsterdam', in A. Nijhoff and N. Japikse (eds.), *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, third series, second part (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1885), p. 360. Pieter noted the sale in his almanacs: ACA 76, inv. nr. 194 (1674), 14 June.

247 See Fruin, 'Brieven'.

248 Their correspondence is published in Fruin, 'Brieven'. On the two copies of Jacob's portraits (one at the Rijksmuseum, reproduced in figure 2.21, the other at the Saint Louis Art Museum), see G. Korevaar and G. Tauber, 'Gerard Ter Borch repeats. On autograph portrait copies in the work of Ter Borch (1617–1681)', *Bulletin of the Rijksmuseum*, 4 (2014), pp. 348–381, and Dudok van Heel, 'In Presentie', p. 67.

249 ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 16 September: '16 myn broeder Jacob de Graeff met een van syn knechts in 't Leger voor Naerden toegesonden en[de] v[er]eert een Engelse swarte gewaste regenrock'.



FIGURE 2.22 Portrait of Jacob de Graeff painted by Gerard Ter Borch in 1673 dressed in the black raincoat that his brother had gifted to him (Rijksmuseum, SK-A-3963)

In October 1666 Jacob had married the well-to-do seventeen-year-old orphan and only child Maria van der Does, who died only three months after the wedding. According to Bontemantel, it was rumoured that Jacob, as Maria's illness worsened, had foreclosed the opportunity to inherit all her properties by convincing her to rewrite her testament in his favour: for about three months of marriage – Bontemantel remarks – he inherited four tons of gold.²⁵⁰ The couple had before signed a prenuptial agreement stating that in case of death all the goods that bridegroom and bride brought into the marriage would have to return to the 'party' they came from.²⁵¹ It is not clear whether, or to what extent, this agreement was upheld after Maria's death. Jacob remained in contact with the Van der Does family in the Hague (especially with Maria's cousin Jacob Willemsz van der Does, municipal treasurer of The Hague and a poet whom he often visited at the latter's house on Vijverberg).²⁵² He also appeared to have helped another of her cousins, Jacob Jacobsz van der Does (son of the animal painter Jacob Simonsz van der Does) by sending him to serve as apprentice to Karel du Jardin after his father died.²⁵³ By contrast, relations with Maria's relatives in Amsterdam seem to have been more tense. Soon after Jacob's death, Pieter received visits from three Van der Does brothers with regard to the content of Jacob's testaments and his will.²⁵⁴ A few days later, Pieter wrote that he had again been rudely addressed by Anthony van der Does while he was walking on Reguliersbreestraat, not far from his home.²⁵⁵ The matter remained unresolved in the years that followed and it was still not forgotten fifteen years later, as we learn from a letter that Simon van der Does sent Pieter in November 1705, which confirms Bontemantel's account.²⁵⁶ While notifying him about his right to use a grave in the Nieuwe Kerk as had

250 Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam*, p. 477: 'wierde verhaelt, dat Jacob Graef, commissares, getrouwt met Symen Verdoessoons dochter, dat een eenich kint was, doen (zij) begost sieck te werden, haer (bij) testament afparste hondert duysent guldens, doen siecker wiert, hondert en vijffich duysent guldens, en doen heel sieck was, al haer goet, soodat, sij stervende, en (toen zij) omtrent dry maenden waeren getrouwt geweest, (hij) erfde omtrent vier tonnen gouts.'

251 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605A, series nr. A 42 (not. Cornelis Hoogeboom, 18 October 1666).

252 Pieter often addressed letters to his brother at the house of Van der Does in The Hague (see e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 194 (1974), 7 February). See also J. Bikker, "'Sir Joan Reynst, his good acquaintance, neighbour, and landlord". Truth and fantasy in Houbraken's life of Karel Du Jardin', *Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009), p. 96.

253 See Bikker, "Sir Joan Reynst", pp. 95–96.

254 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690) 17 May and 1 June.

255 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690) 7 June: 'op woensdagh 7 junij ben ick op de Reguliers breestraet weder inpertinent bejegent v[a]n Anthony van der Does'.

256 ACA 76, inv. nr. 171.

been agreed with Jacob, Van der Does reminds Pieter of his brother's marriage, by which he had come into possession of several tons of gold through repeated testaments that were the subject of many rumours at that time.²⁵⁷

The inventory of the properties of the late Willem van der Does – which his daughter Maria brought into her marriage with Jacob – provides another piece of information about the origin of some of the books that possibly came into Pieter's collection.²⁵⁸ Willem van der Does, a jurist, apparently had a sizable library which was valued at 5,000 guilders.²⁵⁹ The library must have been in the house at the Kloveniersburgwal in front of the Oudemannenhuis where Willem used to live, a residence inherited first by Maria and subsequently by Jacob.²⁶⁰ The only inventory that remains for this house is the inventory of Agneta, Pieter and Jacoba's daughter, who moved in after her husband died and lived there until her own death in 1725.²⁶¹ In Agneta's inventory no room is explicitly referenced as a library. Agneta appears to have owned only a few books of her own: in her inventory there are a couple of bibles and psalm books, and a few unspecified printed books in the *comptoir*.²⁶² Her testament informs us that she also owned medicine books that she bequeathed (together with her personal pharmacy) to her friends Adriana and Sara Maria van den Bosch.²⁶³ Given her ownership of so few books, the absence of a *boeken kamer*

257 On 24 March 1697, Pieter noted that he had received the declaration of Simon and Willem van der Does regarding the false bond of f36,000 maliciously presented by their brother Anthony (ACA 76, inv. nr. 217). ACA 76, inv. nr. 171: '[...] waer van soo veele tonnengoudtsen machtigh is geworden, door de soo menighvuldige testamenten, daer in dien tijt soo veel gezeghs van was.'

258 ACA 76, Portefeuille 1, inv. nr. 604, series nr. KK.

259 ACA 76, Portefeuille 1, inv. nr. 604, series nr. KK, p. 24. I thank Bart Reuvekamp for having brought this to my attention. On Willem van der Does, see Elias, *Vroedschap*, vol. 1, p. 325.

260 This is the address of Maria and her father in the burial register (ACA, DTB Begraven, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 1047, p. 145 and inv. nr. 1055, p. 170, respectively). ACA 76, inv. nr. 605A, series nr. A 45 (Cop. Auth. Testament van Jacob de Graeff), not. Nicolaas Brouwer, 4 February 1684.

261 ACA 76, inv. nr. 611 Portfeuille 4, 'De Vrouwe van Zuijdt Polsbroek', unpaginated. In 1703, Agneta bought the house located at Korte Vijverberg 3 in The Hague from Joan Pauw, and she lived there with her husband Jan Baptista de Hohepied, who died in 1711 (Pieter often addressed letters to her there). A few years after her husband's death, Agneta sold the house to Johan van Schuylenburgh and returned to live in Amsterdam at the house in Kloveniersburgwal.

262 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, Serie A 95 (Specificatie van de juwelen en verdere meubelen door Agneta de Graeff bij de heer Hohepied ten huwelijk aengebragt in dato 8 december 1703).

263 The 'apothecq' corresponds most likely to 'een geschildert Casje waar in medicijnen' listed in her inventory (ACA 76, inv. nr. 611 Portfeuille 4, 'De Vrouwe van Zuijdt Polsbroek', unpaginated).

in this inventory is not surprising. There are, however, a few rooms not labelled as having a specific function that were possibly used as a library by the preceding owners, as well as rooms where Willem could have kept his books which then Agneta used for another purpose. Several passages from Pieter's almanacs discussed in chapter 3 will help suggest a hypothesis about the whereabouts of Willem's books.

After this short-lived marriage with Maria van der Does and setting aside the unsuccessful pursuit of Anna Christina Pauw, Jacob remained unmarried. As 'a widower still little advanced in his career' (in Pieter's words), it is plausible that he found it challenging to maintain his status as an eligible bachelor.²⁶⁴ The house he had inherited from Maria at the Kloveniersburgwal remained in his possession, but he was often away from Amsterdam.²⁶⁵ When Pieter records that he sent a letter to his brother, Jacob is most frequently to be found in The Hague and occasionally in his *hofstede* in Velsen (another property inherited from Maria van der Does) and at Ilpenstein.²⁶⁶ Some of his journeys abroad (presumably business trips), can be retraced based on surviving letters or from the references to them in his brother's almanacs. For example, he was in Italy between August and December 1671, in London in June 1680, in Hamburg in June 1681, and in France and Italy together with Pieter's son, Cornelis, in the years 1686–88.²⁶⁷ This long journey took them to the Italian cities deemed unmissable during a Grand Tour (most notably Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples) (Fig. 2.23).²⁶⁸

264 Letter by Pieter de Graeff to De Witt dated 4 June 1669 (NA, 3.01.17, inv. nr. 2535, nr. 63).

265 Kloveniersburgwal is the address that appears in the letter for him sent by Jacob van der Does on 26 November 1667 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 232). This house is listed in the inventory of Jacob's properties drawn up after his death (ACA 76, 604 O.O., dated 18 and 24 March 1691). The 1674 tax register lists Jacob after Gerard (Gerrit) and Abraham Reynst and before Joan (ACA 5028, inv. nr. 662 [Kohier van de 200ste penning], 1674, fol. 546v). Based on this evidence and on the fact that Pieter occasionally gave letters for his brothers to Joan and Abraham Reynst, Bikker suggested that Jacob lived in the same house as the Reynst brothers Gerard and Abraham (Herengracht 498) in that period (Bikker, 'Sir Joan Reynst', p. 95).

266 The first time he is mentioned there in Pieter's almanacs is on 24 March 1678 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 198). Then again on 15 August 1681 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 201), 29 February 1684 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 204), 31 July 1685 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 205), and 8 December 1688 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 208). It goes without saying that it is only possible to locate his whereabouts for the times when Pieter sent him a letter; there might have been additional periods that he spent at Ilpenstein.

267 Italy: ACA 76, inv. nr. 191 (1671), 28 August; London: ACA 76, inv. nr. 200 (1680), 4 June; Hamburg: ACA 76, inv. nr. 201 (1681), 20 June.

268 From what we can retrace of this journey from Pieter's almanacs, Jacob was already in France when Cornelis left with his servant in September 1685 to meet him in Paris. The two travelled together to Montpellier, where they stayed from December to March of the following year, then went to Marseille (March) and reached Turin in April 1686. In June

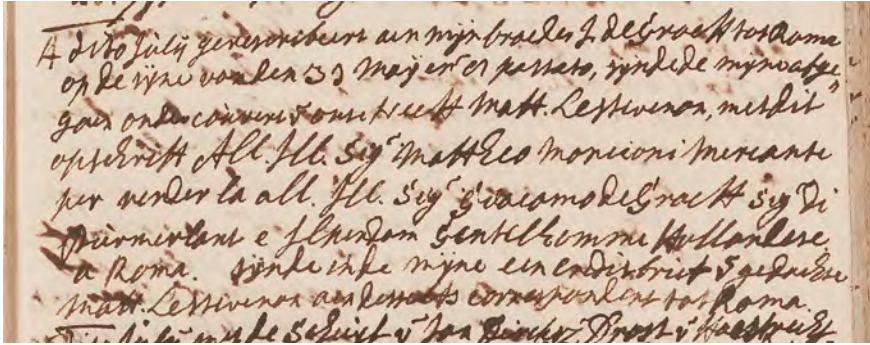


FIGURE 2.23 Pieter's note recording the address where he sent a letter to his brother in Rome: "All['] Ill[ustre] Sig[no]r Mattheo Moncioni Mercante per renderla all['] Ill[ustre] Sig[no]r Giacomo de Graeff Sig[no]re di Purmerlant e Ilpendam Gentilhomme Hollandese a Roma. Sende inke mijne een eendebrief 5 gedruide Matth. Leffewerck aen konincs correspondens tot Roma. Sende inke Schiedt v[an] den Burcher Broet v[an] Heerkeuyl"

Jacob died on 21 April 1690. As Pieter noted in the register of births and deaths in his family, he had suffered from a five-month "uytterende sieckte" (tuberculosis) and had been confined to bed for the last five weeks of his life.²⁶⁹ Through an entry in Pieter's almanac, we learn that Jacob was financing the studies of Jacobus Buschoff in Utrecht at that time. After Jacob's passing, Jacobus inquired with Pieter about the future of his scholarship.²⁷⁰

5.4 Cornelis de Graeff II (1671–1719)

Pieter and Jacoba's eldest son, Cornelis, deserves special attention in this chapter. In fact, it was he who inherited all his parents' books.²⁷¹ Cornelis was born in the early morning of 23 August 1671, and right away Pieter wrote several family members and acquaintances to inform them of the news (Fig. 2.24). That same day, Pieter also wrote to Johan de Witt with word of his son's birth and

of the same year, they appear to be in Venice, where they stayed until September. It was therefore from Venice that Pieter received Jacob's luggage with unspecified contents (ACA 76, inv. nr. (1686), 24 August). After that, Jacob went to Milan and Turin, and then met Cornelis again in Venice in November. Pieter addresses letters to his brother in Venice until April 1687 (and again once in May), in Florence in May, in Rome in June, and in Naples in July, then again in Rome, where his brother stayed until September. Together with Cornelis, he then went to Naples, and stayed there for several months (at least until February 1688). In March 1688, the two were again in Rome, then in Livorno in May, and finally they were back in Amsterdam on 28 July 1688.

269 ACA 76, inv. nr. 179 and DTB Begraven 5001, nr. 1048, fol. 7r.

270 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 28 May and 1 June.

271 See section 'Bound by books: Books through the generations'.



FIGURE 2.24 The entry in Pieter's almanacs where he noted down the birth of his son Cornelis and the people to whom he sent the news (ACA 76, inv. nr. 191 (1671), 23 August)

asked him to be present at the infant's baptism.²⁷² In the evening, he wrote De Witt again to update him about Jacoba's condition.²⁷³ To reconstruct Cornelis's childhood, we are left with the few notes that his father wrote in his almanacs. From this source, we know that on 8 December 1678, the French teacher Pielat was hired to give lessons to Cornelis, his sister Cornelia and their cousin Maria de Witt.²⁷⁴ The following year, on 17 April, Cornelis and Cornelia went to school 'op de leyde straet' for the first time.²⁷⁵ A few years later, in 1682, Pieter's cousin Johan de Leeuw bought a canonical prebend for him. From that time on Cornelis was Canon of St. Pieter in Utrecht.²⁷⁶

272 De Witt in fact was one of Cornelis's godparents, and as he could not be present his substitute was Jean Deutz (see note 33).

273 ACA 76, inv. nr. 191 (1671), 23 August.

274 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 8 December. Pielat should be identified with Barthelémy Pielat (ca. 1640–1681) from Orange, who had studied in Franeker in 1673 and settled in Amsterdam in 1674, see P. Loonen, 'The influence of the Huguenots on the teaching of French in the Dutch Republic during the 17th Century', in Jan De Clercq, Nico Lioce and Pierre Swiggers (eds.), *Grammaire et enseignement du Français, 1500–1700* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), pp. 317–333.

275 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 17 April.

276 See ACA 76, inv. nr. 202 (1682), 26 June; see also ACA 76, inv. nr. 202 (1682), 1 August and ACA 76, inv. nr. 224 (1705), 31 August, for references indicating Cornelis going to Utrecht, and ACA 76, inv. nr. 143 for the letters by Johan de Leeuw on this matter. In line with the common usage of the term during that period, Pieter uses 'neef' in his almanacs to refer

A couple of years later Cornelis set off on his journey with his uncle in France and Italy.²⁷⁷ His father was particularly concerned about his education during this time abroad. In a letter dated 24 September 1685, Jacob promised Pieter to look after Cornelis as if the youth were his own son and to take care that Cornelis continued his studies and spent his time in a meaningful way.²⁷⁸ Pieter took further precautions to make sure that his son's education could continue without any interruptions. He had Johan Jacob Ferguson follow Cornelis in his journey to be his teacher of Latin and especially arithmetic ('wat instructie wil geven in Latynse Tael doch speciael in de Cyfer konst').²⁷⁹ Ferguson, a mathematician, had been responsible for the education of Johan de Witt's children, and a few years later he would serve as the private teacher of Cornelis's brother Jan.²⁸⁰ One copy of his most famous work, *Labyrinthus algebrae* (The Hague, 1667), is present in the book catalogue.²⁸¹ Before he departed, Ferguson's service was rewarded with a silver medal commemorating the Peace of Münster, and other medals awaited him upon his return.²⁸² After all the preparations were completed, on 29 September 1685, Cornelis left for France with his servant Pieter van Sonsvelt. Jacoba accompanied him until reaching their house at Heemstede.²⁸³

During his stay in Italy, contact between Cornelis and his parents was frequent. Pieter would send over things that Cornelis needed: on one occasion a blond wig, on another Jacob van der Schuere's book *Arithmetica*, which Cornelis needed for his studies (Fig. 2.25).²⁸⁴ Cornelis's Italian sojourn was particularly concerning for his father. On 28 March he noted in his almanac that

to a member of his extended family (see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, p. 217). I have translated these occurrences with 'cousin' even though I was not always able to trace the exact family relation.

277 See note 268.

278 ACA 76, inv. nr. 147: 'wat aengaet U Edele lieve soon Cornelis de Graeff daer verhoope ick soodanigh voor te sorgen als een vader voor sijn kindt behoort te doen en aengande syne studien en exercitien so meede doen dat op onse wederomkomptte mogen blijcken sijne tijdt niet onnuttelijck te hebben doorgebracht [...]':

279 ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 25 September.

280 See H.H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 502. See also Ferguson's correspondence with Leibniz published in Jan A. van Maanen, 'Korrespondenten von G.W. Leibniz: 11. Johan Ferguson Geb. um 1630 in Haag(?), gest. vor dem 24. November 1706, vermutlich am 6. Oktober 1691 in Amsterdam', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 22, nr. 2 (1990), pp. 203-216. Regarding Ferguson being Jan's private teacher, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 14 and 20 July and chapter 3.

281 *Catalogus Librorum [...] Petri De Graeff*, p. 35, nr. 290* (The Hague, 1667; USTC 1804131).

282 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 13 October.

283 ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685) 29 September.

284 ACA 76, inv. nr. 206 (1686), 16 June and 21 November, respectively. The book is present in Pieter's auction catalogue: *Catalogus*, p. 55, nr. 340 (s. l., s. a.).

After having been away for almost two years, Jacob and Cornelis came back to Amsterdam at the end of July 1688.²⁸⁸ In the meantime, the situation at home had changed dramatically since Cornelis's eighteen-year-old sister Cornelia had died in February.²⁸⁹ Cornelis would remain in Amsterdam only a few months. On 13 October 1688 he received his luggage from Italy, and a couple of days later he left for Franeker to start his studies at the Frisian university.²⁹⁰ Like his father and other family members, Cornelis enrolled as a student of law.²⁹¹ Franeker, a small town with an attractive university founded in 1585, provided a quiet place free from the distractions of student life found in bigger cities.²⁹² In one of his almanac entries, Pieter mentions that he sent a letter, a 'Jaerskoek' (a traditional round celebratory cake) and some other groceries for his son to 'professor van der Waeyen'.²⁹³ This was Johannes van der Waeijen, professor first of Hebrew and then of theology at the University of Franeker.²⁹⁴ In February 1689, another letter to Cornelis is this time addressed to Mr. Strick, a local bookseller.²⁹⁵ In early July 1689, Cornelis came back home for the summer recess, after which he began his studies in Leiden.²⁹⁶ The *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* records him as a student of the faculty of philosophy and liberal arts.²⁹⁷

As when Cornelis was in Italy, Pieter provides his son with the material he needed for his studies in this period as well. On 2 December Pieter sent the 'dictata van professor de Volder over Carthesius' that one Mr. Ooster had brought to his house a few days before.²⁹⁸ Burchard de Volder (1643–1709) was professor of philosophy at Leiden and was famous for his positive approach

288 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 28 July. She was buried in the family grave in the Oude Kerk (ACA 76, inv. nr. 179).

289 ACA 76, inv. nr. 179 (22 February 1688).

290 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 13 October and ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 15 October, respectively.

291 S.J. Fockema Andreae and Th.J. Meijer (eds.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844), I. Naamlijst der studenten* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1968), nr. 8666: 'Cornelius de Graeff, Amstelodamensis, iur'; year 1688 under Rector Philippus Mattheaus Junior.

292 A study on the rise and decline of Franeker University is provided by J. van Sluis, *The library of Franeker university in context, 1585–1843* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

293 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 19 November.

294 See *NBW*, vol. 10, s.v. Waeijen, Johannes van der.

295 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 8 February. The bookseller was Leonardus Strick, active in Franeker from 1682 to 1703.

296 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 2 and 5 July.

297 *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575–1875*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), col. 706, 29 September 1689 (Rector Jacobus Triglandius). See also ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 17 November.

298 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 2 December.

to Cartesian empiricism.²⁹⁹ The *dictata* that Pieter refers to are his commentaries on Descartes's *Principia philosophiae naturalis*.³⁰⁰ Pieter's auction catalogue contains De Volder's *Exercitationes Academicae* (Amsterdam, 1695) in defence of Cartesian philosophy, amongst other books on this subject.³⁰¹ In this period, Cornelis was living at the house of Gerarda Rivee, a wine seller, located on the Rhine by the fish market (still called Vismarkt) and very close to the city hall.³⁰² Pieter and Cornelis maintained regular epistolary contact, and the son would come to stay at his parents' house for Christmas and again between March and early April 1690, before going back to Leiden 'to continue his studies'.³⁰³ On 21 April, when his uncle Jacob died, Cornelis immediately received word and arrived in Amsterdam the same evening.³⁰⁴ There were several matters to arrange after Jacob's death, and Cornelis would come back to Leiden only on 21 May.³⁰⁵

Cornelis would remain in Leiden until mid-1696.³⁰⁶ During this period, Pieter and his son continued to be in regular contact. Cornelis would come back to Amsterdam for holiday periods and his father would occasionally send him things that he needed, on one occasion a wig and gloves, on another some medicines and a manuscript copy of 'de maniere van procederen' coming from a deceased cousin, the lawyer Adriaen Coetenburg, and copied by one Abraham van der Laen.³⁰⁷ Cornelis also returned to Amsterdam when his grandmother

299 See Tammy Nyden, 'Experiment in Cartesian courses. The case of professor Burchard de Volder', in Antoni Roca-Rosell (ed.), *The circulation of science and technology. Proceedings of the 4th international conference of the European society for the history of science (Barcelona, 18–20 November 2010)* (Barcelona: SCHCT, 2012), pp. 384–388.

300 For a discussion on De Volder's *dictata* see A. Strazzoni, *Burchard de Volder and the age of the scientific revolution*, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 51 (Cham: Springer, 2019), p. 24.

301 See chapter 5.

302 ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 23 December and inv. nr. 210 (1690), 16 April. On Gerarda Rivee, see Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archive nr. 0518 Inventaris van het archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden, (1343) 1397–1860 (1866), inv. nrs. 15687–15706 Gerarda Rivee. 1686–1708.

303 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 7 January; 2 February; 17 March and 6 April.

304 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 21 April.

305 See e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 2 May and 21 May.

306 ACA 76, inv. nrs. 209–216 (1689–1696), *passim*.

307 Wig and gloves: ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692), 16 October; manuscript and medicines: ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 14 December: '14 dito, met den Garbuleur Harman Smit gesz[onden] aen mijn Cornelis de Graeff tot Leijden ende daer nevens toegesonden de maniere van procederen afgekomen van wijlen Neeff Adriaen Coetenburg en bij M[eeste]r Abraham van der Laen gecopieert, nevens eenige medicamenten.' Adriaen Coetenburg (1624–1687), son of Reijnier and Adriana de Graeff, was a lawyer in The Hague. He is mentioned as a lawyer in the *Advertissement gedaen maecken ende den Hoogen Rade (...)* (s.l. s.n., 1686)

died and after the death of his mother.³⁰⁸ Despite spending seven years in Leiden, he did not graduate from the university. Pieter recorded in his almanacs when his son Jan departed for Leiden for his graduation in 1699, but there is no similar entry dedicated to Cornelis, nor does his name appear in Leiden University's *Catalogus Promotorum* for those years, and there is no diploma of him in the family archive, which does contain his brother's.³⁰⁹ Jan in fact appears in the *Catalogus* as having prepared a dissertation on 'De Iniuriis ac famosis libellis', the fragments of Justinian's *Pandectae* discussing the concept of *iniuria*.³¹⁰ Starting in the summer of 1696, Cornelis was based at the *hofstede* Valkenburg, going every now and then to Utrecht for his appointment as canon of St. Pieter's church and coming to Amsterdam to visit his father. Pieter noted their regular contact and the items that he sent to Cornelis, for example a suitcase ('valies'), a Turkish horse blanket and fruit in November 1696, fruit again in November 1697, and three baskets of books packed by Cornelis that were sent to Valkenburg in April 1698.³¹¹

As 1700 is the only year missing from Pieter's almanacs, there is a gap in our knowledge about the situation in that period. In 1701, however, it is clear that something had happened to Cornelis, and that he needed care and assistance. It was decided that Valkenburg no longer provided him the best accommodation, and that it would be better if he lived elsewhere.³¹² A house was rented for him in Koog aan de Zaan, north of Zaandam, and Pieter now addressed his letters there to the *chirurgijn* Claes Band.³¹³ More frequently, Cornelis spent his time at Ilpenstein, where in October 1701 an additional house servant was sent to help one Hendrick de Wolf take care of him ('omme te helpen

and he is present in STCN with his *Disputatio juridica inauguralis de usufructu* (Leiden, 1685) (STCN 126097593). A letter by him addressed to Pieter is kept in the De Graeff family archive (ACA 76, inv. nr. 129).

308 ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 5 and 8 October and ACA 76, inv. nr. 215 (1695), 29 June.

309 Pieter made a note about Jan's graduation on 28 January 1699 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 219). His diploma, dated 5 February 1699, is signed by Joannes Voet and other professors, with Jacobus Gronovius acting as the secretary (ACA 76, inv. nr. 243).

310 P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit 1574–1811*, vol. 4 (1682–1725) (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921), *Appendix (Catalogus Promotorum)*, p. 226. His dissertation is preserved at the library of the University of Amsterdam (OTM: OG 59–191 (1)) and is dedicated to his father.

311 ACA 76, inv. nr. 216 (1696), 19 and 26 November; ACA 76, inv. nr. 217 (1697), 11 November; ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 15 April: '15 dito met schipper Bart Jansz na mijne Hofsteede tot Heemsteede gesonden [...] 3 manden met boecken bij mijn soon Cornelis de Graeff gepackt.'

312 ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 4 March.

313 See e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 28 September and ACA 76, inv. nr. 223 (1704), 19 March.

oppassen').³¹⁴ In the meantime, Pieter sought legal advice from the lawyer Abraham van den Ende and deposited a codicil appointing Jacobus de Fremeri, a trusted accountant who had been working for Pieter since 1688, as curator of his son and administrator of his goods upon his death.³¹⁵

Cornelis died on 16 February 1719 at Ilpenstein as the Lord of Purmerland and Ilpendam, the title he had inherited upon his father's death. As we learn from a resolution to resolve a dispute related to a tax on Cornelis's inheritance, it was De Fremeri who had chosen Ilpenstein as Cornelis's residence after Pieter's death.³¹⁶ He deemed the quietness of this spacious country house surrounded by nature favourable for improving Cornelis's condition. Cornelis suffered from an 'indisposition of mind and body' that according to the document did not allow him to take care of himself or his properties.³¹⁷ The promising life-path of Pieter and Jacoba's eldest son, who had shown a keen interest in learning and reading and was bequeathed all their books, had been therefore interrupted by a disease that manifested itself through mental illness and bodily symptoms and condemned him to a solitary life at Ilpenstein. As will be later discussed, a book in Pieter's auction catalogue may be the key to identifying the origin of Cornelis's illness.

6 From Generation to Generation: Pieter's Inherited Assets

The De Graeffs were connected, often through intricate kinship relations, to other renowned actors in the political, intellectual and artistic milieus of the time. In particular the relationship with the Bickers was tightly knit.³¹⁸ Besides Pieter and Jacoba's, other marriages had sealed the alliance between the two families. Pieter's uncles Dirck and Andries de Graeff married Eva Bicker and Elisabeth Bicker van Swieten respectively. Eva was the daughter of the merchant Jacob Jacobsz Bicker and Anna Roelofsdr. Elisabeth was the daughter of

³¹⁴ ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 3 October.

³¹⁵ Pieter mentioned the codicil in his almanac on 19 June 1702 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 221). The act is dated 24 May 1703 (ACA 5075, nr. inv. 3676, 'Codicille van d'Heer Pieter de Graeff' (not. Abraham van den Ende, 24 May 1703), pp. 509–514). De Fremeri had been hired as Pieter's 'boeckhouder' (bookkeeper) on 29 April 1688 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 208).

³¹⁶ ACA 76, inv. nr. 611 Portefeuille 4, 'Korte memorie', unpaginated (undated).

³¹⁷ ACA 76, inv. nr. 611 Portefeuille 4, 'Korte memorie', unpaginated: 'sijne indispositie beyde van Geest en Lighaam, noch voor sich selven, noch voor sijne Middelen, niet konnende het nodige besorgen.'

³¹⁸ See e.g. J. Adams, *The familial state: Ruling families and merchant capitalism in early modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 99.

Cornelis Bicker, Lord van Swieten (Jacoba's uncle) who held prominent political posts such as alderman (*schepen*) and burgomaster of Amsterdam. The other Bicker brother, Jacob (1588–1647), married Pieter's other aunt, Christina de Graeff (1609–1679), who after his death married Pieter Trip (1579–1655). Finally, Aaltje, one of the children of his aunt Wendela (Wijntje) (1607–1652) and Pieter van Papenbroek (1612–1642), would marry another member of the Bicker family, Gerard. Together with Gerard and his uncle Andries, Pieter would buy the *hofstede* Valkenburg in Heemstede from his aunt Christina, becoming its only owner in 1684. The inventory of this property drawn up upon Pieter's death will be further discussed in chapter 4 to see what kind of books were found there.

Other important relations were established with the Schrijver and the Six families, which are frequently mentioned in Pieter's almanacs. After Van Papenbroek's death, Wendela married Willem Schrijver (1608–1661), son of the famous philologist and historian Petrus Scriverius and Anna van der Aar. One of their sons, Willem II (1651–1673), would marry Margaretha Six (1653–1704), whose son Willem III died at a young age at the *hofstede* of his grandfather Pieter Six in Lisse in 1678, as we learn from Pieter's almanacs.³¹⁹ Pieter would be closely involved in the partition of his inheritance (several entries in his almanacs are dedicated to this matter) and would inherit part of Schrijver's possessions, most notably the houses 'De Leeuw' and 'De Leeuwin' at Kloveniersburgwal.³²⁰

Many of Pieter's relatives died childless or had their offspring die prematurely. With the death of his brother in 1690, of his mother the following year, and of his wife in 1695, Pieter remained one of his family's few living descendants. As a result, he inherited a substantial amount of money and a large number of properties (amongst them several houses), as well as multiple estates and titles.³²¹ The challenging task of fully unravelling and charting the

319 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 2 August. On the capital and inheritance of Willem Schrijver II, see Zandvliet, *500 Rijksten*, p. 174.

320 Pieter and Jacob received the two houses as an inheritance from their aunt Christina de Graeff, who died in 1679, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 608 Portefeuille 1 (17 February 1680). The two houses were neighbouring 'Het Glashuys' (Kloveniersburgwal 105–107), a famous glass workshop owned by Jan Hendriksz Soop and then inherited by Petrus Scriverius in 1658. See I.H. van Eeghen, 'De vaandeldrager van Rembrandt', *Amstelodamum*, 58 (1971), pp. 179 and 181, and *eadem*, 'De buurhuizen van het glashuys', *Amstelodamum* 58 (1971), pp. 182–186.

321 Zandvliet estimated Pieter's capital to be around 1,000,000 guilders at the end of the seventeenth century and ranked Jan, Pieter's son, as the 16th wealthiest individual in the Dutch Republic (Zandvliet, *500 rijksten*, pp. 147–150).

complex web of inheritances that Pieter received is yet to be completed.³²² The inheritance of his father Cornelis was divided in equal parts between his mother Catharina Hooft on one side, and Pieter and his brother Jacob together on the other side.³²³ Pieter hence succeeded his father as Lord of Zuid-Polsbroek and his brother as lord of the family fief of Purmerland and Ilpendam, which included Ilpenstein.³²⁴ Moreover, upon his mother's death, he inherited the house where his parents had lived at Herengracht 216.³²⁵ As Jacob was the only heir of his late wife Maria van der Does, Pieter must have come in possession of her properties too and, since she was an only child, of the properties of her father Willem Sijmons van der Does, who had died not long before she married.³²⁶ In addition, he inherited (part of) the possessions of his aunt Christina de Graeff and, after his wife Jacoba died on 29 June 1695, a portion of her properties.³²⁷

6.1 *Bound by Books: Books through the Generations*

When Pieter died, he and Jacoba had already made all the arrangements to divide their properties amongst their children. Their first testament made on 28 May 1688 was superseded by a more recent version dated 31 January 1695, a few months before Jacoba's death.³²⁸ The close timing of the testaments' dates with Pieter's complex surgeries in June 1688 and February 1695 suggests that

322 On Pieter's inheritance see also Zandvliet, *500 rijksten*, pp. 148–149.

323 See ACA, 76, inv. nr. 605, series nrs. A 11 and A 27; ACA 76, inv. nr. 605A, series nr. A 48; see also ACA 76, inv. nr. 277 pp. 27–28 and 326–327 and the reference to the division with his brother dated 1 July 1667 on 14 July 1668 in his almanacs (ACA 76, inv. nr. 189).

324 In her testament Maria Overlander named Jacob de Graeff as her heir and Pieter de Graeff as his successor were Jacob to die childless. She also granted Catharina Hooft a lifetime residency on the Purmerland estates (ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nrs. A2 (not. Cornelis Hoogeboom, 20 June 1667) and A3 (not. David Doornick, 14 August 1677), unpaginated). For Maria Overlander's inventory see ACA 5075, inv. nr. 1970B, fols. 1382 ff (not. David Doornick, 15 April 1678).

325 It came into its possession on 25 June 1692, when he received the second key of the front door (ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692); see also the entry on 21 April 1692). The house was then rented out (see e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 217 (1697), 3 June). The passage of property is also clear from the tax registration: first Catharina Hooft ('De H[ee]r Cornelis de Graeffs Wed[uw]e') is indicated as the owner (in ACA, 5044 Inventaris van het Archief van de Thesaurieren Extraordinaris, inv. nr. 287 [Verpondings-quohieren van den 8sten penning, 1689–1693], fol. 132v); in the following registration (inv. nr. 288 [1694–9]), her name is crossed out and substituted by Pieter's ('De H[ee]r Pieter de Graeff oudt schepen').

326 Willem van der Does was buried on 17 September 1666 (ACA, DTB Begraven, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 1055, p. 170).

327 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 30; ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2.

328 Testaments made on 28 May 1688 (not. Godefridus Bullik) and on 31 January 1695 (not. Gerrit Steeman) (ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2, series nr. 7).

these legal documents were prepared as a precaution against potential fatal surgical complications. Importantly for our purposes, the testament allows us to identify who inherited the house at Herengracht 573, the books and manuscripts that the couple owned as well as in which rooms of their house they were to be found. A section of the 1695 testament states:

Prelegateren noch aande voornoemden onsen zoon Cornelis de Graeff, alle onse natelatene boeken zoo gedrukt als geschreven, als mede daar onder begrepen alle onse boeken van ontfangh en uijtgift, Registers, notitien, rekeningen, quitantien, brieven, papieren, geene uijtgesondert, kaarten, aftekeningen, instrumenten, bewijsen, etc., en 't geen daar toe specteert, met alle de kisten, zoo ijsere, houte, en anders, daar deselve of eenige vandien in bevonden zullen worden, item kassen, tafels, lesse-naars, geweer, en alle het gunt op ons Comptoir zijnde jegenwoordigh de Camer boven onse jegenwoordige Slaap kamer in de voors. Huijsingh op de Heeregragt op 't overlijden van de langstelevende van ons beijde 't zij gehoorig, 't zij niet. Item op de Boeke Camer (zijnde de Camer boven het voorhuijs van deselve huijsinge) en in het heckgen op de Camer Solder (wesende de Camer onder de Solder van de voors. Huijsinge) zal werden bevonden.³²⁹

We also bequeath all our books, both printed and manuscript, to our before-mentioned son Cornelis de Graeff, including all our books recording incomes and expenses, registers, notebooks, accounts, receipts, letters and papers without any exception, maps, drawings, instruments, certificates etc., and all that is thereof comprised, with all the chests, made of iron, wood or others, which there shall be found, as well as boxes, tables, lecterns, guns and all that will be found in our *Comptoir* which nowadays is the room above our bedroom in the before-mentioned house at the Herengracht upon the death of who will live longer between us, whether we like it or not; as well as in the *Boeke Camer* (which is the room above the entrance hall in the same house) and in the *Heckgen* in the *Camer Solder* (which is the room under the attic in the before-mentioned house).

As mentioned, their eldest son, Cornelis, became the heir to the house's printed and manuscript books and documents in the house and to furniture pieces and other objects the couple owned, which were to be found in three locations: the

329 ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2, series nr. 7, fol. 17 (not. Gerrit Steeman, 31 January 1695).

home office (*comptoir*) on the first floor above Pieter and Jacoba's current bedroom, the library (*boeke camer*) located in the room above the entrance hall, and a 'hekje' in the room under the attic (*camer solder*). Another section of the testament states that he was bequeathed the house and its contents, with certain exceptions such as some paintings inherited by Agneta and the collection of medals later given to Jan.³³⁰

Another document from the De Graeff family archive in the Amsterdam City Archives offers important additional pieces of information about Pieter's book possessions and the locations where they were kept. It is a list which specifies in detail all the movable objects found at the Herengracht and at Ilpenstein and that Pieter and Jacoba had bequeathed to Cornelis in their testament.³³¹ The document is undated, but as it refers to the amount of money the auctioned books fetched, the date of the auction (9 July 1709) provides a *terminus post quem* for the redaction of the document. The importance of this inventory lies in its listing of numerous printed and manuscript materials that were part of Pieter's possessions and that are not mentioned among the books auctioned off in 1709. Moreover, it gives us precise indications about some of their previous owners and lists several furniture pieces and other objects that were found in these rooms. Unfortunately, however, the items are grouped by type and not based on the location where they were found; hence it is difficult to ascertain whether they were originally placed in the home office, the library or the room under the attic.

The document starts with the coins and medals, followed by a section dedicated to the paintings, portraits, drawings, prints and maps. Towards the end of the latter section, we find three portfolios with loose prints, several loose prints and 31 books with prints and maps.³³² For a few prints and maps the entries allow us to identify their subjects: amongst them, a print framed in ebony wood representing the Dutch Remonstrant theologian Simon Episcopius (1583–1643), who had been involved in a dispute about baptism that was settled

330 See note 89. The furniture of Herengracht 573 was later divided amongst Agneta, Jan and Cornelis (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5004, act. nr. 100, fol. 779, not. Michiel Servaes, 2 October 1710), fols. 779–819. The ca. ninety paintings and other decorative pieces (drawings, watercolours, cameos etc.) that Agneta intended to sell at a public auction on 7 June 1708 are listed in ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 477–481. I identified part of Agneta's paintings in one of the anonymous catalogues published in Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen zedert een langen reeks van jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere plaatzen in het openbaar verkogt*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1752), pp. 123–124.

331 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated.

332 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated: '3. Boek-banden, met Losse prenten (...) 31 boeken met Prenten, en Caarten.'

by Jacob Dircksz de Graeff as burgomaster, and another in a black frame in poor condition portraying Robertus Junius (1606–1655), a Dutch missionary to Formosa (Taiwan).³³³ Next are the genealogies and coats of arms, amongst them a genealogy book in folio, written by '[Jan] van Petersom'.³³⁴ This certainly is the final version of Pieter's *Groot Geslacht boeck*. As we can gather from various references to it in his almanacs, he indeed commissioned Van Petersom to write it.³³⁵ We then find the section dedicated to printed books under the heading 'Gedrukte Boeken'. The first entry on the list relates to the profits and costs of the public auction held on 9 July 1709 of books on various subjects and in various languages and formats ('in verscheijdene faculteyten, talen en formaten'). The books fetched a total of *fl.* 2469.13. The costs deducted for the salaries of the clerks involved were also noted (*fl.* 123.10), which were calculated by subtracting the amount of *fl.* 327.1, which the auctioneers had already received for the sale expenses (Fig. 2.27).

This document, besides providing us with a precise figure for the money that the books sold for at the auction, also confirms that all of them were part of the books that Cornelis had inherited. Right below the note about the auction, a list follows of other printed books that Cornelis inherited in addition to those sold. Amongst them: fifteen books of unspecified subject in quarto, either in vellum or in blue paper bindings ('15 boeken in quarto, zo in parquemente, als blaauwe bandjes'); a packet of music books, some of them oblong ('een pacquet musijc-boeken, eenige wat langwerpigh'); a few packets of pamphlets and notebooks ('eenige pacquetten van blaauwe boekjes en schriften'); an old Catholic book in octavo with gold decorations on its leaves ('een oud

333 On Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and Episcopius, see *NBW*, s.v. Graeff, Jacob Dircksz de. The baptism dispute is analysed in detail in K.W. de Jong and W.D. Kroese, 'Onenigheid over een doopvraag: De gevolgen van twee incidenten in het Amsterdam van 1613 voor de vormgeving van de Remonstrantse en Contraremonstrantse doopliturgie', *Yearbook for ritual and liturgical studies*, 36 (2020), pp. 98–114. On Junius, see C.H. Lin, *Christian contextualization in Formosa: A remarkable episode (1624–1662) of Reformed mission history*, PhD dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2014. The entry reads: 'een dito van Robertus Junius in een swarte slegte lijst'. Depending on the context, the adjective 'slecht' in inventories can mean in bad condition, but also simple (Bas Spliet, pers. comm.).

334 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated: 'een genealogie-boek, in folio, meest door de hand van [blank] van Petersom.' The name 'Jan' appears in the division of Cornelis's properties between Agneta and Jan's children (represented by their legal guardians: their mother, Joanna Hooft, and her brother Daniel) (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 98, 'Scheidinge der fidecommissaire goederen nagelaten bij den Heer Cornelis de Graeff dato 29 April 1723', unpaginated) and inv. nr. 611 Portefeuille 4 'Extract authentijc qijt een nadere scheijdinge van de nalatenschap van wijlen Cornelis de Graeff' (29 April 1723).

335 See chapter 3.

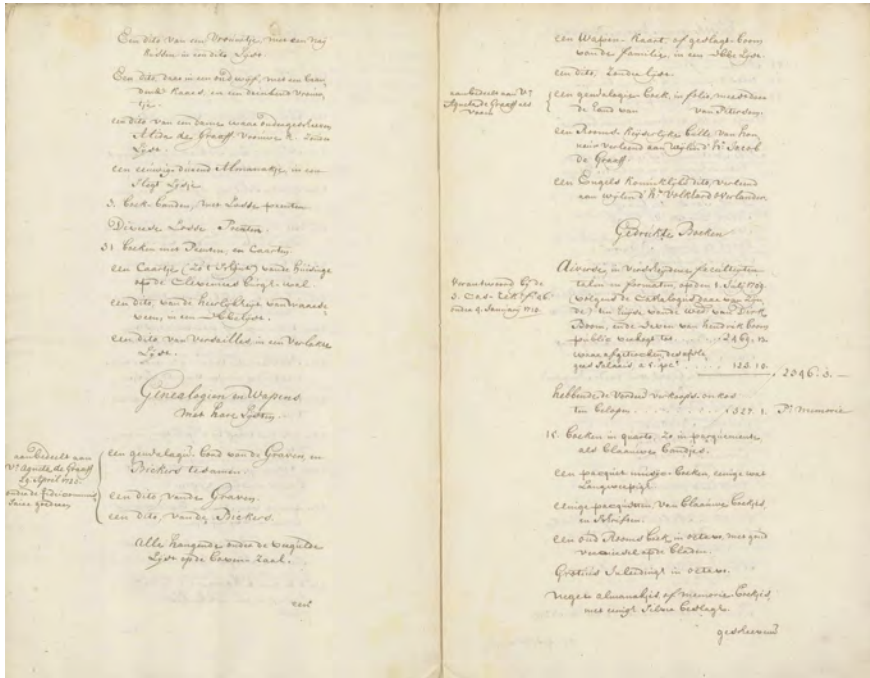


FIGURE 2.27 The page in the inventory of movable objects bequeathed to Cornelis with the note regarding the book auction (under ‘Gedrukte Boeken’) (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated)

Rooms boek in octavo, met goud versiersel op de bladen’); Hugo Grotius’s *Inleiding tot de Hollandsche rechtsgeleerdheid*, his textbook on the jurisprudence of Holland, in octavo (‘Grotius Inleidingh in octavo’), and nine almanacs with silver fittings (‘negen almanakjes, of memorie-boekjes, met eenigh silver beslagh’).

On the following page, under the heading ‘Geschreven Boeken, Pacquetten en Brieven’ (‘manuscripts, packets, and letters’) we find: 146 books in folio without any specification of their titles or subjects (‘146 Boeken in folio’); ten similar but thinner books in blue paper bindings (‘10 ditos, dunne, in blaauwe bandjes’); ten of oblong shape (‘10 dito, langhwerpigh’), followed by a number of loose gatherings and other small books (‘eenige losse quaternen, dunne boekjes en alfabetten’). Below this list, the notary wrote down that they used to belong to the inventories, or the inheritance, of several of Pieter’s ancestors, relatives and close acquaintances, thus confirming what we already supposed: that Pieter had become their keeper. The individuals are moreover specifically listed (Fig. 2.28), starting with his great-grandfather Dirck Jansz de Graeff, followed by his grandfathers Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and Pieter Jansz Hooft, his

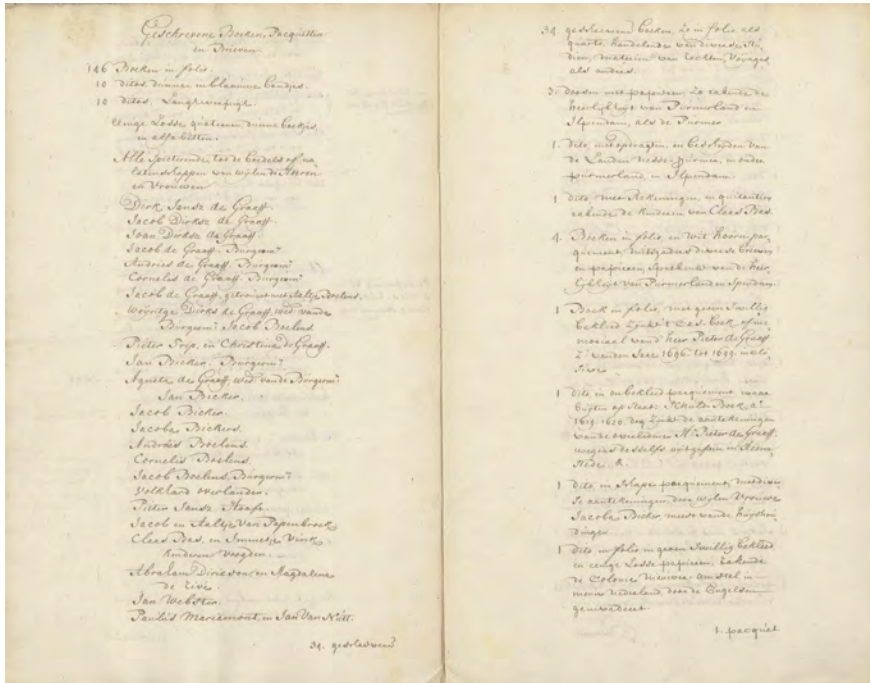


FIGURE 2.28 The list of Pieter's ancestors, relatives and close acquaintances, previous owners of the manuscript documents listed in the inventory of movable objects bequeathed to Cornelis (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated)

father, his uncles, great-uncles, aunts and great-aunts, and a few members of the Bicker (e.g. Jacoba and her father) and the Boelens families.

What comes next is a five-page list of manuscripts, documents and letters on various subjects and concerning different persons. For example, there are '34 manuscript books, both in folio and in quarto, related to various studies, juridical matters, journeys and other affairs' ('34 geschreven boeken, zo in folio, als quarto, handelende van diverse studien, materien van rechten, voijages, als anders'); books and boxes with documents related to the high fief (*heerlijkheid*) of Purmerland and Ilpendam; books registering expenses written by Pieter; a folio book in parchment with Jacoba's housekeeping, and some small books in quarto and letters written to her;³³⁶ a book in folio with a green binding and some loose papers concerning the colony of Newer Amstel, in New Netherland,

336 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated: '1 dito [boek in folio] in schape parquement, met diverse aantekeningen door wijlen Vrouwe Jacoba Bicker, meest vande huijshoudinge' and 'Eenige quarto boekjes, met aantekeningen van Vr[ouw]e Jacoba Bicker Z[alige]r, Item brieven aan deselve, met eenige bij zijnde cartabellen'.

after the invasion by the English;³³⁷ various packets of catalogues of public auctions; letters from Levinus Warner, resident of the Dutch Republic at the Ottoman Court, to Pieter's father; various letters regarding the VOC; the diaries kept by Pieter during his local travels; documents related to the inheritances of his father, his mother and his brother, and several inventories, personal documents and other accounts of family members and acquaintances.³³⁸ This inventory therefore confirms that Pieter had become the keeper of books and disparate documents previously belonging to members of his (extended) family.

7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has served to introduce Pieter de Graeff and his family by gathering information on them from primary and secondary sources. Due to their uneven distribution, some of them could be brought into focus in more detail than others. This analysis has made it possible to outline the study and career paths, as well as the inclinations and interests of Pieter, his grandfathers, his father, his brother and eldest son, and to uncover details about the lives of his mother and his wife. Standing out, for example, are the broad interests of his paternal grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff in theology, politics and history and the passion he shared with his friend, Pieter's maternal grandfather Pieter Jansz Hooft, for alchemical experiments. As for Pieter, his interests outside his public engagements revolved around numismatics, genealogy and Dutch history. Books on these subjects in the catalogue would therefore have been items he would have used and bought himself. The journeys undertaken by him and his family members are also of interest. Whereas Pieter embarked in his Grand Tour through France and England, his grandparents, his brother and his eldest son sojourned in Italy.

The evidence here discussed, moreover, demonstrated that Pieter kept a great deal of books and manuscripts previously belonging to his family members and that he owned an even greater number than those listed in his book auction catalogue. He must have come into their possession via their inheritances, but also as the result of his own interest in compiling his family's history, which prompted him to actively seek and gather relevant materials. In some cases, the previous owners are clearly stated, but when books and

337 Near Fort Casimir, in present-day New Castle, Delaware, which surrendered to the English in 1664.

338 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated.

manuscripts are grouped together without further specifications it is impossible to associate them with a specific person. In this regard, the information contained in Pieter's draft for his *Groot Geslacht boeck* is useful in efforts to make explicit or implicit connections between the books in the auction catalogue and his relatives. For example, the passage about the traumatic event of Cornelis's accident in his childhood allows us to suggest that some of the medical books published before 1608 listed in the auction catalogue might have come from Jannetje Paulus. In the following chapters, these pieces of information will be compared with the books Pieter mentions in his almanacs and those listed in his inventories and his book auction catalogue. This will allow us to attempt to suggest which ones can be more likely associated with him or with other members of his family.

We have also determined that Pieter and Jacoba's eldest son Cornelis inherited all their books and manuscripts, including those sold at a public auction two years after his father died. What was so far known about him was that he was canon of St. Pieter's church in Utrecht and that he died at Ilpenstein suffering from mental illness. Evidence retrieved from Pieter's almanacs and other documents in his family archive allowed for the sketching of a much richer profile of Cornelis as a student before the onset of the symptoms, which helps explain his parents' choice to bequeath the book portion of the family estate to him. Adding more details about Cornelis's life, this research also allows for a better contextualization of the reasons and circumstances surrounding the auction of Pieter's books. Cornelis's deteriorating health makes it reasonable to suppose that his brother Jan took on the task of arranging the sale. Even though the auction's profits were to go to Cornelis, Jan had a direct interest in selling the books. As testified by a document drawn up in December 1707, he rented the house on the Herengracht from Cornelis (represented by his curator De Fremeri), who, living at Ilpenstein at that time, did not need to use their parental home.³³⁹ Jan would live there with his wife, Johanna Hoof, whom he married in early 1709.³⁴⁰ The date of the auction in July 1709 can therefore be explained by the necessity to start making space for the needs of the new family in the context of the other arrangements to divide Pieter and Jacoba's household effects, a division that was completed by the end of the following year.³⁴¹

339 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 4998, fols. 1409–1419 (not. Michiel Servaes, 20 December 1707).

340 Ondertrouwregister, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 544, p. 85 (22 February 1709).

341 See e.g. ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5004 ('Scheijding der meubelen van den boedel van den Heer Pieter de Graeff'), fols. 779–820 (not. Michiel Servaes, 2 October 1710).

The *voc Groote Comptoir Almanach* as a Primary Source for Pieter's Book Possession, Circulation and Interests

This chapter focuses on Pieter's almanacs as the source for information about books and manuscripts he bought, lent or borrowed over the years. To follow potential changes in the kinds of books and manuscripts he mentioned, the overview here is organized into four chronological periods, each roughly encompassing a decade. The first (1664–1673) is dense with events both in Pieter's personal and his public life, with the *Rampjaar* (Disaster Year) of 1672 marking an abrupt end to his political appointments. During the following decade (1674–1684), Pieter's public life revolved around his tasks as VOC director, his house progressively becoming a statement to reflect this position. The third period (1685–1695) includes the Grand Tour made by his brother and his eldest son in France and Italy, and the deaths of several family members, his daughter Cornelia, his brother, his mother and his wife amongst them. The fourth period (1696–1707) covers the last decade of his life.

1 1664–1673

The first reference to books in Pieter's almanacs, dated 2 June 1664, occurs in one of the first volume's opening pages.¹ In an entry on the top of the page, Pieter briefly noted that he lent "t 6 stuck van L. Aytzema' (the sixth part of L. Aitzema) to Boreel (Fig. 3.1). Jacob Boreel was a man close to the De Graeff family and according to Pieter, his father, Cornelis, helped Boreel to obtain the position of *schepen* (alderman) in the city government in 1661 and advance his political career.² Boreel would later become the Dutch ambassador to France (1678–1681) and was several times burgomaster of Amsterdam.³ Over the years,

1 ACA 76, inv. nr. 186 (1664). Although Fock maintained that Pieter started to compile his almanacs in 1662, the year of his marriage (Willemijn Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner* [Leiden: Leiden University, 2007], p. 7), he more likely began in 1664, as this is the year he was appointed director of the VOC.

2 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 26 and ACA 76, inv. nr. 125 (letter from Cornelis de Graeff to Pieter in favour of Boreel, 14 January 1663).

3 *NNBW*, p. 7, s.v. Boreel, Jacob.

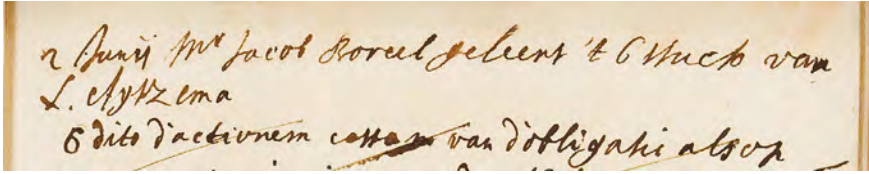


FIGURE 3.1 The first entry on books is dated 2 June 1664. Pieter notes that he lent Aitzema's book to Jacob Boreel ("2 Juny M[eeste]r Jacob Boreel geleent 't 6 stuck van L[ieuwe] Aytzema"), ACA 76, inv. nr. 186 (1664), 2 June

Pieter recorded several visits they paid to each other (the Boreel family lived just a few minutes' walk away at Herengracht 507). The almanacs also mention the exchange of small gifts and numerous letters, particularly from the time the Boreel spent in Paris.⁴ In 1678–1679, in fact, Pieter's and Jacoba's daughter Agneta resided with them in Paris as a companion to Boreel's wife, along with Maria Huydecoper (the daughter of Joan Huydecoper, Pieter's friend from childhood).⁵ Pieter's almanacs also note a significant event on 31 January 1696: the looting of Boreel's house and that of Captain Martinus Spaarog during a revolt against new burial regulations, known as 'aansprekersoproer'.⁶

The book mentioned in the entry is Lieuwe van Aitzema's *Historie of verhael van saken van staet en oorlogh*, an important work on the history of the Dutch Republic during the period 1621–1669. Published as a series of fourteen volumes in quarto from 1657 to 1671, *Saken van staet en oorlogh* was particularly informative (and still consulted) as it included official documents accompanied by commentary from the author, a delegate of the Hanseatic towns to The Hague. The sixth volume, published in 1661, covers the period from 1645 to early 1650, crucial years for the Dutch Republic. Besides revealing Boreel's interest in this book, the entry allows us to identify one of the works in Pieter's possession. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Pieter frequently referenced seventeenth-century historians to confirm events described in his book on his family history. There, Aitzema's work is mentioned several times, and in particular the seventh and ninth volumes are cited as truthful accounts of

4 ACA 76, inv. nrs. 186–226 (1664–1707), *passim*; Van Enst Koning, *Het huis te IJpendam*, p. 32; Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2016), *passim*.

5 Luuc Kooijmans provides an account of this stay from the point of view of Maria, see Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, pp. 178–179.

6 ACA 76, inv. nr. 216 (1696), 31 January. The print by Laurens Scherm (Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-82.872) used in Petrus Rabus, *Historie van den oproer, te Amsterdam voorgevallen zedert den 31sten January 1696* (Amsterdam, 1702; USTC 1828584 and 1830294), fol. 57, vividly represents the looting.

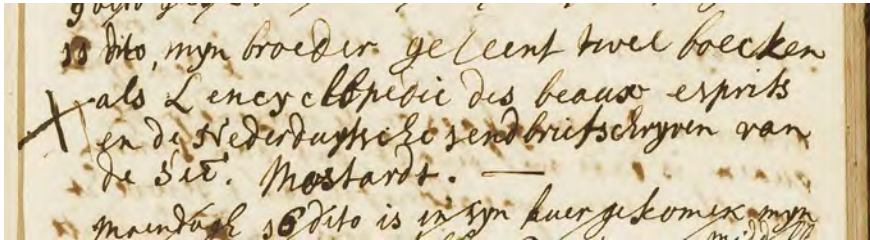


FIGURE 3.2 The two books borrowed by Pieter's brother Jacob on 11 May 1665: *L'Encyclopédie des beaux esprits* and the *Nederduytsche secretaris oft zendbriefschrijver*, ACA 76, inv. nr. 188A (1667), 11 May (transcription in note 9)

the events he is describing.⁷ Interestingly, the auction catalogue lists the first, twelfth and thirteenth volumes amongst the miscellaneous books in this format.⁸ These complementary pieces of information indicate that Pieter possessed other volumes of *Saken van staet en oorlogh* besides those mentioned in the almanac while serving as well as proof that he possessed additional books not sold at the auction. We can imagine several scenarios to account for titles missing from the catalogue: Boreel may have not returned the borrowed volume, or perhaps Pieter went on to lend them to someone else, or they remained in the family and were not auctioned off.

The following entry on books is dated 11 May 1667, the day when Pieter's twenty-four-year-old brother borrowed *L'Encyclopédie des beaux esprits* and the *Nederduytsche secretaris oft zendbriefschrijver* (Fig. 3.2).⁹ As noted by Collison, *L'Encyclopédie* was the 'typical example of the kind of small handbook that was becoming popular in Court circles'.¹⁰ Pieter may have brought back a copy of this small handbook, published in 1657 and reprinted in 1659, from his travels in France shortly after it was published.¹¹ The *Secretaris* by

7 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 12, 15, 17 (reference to part 7, fol. 128), 23 (reference to the beginning of part 9).

8 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graaff*, p. 44, nr. 524: 'Aytzema historien. I. XII. en XIII deel. Hage / 1657'.

9 ACA 76, inv. nr. 188A (1667), 11 May: '11 dito, myn broeder geleent twee boecken als L'encyclopedie des beaux esprits en de Nederduytsche sendbriefschryver van de Sec[retaris] Mostardt.'

10 R.L. Collison, *Encyclopaedias. Their history throughout the ages. A bibliographical guide with extensive historical notes to the general encyclopaedias issued throughout the world from 350 B.C. to the present day* (New York: Hafner, 1964), pp. 87–88. On the art of conversation, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, pp. 571–573.

11 Full title: *L'Encyclopédie des beaux esprits, contenant les moyens de parvenir à la connoissance des belles sciences. Par le Sieur Saunier* (Paris, P. Lamy, 1657 [USTC 6059685] or 1659 [USTC 6101609]).

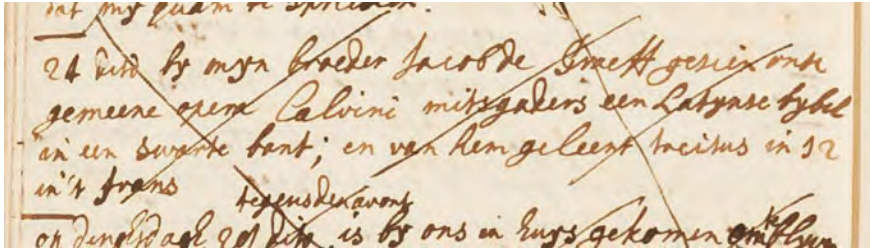


FIGURE 3.3 The entry dated 24 April 1671, where Pieter notes having seen their shared *Opera Calvini* and a Latin bible at his brother's and having borrowed from him a duodecimo edition of Tacitus in French, ACA 76, inv. nr. 191 (1671), 24 April (transcription in note 14)

Daniel Mostart, for its part, provided examples to show how to properly write letters in various contexts and to different sorts of addressees.¹² It is easy to imagine why Jacob, entering into high-society circles, wanted to borrow these books so as to be up to task of properly conversing and writing with his associates. While the *Encyclopédie* is not amongst the books in the auction catalogue, a copy of Mostart's *Secretaris* is included amongst the miscellaneous books in duodecimo.¹³

Jacob is the person most frequently mentioned in Pieter's almanacs as recipient or intermediary in his books' transactions. On 24 April 1671 Pieter notes that he had seen their 'shared *Opera Calvini*' ('onse gemeene opera Calvini') and a Bible in Latin with a black cover at his brother's and that he borrowed from him a French edition of Tacitus in duodecimo (Fig. 3.3).¹⁴ For the latter, there is one possible match in the book catalogue, i.e. the *Tacite d'Ablandcourt*, which is likely the edition published in Paris in 1662.¹⁵ The reference to their *Opera Calvini* is interesting, as it shows that he and his brother jointly possessed this work. Most likely the *Opera Calvini* seen by Pieter at his brother's house (this is how he refers to the house at Kloveniersburgwal in his almanacs)

12 On Mostart's *Nederduytsche Secretaris*, see J. Brouwer, *Levenstekens: Gekaapte brieven uit het Rampjaar 1672* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).

13 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graaff*, p. 84, nr. 557. No year is mentioned for this book, which appeared in several reprints from the 1630s to the 1650s (the editions currently present in STCN are: 1635, 1637, 1643, 1649, and 1656).

14 ACA 76, inv. nr. 191 (1671), 24 April: '24 dito by myn broeder Jacob de Graeff gesien onse gemeene opera Calvini mitsgaders een Latynse bybel in een swarte bant; en van hem geleent Tacitus in 12 in 't frans.'

15 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graaff*, p. 83, nr. 506. The editions in French are recorded in Joseph William Moss, *A Manual of classical bibliography*, vol. 2 (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1825), p. 658.

was part of their father's inheritance and hence they may indeed have shared ownership of this book.¹⁶ As will be discussed later in this chapter, this work is mentioned in another few passages in the almanacs of 1678.

Another family member who appears as a contact for books is Pieter's cousin Willem Schrijver, son of Willem Schrijver and Wendela de Graeff and grandson of the renowned philologist Petrus Scriverius. On 21 June 1669 Pieter noted that his cousin Adriaen Westphalen had given back an old chronicle ('oude Cronyck van 't sticht van Uytrecht en Hollant') that Westphalen had borrowed from the deceased Joris Syen on Willem Schrijver's behalf.¹⁷ This item possibly corresponds to the 'very old chronicle of Utrecht and Holland' ('Een seer oude Chronijk van Utrecht en Holland') listed in Pieter's book auction catalogue.¹⁸ He further noted that he put this chronicle with Schrijver's other books placed on his *comptoir* by the window, which gives us a spatial indication of where Pieter kept part of his books in his home office.¹⁹ He added that he had asked about borrowing the *Annales Regalium Abbatum Egmondensium*, a chronicle of the Abbots of Egmond written by Johannes de Leydis (Fig. 3.4).²⁰ On 19 May 1673, only a few days before Schrijver's death, he wrote down that he had sent Schrijver 'some old rare books' he had in keeping for his cousin (Fig. 3.5).²¹

Besides the relations he established through his family, Pieter's involvement in the city administration and his appointment to the VOC undoubtedly granted him a large network of contacts and access to resources. As

16 For the reference to this house as his brother's, see e.g. ACA inv. nr. 211 (1691), 10 and 24 January, where Carel Rudolph van Kuffeler appears to be renting the house that belonged to Jacob on the Kloveniersburgwal.

17 ACA 76, inv. nr. 189A (1669), 21 June: '21 dito, heb ick onse Neef Adriaen Westphalen op syn ernstigh begeren dusdanige recipis gegeven[:] [added in-line: Copie] op huyden 21 junij 1669 heeft de H[ee]r en M[eeste]r Adriaen Westphalen aen mijn ondergeschreven ten behoeve van onse Neef Willem Schryver gerestitueert sekere oude Cronyck van 't sticht van Uytrecht en Hollant, by gemelde H[ee]r Westphalen voor desen van wylen d'E[dele] Joris Syen geleent Actam – als boven. P[ieter] D[e] G[raeff].

18 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graeff*, p. 23, nr. 467.

19 ACA 76, inv. nr. 189A (1669), 21 June: 'Nota hebbe dese Cronyck by syn vordere boecken geleght op mijn Comptoir by de Glaesen.'

20 ACA 76, inv. nr. 189A (1669), 21 June: 'Nota noch v[er]socht syn E[dele] te leen Annales Regalium Abbatum Egmondensium, die seght voor desen gehadt te hebben waer nae aengenomen hebbe by gelegtheydt te sullen soecken en v[er]nemen.' The manuscript would be published by Antonius Matthaeus in Leiden in 1692 as *Chronicon Egmondanum, sive Annales Abbatum Egmondensium*.

21 ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 19 May: '19 dito Neef Willem Schryver 't huys gesonden [deleted: noch] eenige boecken meest oude raere boeken, die tot noch toe voor hem bewaert hadde'. Schrijver died on 28 May 1673 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 179, fol. 230) and was buried a few days later on 1 June (ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 1 June).

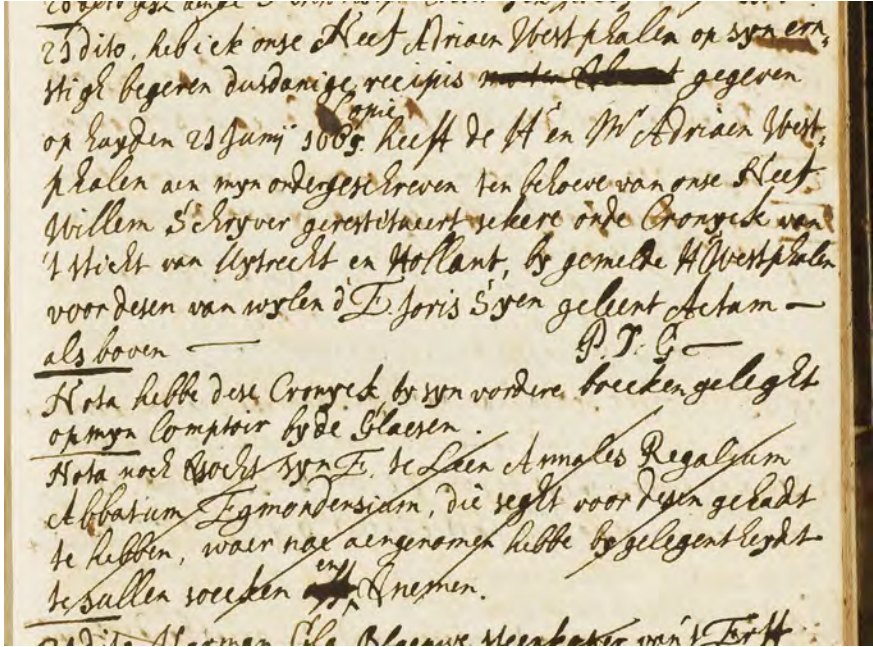


FIGURE 3.4 The entry of 21 June 1669 mentioning a 'very old chronicle' of Utrecht and Holland for Pieter's cousin Willem Schrijver, ACA 76, inv. nr. 189A (1669), 21 June (transcription in notes 17, 19 and 20)

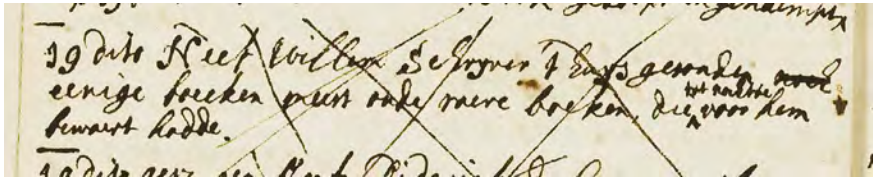


FIGURE 3.5 The entry dated 19 May 1673, where Pieter recorded having sent some old books to his cousin Willem Schrijver, ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 19 May (transcription in note 21)

mentioned in the previous chapter, he was in close contact with Johan de Witt, to whom he sent timely and useful materials.²² In January of the eventful year 1672, for example, he sent De Witt, amongst other things, a copy of the soon-to-be-issued *Resolutien vande Heren Staten van Holland*.²³ Moreover, on 29 April, just a few weeks after the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, he sent De Witt (on board of a ship in the Vlie strait, between the Frisian islands

²² ACA 76, inv. nr. 188 (1666), 12 October and nr. inv. 188A (1667), 15 January.

²³ ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 14 January.

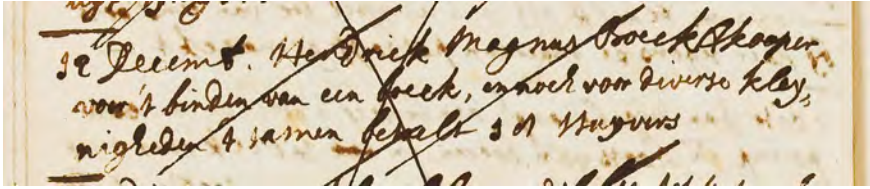


FIGURE 3.6 The entry dated 12 December 1672, where Pieter noted his purchase from the bookseller Hendrick Magnus, ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 12 December (transcription in note 28)

of Vlieland and Terschelling) a letter and three copies of the 'kryghsdiscipline in s' landtsvloote etc.', which he said he had bought at Magnus' bookshop for eight pennies.²⁴ This must refer to the ordinance of the States General on how to maintain discipline at sea, which was issued some days before, on the 14th, under the title *Nadere ordre, van de Hooge Mogende heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden tot observantie van goede discipline in 's Landts Vloote* (The Hague, 1672).²⁵ About one year after De Witt's assassination, Pieter wrote that he paid the bookseller Hendrick Magnus 44 stuivers for a book in small folio with a frontispiece print of De Witt.²⁶ Magnus (1639–1686) was the bookseller and binder of the VOC (in fact, he had printed several of Pieter's almanacs) and brother of Albert, famous for his exquisite bookbindings.²⁷ It was to Hendrick that Pieter went for his purchases and for bookbinding, as we learn from another entry, dated 12 December 1672 (Fig. 3.6).²⁸

24 ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 29 April.

25 The Hague: J. Scheltus, 1672. The scans of the copy at the Royal Library in The Hague are available online in the Dutch Pamphlets Online resource (pflf 9988).

26 ACA 76, inv. nr. 193 (1673), 3 June: 'op saterdagh 3 Junij Hendrick Magnus boeckverkooper, voor een boeck met een Alphabeth in folio doch smal met voor een print van Fre[re] de Witt sal[iger] betaelt 44 stuyvers.'

27 The almanacs are useful in locating the address of Magnus's bookshop, which is printed on the title page. Magnus's address is indicated as follows in the volumes Pieter used: 'Boeckbinder in de Calver-straet op de hoeck van de Roosebooms-steegh' (1664); 'Boeckbinder van de Oost-Indische Compagnie in de Betanie-straet' (1665); 'Pethany-straet' in 1666 and 1667; 'Boeck-binder van de E. Oost Indise Compagnie in de Hoogh-straet' (1668, 1669); 'Boeck-verkooper van de E. Oost Indise Compagnie op de Kleveniers-burghwal / op de Nieuwe Hoogh-straet' (1675); 'Boeck-verkooper in de Nieuwe Hoogh-straet' (1676); 'Boeck-verkooper / in de Nieuwe Hooghstraet' (1677, 1678, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1685). Magnus also printed the years 1670 and 1674, but his address does not appear on the title pages. On Albert Magnus, see H. De La Fontaine Verwey, 'The binder Albert Magnus and the collectors of his age', *Quaerendo*, 1, nr. 3 (1971), pp. 158–178.

28 ACA 76, inv. nr. 192 (1672), 12 December: '12 Decemb[er] Hendrick Magnus Boeckv[er]koo- per voor 't binden van een boeck, en noch voor diverse kleynigheden 't samen betaelt 18

2 1674–1684

Pieter frequently mentions his brother Jacob in relation to books during the ten-year span 1674–1684. In January 1674, he sent Jacob, in The Hague, the list naming the 1673 Amsterdam magistracy.²⁹ In August the following year, he dispatched to him the *Vervolgh der Neederlandsche historien* by Pieter Cornelisz Hooft ‘to borrow and read’.³⁰ The entries, marked by their conciseness, disclose no hint to what kind of information Jacob would have been interested to find in these books. From the correspondence between Pieter and Jacob during the period when the latter joined the prince’s military campaigns in 1673–74, we learn that Jacob had done so in the hopes of securing certain positions for his brother.³¹ The request for the book with the list of Amsterdam magistrates is therefore perhaps related to Jacob’s ultimately unsuccessful attempts in this regard.

Pieter also received books from his brother, as with a ‘book in folio with coats of arms of many families in the 17 Provinces’ that previously belonged to Willem van der Does Sijmons, Maria’s father, which Jacob gave him on 7 November 1683. Pieter subsequently gave this book to Jan van Wieringen, an official from Purmerend, ‘to make some corrections’, and received it back in September 1684 (Fig. 3.7).³² This entry substantiates that indeed at least

stuiivers’ (‘12 December [I] paid 18 stuivers to Hendrick Magnus bookseller for the binding of a book and for various trifles’).

- 29 ACA 76, inv. nr. 194 (1674), 19 January: ‘19 dito op myn ’t huyskomst myn broeder J[acob] de Graeff in den Haegh toegesonden, een boekie synde een naemwyser van[de] Magistratuer tot Amsterdam de A[nn]o 1673’ (‘19 ditto, on my home arrival, [I] sent my brother Jacob de Graeff in The Hague a small book being a list of names of magistracy of Amsterdam in the year 1673’).
- 30 ACA 76, inv. nr. 195 (1675), 16 August: ‘16 Augusti aen myn broeder Jacob de Graeff te leen en[de] om in te lesen gesonden ’t vervolgh van Nederlantse Historie van Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft’ (‘16 August, [I] sent to my brother Jacob de Graeff, to lend and read, ’t vervolgh van Nederlantse Historie’ by Pieter Cornelisz Hooft’).
- 31 R. Fruin, ‘Brieven van Jacob de Graeff, uit het leger van Prins Willem III in 1673 en ’74 geschreven aan zijn broeder Pieter de Graeff, Oud-Schepen van Amsterdam’, in A. Nijhoff and N. Japikse (eds.), *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, third series, second part (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1885), pp. 349–369.
- 32 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 7 November: ‘7 dito sondagh, hebbe ick aen Jan van Wieringen ontfangen van de Purmer ter hant een boeck in folio met wapens van veele familien in de 17 Provintien, om daer omtrent eenige correctien te doen, synde ’t gemelt boeck gekomen van Willem van der Does Symonsz. en door myn broeder Jacob de Graeff aen my ter hant gestelt. weder ontfangen den Sept. 1684’ and ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), September (specific day missing): ‘den Septem[be]r v[an] Jan van Wieringen weder ontfangen seker boeck in folio met wapens onder 7 Novemb[er] 1683 v[er]melt met eenige correctie van hem op eenige wapens.’

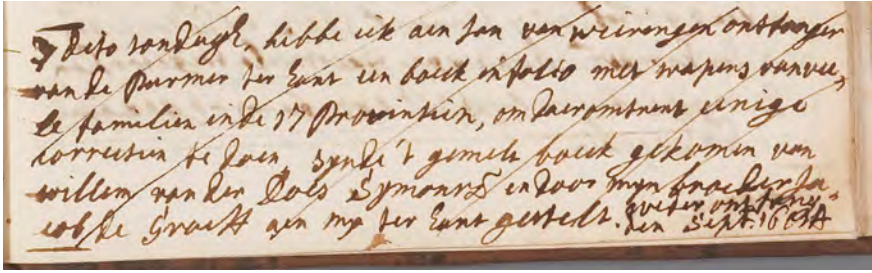


FIGURE 3.7 The almanac entry where Pieter noted having given a book previously belonging to Willem van der Does to Jan van Wieringen, an official from Purmerend, ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 7 November (transcription in note 32)

some of Van der Does's books were still in Jacob's possession at this time. Via his brother Pieter also obtained the three volumes of the *Groot Placcaetboek van de Heeren Staten van Hollant en Staten Generael*, which are included in the catalogue.³³

The almanacs' entries allow us to sketch the different situations in which Pieter provided books for other people. Often he would respond to specific requests, akin to what we have seen with his brother. On 5 March 1678, for example, he records that he fulfilled the request of Petrus Cunaeus (son of the homonymous famous Leiden professor) in Leiden by sending a copy of the 'Comedy of George Dandin' (i.e. Molière's *George Dandin ou Le mary confondu*), in reply to Cunaeus's letter of 27 February.³⁴ Some borrowings took place directly in Pieter's *boeken kamer*, on the occasions of the visits he received from family members and friends. On 17 November 1676, for example, Pieter

33 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graeff*, p. 10, nr. 207; ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), 5 May: '5 dito, nochmaels nevens myn broeder gesproken met den Adv[ocaa]t de Hertogh. van 't derden deel van het groot Placaet boeck aen myn broeder te bestellen om daer tegens de 2 andere deelen te mogen genieten. NB voor de 2 derde deelen van dito Placaetboek op 20 julij 1685 betaelt 27' and ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 18 April: '18 dito, van myn broeder 't huys ontfangen de 2 eerste stucken van het Groot Placaetboek.'

34 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 5 March: '5 dito gesz[onden] aen Petrus Cuneus tot Leyden op de syne van den 27 passato en[de] daernevens weder toegesonden syne v[er]sochte Comedie van George Dandin'. Petrus Cunaeus was baptized on 14 July 1633 in Leiden (Dopen Hooglandsche Kerk, 20 augustus 1628–1635, inv. nr. 233, archive nr. 1004). His oldest brother, Johannes (1617–1673), made a career in the East Indies in the service of the VOC and led the embassy to Isfahan (Persia) depicted by Jan Baptist Weenix in his *The Dutch Embassy to Isfahan (Persia) in 1651–52 by Johannes Cunaeus*, c.1658–1659, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. nr. SK-A-3879). See E. De Groot, 'The Dutch embassy to Isfahan (Persia) in 1651–52 led by Johannes Cunaeus. A new interpretation of Weenix's monumental history painting', *Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, 57, nr. 4 (2009), pp. 312–325.

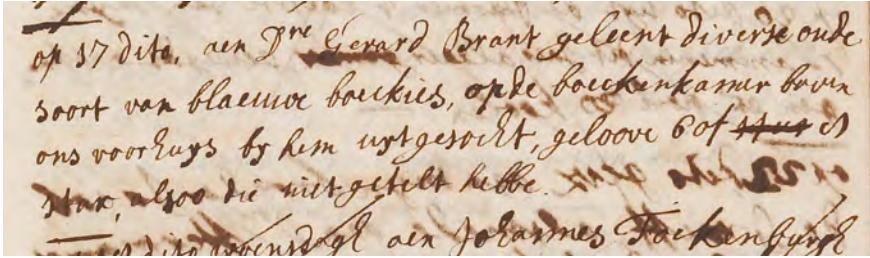


FIGURE 3.8 Pieter's note regarding Gerard Brandt's borrowing of old pamphlets which took place in Pieter's library, ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 17 November (transcription in note 35)

writes: '[I] lent to pastor Gerard Brandt several old kinds of small blue books [pamphlets], chosen by him in the book chamber ('boeckenkamer') above our entrance hall, I believe 6 or 8 pieces, but I did not count them' (Fig. 3.8).³⁵ This is one of the passages which identifies with certainty the position of the library within the house. Because of its location on the upper floor, only a select group of visitors could consult (and borrow) the books.

In other entries, it is not clear whether Pieter was replying to specific requests or whether he spontaneously decided to send materials he deemed interesting to the recipient. For example, when noting the sending of a letter to Joan Maetsuycker, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, he added that via Maetsuycker he had also sent two letters to Daniel Parvé (director of the VOC's office in Surat) with some newspapers, apparently containing some interesting news.³⁶ Lastly, he offered books as gifts, as when he gave the 'Geestelycke Rymen', written by Jacob de Witt, the father of Johan and Cornelis, to Richard Schaep, secretary of Bunschoten.³⁷

35 ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 17 November: 'op 17 dito, aen D[omin]e Gerard Brant geleent diverse oude soort van blaeuwe boeckies, op de boeckenkamer boven ons voorhuys by hem uytgesocht, geloove 6 of 8 stux, alsoo die niet getelt hebbe.'

36 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 29 April: 'op 29 dito gesz[onden] aen Johan Maetzuycker Gouverneur generael over Nederlants India [...] en[de] op dato dubbelt of tweemaal gestelt in handen van[de] Adv[ocaa]t Pieter v[an] Dam [...] en[de] noch daer nevens gestelt in handen en[de] ten eynde alsboven gestelt twee gelycke brieven aen Daniel Parvé met eenige couranten en[de] mede copie behouden.' Daniël Parvé (1644–1679) was director in 1678–1679. A gold medal in his memory is kept at the Rijksmuseum (NG-1994-38-1).

37 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 9 March: 'op 9 Martij op myn 't huyskompst van Zoestdyck ende S' Graevelant, brenge hier, op 2 Martij tot Bunschoten [...] 7 ick hebbe hem [= Secretaris Schaep] v[er]eert de Geestelycke Rymen van de Rekenmeester Jacob de Witt'. The book's full title is *Eenvoudige uytdrucksels van godt-vruchtige gedachten naergelaten by d'Heer Jacob de Witt* (Doordrecht, 1674) (USTC 1811379).

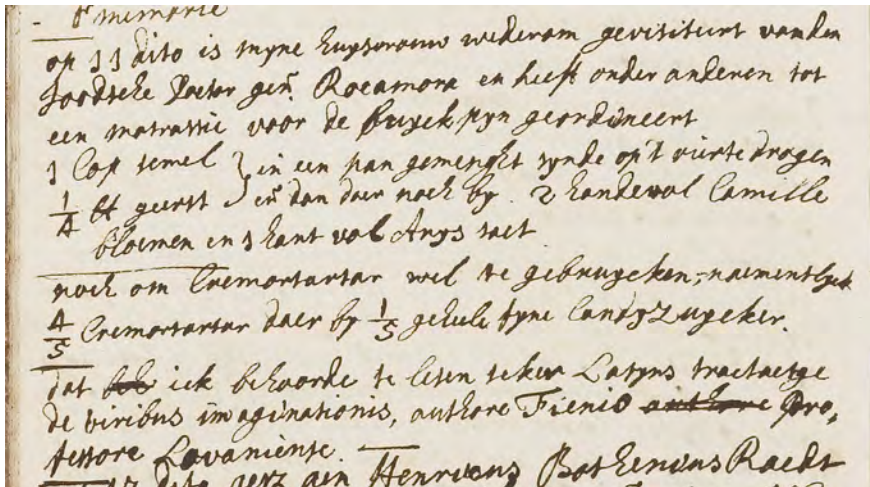


FIGURE 3.9 The entry where Pieter recorded the medications prescribed by the doctor Rocamora for Jacoba, and his suggestion that he should read Fienus's *De Viribus Imaginationis*, ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 11 January (transcription in note 38)

On one occasion Pieter did note a specific title, explicitly marking the book in question as something he should read. On 11 January 1678, he wrote: “that I ought to read a certain Latin treatise *De Viribus Imaginationis*, authore Fienio Professore Lovaniense” (Fig. 3.9).³⁸ The note is part of a longer entry which in this case helps us to reconstruct its context. As Jacoba was suffering from abdominal pain, she was visited on this day by Isaac de Rocamora, a Valencia-born Jewish doctor who prescribed medications for her. Rocamora advised Pieter to read the treatise by Thomas Fienus (1567–1631), a physician and professor of medicine at the University of Leuven. The book discusses in dialectical form the great power that imagination exerts over the body as both a potential cause of and cure for diseases. We can suppose that Rocamora believed it to contain useful information pertaining to Jacoba’s ailment. Pieter must have taken the doctor’s recommendation, as Fienus’s *De viribus imaginationis* is present amongst the books in his auction catalogue.³⁹

38 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 11 January: ‘dat ick behoorde te lesen seker Latyns tractaetge de viribus imaginationis, authore Fienio Professore Lovaniense.’

39 *Catalogus Librorum (...)* Petri De Graaff, p. 72, nr. 147 (s. a., s. l.). The first edition came out in 1608. This work is discussed in L.J. Rather, ‘Thomas Fienus’ (1567–1631) dialectical investigation of the imagination as cause and cure of bodily disease’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 41 (1967), pp. 340–367.

Another aspect to emerge in Pieter's almanacs relates to his role as both keeper of books and handwritten documents previously owned by other family members, and as someone who further distributed such material to interested relatives and close acquaintances. These activities align well with what has been discussed in chapter 2 about his interests in genealogy and Dutch history and the inheritances he received. For example, on 7 December 1678 he gave Galenus Abrahamsz de Haen, a doctor and renowned Mennonite author, a package with several handwritten *recepten* (alchemical or medical recipes) from his grandfathers and one written by the famous Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe.⁴⁰ The following day, he also gave him a bundle of old papers to examine: 'mostly chymistry, medicine and also some mathematics', written by his grandfather Pieter Jansz Hooft (Fig. 3.10).⁴¹ Another manuscript, written by his grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff in folio containing resolutions from 1607, was sent to Gerard Brandt in June 1679 so that Brandt could 'read something and make use of it', together with some loose state papers, most of them written by his great-uncle Volkert Overlander and previously kept at Ilpenstein.⁴²

40 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 7 December: '7 dito D[octo]r Galenus Abrahamsz ter hant gestelt een pacquet van diverse Recepten geschreven met de hant van mijn grootvaders Jacob de Graeff, Pieter Jansz Hooft item een ges[chreven] met de hant [van] Thyco [sic] Brahe.' It is not clear how Brahe's paper came into Pieter's possession, so we are left only with speculation. A direct connection with one of Pieter's grandfathers is possible, although such a link is not documented in the sources consulted for this research. One possible lead could be through Willebrordus Snellius, the Leiden professor of mathematics whom Jacob Dircksz stayed with during his studies there (see ACA 76, inv. nr. 227 and chapter 2); Snellius was in contact with Brahe and had visited him in Prague (see N.D. Haasbroek, *Gemma Frisius, Tycho Brahe and Snellius and their triangulations* [Delft: Rijkscommissie voor Geodesie, 1968], p. 7). Another possibility would be via Willem Jansz Blaeu who knew Jacob Dircksz and studied with Brahe in Denmark (see Van Netten, *Koopman in kennis*, pp. 30–31).

41 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 8 December: '8 dito noch D[octo]r Galenus Abrahamsz overgelevert en[de] ter hand gestelt om te examineren noch een geheel bundel oude pampieren soo meene meest Chymica, Medica, oock eenige Mathematica, alle ges[chreven] met hant van mijn grootvader Pieter Jansz Hooft.'

42 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 26 June: 'den 26 dito D[omi]ne Gerard Brant v[er]eert een out Paspoort van de Infante Isabelle Clara Eugenia item een missive van Madame de Parma aen de Schout Willem Dircksz. A[nn]o 1563. Noch D[omi]ne G[era]r[d] Brant laeten volgen om wat in te lesen en[de] sich van de bedienen, een boeck in folio ges[chreven] met de hant van mijn grootvader Jacob de Graeff, synde generaliteyts Resolutien met den Jaer 1607 beginnende, item noch diverse losse pampieren van staet en[de] eenige of meest ges[chreven] met de hant van myn Oom de Burgem[eerste]r Volckard Overlander H[ee]re van Purmerlant &c gekomen uyt 't sterfhuys van myn Moeye de vrouw van Purmerlant op 27 Januari 1678 overleden.'

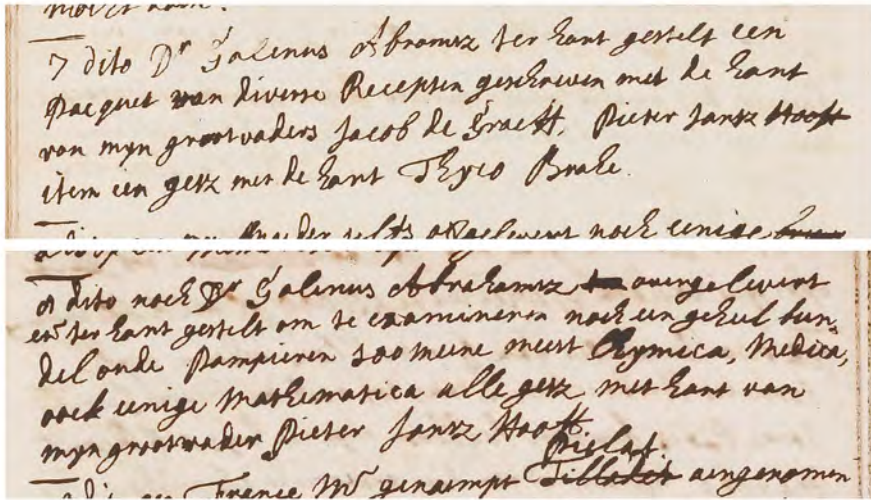


FIGURE 3.10 The entries of 7 (above) and 8 December (below) recording the writings previously belonging to his grandfathers that Pieter gave to Galenus Abrahamz de Haen, ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 7 and 8 December (transcriptions in notes 40–41)

About a month earlier, he had sent to his cousin Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn some papers concerning the house called ‘Den Dolphyn’ (the Dolphin, corresponding to Singel 140–142) which Van Oudtshoorn had bought that year.⁴³ This house had previously been owned by Volkert Overlander and by Frans Banninck Cocq, the latter living there at the time when Rembrandt depicted him in his *Night Watch* (Figs. 3.11 and 3.12).⁴⁴ It was therefore via the inheritance of Maria Overlander, who had died the year before, that Pieter now possessed documents on this house. In January 1680 Pieter noted his debt to another cousin, the deceased Jan de Blocq, for a few objects, amongst which the sixth part of an unspecified atlas.⁴⁵

43 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 26 May (in the same entry of 25 May): ‘25 May eenigh geweer gesonden aen Neeff van den Honert tot Dordrecht, bestaende uyt piecken ende copere musquetters, op 26 dito aen Neeff van Oudtshoorn ’t huys gesonden eenige Pampieren spreekende van syn huys den Dolphyn.’

44 See ‘Oneindig Noord-Holland: Singel 140–142, De Dolphijn’, <https://onh.nl/verhaal/singel-140-142-de-dolphijn> (last accessed April 2024).

45 ACA 76, inv. nr. (1680), [27 January]: ‘noch ben ick schuldigh aen wylen Neef Jan de Blocq [list starts:] voor een [ver]silvert schaekspel f 8 [new line:] voor ’t 6de deel van den atlas f 6–15 [new line:] voor eenigh geldt en[de] Pot penningen f 7–5 [new line:] den 29 Novemb[er] 1680 betaelt f 22.’

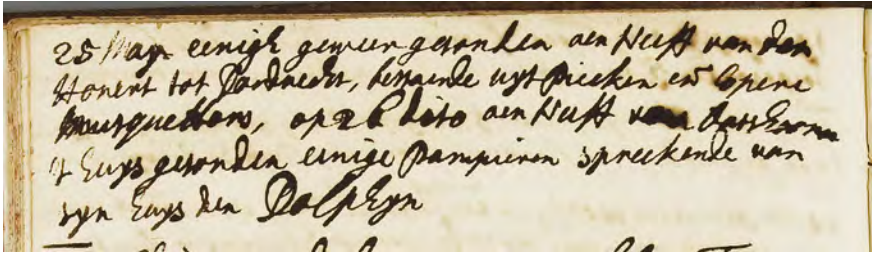


FIGURE 3.11 The note about the documents regarding the house 'Den Dolphyn' that Pieter sent to cousin Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 26 May (transcription in note 43)



FIGURE 3.12 Watercolour of the house 'Den Dolphyn' in Frans Banninck Cocq's *Geslacht-Register der Heeren en Vrouwen van Purmerlant en IJpendam* (fol. 38, Rijksmuseum, nr. SK-C-1102)

As we know from the already discussed list of movable objects bequeathed to Cornelis, Pieter also kept documents and handwritten books belonging to the Bickers. This is confirmed by an entry in his almanac dated March 1683. There, he recorded that he had lent to Jacob Jacobsz Bicker the book written by his maternal grandfather, the deceased burgomaster Andries Bicker, on the resolutions and the minutes of the *vroedschap* and the government of Amsterdam.⁴⁶

Featuring prominently in Pieter's VOC network that emerges from the almanacs is Pieter van Dam, the most famous advocate in the service of the Company for more than fifty years (1652–1706). Van Dam authored the *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* ('Description of the East-India Company') meant as a reference and policy guide for the VOC directors.⁴⁷ In December 1683 Pieter lent Van Dam 'a written book in folio on the Amboinese wars conducted by Arent [Arnold] de Vlaming and described by Levinus Bor'.⁴⁸ In the same entry he also noted that Van Dam still had pieces that Pieter had received from Pieter van Helsdingen, *fiscaal* (public prosecutor in the governmental administration of the VOC) in Malacca and the husband of Geertruyd Chasteleyn with whom, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Jacoba maintained a correspondence.

2.1 *The Books of Frans Banninck Cocq*

Some of the almanacs' entries offer surprising insights into the book collection of one of Pieter's relatives, Frans Banninck Cocq, the central figure in

46 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 23 March: '23 dito aen Jacob Bicker Jacobsz wederom overgegeven ende ter hant gestelt [...] item noch overgelevert 't boeck met de hant van wylen de H[ee]r Burgemeester Andries Bicker geschreven behelsende Resolutien en[de] notulen van de vroedschap en[de] Regeering der stad Amsterdam mede 't sedert die tydt van 28 Feb[ruari] 1682 onder my hebbe gehad.'

47 The manuscript indeed was kept hidden and was published only in a twentieth-century edition (*Pieter van Dam's beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie 1639–1701* published by F.W. Stapel in 1927, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff), see F.S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), p. 151. On Pieter van Dam, see F.S. Gaastra, 'The organization of the VOC', in *Introduction to the Archives of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, [p. 14] (retrieved from https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_intro-duction-VOC.pdf, last accessed April 2024).

48 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 17 December: '17 dito hebbe ick aen de A[d]v[ocaa]t Pieter van Dam ter hant een geschreven boeck in folio behelsende de Amboineeze oorlogen door Arent de Vlamingh gevoert en[de] beschreven door Levinus Bor. NB hy heeft noch in handen eenige stucken en[de] bescheyden my toegekomen door Pieter v[an] Helsdingen.' Levinus Bor had published the *Amboinse oorlogen door Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn als superintendent, over d'oosterse gewesten oorlogaftig ten eind gebracht* (Delft: Arnold Bon, 1663) (USTC 1800738).

Rembrandt's *Night Watch*. On 6 December 1678, Pieter notes: "my brother Jacob de Graeff urgently reminded me about [the payment of] the books mentioned on 2 May [that I] received from him, and in reply to that, [I] reminded him about the half of Plato mentioned on 7 July, kept by Pieter Six, priced 20 guilders, if I'm not mistaken, also, about the half of the Opera Calvini, sold with his books at an auction on 14 June 1678".⁴⁹ This entry was clearly a reminder of some pending mutual transactions between the two brothers related to various books that had been sold. It also refers to an auction in June of the same year, when their shared *Opera Calvini* was sold along with some of Jacob's other books. Additional entries in the almanacs help us to clarify this situation: on 2 May that same year, Pieter indeed had noted: "(...) from the books of my brother Jacob de Graeff, that he is meaning to sell, with his approval Cornelis Swaenenburg took out and I brought home the following 5 books in folio, namely: n. 62 Beschrijvinge van China by Jan Nieuhoff A[nn]o 1665. 147 Gelderse geschiedenissen by Adriaan van Slichtenhorst A[nn]o 1654. 153 Beschryvinge van Amsterdam by Dapper A[nn]o 1663. 155 Geschiedenisse van Vrieslant by Scotanus A[nn]o 1660. 216 hand-drawn coats-of-arms" (Fig. 3.13).⁵⁰ The association of the numbers and titles clearly indicate an existing book auction catalogue. Before the auction took place, Pieter was allowed to pick for himself the above-mentioned books, which, apparently, he still had to pay for in December, as the corresponding entry informs us. In Pieter's book auction catalogue, only one of these titles is present: the same edition of the *Gelderse geschiedenissen* appears among the *Libri Miscellanei in Folio*.⁵¹

The *Book Sales Catalogues Online* records an anonymous catalogue of an auction held on 14 June 1678 in Amsterdam, in which the numbers and titles

49 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 6 December: '6 dito heeft myn broeder Jacob de Graeff myn gemaent over de boecken onder 2 May laetsleden v[er]melt van hem gehad hebbe, en[de] waer tegen hem oock weder gemaent hebbe van de helft van de Plato onder 7 July laetsleden vermeldt, by Pieter Six behouden, tot f. 20 g[u]l[den] ni fallor, item voor de helft van de opera Calvini, nevens syne boecken by auctie op 14 Junij 1678: v[er]kocht.'

50 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 2 May: 'op 2 May uyt de boeken van myn broeder Jacob de Graeff die hy voornemens is te v[er]kopen, met syn Ed[ele] goetvinden door m[ee]ste[r] Corn[elis] Swaenenburgh syn daer uyt [strikethrough: gehaelt] geset en[de] hebbe voort 't huys gehaelt dese 5 boeken in folio, namentlyck

N^o 62 beschryvinge van China door Jan Nieuhoff A[nn]o 1665.

147 gelderse geschiedenissen door A[d]r[iaan] van Slichtenhorst A[nn]o 1654.

153 beschryvinge van Amsterdam door Dapper A[nn]o 1663.

155 geschiedenisse van Vrieslant door Scotanus A[nn]o 1660.

216 geteekent wapenboeck.'

51 *Catalogus Librorum (...) Petri De Graeff*, p. 22, nr. 446.

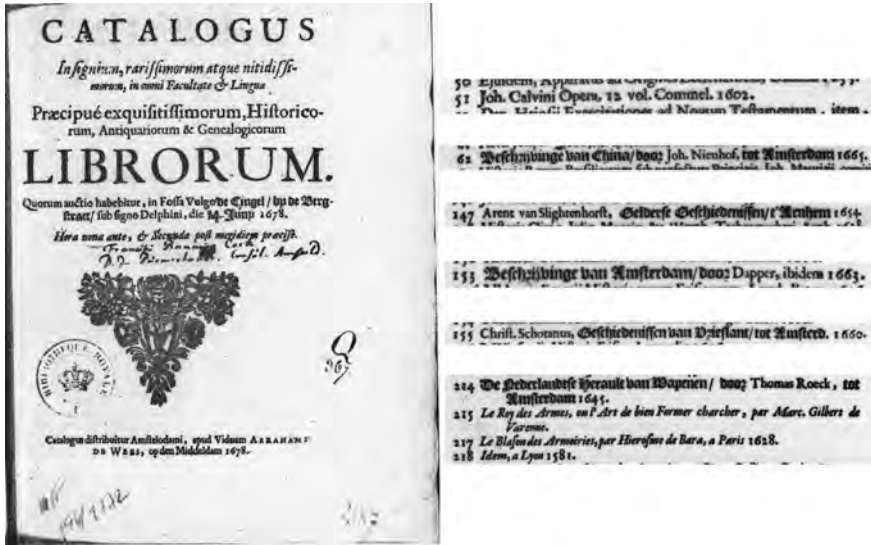


FIGURE 3.14 Title page of the anonymous book auction catalogue (*Brill Book Sales Catalogues Online*, Paris, BN:21Q87) that contains the same books and related numbers (62, 147, 153, 155, 216 [missing]) that Pieter mentions in his almanac entry dated 2 May 1678. The *Opera Calvini*, which he mentioned in the entry of 6 December 1678, is also present (nr. 51)

van Oudtshoorn) and was granted the right to sell parts of the inheritance at public auction if it were deemed advisable to do so.⁵⁵ Pieter noted in one of his almanacs that on 15 February 1678 he had taken from a 'big chest in the attic of the deceased lady of Purmerland [i.e. Maria Overlander] all the written books and writings', both from her and from her ancestors; these materials were packed by the handmaids into two 'koffers' (chests) and brought to his home.⁵⁶ One of them was then further stuffed with other old books that were

55 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A3, unpaginated.

56 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 15 February: 'Op 15 dito hebbe nevens de H[ee]r van Oudshoorn alsmede Executeur ten overstaen van[de] Notaris David Doornick uyt den groot koffer staende op de solder van wylen de vrouw van Purmerlant uytgehaelt alle geschreven boecken en[de] schriften soo van de vrouw als haere voorvaderen en[de] deselve door beyde de Dienstmaeghmaeghden [sic] Anna Roos en[de] Annetie Pieters en[de] noch Anna Roos haer stief moeder met een kleermant doen afbrengen en[de] in haer meysgens bywesen gepackt in twee koffers en[de] soo door Claes Jansz in mijn huys doen brengen. NB en hebben die koffer weder gevult met een deel oude boecken leggende in een bedsteede op een kleyn Camertie.' The term 'koffer' was used to mean a large box, usually with a hinged lid, used for storage or shipping (see the *Historical Dictionaries of the Dutch Language Institute* at <https://ivdnt.org/>). Here and in other occasions where this term is used, I translate it as 'chest' but retain the original term 'koffer' to distinguish

found on a bedstead in a small room.⁵⁷ Another entry, that of 7 March, informs us moreover that an auction had taken place three days before at Ilpenstein, where Pieter had bought a table for Cornelis Swaenenburg.⁵⁸ The book auction in June therefore followed this auction where furniture and other household objects were sold.

The hand-drawn coats-of-arms book corresponding to nr. 216 in the anonymous book auction catalogue is difficult to identify with so little information. A coats-of-arms book previously belonging to Banninck Cocq that Pieter certainly had in its possession is the subject of another of his almanac entries. On 15 December 1702, Pieter notes that he has given to Christoffel Munster 'the coats-of-arms book that came from my deceased uncle Frans Banninck Cocq, Lord of Purmerland, and with that the little painting in watercolour painted by Siewert van der Meulen to paint the homestead of Ilpendam in watercolour in the before mentioned book'.⁵⁹ Here Pieter must refer to the *Geslacht-Register der Heeren en Vrouwen van Purmerlant en Ilpendam, zoo in consanguiniteyt als affiniteyt*, two volumes in an oblong album format and bound in red velvet (closely resembling the fabric used for the exemplar of the *Wercken* that Vondel gifted to Cornelis de Graeff), on loan since 1917 from the De Graeff family to the Rijksmuseum.⁶⁰ The *Geslacht-Register* contains a series of hand-drawn coats-of-arms interspersed with watercolours reproducing paintings and depicting

it from the occurrences of the term 'kist'. To denote a suitcase, Pieter uses the term 'valies' in other almanac entries.

57 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 15 February: transcription in note nr. 56.

58 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 7 May.

59 ACA 76, inv. nr. 221 (1702), 15 December: '15 december vrijdag hebbe ick aen Christoffel Munster ter hand gestelt 't eene wapenboekge afgekomen van wijlen mijn oom Frans Banninck Cocq H[ee]re van Purmerlant en daernevens 't schilderijtge in waterverff, van Siewert van der Meulen geschildert om 't Hoff bij Ilpendam in waterverff in gemeldt boeckge te schilderen.'

60 Rijksmuseum, nr. SK-C-1102. In 1880, the *Geslacht-Register* was on display at the Heraldic exhibition held in The Hague (*Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van voorwerpen Oranje Nassau en op de Wapen- Geslacht- en Zegelkunde in het algemeen* [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1880], p. 341, nr. 4062). At that time, it was still within the De Graeff family, as it belonged to Dirck de Graeff van Polsbroek (1833–1916), a diplomat in Japan. A letter by Dirck de Graeff, dated 28 September 1882, records his request to get back the two volumes of the *Geslacht-Register* ('beide wapenboeken') and the genealogy he had loaned to the society and a note by him dated 2 October 1882 acknowledges the receipt of the items (ACA, 30838 Archief van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, alsmede van Gedeponeerde Archivalia, inv. nr. 645 'Jhr D. de Graeff van Polsbroek te 's-Gravenhage, 1882'). In 1917 further arrangements for the loan of the *Geslacht-Register* were made by Pieter's descendant Jan de Graeff and the Rijksmuseum's director. The letters that they exchanged are kept in Noord-Hollands Archief, 476 Rijksmuseum en rechtsvoorgangers te Amsterdam, inv. nr. 2057 (Jhr. J. de Graeff te Delft, 1917, 1979).



FIGURE 3.15 Watercolour depicting Ilpenstein at the time of Frans Banninck Cocq (*Geslacht-Register der Heeren en Vrouwen van Purmerlant en Ilpendam*, fol. 136, Rijksmuseum, nr. SK-C-1102)

buildings related to the Lord of Purmerland and Ilpendam.⁶¹ Interestingly, a watercolour of Ilpenstein was added and glued onto the paper on the page preceding another watercolour depicting Ilpenstein at the time of Bannick Cocq (fol. 136) (Figs. 3.15 and 3.16). The added watercolour must then be the drawing commissioned by Pieter to show an updated view of the castle, with the two towers added by his mother Catharina.⁶²

61 E.g. The house 'Dolphyn' (fol. 38); the headquarters of the *Handboogdoelen* (fol. 120); a sketch of the *Night Watch* (fol. 142); a sketch of *The Directors of the Crossbow Militia* by Bartholomeus van der Helst (fol. 341); a sketch of the *Company of Captain Jonas Cornelisz Witsen and Lieutenant Volckert Overlander (Kloveniersdoelen)*, fol. 357.

62 See chapter 4. Further research is required to fully trace the provenance of another of Banninck Cocq's coats-of-arms books, his famous *Album Amicorum*. This album, now kept at the National Library of the Netherlands, features hand-drawn coats-of-arms that Frans commissioned various artists to create during his travels to Poitiers, Saumur, and Bourges from 1625 to 1627 (call nr. KW 134 C 69; digitized version: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=urn:gvn:AA:0115> last accessed April 2024). The National Library



FIGURE 3.16 Watercolour depicting Ilpenstein likely commissioned by Pieter as evidenced by one of his almanac entries (*Geslacht-Register der Heeren en Vrouwen van Purmerlant en Ilpendam*, fol. 134, Rijksmuseum, nr. SK-C-1102)

We now may return to the question of why the catalogue includes titles published up to 1665, even though the auction in question took place more than twenty years later. A likely explanation is that together with Bannick Cocq's books, Jacob also sold some that had belonged to his father-in-law Willem van der Does, which he had inherited from his late wife, Maria.⁶³ According to Pieter's own notes, Van der Does had died on 12 September 1666, which would justify why his library contained books that had appeared in print up to

acquired the album in 1959 at an auction by J.L. Beijers in Utrecht (Catalogus J.L. Beijers 21 April 1959 [Utrecht, 1959], cat. nr. 74). The *Album* had previously been listed in the 1925 library auction catalogue of Jan Willem Six van Vromade (*Bibliothèque de M.-J.W. Six de Vromade. Première partie. Manuscrits. Incunables et autres. Impressions rares. Belles reliures. Atlas. Vente publique du 16 au 21 novembre 1925 chez van Stockum's antiquariaat* [The Hague: J.B. Kerlings, 1925]). I thank Jeroen Vandommele, curator of Postmedieval and Modern Manuscripts at the National Library of the Netherlands, for providing this provenance information.

63 See chapter 2.

the prior year.⁶⁴ This intricate situation related to the books' provenance can explain why the 1678 auction catalogue remained anonymous.

Finally, light still needs to be shed on the 'half of Plato' mentioned in the entry of 16 December 1678. By correlating this reference with the information noted on 7 July, it can be concluded that it must refer to the splitting of the price that Pieter Six paid to acquire this prestigious reference edition of Plato's work published in 1578 by the famous French printer and humanist Henri Estienne.⁶⁵ The almanac entry of that day informs us that Pieter had sent the three volumes comprising the work to Six at Jacob's request.⁶⁶ This work's ownership history is further traced through the presence of the same edition in the book catalogue of Jan Six (Pieter's older brother).⁶⁷

3 1685–1695

While Pieter was providing his son Cornelis with useful materials during his Grand Tour in Italy, he also kept his brother updated on relevant matters at home by sending him newspapers. For example, in December 1686, Jacob could read about the flooding in Groninger- and Emderland in the newspapers of 30 November and 3 and 5 December because Pieter had sent him these issues.⁶⁸ Usually it was the Amsterdam and Haarlem newspapers (the *Amsterdamsche* and the *Oprechte Haerlemsche couranten*) that Pieter read and sent to Jacob, as when in January 1687 he spotted some news about an interesting medal that he asked his brother to obtain for him.⁶⁹ On 25 July that same

64 ACA 76, inv. nr. 182, unpaginated [3].

65 *Platonis Opera quae extant omnia, grace latine. Ex nova J. Serrani interpretatione, perpetuis ejusdem notis illustrata* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1578) (USTC 450772).

66 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 7 July: '7 dito laeten toekomen aen[de] H[ee]r Pieter Six, Plato in 3 deelen griecks en[de] Latyn gedruckt by Stephanus A[n]n[o] 1578 en dit op 't begeeren van myn broeder Jacob de Graeff.'

67 *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae, nobilissimi & amplissimi Domini D^o. Joannis Six [...]* (Amsterdam: Hendrick Boom & widow Dirk (1) Boom, 1706), The Hague KB: Verz. Cat. 5398:1, p. 13, nr. 184 (fetched: 35 fl). On Jan Six as book collector, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De geschiedenis van het Amsterdamse Caesar-handschrift', in *id.*, *Uit de wereld van het boek III. In en om de 'Vergulde sonnewijzer'* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1979). pp. 243–247.

68 ACA 76, inv. nr. 206 (1686), 6 December: '6 dito gerescribeert aen mijn broeder J[acob] de Graeff op[de] syne van de 9 en[de] 16 November, en[de] daernevens toegesonden [...] item toegesonden 3 stel of 6 couranten v[a]n 30 nov[embe]r, 3 en[de] 5 Decemb[er] om daer uyt te komen sien d'enundatien in Groeninge en[de] Emderland, en is afgegaen onder Couvert v[a]n M[eijndert] Rost.'

69 See chapter 2.

year, he recorded having sent his brother in Rome ‘both newspapers from yesterday’, this time without specifying why he wanted Jacob to see them.⁷⁰ The same thing happened twice in September when he wrote to Jacob in Rome and sent him several *couranten*.⁷¹ The frequency with which Pieter sent newspapers to Jacob strongly suggests that Pieter read them regularly. In this way he kept himself up-to-date about what was happening in Holland and abroad, and he could fact-check news that that he had heard from his acquaintances. For example, one day he noted that he had read about the death of ‘de Heer Webbenum’ (Johan Theobald, Baron von Weibnum, the governor of Breda) in the *Haerlemsche* and *Amsterdamse couranten*, a piece of news that he had already heard at the *Beurs*.⁷²

Jacob was not the only person Pieter shared news with. In December 1688, he sent all the issues of the *Haerlemsche* and *Amsterdamse couranten* from 23 November to 11 December to Cornelis Chasteleyn (a merchant in Batavia and the brother of Geertruyd, whom Jacoba was in touch with), and in November 1691, he sent a batch of newspapers to Cornelis’s brother-in-law, Pieter van Helsdingen, in Suratte.⁷³

Amongst the recipients of Pieter’s books in this period is the French diplomat Philibert d’Herwarth des Marais (1644–1721), a resident of The Hague who had fled France after the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes of 1598.⁷⁴ D’Herwarth became a family friend: Pieter and Jacoba had him as a guest in their house, they exchanged gifts and were often in touch with him, including after he left Holland for England and then Switzerland.⁷⁵ Pieter lent him books

70 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 25 July: ‘25 dito Julij, gesz[onden] aen mijn broeder J[acob] de Graeff tot Roma [...] oock daernevens toegesonden beijde couranten van gisteren 24 deser [...]’

71 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 12 September: ‘12 dito 7ber nae laetst onder 5 deser gesz[onden] aen mijn broeder [...] en[de] daernevens toegez[onden] 3 stel couranten als van gisteren donderdagh item van v[er]leden dinsdagh en saturday.’ ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 19 September: ‘19 dito 7ber, gesz[onden] aen mijn broeder Jacob de Graeff tot Roma [...] en[de] oock weder toegesonden 3 enckelde couranten als van 13, 16 en[de] 18 deser 7ber.’

72 ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 25 September.

73 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 13 December and inv. nr. 211 (1691), 8 November.

74 About him, see Lucienne Hubler, ‘Herwarth, Philibert d’ (des Marais)’, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 2006, retrieved from <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/048877/2006-05-31/> (accessed April 2024).

75 See e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 15 November, when Pieter noted that d’Herwarth was about to depart to The Hague and that Jacoba had given him several gifts; ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 4 March, when d’Herwarth left for The Hague after staying with the De Graeffs since January; ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 30 September, on a carpet that Jacob de Graeff sent from Italy to The Hague for d’Herwarth. Pieter sent a letter to d’Herwarth on 22 April 1690 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 210), the day after his brother passed away. Although as usual

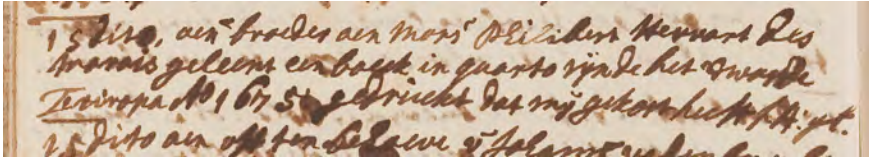


FIGURE 3.17 The almanac entry about the loan of Petrus Valkenier's *Het Verwerd Europa* to the French diplomat Philibert d'Herwarth des Marais, ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 15 October (transcription in note 76)

on two occasions during October 1687: first, on the 15th, he lent him an edition of Petrus Valkenier's *Het Verwerd Europa*, published in 1675 in quarto, which he had bought for 4 guilders (Fig. 3.17).⁷⁶ It is easy to imagine why this successful book would have interested d'Herwarth. It described recent political events in Europe, focusing especially on the relations between France and the Dutch Republic, and regarded the French monarchy to be the main cause of the wave of wars and revolutions that had infested Europe in recent times. Ten days later, Pieter sent him six copies of a 'Reglement voor Franse en Piemontoise vluchtelingen' (regulations for French and Piedmontese refugees), and three untitled small books in English being messages to the States General about recent events involving the English in East Indies.⁷⁷ The refugees' regulations must refer to the order that had been issued the same year by the representatives of the East India Company, stating the conditions under which French and other refugees were to be transported with their families to the Cape of

the content of the letter is not mentioned, it must have been sent to inform d'Herwarth about Jacob's death. Another letter to d'Herwarth, in Bern at that time, was written by Jacoba on 22 June 1695 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 215) in reply to his letter. Pieter sent d'Herwarth another letter on 26 July 1698, when the latter was in England (ACA 76, inv. nr. 218).

76 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 15 October: '15 dito, aen[de] broeder aen Mons[ieu]r Philibert Hervart des Marais geleent een boeck in quarto sijnde het v[er]werde Europa A[nn]o 1675 gedrukt dat mij gekost heeft 4 g[u]l[d]en.' The book's full title is: '*t Verwerd Europa, ofte polityke en historische beschryvinge der waere fundamente[n] en oorsaken van de oorlogen en revolutien in Europa, voornamentlijk in en omtrent de Nederlanden zedert den jaere 1664, gecauseert door de gepretendeer de universele monarchie der Franschen, verdeelt in dry deelen [...]. Beschreven door Mr Petrus Valkenier, Advoc^t. Met bygevoegde authentieke stukken* (Amsterdam: Hendrik and Dirk Boom, 1675) (USTC 1811922 and 1811923).

77 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 25 October: '25 dito gesz[onden] aen Philibert Hervart H[er]van van Marais in den Hage en[de] daernevens toegesonden 6 Exemplaren van 't Reglement voor Franse en[de] Piemontoise vluchtelingen, omme na de Caeb de bon Esperan[ce] item 3 boekgens in 't Engels sijnde berichten aen haer Ho[og] Mog[ende] gegeven, van diverse uijt nu [ende] onlanx in Oost Ind[ie] voorgevallen saecken met d'Engelse.'

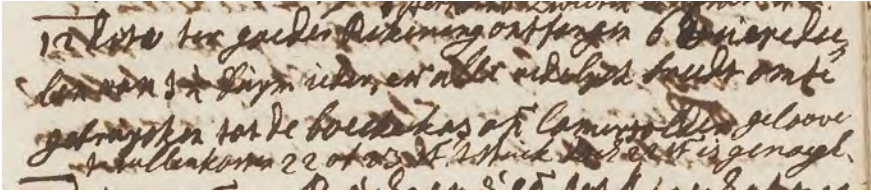


FIGURE 3.18 Materials are received for a bookcase on the *camer solder*, ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 12 May (transcription in note 79)

Good Hope for settlement.⁷⁸ The subject and the number of copies sent by Pieter warrant the conclusion that they were meant to be further distributed amongst d'Herwarth's acquaintances.

The almanacs contain information about not only books but also the spaces needed to store them in the house on the Herengracht. An entry from May 1687 informs us of the plan to create a bookcase in the *camer solder* (attic room), one of the locations where books were indeed said to be kept in Pieter and Jacoba's testaments. On 12 May 1687 Pieter received six pinewood planks, each about four centimetres thick ('1 1/2 duym') and all 'reasonably wide' to be used for this purpose (Fig. 3.18).⁷⁹ The almanacs do not provide additional clues as to why at this time the need arose for a bookcase in this room.

The books that Pieter sent to his son Cornelis in this period have already been mentioned in Cornelis's biography given in chapter 2. The almanacs also contain a few references to books that Pieter sent to Jan, his other son. On 2 May 1690, shortly after Jacob's death, Jacoba wrote to Jan in mourning for his uncle and Pieter enclosed three books – one each by the Roman historians Justinus, Valerius Maximus and Sallustius (Fig. 3.19).⁸⁰ Abounding in moral

78 Full title: *Ordre en reglement, ter vergaderingh van de Seventiene, de generale Nederlantse geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie representerende, gearresteert, waer op de kameran sullen vermogen eenige Luyden en Familie, daer onder mede begrepen Fransche vluchtelingen, soo oock uytgeweecken Piemontoisen of Dallyuden, haer voorkomende, te transporter en over te brengen nae de Cabo de Bonne Esperance*. Published in 1687 (STCN 314570160).

79 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 12 May: '12 dito ter goeder Rekening ontfangen 6 vuereedeelen van 1 1/2 duym ieder, en[de] alle redelyck breedt om te gebruycken tot de boeckekas op[de] Camersolder geloove te sullen kosten 22 of 23 st[uyvers] 't stuck doch 22 st[uyvers] is genoegh.' One *duim* corresponds to 2.57 cm.

80 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 2 May: '2 Maj heeft mijn huysvrouw door adres van D[octo]r Jer[onymus] Tonneman over Rotterdam aen onse soon Jan de Graeff gesonden omme Rouw te draegen over mijn broeder Jacob de Graeff, en hebbe ick daerbij gevoegt 3 boecken als Justinus, Valerius Maximus, en Salustius.' Justinus is present in Pieter's book auction catalogue with three editions of his *Historiae Philippicae* (*Catalogus*, p. 75, nr. 242, [s. l., s. a.], p. 80, nr. 425, [Lyon, s. a.] and p. 84, nr. 556 [s. l., s. a.]); Valerius Maximus with

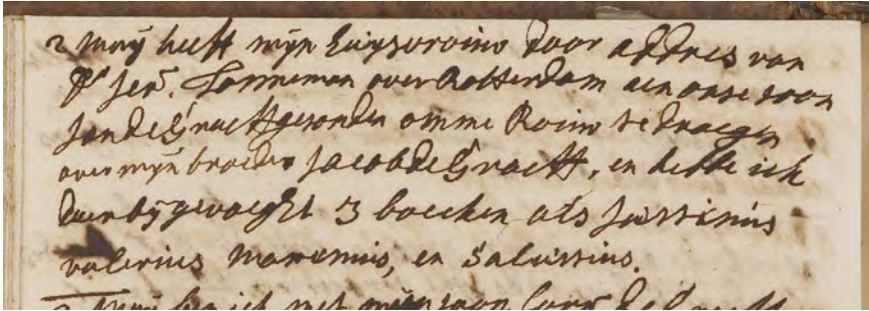


FIGURE 3.19 The books by the classical authors Justinus, Valerius Maximus and Sallustius that Pieter sent to his son Jan shortly after the death of his brother Jacob, ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 2 May (transcription in note 80)

and ethical *exempla* and *virtutes*, the works of these authors provided examples of good and bad behaviours, reminding readers of the fragility of human life and of sudden reversals of fortune. Justinus's *Historiae Philippicae* focuses in particular on Alexander the Great, highlighting his virtues but mostly his vices, above of all, his immoderation.⁸¹ It is evident how these works, rich in moral lessons, were intended to contribute to Jan's upbringing. Meanwhile, his schooling was progressing. On 14 July, Pieter and Jacoba had come to an agreement with Adriaen van der Linde, a schoolteacher on the Utrechtse straat, that Van der Linde would provide a room for Johan Jacob Ferguson. Pieter would pay for the lodging and for additional costs, so that Jan could take private classes from Ferguson in his room instead of being instructed together with other children.⁸² A few days later, Pieter's coach took Ferguson from Velsen, where he lived, and brought him to the room that Van der Linde had put at

five editions (*Catalogus*, p. 62, nrs. 540 [Leiden, 1655; USTC 821726] and 541 [Hanau, 1614; USTC 2107894]; p. 66, nr. 694 [s. l., s. a.]; p. 78, nr. 331 [s. l., s. a.]; p. 79, nr. 371 [s. l., s. a.]); Sallustius is present with: *Catalogus*, p. 17, nr. 349 (Venice, 1547; USTC 854264); p. 58, nr. 433 (s. l., 1532); p. 59, nr. 452 ([Frankfurt], 1607; USTC 2118733); p. 62, nr. 539 (Leiden, 1649; USTC 1028655); p. 77, nr. 303 (Leiden, 1642; USTC 1011822) and p. 78, nr. 332 (s. l., s. a.).

81 On Justinus's work and his rendition of Alexander, see B. Bartlett, 'Justin's *Epitome*. The unlikely adaptation of Trogus' World History', *Histos*, 8 (2014), pp. 246–283.

82 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 14 July: '14 dito, ben ick nevens mijn Huysvrouw geacordeert met Adriaen van der Linde schoolmeester op d'Uytrechtse straet, dat hij aen J.J. Ferguson zal geven een Camer; item Alimenteren kost ende dranck, bewasschen en[de] benaeijen, item s'winterdaegs vuer, NB. van kaersen is niet gesproken en[de] dat tegens f. 300 g[u][den] in 't Jaer bij 't vierendeel jaers af, onse soon Jan de Graeff bij hem schoolgaende zal voor leeren schrijven maer f. [?]³ voor 't vierendeel jaers geven, en[de] niet bij de gemeene kinderen maer bij mons[ieu]r Ferguson op sijn Camer sitten en leeren.' On Ferguson, see chapter 2, note 280.

his disposal.⁸³ Jan started to attend Ferguson's lessons on 20 July and a couple of weeks later Ferguson took a total of 122 books from Pieter's house.⁸⁴ Of these books, only the formats are recorded (7 in folio, 13 in quarto and 102 in octavo and duodecimo) and, as usual, the circumstances are not explicitly noted and the reasons for the transfer can only be conjectural.⁸⁵ Given the closeness in time, it is possible that Ferguson needed these books for the lessons he gave to Jan, or that he was allowed to select them himself as a further sign of appreciation for his services. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Pieter had just brought home a large quantity of books that had belonged to his deceased brother. It is possible that Ferguson had found some interesting titles in Pieter's newly acquired book collection.

Another entry informs us of a different use for books that we have not yet encountered: namely, as pawned items. On 20 January 1693, the mapmaker David Reerigh, who had often worked for Pieter, brought him five books, of which two were unbound and three bound, to be pawned for 100 guilders 'in schellingen' (a six-pence silver coin).⁸⁶ The books included the *Stedeboek van Piemont en van Savoye*, the atlas with maps made by the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson, the work 'on animals' by the Polish scholar John Jonston, the botanical catalogue *Florilegium* by Emanuel Sweerts, and the astronomical atlas *Uranometria* by Johann Bayer (Fig. 3.20).⁸⁷ Reerigh must have

83 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 18 July.

84 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July.

85 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 3 August: '3 dito Augusti sijn uijt mijn huys bij mons[ieu]r Jan Jacob Ferguson gebracht de volgende boecken namentlyck 7 in folio, 13 in quarto en 102 in Octavo en[de] Duodecimo 't samen 122 boecken. P[ro] memorie.'

86 ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 20 January: '20 dito Januarij heeft Daved Rerick aen mijn gebracht de volgende boecken [new line:] 1 't Steedeboeck v[an] Savojien ongebonden [new line:] 2 d'atlas van Sanxson mede ongebonden [new line:] 3 Johannes Jonghsten van de Dieren afgeset [new line:] 4 Swertsius Flori Legi [new line:] 5 Johan Bairen [sic] urani metri. Deze 3 gebonden [referring to nrs. 3, 4 and 5] omme die met f 100 in schellingen te beleenen volgens d'obligatie daer van synde.' This passage and the contacts between Pieter and David Reerigh are discussed in J. Otten, 'Kaarttekenaars en kaartafzetteren in de dagboeken van Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707)', *Caert-Thresoor*, 14, nr. 3 (1995), pp. 55–56.

87 The *Stedeboek* is to be identified with the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, published by the heirs of Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam in 1682 (USTC 1562752). In 1693, they published a re-edition in Dutch (*Tooneel der heerschappyen van zyne koninglyke hoogheid den Hartog van Savoye, prins van Piemont, Konig van Cyprus*, Amsterdam: Pieter and Joan Blaeu, 1693). See the advertisement about this re-edition dated 9 May 1693: 'Werd bekend gemaekt, dat het vermaerde Stedeboek van Savoyen en Piemont, met de uitstekende schoone platen, van alle de steden, forten, kasteelen en heerlijkheden, voor desen in 't Latijn bij de heer Blaeuw gedrukt en uitgegeven, nu in het Nederduyts overgeset, gedrukt en te bekomen is, tot Amsterdam in de boekwinkels van Wolfgang, Waesbergen en Boom, daer de liefhebbers ook noch van de selfde exemplaren in 't Latijn kunnen voorsien worden.' (cited in I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725, Deel 3. Gegevens over de*

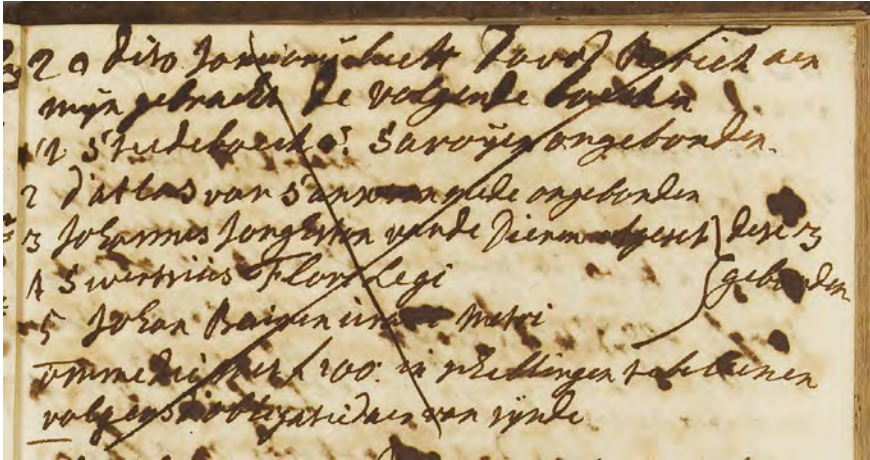


FIGURE 3.20 The passage where Pieter noted the books that the mapmaker David Reerigh brought him to be pawned, ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 20 January (transcription in note 86)

managed to pay the funds back, as none of these books are listed in Pieter's auction catalogue.

Thus far, men prominently feature in Pieter's almanacs with regard to the books he sent or borrowed. As for Jacoba, and their daughter Agneta, the extent of their use of the book collection at home is impossible to determine. Pieter would have recorded sending them books or other printed materials only when they were away from home. Jacoba is mentioned in an entry in 1667 when Pieter notes having sent her, in Oirschot at that moment, a letter with enclosed some newspapers, the key to a chest ('koffer') and some notes of their servant Albert.⁸⁸ Several years later, he sent her (likely responding to

vervaardigers, hun internationale relaties en de uitgaven A–M (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1965), p. 25. Regarding Sanson's *Atlas*: Due to the temporal proximity, we can suppose that this refers to the Dutch edition of Sanson's *Atlas Nouveau* (originally published by Alexis-Hubert Jaillot in Paris in 1681) printed by Pieter Mortier in Amsterdam in 1692 (USTC 1560729). On this Dutch edition, see Peter van der Krogt, 'Mortiers Atlas Nouveau, uit Parijs of Amsterdam?' (16 December 2021), retrieved from <https://allardpierson.nl/blog/mortiers-atlas-nouveau-uit-parijs-of-amsterdam/> (last accessed April 2024). Otten erroneously read 'Saksen' (Otten, 'Kaarttekenaars', p. 56). John Jonston's book can be identified with the *Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus libri, cum aeneis figuris* (Amsterdam: J.J. Schipper, 1657–1665; USTC 1840895 and 1841927).

88 ACA 76, inv. nr. 188A (1667), 25 June: '25 dito gesz[onden] aen myn huysvrouw tot Oirschot en gestelt de brief in handen van de boode Christoffel Luyten en is in de brief geslooten de sleutel van 't koffer, de kouranten, en memoriken van Albert.' Oirschot, a town in the province of North Brabant (between Tilburg and Eindhoven), gained popularity in the Dutch Republic and abroad due to the presence of the famous doctor Arnoldus Feij

her request) her cookbook in a moneybag while she was at their homestead, Valkenburg, in Heemstede.⁸⁹ Agneta is never mentioned in book-related almanac entries. She lived with her father in the Herengracht house until her marriage at the age of 40. Pieter thus would have no need to note the books borrowed from the library and read by her at home. A documented period in which she was away from home was between fall 1678 and fall 1679 when she went with Maria Huydecoper to Paris as a companion to Boreel's wife.⁹⁰ Despite frequent contacts during this period, there are no references to books being sent to her, contrasting with the evidence of books sent to her brother Cornelis during his time in Italy. In one entry, Pieter noted that he sent Agneta in Paris a letter enclosing a *wisselbrief* (bill of exchange) worth more than 300 guilders and that Jacoba sent her golden earrings.⁹¹ Lastly, not printed books but rather notebooks awaiting use were the gifts Pieter exchanged with his cousin Alida de Graeff (1651–1738), the daughter of his uncle Andries. Among them were a blank book in large quarto, gilt-edged and in a velvet binding, presented to her by Pieter during one of her visits, and an almanac with silver-gilt binding that she gave him when he visited her in Utrecht.⁹²

3.1 *The Books of Jacob de Graeff*

In May 1688, Pieter received his brother's luggage with clothes and books, transported from Venice on the ship *De Admiraal de Ruyter* coming from

(1633–1679). Amongst his patients was Anna of Austria, the mother of Louis XIV, whom he visited at the French court in 1665 (see W. Klaasen, 'Drievoedig 17de eeuws portret van dokter Arnoldus Feij', *Campinia*, 10 (1973), p. 78). Although the almanac entry does not provide contextual information, we can suppose that Feij was the reason why Jacoba was in Oirschot. Her sister Wendela brought her children by Feij in the summer of 1668 (A.M.H. Smeenge, 'Wendela Bicker', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 35 (1938), p. 101).

89 ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 30 July: '30 dito, gesz[onden] aen myn Huysvrouw tot Heemsteede en haer in een geldsackie toegesonden haer koockboeck, item onse Confeyt ketel of becken.'

90 The first time that Pieter records having sent a letter to her in Paris is on 24 November 1678 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 [1678]); she will return on 7 October 1679, having left Paris on 18 September (ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 [1679], undated entry, above entry of 26 October).

91 ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 23 February.

92 Respectively: ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692), 3 July: '3 dito is Nicht de vrouw v[a]n Heemsteede op een dagh heen en[de] wederom v[a]n Uytrecht alhier geweest, en[de] heeb ick aen haer v[er]eert een onbeschreven boeck in groot quarto, v[er]gult op de snee, in een Fluwele bant' and ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692), 1 November: '1 November op myn 't huyskompste v[a]n Uytrecht notere alhier hoedat de vrouw v[a]n Heemsteede aen mij v[er]eert heeft [...] een Almanack met v[er]gult silver beslagh, als aen[de] H[ee]ren gedeputeerders tot Uytrecht werd gegeven.'

Venice.⁹³ This shipment must have been made in preparation of Jacob and Cornelis's return from Italy, as they would arrive in Amsterdam that summer.⁹⁴ Although this note does not reveal which books were shipped, we can assume that books bought by Jacob during his stay in Italy were amongst them. This is an important piece of information to help explain why the number of Italian titles in Pieter's book auction catalogue is quite high in comparison with similar contemporary libraries.⁹⁵ But what, then, happened to Jacob's books after he died on 21 April 1690? The almanacs offer us plenty of evidence to reconstruct the fate of his library. We have already established that Jacob had inherited part of Frans Bannick Cocq's and Willem van der Does's books and that he had sold (a part of) these volumes in 1678. Pieter's notes contain all the information required to track down the ultimate whereabouts of the books still in Jacob's possession. On 7 June 1690, Pieter records a visit of the bookseller Hendrik Boom concerning his brother's books (Fig. 3.21):

7 dito, is mij s' morgens wesen spreucken Mons[ieu]r Boom boeckverkooper over mijn broeder sal[ige]r boecken ten huuse v[a]n mijn moeder, een omme daer van een nader Cathalogus te maecken die hij seijde wel f. 125 of f. 130 g[u]l[den] te sullen [kosten] en dat hij dan eerst bequaem soude sijn omme die te taxeren, ende om die te v[er]koopen, soo hebbe ick geseght dat bij aldien mijne moeder een nader Cathalogus die kan laeten maecken ende alleen betaelen en[de] dat voor soo veel mij aengaet ick in geen v[er]koopinge consentere, of die wil gedogen.

7 ditto, in the morning Mr. Boom, bookseller, came to speak to me about my deceased brothers' books at the house of my mother, to make a catalogue of them, which he said will cost 125 or 130 guilders, and that he then first desired to price them and to sell them, so I told him that if my mother wants such catalogue she can have one made and pay for it by herself, and that as far as I am concerned I will not agree or permit a sale.

93 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 10 May: '10 dito, door directie van Wij[brant] Ten Poortinge en Jan Jansz. schipper van mijn broeders Jacht, bekomen en 't huys ontfangen van Jan Peijn schipper op 't schip d'Admirael de Ruyter komende van venetien, een koffer met klederen, boeken enz. een kastge met roerlooopen en een gencorteert roer.'

94 ACA 76, inv. nr. 208 (1688), 28 June (the entry is on one of the pages from June, but Pieter wrote down that they arrived on 28 July).

95 More on this in chapter 5.

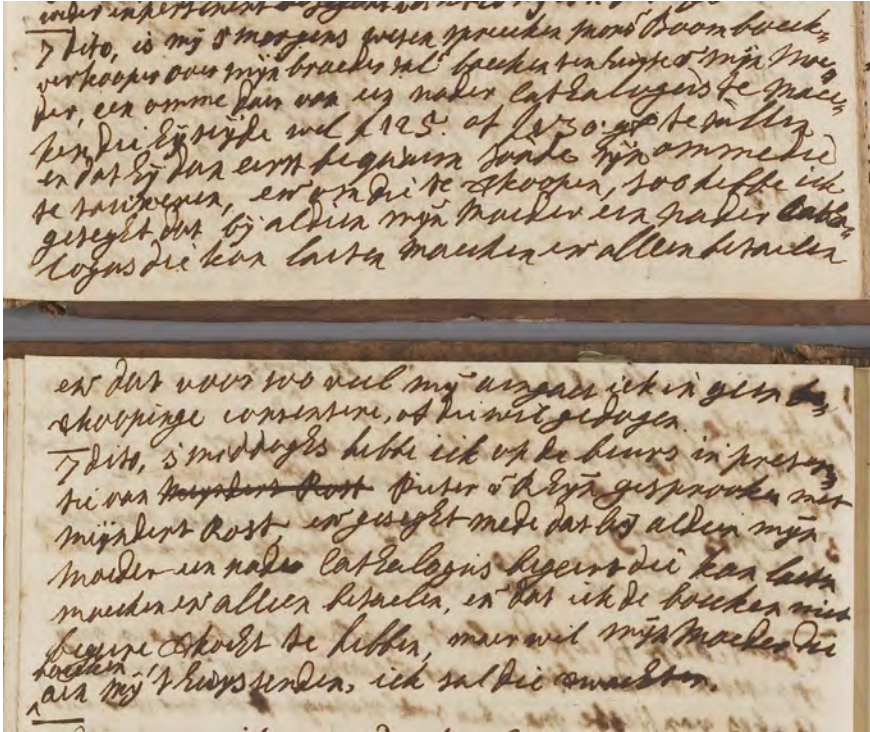


FIGURE 3.21 The entries dated 7 June 1690 about the visit of the bookseller Boom proposing to compile a catalogue of Jacob's books (ACA 76, inv. nr. 210)

Later that day, speaking to dealer Meijndert Rost at the *Beurs* in the afternoon, he restated his position:⁹⁶

7 dito, s' middaghs hebbe ick op de beurs in presentie van [strikethrough: Meijndert Rost] Pieter v[an] Rhyn gesproken met Meijndert Rost, en[de] geseght mede dat bij aldien mijn moeder een nader Catalogus begeert die kan laeten maecken en[de] alleen betaelen, en[de] dat ick de boecken niet begeere v[er]kocht te hebben, maer wil mijn moeder die boecken aen mijn 't huys senden, ick sal die v[er]wachten.

96 Pieter mentions Meijndert Rost a few times in his almanacs, frequently at the *Beurs*. He was a dealer in the VOC shares and did business in one of the share-traders' clubs (on him and the organization of these trading clubs, see Lodewijk Petram, *The world's first stock exchange* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2014], p. 171). In his banns of marriage with Jannetje Vermeulen in 1665, Rost is indicated as working at the Bank of Loan as 'suppoost' (accountant) (12 June 1665, Ondertrouwregister, archive nr. 5001, inv. nr. 487, p. 199).

7 ditto, in the afternoon I spoke at the stock exchange building with Meijndert Rost in the presence of Pieter van Rhyn, and I said that if my mother wants a catalogue she can have it made and pay for it herself, and that I do not wish to sell the books, but if my mother wants to send the books to my home, I will wait for them.⁹⁷

Two weeks later, Pieter received his brother's books – a first batch of 291 books on 28 June, followed by a second shipment the next day – at his house (Fig. 3.22):

28 Junij woensdagh hebbe ick op instantie v[an] mijn Moeder met mijn Paerd en sleede doen haelen eerst 140 stuks boecken meest folianten, en[de] opde tweede sleede syn geweest 151 stux boecken mede meest folianten somme vandaegh ontfangen 291 boecken.

29 dito weder ontfangen 2 sleden met boecken namentlyck [left blank]

28 June Wednesday, upon my mother's request, with my horse and sleigh I took the first 140 books, mostly in folio and on the second sleigh there were 151 books, also mostly in folio. In total, today received 291 books.

29 ditto, received again 2 sleighs with books, namely [left blank]

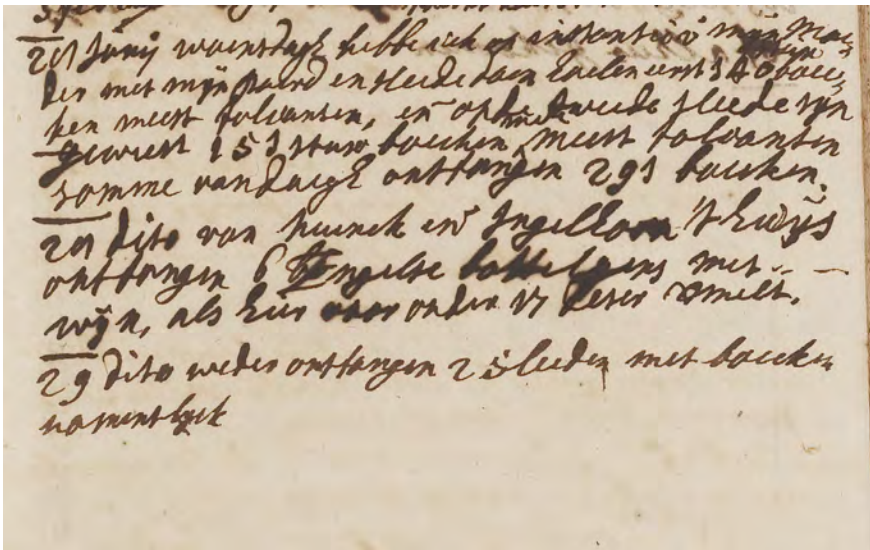


FIGURE 3.22 The entries dated 28 and 29 June 1690 where Pieter noted that he had received his brother's books at home (ACA 76, inv. nr. 210)

97 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 7 June.

The second time, the space left blank shows that more information was meant to follow about the division of books according to their formats, which unfortunately Pieter did not write down. Since two sleighs were used both days, it can be inferred that each contained a similar number of books, and perhaps there were even more on the second day if the books were in smaller formats. At the time of his death, Jacob therefore possessed a library of a few hundred books that were kept at their mother's house at Herengracht 216. Given the location, we can infer that these books were part of their father's library, the ownership of which was shared by the brothers. Upon Jacob's death, his portion of books passed on to Pieter who brought them in his house. The construction of an additional bookcase for one of their sons in the library, which Jacoba commissioned during Pieter's absence about a month later, hints indeed that more space for books had become necessary.⁹⁸

4 1696–1707

In his last decade, Pieter continued to pursue his interest in collecting commemorative medals, while references to books and to the network of people associated with these exchanges decrease in the almanacs.⁹⁹ Pieter was also still pursuing his plan to write a book on his family history (the *Groot Geslacht Boeck* mentioned in previous chapters), which progressively took on a more definitive form. In December 1698, he noted down that Bartholomeus van Petersom, a nephew of Hans Jansz van Petersom, had asked him what he intended to give him for writing the description of Zuid-Polsbroek in his genealogy book, and that they agreed to follow a decision – unspecified – taken by Bartholomeus's uncle.¹⁰⁰ Most likely the reference is to the agreement made when Pieter had spoken with Hans Jansz van Petersom on 14 July 1693. When asking Hans Jansz how he could compensate his brother for writing his

98 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July. This entry is further discussed in chapter 6.

99 On references to medals, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 10 February: '10 Februarij aen Jeremias van Raeie ter hant gestelt 't Extract uijt de Haerlemse Courant van 6 deser Feb[ruarij] van 't geen in dato 18 Januarij 1698 werd gesz[onden] uijt Stocholm, hij Jeremias van Raeie heeft aen genomen met 't eerste schip alle die v[er]sochte silvere medalien van Stockholm te doen komen.'

100 ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 15 December: '15 dito wanneer op dato Bartholomeus van Peterzoon aen mij vroegde wat ick aen hem toeleijde voor 't schrijven v[an] de beschrijvinge v[an] Zuidpolsbroeck in mijn Genealogie boeck, soo hebbe ick voorgeslaegen en hij te vreedden geweest van sulx te v[er]blijven aen d'Uijtspraeck oft wel [two unreadable words added as interlinear insertions] oordeel van desselfs oom Hans Jansz van Peterzon.'

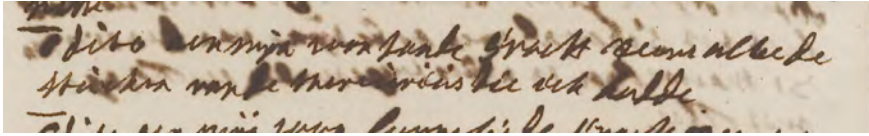


FIGURE 3.23 The gift to his son Jan of all his copies of the 'Mercurius', ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 6 April (transcription in note 103)

genealogy book, Hans Jansz had replied that Pieter 'would have never been reminded about that'.¹⁰¹ That this book was completed is substantiated by the listing of 'a genealogy book in folio mostly written by the deceased Jan van Petersom' amongst the possessions of Pieter's son Cornelis, which were divided after his death between his sister Agneta and the widow of his brother Jan, Joanna Hooft.¹⁰² As mentioned in chapter 1, the Amsterdam City Archives keep the transcription (supposedly made at the time of Pieter's grandchild Gerrit) of this final version.

The last notes about books that appear in the almanacs relate to items that Pieter gifted to family members. On 6 April 1698, he records having given all of his copies of the 'Mercurius' to his son Jan (Fig. 3.23).¹⁰³ This could refer to the periodical *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, which is listed in the auction catalogue with six volumes.¹⁰⁴ Alternatively, the passage may refer to the *Hollandsche Mercurius*, which was published from 1651 to 1691 in Haarlem and available at booksellers in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁵ If this is the case, we would have another series of journals that Pieter possessed in addition to those sold at the auction. Lastly, on 14 May 1704, a note written in a different hand recorded that Pieter gave two books in quarto to Jean Baptiste de Hochepeid (who had married his daughter

101 ACA 76, inv. nr. 213 (1693), 14 July: '14 dito Hans Jansz Peterson mij begroetende, hebbe ick met hem gesproken hoedaenigh te contenteren desselfs broeder over 't schrijven van 't boeck van mijne geslacht Registers etc. soo heeft geseght dat ick noijt daer over soude gemaent werden.'

102 'Een genealogie boek in folio meest door de hand van wijlen Jan van Petersom' in the document concerning the division of the properties left by Cornelis de Graeff which were under *fideicommissum*, dated 29 April 1723 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A98, unpaginated).

103 ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 06 April: '6 dito aen mijn soon Jan de Graeff v[er]eert alle de stucken van de Mercurius die ick hadde.'

104 *Catalogus Librorum (...)* Petri De Graeff, p. 58, nr. 438.

105 See *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften*, s.v. 'Hollandsche Mercurius (1651–1691)', available at <https://www.ent1815.nl/h/hollandsche-mercurius-1651-1691/> (last accessed April 2024). I thank Judith Brouwer for pointing this out to me.

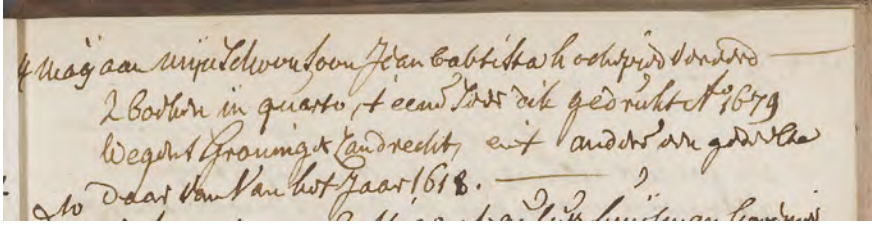


FIGURE 3.24 The gift of two books to his son-in-law Jean Baptiste de Hoche pied, ACA 76, inv. nr. 223 (1704), 14 May (transcription in note 107)

Agneta in November 1703):¹⁰⁶ ‘one very thick’, on the ‘Groninger Landrecht’ that had been printed in 1679; the other a part of the same book printed in 1618 (Fig. 3.24).¹⁰⁷ This is the last note on books found in his almanacs.

5 Tracing Pieter’s Book Possession and Interests from His Almanacs: Final Remarks

Pieter’s almanacs have provided a much more variegated picture of what kind of printed and manuscript materials he had in hand during his lifetime than what could have been sketched solely by looking at the book auction catalogue or his probate inventories. The research thus far presented has also provided the necessary context for the analysis of the catalogue. What we see emerging from the almanacs confirms Pieter’s role as a keeper of books and documents belonging to his family members, which he himself used both to reconstruct his family history and to hand out to family and acquaintances for their consultation. Besides his interest in genealogical research, we also see his involvement in contemporary matters in connection with his administrative and political duties and resulting from his large social network.

106 ACA, archive nr. 5001 Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand), inv. nr. 536 (1 June 1703–31 March 1704), 23 November 1703, p. 230. A different hand helping Pieter to write his almanacs is already present sporadically in 1703 and later years.

107 ACA 76, inv. nr. 223 (1704), 14 May: ‘14 maij aan mijne schoonsoon Jean Bapstista Hoche pied vereerd 2 boeken in quarto, ’t eene seer dik gedrukt A[nn]o 1679 wegent Groninger Landrecht, en ’t andere een gedeelte daar van van het Jaar 1618’. Respectively the *Landrecht van Hunsingo, Fyvelingo, ende het Wester-quartier* (Groningen, 1679; STCN: 82283247X) and *Dat nye land-recht van Hunsingo, Fyvelingo, ende het Wester-quartier* (Groningen, 1618; STCN: 830648496).

As for his reading interests, the entries present a picture of a practically oriented reader, though this impression might be a result of these almanacs' purpose. Not meant to record thoughts and personal matters, they served as a memory aid for the oversight of ongoing transactions, purchases, planning and epistolary exchanges. Directly and indirectly, the almanacs demonstrate his interests in numismatics, genealogy and contemporary historical accounts, but what Pieter read for his own leisure does not clearly emerge. On only one occasion do we happen to know the title of a book from his own reading list, Fienus's *De viribus imaginationis*, which is also present in the book catalogue. This entry allows us to reconstruct the context in which the book was acquired: it was recommended by the doctor who had visited his sick wife and, as such, it provides a glimpse of beliefs and approaches to illnesses and health at that time. In this case too, however, reading this book served a practical purpose.

With regard to the analysis and contextualization of the auction catalogue it is also interesting that certain books mentioned in the almanacs are present in the catalogue – and hence it has been possible to clarify how and from whom Pieter came to possess them – even as many books referred to in his almanacs were not included in the auctioned collection. He in fact bought several volumes in order to send these books to someone else (especially on matters of current political and administrative matters); others were borrowed by acquaintances (and, in some cases, might have never been returned); and some were manuscripts from his ancestors, not sold at the auction. This source has therefore been crucial to further profile Pieter as a gatherer and distributor of printed and handwritten materials and to shed light on the social network involved in the exchanges and purchases of these items. The more than 2,300 books contained in the catalogue may situate Pieter within the upper range of book owners, but the impression given by his almanacs is that he was not a bibliophile. Indications of particular interest in collecting books or of searches for old and rare editions are nowhere to be found in his writings. If that was the case, surely Pieter would have recorded his new acquisitions as meticulously as he did his purchases of coins and medals.

Finally, what Pieter's almanacs have allowed us to bring into focus is the role of his brother Jacob as a major player in the book circulation revolving around Pieter. We know the titles of some of the books he borrowed from his older brother, and we know that he acted as intermediary for books that Pieter obtained or sent to other persons. The almanacs have also been a crucial source of information to identify other book collections that became part of Jacob's, most notably that of Frans Banninck Cocq, and to securely confirm that Jacob's books were brought to Herengracht 573 after his death. In conclusion, this evidence allows us to substantiate the argument that the book

catalogue also contains certain books previously owned by Jacob, as well as by other members of Pieter's extended family. In particular, the references to the books that the brothers shared and the presence of Jacob's books at their mother's demonstrate the existence of the private library of their father, burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff, in his home at Herengracht 216. This house had been constructed around 1617 by Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz, who lived there with his wife and children; after his death it passed on to Pieter's father. Pieter inherited the property after the death of his mother, who had continued to live in the house after her husband's death.¹⁰⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that Jacob Dircksz de Graeff had his own library there, which (partly) passed on to Cornelis. If this is true, the catalogue must therefore reveal traces of Jacob Dircksz's and Cornelis's collection, reflecting the legacy of their intellectual pursuits.

108 The passages of property of Herengracht 216 are discussed in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Vier eeuwen Herengracht. Geveltekeningen van alle huizen aan de gracht, twee historische overzichten en de beschrijving van elk pand met zijn eigenaars en bewoners* (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij van Amsterdam, 1976), p. 470.

Probate Inventories as Sources for Book Ownership: Pieter's Houses at Herengracht, Valkenburg, Velsen and Ilpendam

This chapter examines what kind of information is contained in the probate inventories of Pieter's main residence at Herengracht 573 in Amsterdam, his country houses at Valkenburg in Heemstede and at Velsen, and *Hoff* Ilpenstein in Ilpendam.¹ The questions to be investigated revolve around the presence of books in those inventories and the locations where these books were kept. The inventories and other archival documents where available will be used as guides to navigate the interiors in order to contextualize the presence of books within their domestic spatial setting.

1 Herengracht 573

Construction began on the house on the Herengracht in 1664, on four empty parcels acquired in January of that year by Pieter and his father (Fig. 4.1).² The probate inventory, in combination with some spatial clues from Pieter and Jacoba's testaments and his almanacs, allows the house's inner spatial arrangement to be reconstructed. Twentieth-century plans and sections as well as several on-site inspections helped in this process.³ In the main house, cellars were located in the semi-basement, towards the street side, and the kitchen

1 For the inventories of Herengracht and Ilpenstein, see ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 425–493 (Herengracht) and pp. 509–552 (Ilpenstein), notary Michiel Servaas (nr. 199), 8 March 1709. For Valkenburg and Velsen, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, fols. 1–10r (Valkenburg) and fols. 10r–11r (Velsen), notary Johan vander Poel, 6 and 20 January 1709.

2 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 2723, p. 951, notary Vincent Swanenburgh (nr. 119), 29 April 1664. Pieter will pay his mother 4,000 guilders to buy out her share of the property, see ACA 5075, inv. nr. 2725, pp. 75–6, notary Vincent Swanenburgh (nr. 119), 12 January 1665. See also chapter 2.

3 The reconstruction process of the house is further detailed in C. Piccoli, 'Methodological section: Creating the 3D reconstruction of the house', in W. Li and C. Piccoli, 'Placing value in domestic interiors. 3D spatial mapping of Pieter de Graeff and Jacoba Bicker's home art collection', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 139, nr. 2 (2024), pp. 4–37. The history of the house and its owners is further discussed in C. Piccoli, 'A peek behind the façade. The *Virtual Interiors* approach to visualise Herengracht 573 in the 17th century', *Storia Urbana*, 173 (2022 [2024]), pp. 79–98.

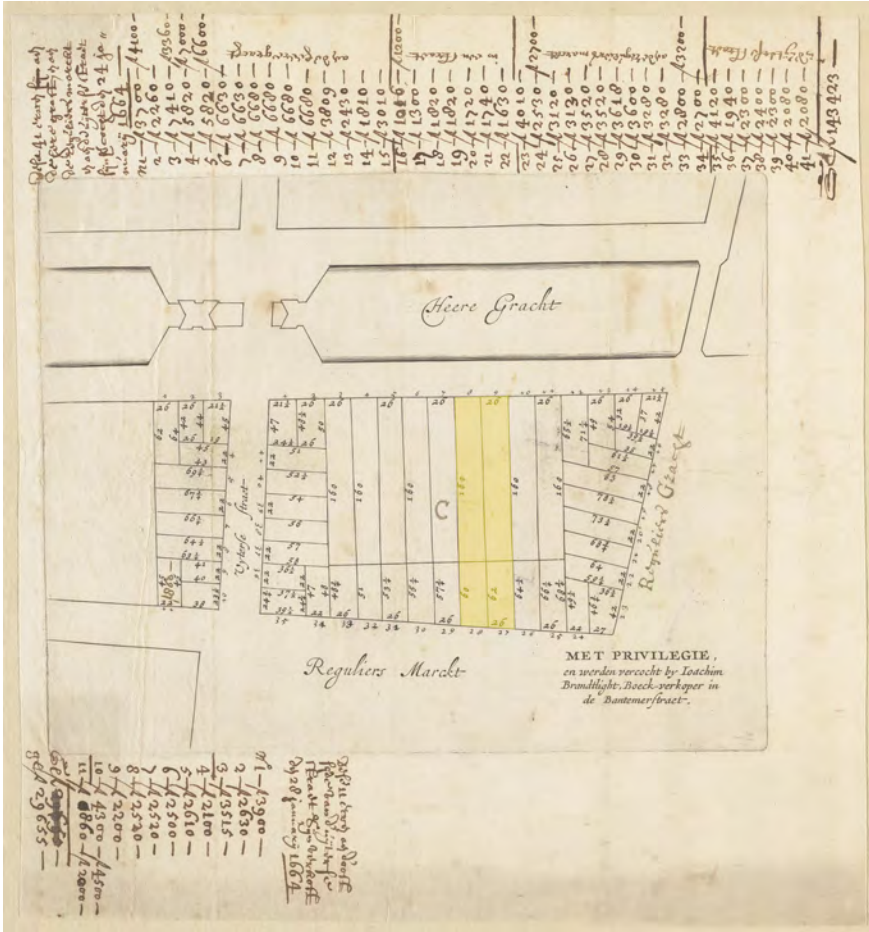


FIGURE 4.1 The parcels (highlighted in yellow) purchased by Pieter and his father. ACA, Collectie Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Kaart voor de gronduitgifte van de kavels tussen de Herengracht (28 January 1664)

on the same floor had direct access to the garden in the back; one floor up, on the *bel-etage*, the entrance hall (*voorhuis*) could be reached from the street level via a flight of steps and was flanked by the two reception rooms (to the left the *kleijne zijdelkamer* – small side room – and to the right the *grootte tapijtte kamer* – large tapestry room).⁴ Fig. 4.2 displays the earliest visual evidence of the house's façade with the original location of the main entrance on the

4 On the changes that the *voorhuis* underwent and for a reconstruction hypothesis of this room see Piccoli, 'Home-making'.

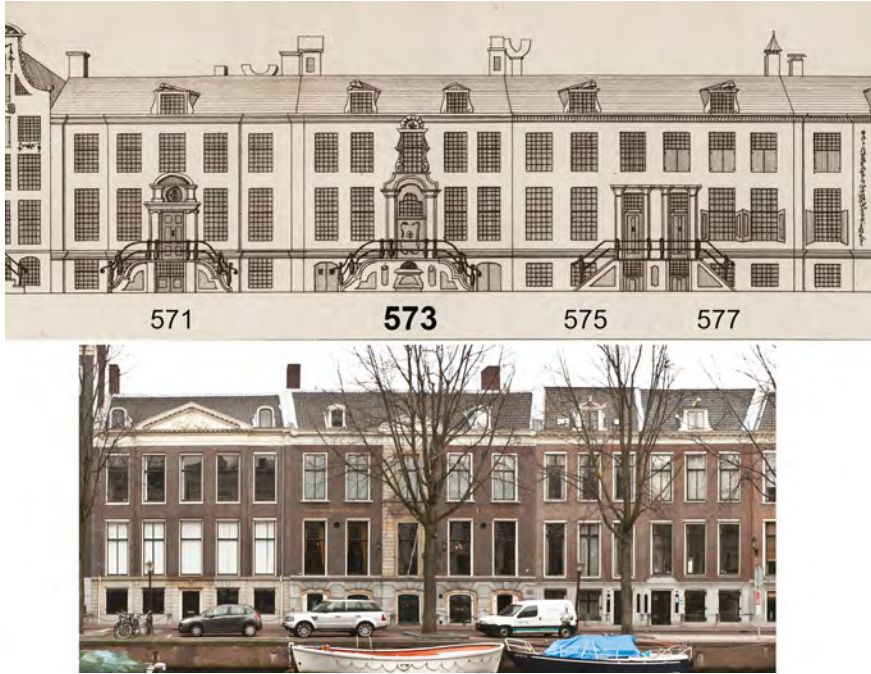


FIGURE 4.2 Above: The Herengracht 573 and neighbouring houses in Caspar Philips' *Grachtenboek* (1768–1771), the earliest preserved visual reference of the façade with the original access from the street. Below: A recent picture of the same houses (Shinij Otani, 2012)

bel-etage. At the back on this level were the dining room and Pieter's bedroom, with a view onto the garden; ascending one flight of stairs, one would have accessed the *comptoir* and the children's bedrooms, all overlooking the garden; after another flight of stairs, one would have found the other three rooms facing the Herengracht: the *boeken kamer* (the library) above, and possessing the same dimensions as, the entrance hall, with the *groene kamer* ('green room') and the *grote kamer* ('grand salon') on either side. Another flight of stairs led to the *camer solder*, the room under the attic divided into two areas, and to a *porcelijn kamertje*, a smaller room with cabinets and porcelain. A floor further up was taken up by the attic (*solder*) under the roof, serving mainly as a space for storage and to dry clothes. After the garden, the property continued in the typical layout of large Amsterdam canal houses with the stable, coach house and personnel housing. In this house, which faced the Reguliersmarkt, Pieter and Jacoba had two rooms available for rent above the coach house.

Although the functions of various rooms have likely transformed over time to meet the family's changing needs, archival records consistently indicate that

the library has always been situated in the same room of the house. However, the terminology used to refer to it in the documents varied slightly over time. In an almanac entry dated 28 April 1670 concerning the keys for some of the rooms, Pieter called it the 'room above the entrance hall' ('Camer boven 't voorhuys').⁵ In 1676, however, he clearly identified it as the room where he kept his books when he wrote down that Gerard Brandt had chosen a number of pamphlets 'in the book chamber above our entrance hall' ('op de boeckenkamer boven ons voorhuys').⁶ In 1690, the room is referred to again as the 'small room above our entrance hall' ('t Camertge boven 't voorhuys') when Pieter notes that during his absence Jacoba had commissioned an additional bookcase for their son from an artisan.⁷ Even if the space is not explicitly called a library in this case, the reference to the presence of bookcases testifies to that function. The same reference ('camertie boven 't voorhuys') is used in Pieter and Jacoba's testament of 1688, where it clearly identifies the place where books, papers and maps were kept.⁸ In the testament of 1695, it is called the 'Boeke Camer (zijnde de Camer boven het voorhuijs van deselve huijsinge)'.⁹ Finally, in the inventory drawn up in 1709, the header 'Op de Boeken kamer' is an unmistakable characterisation of this room.¹⁰

Neither books nor bookcases are mentioned under this header but only a few furnishings for the room. The absence of bookcases in the library is explained by their being fixed furniture which were not valued and therefore were not included amongst the movable objects in the inventory. The almanac entry referring to the commission of an additional bookcase confirms their existence. A note written in smaller letters under the inventoried items of the *boeken kamer* informs us that there and elsewhere in the house there was 'a quantity' of books, for which another specification was to be made (Fig. 4.3).¹¹ This standard formula signals the presence of a large quantity of books, as can also be observed in other inventories.¹² The 'elsewhere' is explained by the

5 ACA 76, inv. nr. 190 (1670), 28 April.

6 ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 17 November, already mentioned in chapter 3.

7 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July.

8 ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2 (not. Godefridus Bullik, 28 May 1688), unpaginated: 'alle onse boeken papieren ende kaarten soo sullen bevonden werden op 't camertie boven 't voorhuys.'

9 ACA 76, inv. nr. 609, Portefeuille 2, series nr. 7 (not. Gerrit Steman, 31 January 1695), fol. 17, which translates as 'Book room (namely the room above the entrance hall of this house).'

10 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 445.

11 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 445: 'op de voorsz[eijde] kamer en elders een quantityt boeken, waarvan andere specificatie staat gemaakt te werden.'

12 José de Kruijff, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), p. 149.

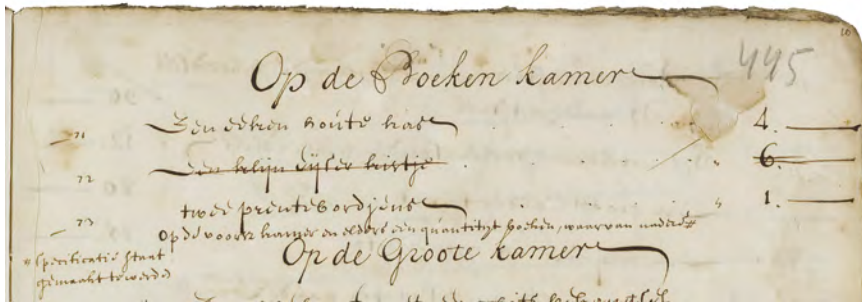


FIGURE 4.3 The section dedicated to the *boeken kamer* in Pieter's inventory with the note specifying that books were present in this room and elsewhere in the house ('op de voorsz[eijde] kamer en elders een quantityt boeken, waarvan andere specificatie staat gemaakt te werden'), ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, p. 445

already mentioned information from Pieter and Jacoba's testaments: in addition to books in the *boeken kamer*, there were also books in the *comptoir* and in a 'hekje' in the *camer solder*. Figure 4.4 shows these locations highlighted as they have been identified during the digital reconstruction process of the entire house.

Regarding the *comptoir*, its presence is hinted at by the header 'op de opgang naa 't Comptoir' ('on the stairs towards the office'), which is listed between the *kamer van den jongen Heer* ('the room of the young lord') and the *voorhuis* (entrance hall) in the inventory.¹³ The related section for this room, however, is placed only at the end of this document (p. 475) and contains only jewellery and other small objects. Most of its contents had been part of the goods bequeathed to Cornelis, and hence were recorded in that list. Because this document lists objects from the *comptoir*, the *boeken kamer* and the *camer solder*, it is not possible to determine with certainty how Pieter's office was furnished. Contemporary visual sources on *comptoirs* give the impression of rather small, full rooms. For example, in the *comptoir* of Petronella de la Court's dollhouse (Fig. 4.5) the man of the house, seated at his writing table, is surrounded by books in a bookcase and on shelves. The function of *comptoirs* as places to store books is confirmed by other cases, such as in the case of Hugo Grotius, who kept his books there.¹⁴ By surveying the interior of the standing house and cross-referencing what one finds inside with the headers in the inventory and

13 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 450.

14 See Willemijn Fock, *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600–1900* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2001), p. 23.

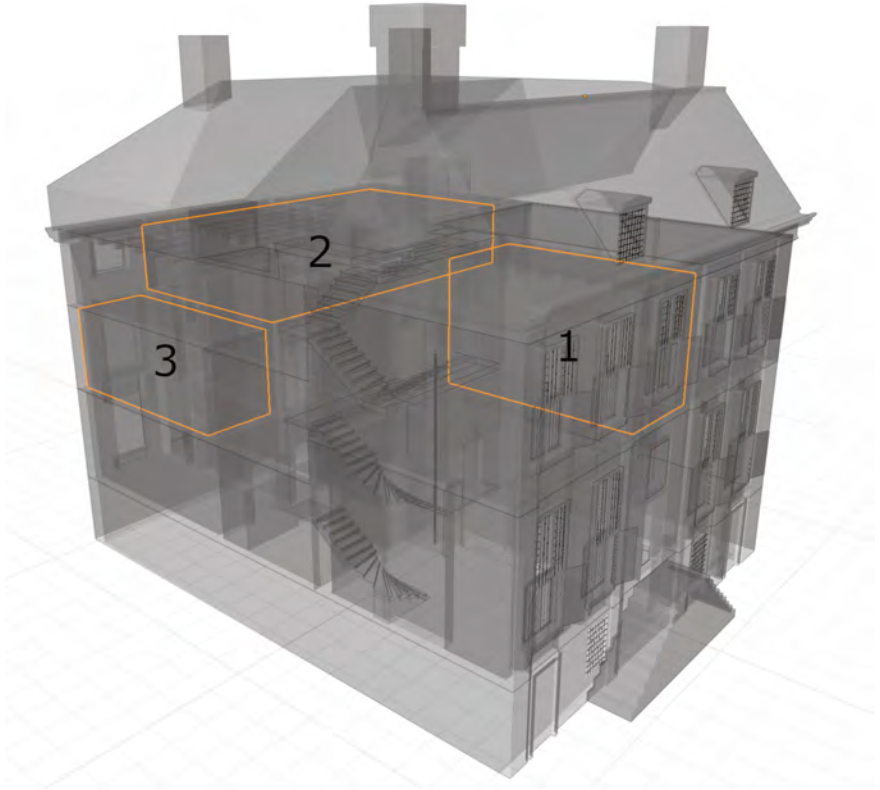


FIGURE 4.4 The locations where books were stored in the house on the Herengracht, identified by integrating the information contained in the inventory, in Pieter's almanacs, in his and his wife's testaments and the still-standing house: 1) *Boeken kamer* (with the *groene kamer* on its left side and the *grote kamer* on the right); 2) *Camer solder*; 3) *Comptoir* (image author)

the information contained in the testaments, it has been possible to identify the location of Pieter's office (Fig. 4.4, nr. 3). This room, somewhat smaller than the library (2.5×5 m), might have contained a couple of bookcases and a few shelves, as well as a chest in which books could be kept. Certainly, a writing table and one or more chairs numbered amongst some of the furniture pieces that this room would have accommodated. However, as it is not clear what else was there, it is impossible to make estimates of the shelf space or, hence, the number of books it might have contained.

The *camer solder* was a larger space, divided into two parts (ca. 5.6×6.8 and 5.8×8.4 m respectively). An already mentioned almanac entry attests to a bookcase in this room (again, not recorded in the inventory). It is not clear how many more places were available in this room for the keeping of books, but we certainly should not expect the room's walls to have been taken up entirely



FIGURE 4.5 The *comptoir* in Petronella de la Court's dollhouse (Amsterdam, 1674–1690; Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. nr. 5000)

with bookshelves. In fact, its furnishings were much more abundant than those of the library and, according to what was recorded in the inventory, included a couch ('rustbank'), a cypress chest, a cloth press, a couple of cupboards and a few small tables, as well as several print boards and some (small) paintings on the walls. Most likely, there were other furniture pieces that could hold books and that were amongst the items bequeathed to Cornelis (for example, some of the chests listed in the document). The '*hekje*' mentioned in the testaments is possibly one of those typical wooden racks used to organize letters and other documents, which are often seen in paintings depicting (notary's) offices. One such *hekje* is visible in front of the table in the *comptoir* of Petronella de la Court's dollhouse (Fig. 4.5). Pieter mentioned the *hekje* in an almanac entry where he notes having stored a letter that he found curious amongst other documents in a money bag and having placed it there.¹⁵

15 ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 19 May: '[...] welcke missive [van de Heer B. Busch] als van curiosheijt sijnde, ick geleght hebbe bij eenige verdere documenten van het Geslacht van Luersma in een geldsaeckge in 't Heckge op de Camersolder [...].'

The presence of lecterns in other rooms recorded by the notary clerks reminds us that while books were stored in the three locations mentioned in the testaments, they were read not just there but also in other rooms in the house. For example, two lecterns (one made of walnut wood, and another with a green cloth and an inkpot) were recorded in the room of the young lord, and an oak lectern on a stand was in the *provisie kamertje* (small supply room).¹⁶

2 Valkenburg

Pieter's homestead Valkenburg was located in a village south of Haarlem called Heemstede, a place where several important families from Amsterdam and Haarlem had country houses.¹⁷ Valkenburg, also called Hulstenaar, was situated at the convergence of Valkenburgerlaan and Heemstedse Dreef, close to the square (which corresponds to the current Valkenburgplein) and the church (Fig. 4.6).¹⁸ Pieter came into its possession from his aunt Christina de Graeff, who had inherited it from her late husband, Pieter Trip. In 1675, she sold it to Gerrit Bicker van Swieten, Andries de Graeff and Pieter, who in June 1684 bought out the other owners and became its only proprietor.¹⁹ He straightened the fence along the village square, refurbished the house (several entries in his almanacs refer to materials and household effects sent to Heemstede), and a few years later enlarged the property by buying an orchard to the south (called Duinendorp).²⁰ On 21 April 1684 Pieter went to Valkenburg for the first time; it would become a regular destination for him and his family.²¹ As mentioned in chapter 2, Cornelis was often resident there from 1696 onwards. Jan, too, was occasionally to be found there.²² Pieter would often use Valkenburg as an intermediate place to pause during his journeys to The Hague and Haarlem.²³

16 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 450 ('een lessenaartje van noteboomen hout'; 'een lessenaartje met groen bekleed ende een tinne inktkokertje') and 457 ('een eekenhoute lessenaar met desselfes voet') respectively.

17 J.W. Groesbeek, *Heemstede in de historie. Leven, werken, handel en koehandel in de woonplaats van Emece* (Heemstede: Gemeentebestuur van Heemstede, 1972), pp. 66–67.

18 ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), 10 May.

19 See A. van Damme, *De buitenplaatsen te Heemstede, Berkenrode en Bennebroek, 1628–1811* (Haarlem: Gebr. van Brederode, 1903), p. 8 and Groesbeek, *Heemstede*.

20 See J. Otten, 'Kaarttekenaars en Kaartafzetteren in de dagboeken van Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707)', *Caert-Thresoor*, 14, nr. 3 (1995), p. 53, Groesbeek, *Heemstede*, p. 67 and ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), *passim*.

21 ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), 21 April.

22 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 16 April and October, *passim*.

23 ACA 76, inv. nr. 184A, *passim*.



FIGURE 4.6 Section of the second edition of the 'Kaart van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland (vierde deel)' by Cornelis Danckerts (1), 1687. The location of Valkenburg ('Hulstenhaag') enlarged. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-10-8D

He commissioned Romeyn de Hooge to draw his property in perspective and Johannes Leupenius to draw its map.²⁴ Valkenburg was inherited by Pieter's daughter Agneta, who also bought the nearby inn 'De Zwaan'. A map made on the occasion of her request to extend the stone-footed fence, standing in front of the Valkenburg homestead up to the garden house of the Duinendorp homestead, allows us to see the locations of these places (Fig. 4.7).

24 See ACA 76, inv. nr. 209 (1689), 13 December: '13 dito, met een Jong knechtie v[an] Romeyn de Hoge ontfangen 't Caertge van onse Hofsteede valckenburgh in 't perspectief [...]' and ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 6 August: '6 Augusti aen Johannes Leupenius Lantmeter laeten 't huys brengen 4 stux een Cartge in profil bij Monix na dat van Romeijn de Hooge gecopieert, een witte opgespannen doeck omme een platte gront van mijn Hofsteede tot Heemsteede op te maecken, een ouwe Caertge van de Hofsteede tot Heemsteede A[nn]o 1654 bij Ant[ony] van de Wal Lantmeter gemaect, en een teijckening van de plattegront bij Reijnier Pietersz Timmerman op mijn begeeren gemaect. NB dese 4 stux wederom ontfangen den 16 November 1691.' Currently both drawings remain unidentified.

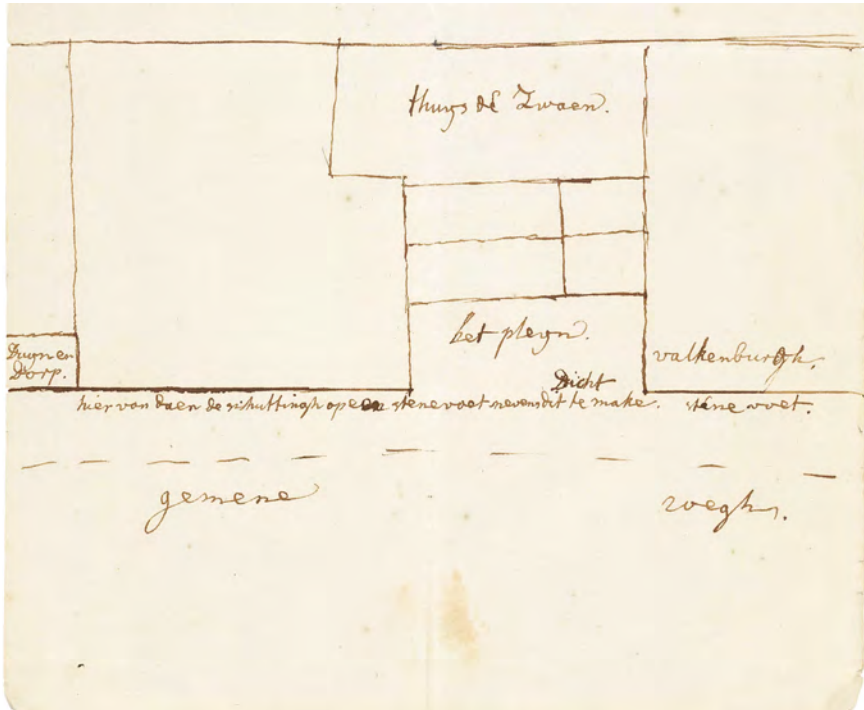


FIGURE 4.7 The map made in 1713 in occasion of Agneta's request to extend the stone-footed fence standing in front of the Valkenburg homestead. 'Kaart van de hofstede Valkenburgh, herberg De Swaan en hofstede Duijnendorp in Heemstede', 1713. Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland, Leiden, Collectie Kaarten, 30A Kaarten en technische tekeningen, inv. nr. A-3823

The inventory drawn up at Valkenburg upon Pieter's death is divided into rooms, which gives us some idea about the interior spaces. It starts with the *haver solder* and the *cleer solder*, the attic where oats were stored and clothes were left to dry, then passes through the servants' room (*kneghts kamer*), a corridor (*gangh*), and an alcove room (*alkoove kamer*). On the main floor the entrance hall (*voorhuijs*) was flanked by a large side room to its left (*grootte linckerzij kamer*) and a smaller one to the right (*kleijne zij kamer*). The dining room (*eetsael*) was located in the back. One floor below were the cellar (*kelder kamertje*) and the kitchen (*keucken*). An additional room, called *Adolffs kamertje* in the inventory, completes the survey of the house. The homestead was provided with two coach houses, one made of wood (*houte koets huijs*) and the other of stone (*steene koets huijs*), as well as a horse stable (*paerde stal*) and a wooden shed (*houten schuur*).

Amongst the items listed in this document is a total of six books, all religious in nature. In the entrance hall, there were a Ravesteyn Bible in folio

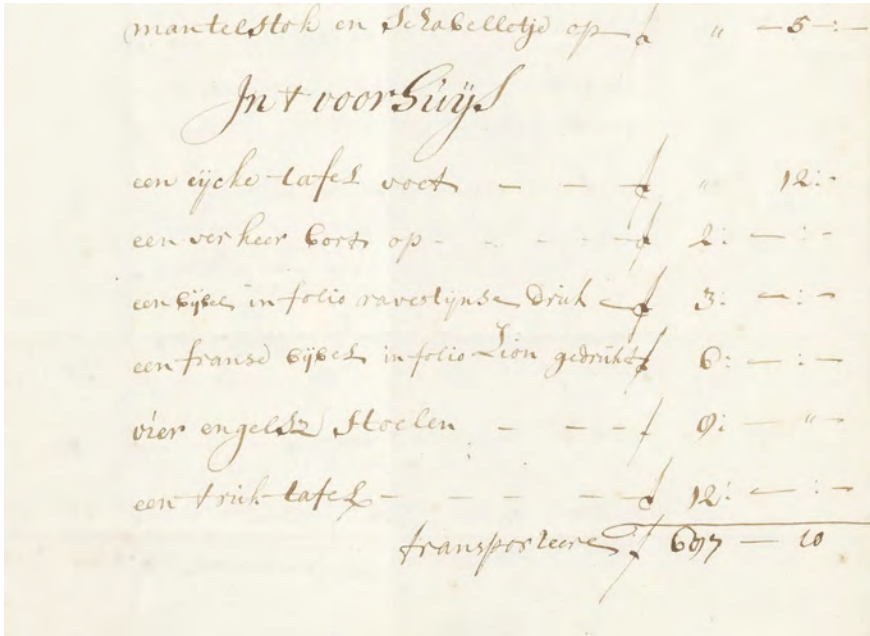


FIGURE 4.8 Section from the inventory of Valkenburg on the entrance hall with the two Bibles (ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, fol. 5v)

(the so-called *Statenbijbel*, first printed at Leiden in 1637 by Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn) and one in the same format in French, printed in Lyon (Fig. 4.8).²⁵ A Ravesteyn Bible in folio is also present in the book auction catalogue.²⁶ In the dining room, the inventory lists a Testament and a book of psalms in duodecimo with silver fittings, one with silver clasps and another with copper clasps.²⁷ The Ravesteyn Bible and the small psalm book were bequeathed to Agneta, while the French Bible and the small psalm book with silver clasps were granted to Jan.²⁸

The small number of books listed at Valkenburg hints at the different use that the family made of this house, which served as a stopover and a temporary residence, as opposed to the Herengracht house. In addition, it may also indicate that this house was less suitable for the permanent holding of books in good condition. The two passages in the almanacs recording the shipping of

25 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, 5v: 'een bijbel in folio ravestijns druk, f. 3' and 'een franse bijbel in folio Lion gedrukt, f. 6.'

26 *Catalogus*, p. 1, nr. 9: 'Bijbel met annotatien. 't Amst[eldam], by Ravesteyn / 1657. gr[oot] pap[ier]' sold for f. 6:10.

27 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, 6v: 'een testament en psalm boekje in duodecimo met silver beslagh, f. 3'; 'een dito met silver knipjes, f. 1'; 'een dito met koopere knipjes, f. 0:5.'

28 See ACA, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, unpaginated.

Jacoba's cooking book in July 1685 and the three baskets with books packed by Cornelis in April 1698 indeed offer evidence that books were sent or brought to Valkenburg when they were needed.²⁹

3 Velsen

Velsen, a village to the north of Haarlem, was the place of Jacob's *buitenplaats*. In 1667 he had come into possession of a house located northwest of the church via the inheritance of his late wife, Maria van der Does (Fig. 4.9). That same year he bought some nearby land and in 1669 he came into possession of the house just south of the one he already owned and with which it shared the cellar.³⁰ Judging by the letters that Pieter addressed to him, Jacob was often in Velsen and their mother, Catharina, was also occasionally there.³¹ From February 1678 onwards Pieter would rent out Jacob's homestead and orchard in Velsen.³² That Jacob offered this property for rent must be seen in relation to the inheritance he had received from Maria Overlander. She had died at the end of January that year and, as mentioned, she had bequeathed Ilpenstein to him. Velsen therefore became superfluous. Pieter and Jacoba would go on to make some ameliorations to the property and for a number of years would use it as their *buitenplaats* during the summer.³³

From an almanac entry dated 24 February 1684, we know that Pieter had thought about selling or renting out Valkenburg but had decided to keep it, given that no one had come forward with an offer to buy or rent it.³⁴ Having acquired the full property of Valkenburg, Pieter no longer needed his brother's *buitenplaats* in Velsen and wanted to know what Jacob wanted to do about it. As Jacob's reply was to ask Pieter to keep Velsen, saying that he was interested in neither rent nor money from it, Pieter decided that he would first refurbish

29 ACA 76, inv. nr. 205 (1685), 30 July and ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 15 April, both discussed in chapter 2.

30 See J. Morren, 'De boerderijen in het dorp Velsen en langs de Heerenweg in het Adrichemmerdienden gebied', *Ledenbulletin Historisch Genootschap Midden-Kennemerland*, 34 (2010), pp. 34–48.

31 See e.g. October and November 1672, July 1673, November 1674, June and November 1675.

32 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 26 February, and 9 and 24 April.

33 For the ameliorations, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 10 June; inv. nr. 203 (1683), 7, 17 and 20 September. For the summer use, see ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 21 July; inv. nr. 199 (1679), 16 August; inv. nr. 201 (1681), 20 June; inv. nr. 202 (1682), 13 July. In the summer of 1680, the De Graeffs went to Brussels with the Huydecopers and then invited them in their *buitenplaats* in Velsen (Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, p. 196).

34 ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), 24 February.



FIGURE 4.9 Section of the second edition of the 'Kaart van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland (vierde deel)' by Cornelis Danckerts (1), 1687, with Velsen enlarged. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-10-8D

Velsen to see whether it would be best to sell this property or Valkenburg.³⁵ In the end he would keep both. In Velsen's first tax registration in 1704 Pieter is indicated as the owner of the two houses, which he rented out.³⁶ The houses in Velsen passed down to his son Jan, who built a large mansion out of the two and called it 's Gravenlust', a play on words indicating that it was a place of leisure for the De Graeffs.³⁷ The mansion will then be inherited by one of Jan's daughters, Jacoba Adriana, and will cease to belong to the De Graeff family in 1742, when she sold it to Hendrik Ter Smitten.³⁸

In one of the entries Petrus de Fremeri wrote for him in the travel journals he kept at Valkenburg, Pieter recorded that on 21 May 1705, Ascension Day, he, his son Jan and De Fremeri picked up Romeyn de Hooghe from Haarlem and went together to Velsen. There, he said, they had a meal at Jan's 'new house'.³⁹ It is possible that Pieter had already given one of the two houses to Jan and that he kept his ownership of the other (although further archival research is needed to clarify whether this was indeed the case). The inventory of household

35 ACA 76, inv. nr. 204 (1684), 24 February.

36 See Morren, 'De boerderijen', p. 40. References to renting this property include: ACA 76, inv. nr. 211 (1691), 25 November; inv. nr. 215 (1695), 2 January and 26 July; inv. nr. 218 (1698), 18 January.

37 Morren, 'De boerderijen', p. 40.

38 Morren, 'De boerderijen', p. 43.

39 ACA 76, inv. nr. 184A (12 Nov 1691–1706), 21 May 1705, p. 42.

objects recorded in Velsen speaks indeed of only one house.⁴⁰ It starts with the dining room (*eetkamer*), followed by the bedroom (*slaep kamer*), a small servant's room (*kneghts kamertje*) and the kitchen (*keuken*). No books are mentioned as being in any of the rooms, but a small lectern (*lessenaertje*) in the bedroom indicates the use of books in this house despite their absence from the inventory. The use of this property as a rental house after Jacob's death explains why no books were found here.

4 Ilpenstein

Ilpenstein was located in the village of Ilpendam, north of Amsterdam, on high ground near the drained lake of Purmer. The village was part of the high fief (*heerlijkheid*) of Purmerland and Ilpendam (Fig. 4.10) administered by the 'Heer en Vrouwe van Purmerland en Ilpendam' (Lord and Lady of Purmerland and Ilpendam), who had the authority to make decisions and approve civil and ecclesiastical acts (*heerlijke rechten*).⁴¹ These *heerlijke rechten* were abolished in 1798 and were only partially restored in 1814 by Willem I.⁴² In his *Groot Geslacht boeck*, Pieter recounts the history of Volkert Overlander and how he bought the entire *heerlijkheid* between 1613 and 1617, where he built Ilpenstein in 1622.⁴³ In the preserved archival sources, Ilpenstein is defined as *groot huijs, 't hoff* or *slot* (a large house, fortified mansion or castle) built within a pond (see fig. 4.11). With a square form covering 740 square metres, Ilpenstein originally had two towers at each front corner. Two other towers, at the back corners, were added during the time when Catharina Hooft had succeeded Maria Overlander as the Lady of Purmerland and Ilpendam.⁴⁴ As the successor *Heer*, Jacob expanded and embellished the gardens surrounding Ilpenstein.⁴⁵

Pieter took care of them as well and was regularly in touch with Bastiaan Paulisz, the gardener at Ilpenstein, whom he sent plants and small trees to

40 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606 A, series nr. 88, fols. 10r: 'Hier volgen de meubile goederen gevonden op het huys in den dorpe van Velsen.'

41 See H.P. Moelker, *De heerlijkheid Purmerland en Ilpendam* (Purmerend: Nooy's Drukkerij-Uitgeverij, 1978), pp. 18–40. On the history of Ilpendam, see also J.C.A., Fetter, 'De geschiedenis van Ilpendam en het slot Ilpenstein in verband met die van Waterland', *Eigen Haard* (1904), pp. 84–87.

42 Moelker, *Heerlijkheid*, p. 187.

43 ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, pp. 359–360.

44 Moelker, *Heerlijkheid*, pp. 55–57.

45 Moelker, *Heerlijkheid*, p. 57. For the times when Jacob was at Ilpenstein, see chapter 2.



FIGURE 4.10 The location of Ilpenstein ('t Hoff) in Ilpendam close to the drained Purmer. From *'t Hoogh-Heemraetschap vande uytwaterende sluyzen in Kennemerlandt ende West-Vrieslandt* by Jan Jansz Dou, here represented in the fifth edition dated 1745 (Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, KAART: Moll 202 (Dk42-4)) which reproduces the topography of the first edition of 1680

be planted there. In April 1706, for example, he would send Bastiaan 300 potted plants for the pond.⁴⁶ Some information about the modifications that Pieter made is preserved. On 22 March 1701, he noted in his travel journals that he had visited Romeyn de Hooghe in Haarlem to discuss a canopy for a soon-to-be-made pavilion or sheltered space (*paviljoen of schuilplaats*) that would create a covered area at the end of the path in the new orchard. De Hooghe would order the materials to build this structure, which included stairs and four squared bases that would support four columns in oak wood.⁴⁷ These modifications to the property were likely made in preparation for comfortable accommodations for his son Cornelis who resided at Ilpenstein from 1701.⁴⁸ From his almanacs, we see that Pieter also had frequent contact with Wijbrant Ten Poortinge, his bailiff at Ilpendam, and Claes Cool, the secretary

46 ACA 76, inv. nr. 225 (1706), 28 and 29 April.

47 ACA 76, inv. nr. 184A (12 Nov 1691–1706), 22 March 1701, p. 39.

48 See chapter 2.



FIGURE 4.11 A detailed map of Ilpenstein and surroundings drafted in 1818 ('Kaart der landen van de Purmer gelegen onder de gemeente Ilpendam zijnde sectie C en D opgemeten in den jare 1818', in Atlas van de Purmer, Archief van het Waterschap de Purmer, inv. nr. 138). The numbers correspond to the following: 49: water; 50, 52, 65: *bos tot vermaak* (woods for leisure); 51, 54, 57, 60, 61, 64: *vijver* (pond); 53, 62, 63: *moestuin* (vegetable garden); 55: *huis en erf* (house and property); 56: *koetshuis* (coach house); 58: *slot* (castle)

of Purmerland and Ilpendam, and that he went there every now and then, for one-day round trips and for longer visits.⁴⁹

Ilpenstein remained in the De Graeff family until 1872, when Christina Elisabeth de Graeff (the great-granddaughter of Pieter's son Jan), its owner

49 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692), 3–11 April and 5 May; inv. nr. 213 (1693), 22 June; inv. nr. 214 (1694), 29 May–12 June, and 14 October; inv. nr. 217 (1697), 6 September; inv. nr. 220 (1701), 5 October; inv. nr. 221 (1702), 2 April; end of March – early April and at the end of

at that time, died. Her heirs sold the property together with all its contents and all the land surrounding it. All the furniture, books and other household objects were sold on 7 October 1872. The following day the selling of porcelain, gold and silver took place, on 28 November the mansion and annexes, and on 3 December the sale of the collection of paintings.⁵⁰ The buyers demolished Ilpenstein to build a farm in its place.

The impression one has by looking at drawings and photographs of Ilpenstein's last phase is that it had remained virtually unchanged but had lost part of its glory in its final century (compare Figs. 3.15–3.16 and Figs. 4.12–13). Based on a description by Jacob van Lennep, who visited Ilpenstein on 29 May 1823, we can surmise that the interior was still full of fifteenth-century family portraits at that time.⁵¹ Another eye-witness account – the memories collected in 1904 by Johan Carel Antonie Fetter of an Ilpendam farmer who had taken part in the demolition – provides further insight in what *'t Hoff* had looked like. Expressing his regret for its disappearance, he paints a picture of the building's grandeur and mentions some of its rooms, including a knights' hall

July 1703 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 184A, pp. 88 ff (1703)); inv. nr. 223 (1704), 25 May; inv. nr. 184A (12 Nov 1691–1706), 22 March 1705; inv. nr. 225 (1706), Easter (under entry dated 27 March). Ten Poortinge died on 16 November 1698 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 218 (1698), 16 November) and Claes Cool on 28 June 1703 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 222 (1703), 28 June).

50 See the advertisements in the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*: on 25 September 1872, the advertisement was placed which lists the items that will be sold at the auction presided by notary M.C. Merens on 7 and 8 October in Ilpenstein; followed on 22 November by the advertisement of the auction of Ilpenstein by the same notary to be held in the *Heeren-Logement* in Purmerend, and on 4 November 1872 the advertisement of the auction to be held on 3 December by C.F. Roos, W.J.M. Engelberts and C.F. Roos Jr. in Amsterdam. For the catalogue of this auction, see *Catalogue d'une collection de tableaux anciens pour la plupart portraits par des maîtres Hollandais des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles [...] : provenant du Château d'Ilpenstein en Hollande* (Amsterdam: C.F. Roos, W.J.M. Engelberts and C.F. Roos Jr., 1872).

51 J. van Lennep, *Nederland in den goeden ouden tijd. Zijnde het dagboek van hunne reis te voet, per trekschuit en per diligence van Jacob van Lennep en zijn vriend Dirk van Hogendorp door de Noord-Nederlandsche provinciën in den jare 1823*, ed. M.E. Kluit (Utrecht: W. de Haan 1942), p. 24: 'Nu zagen wij het slot, dat in een brede gracht ligt, een grote binnenplaats heeft, kamers met steenen- en gladhouten vloeren, ontelbare logeervertrekken, gevuld met familieportretten van de vijftiende eeuw. De grote zaal is met rozeroode gordijnen behangen, het plafond is van het huis Saxenburg in Amsterdam derwaarts gebracht. Nu kwamen een heer en mevrouw van Purmerend een bezoek doen: de heer wist niets af van zijne stad en kon dus weinig belangrijks verhalen; in de tuin zagen wij eene fraaie rodo-dendron en de godin Nehalennia met dit opschrift [...]' On Ilpenstein, its history and its significance for the De Graeff family, see also R. van der Laarse, 'Amsterdam en Oranje. De politieke cultuur van kasteel en buitenplaats in Hollands Gouden Eeuw', in Y. Kuiper, B. Olde Meierink and E. Storms-Smeets (eds.), *Buitenplaatsen in de Gouden Eeuw. De rijkdom van het buitenleven in de Republiek* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), pp. 66–95.



FIGURE 4.12 A view of Ilpenstein from the back in 1730, Hendricus Spilman (1721–1784) after Cornelis Pronk (1691–1759). *Topografie van Nederland*, Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 336 N 014

(‘ridderzaal’) and a theatre room (‘tooneelzaal’), where his son used to play with the children of Pieter’s descendant.⁵² The building preserved the memory of the De Graeff family and of the previous owners, and it was the place where all the important heirlooms and documents were kept. Visiting Ilpenstein in 1836, Gerrit van Enst Koning describes the wooden chair where Willem I sat when he visited the house of burgomaster Dirk Jansz de Graeff, and the cloak that Johan de Witt wore when he was attacked while returning from a meeting of the *Staten van Holland* on the night of 21–22 June 1672.⁵³ A handwritten note in the archive of the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap records the items coming from Ilpenstein that Gerrit de Graeff, the owner at that time, loaned to the society in 1873. Besides the chair and the cloak, it lists the already mentioned engraved silver trowel and the leather apron used when laying the

52 Fetter, ‘De geschiedenis van Ilpendam’, p. 102.

53 G. van Enst Koning, *Huis van Ilpendam en deszelfs voornaamste bezitters* (Amsterdam: H.J. Poelders, 1836), pp. 6–7. The chair is kept at the Rijksmuseum (BK-KOG-1777).



FIGURE 4.13 Ilpenstein (1850–1872). Noord-Hollands Archief, collection 559 (Foto's van de Provinciale Atlas Noord-Holland), inv. nr. 2292

first stone of the new town hall, a golden medal commemorating this event, and two silver medals on the death of Johan de Witt.⁵⁴ As part of the same collection, the document also mentions a pair of bridal gloves with gold and pearls, a sixteenth century chest or suitcase ('koffer'), a velvet purse, three silk caps and a pair of leather gloves.

Gerrit de Graeff allowed Van Enst Koning to inspect what the latter calls the 'Ipendamsch Archief', all documents kept at Ilpenstein.⁵⁵ Amongst them were a large collection of genealogical and heraldic manuscripts, letters and other acts dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Moreover, Van

54 ACA, 30838 Archief van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, alsmede van Gedeponeerde Archivalia, inv. nr. 608 'Erven jhr G. de Graeff van Polsbroek. Afschrift, 1927, 1873', dated March 1927.

55 Van Enst Koning, *Huis van Ipendam*, p. v.

56 *Ib.*, 'Bijlage A', pp. 51–55. See also the reference to a large collection of letters and documents made by Fetter in his history of Ilpenstein (Fetter, 'De geschiedenis van Ipendam', p. 102). Fetter refers to letters of Barlaeus, which are also included in Van Enst Koning's list, and of Blasius. For the latter it is not clear which source Fetter consulted as Blasius does not appear in Van Enst Koning's list.



FIGURE 4.14 The courtyard of Ilpenstein by Cornelis Pronk (1691–1759), Noord-Hollands Archief, collection 359 (Prenten en Tekeningen van de Provinciale Atlas Noord-Holland), inv. nr. 72

Enst Koning said that he had seen a list made by Pieter of documents the latter had kept but were already lost by the time he visited the property.⁵⁷ Amongst them were letters written to Jacob by various persons during 1650–1689, Pieter's travel journal from his 1658 trip to England, and letters for him from Boreel and Joan Maetsuycker, Governor General of the Dutch Indies. At the beginning of the twentieth century, what had been preserved of the 'Ilpendamsch Archief' and the other family documents was donated, with some exceptions, to the Amsterdam City Archives by Pieter's descendants, the brothers Dirck de Graeff van Polsbroek (a well-to-do diplomat in Japan), Gijsbert Carel Rutger Reinier (lieutenant colonel of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) and Frederik Lodewijk (cavalry captain).⁵⁸

Abundant visual sources and the inventory drawn up in 1709 allow us to get an idea of Ilpenstein's external appearance as well as its interior. A bridge led to the main entrance, which gave access to a spacious courtyard (Fig. 4.14). The first room in the inventory is the entrance hall (*voor Huijs*), whose walls were adorned by two grisailles, a few maps (amongst which the Purmer and the Beemster polders, both drained in the early seventeenth century), and

57 *Ib.*, p. 46; he listed those he deemed most important in 'Bijlage B', pp. 56–58.

58 ACA 76, 'Beschrijving van het archief'.

heraldic boards, followed by the *roo zaal* (the red salon) full of furniture and paintings, amongst them portraits of Jacob Dircksz de Graeff and a family group composed of Cornelis, Catharina, Pieter and Jacob (the work depicting a biblical scene of Isaac and Rebecca with their sons).⁵⁹ The inventory then continues by listing the *zaal genaamt Johan de Witt zaal*, whose most striking features were, besides a silver-plated bust of De Witt on a wooden pedestal, various portraits of Pieter's family members. Amongst them, the life-size portraits of Volkert Overlander, his wife, Geertruid Hooft, their daughter Maria and her husband, Frans Banninck Cocq, as well as those of Pieter Hooft and his wife, Gertruid Overlander, and of Cornelis de Graeff and his wife.⁶⁰ Next comes Jacob's bedroom, where we find the first reference to books of some sort, namely *prenteboekjes* (books of prints) amongst other paintings and a portrait of himself.⁶¹ These books of prints do not appear in Jacob's room in Catharina Hooft's probate inventory, which proves they were brought there after Catharina's death.⁶² Next, we find the simply furnished small room of Ferguson (*Fergusons camertje*), who can be identified as Johan Jacob Ferguson, the private teacher who instructed both Cornelis and Jan.⁶³

In the following room, the *nieuwe galerij nu genaamt de swanekamer* ('new gallery, now called the Swans' room') we find a few paintings and pieces of furniture, including a bed as well as bedclothes marked with Agneta's initials. The notary clerk recorded that Agneta had said that her grandmother Catharina had bequeathed her this bed, which had previously been in the *alcovi camer*, mentioned later in the inventory.⁶⁴ The following room in the inventory was located close to the *swanekamer* and used to be Jan's bedroom (*nieuwe kamer naast de swanekamer nu de kamer van de heer Joan de Graeff*), which was furnished with, amongst others, a bed, an oak closet and a few paintings.⁶⁵ As in the previous bedrooms, there were no family portraits displayed but rather the paintings were of landscapes, still lifes or people. Through a portal adorned

59 The content of the entrance hall is listed in ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 510 and the red salon at pp. 511–512. The painting is reproduced in fig. 2.1. The following description of the rooms includes only a selection of paintings and furniture pieces to give an impression of the rooms' content and to provide a spatial context for where the books and documents were kept at Ilpenstein. Please refer to the inventory for the complete list of inventoried items.

60 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 512–513.

61 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 513–514.

62 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. 32, fols. 6v–7v.

63 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 514.

64 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 515.

65 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 516–517.

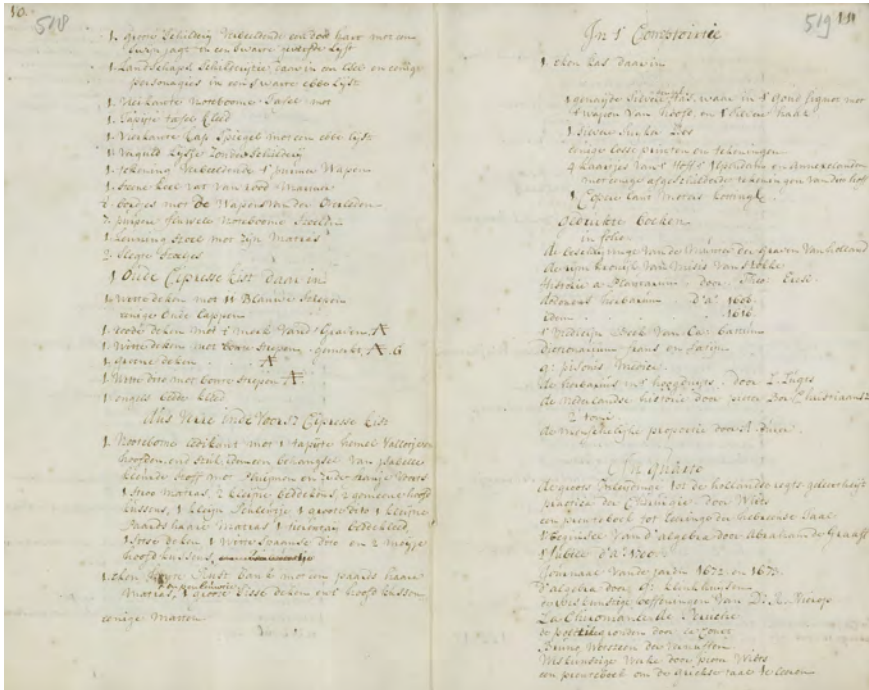


FIGURE 4.15 Pages from the Ilpenstein inventory. On the right, the section dedicated to the small office with the list of books arranged by format (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519)

with a few paintings (*poortaal boven de alcovi kamer*), we reach the *alcovi kamer*, with paintings mostly depicting religious subjects and landscapes.⁶⁶ Like the other bedrooms, the furnishings consist of a bed, a table, some chairs and a mirror. The presence of a red marble cooler, the sort of object not mentioned for other rooms, may suggest this room's southern exposure.

It is in the room that comes next, the small office (*'t comptoirtie*, Fig. 4.15), that we find the majority of books (38) recorded in Ilpenstein, together with some unbound prints and drawings ('*eenige losse printen en tekeningen*').⁶⁷ The list of objects inventoried in the *comptoirtje* continues with a hunting bag and some weapons, a small square oak table, a small lectern and its support, and a small painted cupboard.⁶⁸ In striking contrast with Pieter's book auction

66 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 517–518.

67 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519. The complete list of the books inventoried at Ilpenstein and their identifications can be found at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10833824>.

68 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520.

catalogue, where the majority of books are on juridical subjects, only one such book is present in this inventory, and it was recorded in this room. It is a quarto edition of the textbook *Inleiding tot de Hollandsche rechts-geleertheyd* by Hugo Grotius.⁶⁹ In addition, theological and religious books, the second-highest subject represented in the catalogue, are represented here only by two bibles, a small one dated 1670 and an Old Testament from 1664, and the *T' Samen-spraak met Mr. Claude, minister van Charenton over de materie van de kerk* by the famous French theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet.⁷⁰ This book, a Dutch translation of the French first edition published in 1682, is an account of the theological debate held on 1 March 1678 between the Catholic Bossuet, at that time bishop of Condom in Gascony and tutor to the son of Louis XIV, and the Calvinist Jean Claude, pastor of Charenton (Paris), the leading Huguenot church in France. The debate, convened by Marie de Durfort Duras to clarify certain doubts about her religion, centred on themes such as the authority of the Church and the scriptures. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Jean Claude fled to the Netherlands and settled in The Hague, where he died in 1687.

Amongst the books that are also present in the auction catalogue are Dürer's *Von menschlicher Proportion* in folio, along with De la Court's *Politike gronden* and *Interest van Holland*.⁷¹ Diverging from the most common subjects in the book catalogue is the French translation of John Locke's treatise *Some thoughts concerning education* entitled *L'Éducation des enfans*, which appeared in Amsterdam in 1695.⁷² Due to its date of publication, this book may be ascribed to the titles that Pieter had an interest in reading himself. Testifying to subjects of undisputed interest for Pieter are *De beschrijvinge van de munten der Graven van Holland*, a description of the coins depicting the Counts of Holland, and Pieter Bor's *Nederlandsche historien*.⁷³ There were also books aiding in the study and translation of foreign languages, namely a *prenteboek* for learning Hebrew as well as one for learning Greek, along with a French-Latin dictionary in folio.⁷⁴ As the date of publication is not given, it is impossible to establish whether Pieter could have purchased these books or whether they might have belonged to some of Ilpenstein's previous owners. However, the 1701 publication date for a Low German-French dictionary compiled by Pierre

69 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519.

70 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520: 't samen spraken mr. claudé bischop van charenton.'

71 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 519–520.

72 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520: 'L'education d'enfans door P.C.', i.e. *De l'Éducation des enfans, traduit de l'anglois par P. C.* [= Pierre Coste] (Amsterdam: Antoine Schelte, 1695; USTC 1834599).

73 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519.

74 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519. The dictionary is described as a 'dictionarium frans en latijn'.

Marin (c.1667–1718), a French immigrant in the Dutch Republic, suggests that Pieter acquired the book for himself or for someone else at Ilpenstein.⁷⁵

Books on medicine (11) feature prominently in this inventory and appear to have all been kept in the *comptoir*. Amongst these volumes is the *Medicijn-boek*, Carel Batten's Dutch translation of the book by the German physician Christoph Wirtzung, which is also present in the auction catalogue.⁷⁶ Other medical books include: the *Matroosen ghesontheydt* by Abraham Lenertsz Vrolingh, on the diseases of sailors and their treatment or cure;⁷⁷ the *New Kreüterbuch* by the German physician and botanist Leonhart Fuchs;⁷⁸ and the *Practica der chirurgie*, an important sixteenth-century contribution to medical treatments by the Swiss surgeon Felix Würtz.⁷⁹ More recent medical treatises were the *Nieuw-hervormde geneeskunst* by the doctor Aegidius Daelmans and the *Nieu ligt der apotekers* by Anton de Heyde.⁸⁰ The presence of all these practically oriented books on herbs and remedies reflects the concern of intervening promptly if necessary in times when access to medical care was certainly not as readily available as it would be in the city. Such books could, however, also hint at efforts to alleviate Cornelis' symptoms while he was residing at Ilpenstein. More research on the surviving inventories of country houses is needed to evaluate whether this situation is representative of other families as well or is peculiar to the De Graeffs and hence related to Cornelis's illness.

Another subject well represented here is mathematics (6). The inventory lists an edition of Euclid by Jan Pieterszoon Dou and two books by the Amsterdam mathematician Abraham De Graaff, a contemporary of Pieter.⁸¹ A book on the practice of land surveying, the *Practijck des lantmetens* by the

75 't duijts en frans woorden boek door Marin' (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519).

76 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519 (11): 'Medicijn Boek van Ca: Battum'. *Catalogus Librorum (...)* Petri De Graaff, p. 13, nr. 249.

77 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520: 'Matrosen gesontheit door A.L. Vrolings', i.e. *Der matroosen ghesontheydt, ofte de goede dispositie der zee-varende ende alle andere lieden, waer in ghehandelt wordt, nevens andere siekten, den matroosen ghemeen ende oock alle menschen: vanden aerdt, nature en eyghenschap des scheur-buycks: anders schimmelsieckte ghenaeemt. Van haer name, oorspronck, wesen ende curae*, first published by Hendrick Jacobsz Soet in Zaerdam in 1646.

78 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519 (11): 'de herbarius in 't hoogduyts door L. Fugts.'

79 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519 (11): 'practica der Chirurgie door Wirts.'

80 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520: 'Genees konst van E. daalman' (first published in 1687 [Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn]) and 't licht der apothecans, door de heijde' (Amsterdam: Joannes Janssonius van Waasberge, 1682).

81 Respectively: ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 520: *De ses eerste boecken Euclidis, van de beginselen ende fundamenten der geometrie* and ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519: 't beginsel van d'algebra door Abraham de Graaff', i.e. *De beginselen van de algebra of stelkonst, volgens de manier van Renatus Des Cartes ...* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1672; USTC 180951); and

Dutch mathematician Sybrandt Hansz Cardinael, was also recorded as being in this room, together with an instrument for land surveying and some maps of Ilpenstein and its lands that were kept in an oak cupboard.⁸²

Following the *comptoirtje* is the *eetkamer* (dining room), furnished with furniture pieces typical of a room serving this purpose, namely a dining table, chairs and a cupboard for porcelain. Similarly to the entrance hall, the walls of this room were adorned by a map of the Purmer polder and one of the nearby Beemster and by several paintings, displaying in this case a striking preference for portraits of kings and queens (Charles I of England and his wife Henrietta Maria; Louis XIII and his wife Anna of Austria; Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and his wife Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg). It is in this room that we find the other five books described in the inventory: two editions of Plutarch in French (the *Vies des hommes illustres*, also in the book auction catalogue, and *Les oeuvres morales et philosophiques*);⁸³ a folio edition of the history of the Protestant martyrs, one book on optics (*L'optique divisée en trois livres*) by Pierre Ango (1640–1694), published in Paris in 1682;⁸⁴ and Graswinckel's work on the powers of the States of Holland.⁸⁵ The next room is the 'display kitchen' (*pronk keuken*) with several porcelain pieces listed, along with iron and tin kitchenware, including fifteen plates with the coat of arms of the De Graeffs and twelve with that of the Van der Does (part of Maria's inheritance).⁸⁶

The rooms recorded in the following pages of the inventory do not list any books, but they are included here to give a complete picture of Ilpenstein's spatial arrangement. The room that follows is the 'Orangerie', equipped with a standing clock, three glass cupboards, an oak table and a piece of a stalactite in a painted wooden protective case which used to belong to Pieter's father.⁸⁷ After that, we find ourselves on the upper floor, in the attic that was used to dry and press clothes (*cleer solder*) and then in the room above the *groene*

Ib., p. 520: 'd'arithmetica van Abraham de Graaff', i.e. *Wiskonstige arithmetica* (Amsterdam: Wed. van Gysbert de Groot, 1696; USTC 1828808).

82 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 519.

83 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 521. One edition of the *Vies des hommes illustres* is listed in the *Catalogus Librorum (...)* Petri De Graaff, p. 83, nr. 507.

84 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 522. Full title: *L'optique divisée en trois livres. Ou, l'On démontre d'une manière aisée tout ce qui regarde 1. la propagation & les proprietz de la lumiere. 2. La vision. 3. La figure & la disposition des verres qui servent à la perfectionner* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1682). USTC 6060542 records the edition in 12°, while the title in the catalogue is listed under the octavo formats.

85 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 522: "t regt der oppermagt toekomende de heere State van holland'.

86 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 522–524.

87 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 524–525.

kamer, featuring a bed, a few furniture pieces and paintings.⁸⁸ An indication of location is given by the next space, the *Voor galerij* (the front gallery), simply furnished, which led to Geertruid's room (*kamer van Ouds Geertruijds kamer*), which contained no paintings but had a few prints, coats of arms and maps on the walls, a sofa bed, a small table and some chairs.⁸⁹ The *groene nu Mons[ieu]r Koningskamer*, more richly furnished, was decorated with portraits (amongst which that of King Henry IV of France and his wife Maria de' Medici, hence its name), prints (for example, one depicting Johan de Witt) and boards with coats of arms such as those of Frans Banninck Cocq and Maria Overlander.⁹⁰ We then pass through the gallery in front of the small rooms above the red salon (*poortaal of de galerij voor de kamertjes boven de roo zaal*) to enter the eastern upper-tower room (*boven tooren kamer oostelijkst*), with old furniture in poor condition, a few landscape paintings, a map of Europe and a print of the Egyptian pyramids.⁹¹

The inventory proceeds with the *Mevrouws kamertje*, the everyday kitchen (*dagelijkse keuken*), the eastern and western cellars (*oostelijkste kelder, westelijkste kelder*) and the room above the alcove room (*kamer boven de alcovi kamer*). We then arrive at a nearby cubicle (*afgeschoten kamertje aldaar*). This small room was used for the storage of old books and manuscripts. The notary clerks recorded several old books in such a state as being almost rotten; three old 'koffers' (chests) with old paper deemed 'of little importance'; and finally a few manuscript books 'of no service'.⁹² No furniture pieces or wall decorations are described in the inventory. After a small passage (*instekje*) where an old empty chest ('koffer') was positioned, and a landing (*de overloop daar bij*) with another empty chest ('koffer') and a painting of Venus and Cupid on the wall, we reach Cornelis' room (*de heer Cornelis de Graeff kamer*), the last room in the inventory.⁹³ Here the majority of the paintings depicted religious themes. These included scenes such as the conversion of St. Paul and the miraculous healing of a crippled man. These works of art were undoubtedly intended to provide solace and comfort to Cornelis. The room's furniture was simple: a bed, some worn-out chairs, a small writing table and a type of lectern, a travel

88 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 525.

89 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 526.

90 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 526–527.

91 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 528.

92 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 531: 'diverse oude gedrukte Boeken waarvan veele zoo verlegen, als bij na vergaan sijn; 3 heel oude koffers, met oude papiere dienden tijd op gebonden en weg gelegd sijn, nu van geen belangh; eenige oude boeken geschreven nu mede van geen dienst.' For the translation of the term 'koffer', see chapter 3, note nr. 56.

93 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 532.

suitcase ('reijs valies') and old curtains.⁹⁴ After this room, the inventory closes by accounting for the stable and the coach house.

In the inventory that had been drawn up years before, upon the death of Catharina Hooft in 1691, there are references only to 'some old books' in the dining room and to a lectern and a small wooden bookcase of unspecified content in a small room that comes after the *groene kamer* in the inventory, which is not mentioned in Pieter's inventory.⁹⁵ This confirms that all the books mentioned in his inventory (40 provided with titles) were brought there afterwards.

5 Book Ownership and Reading Habits: Insights from Probate Inventories

To sum up the information that can be gathered from these probate inventories, it can be concluded that Pieter's city residence on the Herengracht had the capacity to house many books: so many that it was necessary to compile a separate inventory. In this house he had not only a room dedicated solely for this purpose, the *boeken kamer*, but also some allocated space in the *comptoir* and in the *kamer solder*. The level of preservation of the historical building that was once his house allows for the digital reconstruction of the volumetric properties of the *boeken kamer* that will be discussed in chapter 6. This 3D model will provide an estimate of the number of books that could be stored there. On this basis it can be determined whether all the books and manuscripts would have found a place in the Herengracht residence or whether we should consider other locations not yet brought into focus as possible sites for the keeping of Pieter's books.

Since the inventory of the rented-out country house at Velsen lists no books, we now concentrate on the information retrieved from the inventory of Valkenburg and Ilpenstein. There is an observable difference between the higher number and more varied genres of books kept at Ilpenstein and the few books, all concerning religious subjects, listed in the Valkeburg inventory. In Pieter's travel journals Valkenburg was regularly mentioned as an intermediate stop during his journeys, and we have observed that books were sent to Valkenburg when needed. These circumstances explain why only a few books were recorded to have been there. The references to visits to Ilpendam in the almanacs are rarer and they usually entail a longer stay. Moreover, notes about wine and food sent to Ilpenstein show that the mansion was inhabited when

94 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 532–533.

95 ACA 76, inv. nr. 605, series nr. A 32, fols. 10v and 16v.

Pieter was in Amsterdam and before Cornelis took up residence there.⁹⁶ It is therefore possible that some of the books in the inventory were used by the individuals who helped Pieter run the property and oversee his land. There is another possibility to consider: namely that some of the books had originally belonged to Jacob. As mentioned, Pieter's brother had inherited Ilpenstein before him and could have had some books there which, having been inherited by Pieter together with Jacob's properties, were listed in his inventory. It is also possible that some of the books were read by Pieter's son Cornelis during his prolonged stays at Ilpenstein. It is, however, difficult to establish whether, and to what extent, the progression of his mental illness would have allowed him to spend time on such activity.

Contrary to the mostly Latin books in the catalogue, the inventory from Ilpenstein lists more books in Dutch and French. The editions of Plutarch in the dining room were in French, not Latin, which may suggest that French was preferred for leisure reading. In this context, it is worth recalling an entry in Pieter's almanacs where he mentioned borrowing Tacitus in French from his brother. This serves as further evidence of the inclination to engage with classical authors in a more accessible language.⁹⁷ Another interesting insight from this analysis is the relative recency of the books at Ilpenstein compared to those listed in the book catalogue. Hence, they give us a more vivid impression of the reading preferences of Pieter and his contemporaries.

96 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 212 (1692) 15 August; inv. nr. 214 (1694), 9 July.

97 On the increased demand for translated works starting around mid-seventeenth century see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, p. 543.

‘Zeer veel raare oude en wel geconditioneerde boeken’: Exploring Pieter’s Book Auction Catalogue

This chapter presents an overview of the books listed in Pieter’s book auction catalogue. The order of subjects discussed here follows that of the catalogue, namely *Libri Theologici, Juridici, Medici & Philosophici* and *Miscellanei*, with the exception that the few manuscripts are treated under a separate category. Given their large number, the miscellaneous books are divided into further subcategories per subject. Previous studies as well as the characteristics of this collection have been considered to establish which subcategories would be best suited for this analysis.¹ Due to the limited space here available, choices had to be made regarding which books to include in the discussion. To facilitate further investigation, a digital annotated transcription of the whole catalogue has been made available online.² Moreover, a ‘distant reading’ of the catalogue is provided in appendix 2, which contains breakdowns and charts of the books divided according to subject, language, format, date and place of publication (Figs. 9.1–9.8). When possible, an attempt has been made to propose a book’s original owner based on the information already discussed about study paths and interests of Pieter and his family members.

1 The Books in the Auction Catalogue

1.1 *Manuscripts*

All the titles listed in the catalogue are printed books, except for seven manuscripts. Two elaborate manuscript volumes of a Bible in Hebrew dated 5052

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- 1 José de Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1999), pp. 333–334; Han Brouwer, *Lezen en schrijven in de provincie. De boeken van Zwolse boekverkopers 1777–1849* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1995); Marion Peters, *De wijze koopman. Het wereldwijde onderzoek van Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), burgemeester en VOC-bewindhebber van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), pp. 349–351 and 443–445.
 - 2 <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10833194>. This annotated transcription also includes the USTC identifiers, both exact and closest matches, of the books. In this chapter only the exact USTC matches that were identified with certainty and were available when the chapter was written are given. Please refer to the annotated transcription for updated USTC identifiers.

stand out as the catalogue's most expensive item (they were sold together, for 88 guilders).³ A proposal for their identification is discussed in the epilogue. The other manuscripts are a Bible in Latin; the *Ordonantien van Graaf Floris* and the *Handvesten van Waterland* (each of which fetched little more than one guilder) amongst the *Libri Juridici in quarto*; an introduction to Logic (*Logicae compendiosa introductio*), sold for only four stuivers, and one on algebra amongst the *Medici & Philosophici in Folio*; and, finally, a very old chronicle of Holland and Zeeland, and one of Utrecht and Holland amongst the *Miscellanei in Folio*.⁴ This last manuscript is likely what Willem Schrijver consulted.⁵

1.2 *Libri Theologici*

As usual, theological and religious books appear as the first category in the catalogue. They are the second most represented items (405, ca. 18%), after juridical books. The ample collection comprises more than thirty Bibles, Old and New Testaments and Psalm books in various languages. Apart from the aforementioned manuscript Bibles, the others are printed editions, amongst them several incunable Bibles in Latin, a few in Hebrew, and the revised edition of Reina's Bible by Cypriano de Valera, a Calvinist refugee in England, which was published in Amsterdam in 1602.⁶ In addition, there are large Latin editions in folio, including the works of the Church Fathers, but one also finds more common books in the vernacular, such as the accounts of the lives and deaths of Protestant martyrs.⁷ Both sponsored by the VOC and aimed at the christianization of Indonesian communities were the Malay translations of the book of Genesis made by Daniel Brouwerius, and *De vier Heylighe Evangelien* by Justus Heurnius (1587–1651).⁸ Related to Pieter's father is the

3 *Catalogus*, p. 1, nr. 1.

4 *Catalogus*, p. 1, nr. 2; p. 32, nrs. 227 and 228; p. 12, nr. 237; p. 13, nr. 252; p. 23, nrs. 462 and 467.

5 See chapter 3.

6 On this see: A. Gordon Kinder, 'Religious literature as an offensive weapon. Cipriano de Valera's part in England's war with Spain', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 19, nr. 2 (Summer 1988), pp. 223–235, esp. 233.

7 E.g., the *Magna Bibliotheca veterum Patrum, & antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (Paris, 1644; 12 vols.): *Catalogus*, p. 2, nr. 16; the *Opera Omnia* of St Agustinus (Paris, 1555; 6 vols.): *Ib.*, p. 2, nr. 23, and of Johannes Chrysostomus (Eton, 1613; 8 vols.): *Ib.*, p. 3, nr. 40 (USTC 3005520). On Protestant martyrs: e.g. *Ib.*, p. 38, nr. 370 (Leiden, 1655); p. 39, nr. 398 (Leiden, 1604).

8 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 24, nr. 5 (*Het eerste boek Mosis genaemt Genesis*, Den Haag, 1662; USTC 1844286) and *ib.*, p. 24, nr. 6 (Amsterdam, 1651; USTC 1833174). On this see: James T. Collins, 'A book and a chapter in the history of Malay. Brouwerius' Genesis (1697) and Ambonese Malay', *Archipel*, 67 (2004), pp. 77–127.

Dissertatio gemina (Amsterdam, 1643) by the humanist scholar Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649), which was dedicated to Cornelis and other burgomasters.⁹

The *Conciliator* by Menasseh Ben Israel provides an example of the humanist interest in textual analysis; in this work of Biblical criticism the author, the famous Amsterdam rabbi, tried to reconcile contradictory scriptural passages.¹⁰ We also find the second edition of the Koran by Theodore Bibliander (1506–1564), published in Basel in 1550 under the title *Machumetis, Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran*.¹¹ The prophet Muhammad is moreover the protagonist of the *Anti-Christus Mahometes*, written by the Leiden scholar Cornelis Uythage and published in 1666.¹² A critical stance towards the Catholic Church and the Jesuits is expressed in works such as *Le catéchisme des jésuites* written by the French lawyer Etienne Pasquier (1529–1615) and first published in 1602, the *Tyrannide Papae* (Franeker, 1649) by Laurence Banck (1617–1662), professor of civil law at the University of Franeker, the *Monarchia solipsorum* by the ex-Jesuit Giulio Clemente Scotti (1602–1669), and the satirical work *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon* by John Barclay (1582–1621).¹³

The extensive section of theological books also contains writings by prominent exponents of various religious backgrounds and currents. For example, we find texts by Desiderius Erasmus, including his commentaries on the

9 *Catalogus*, p. 24, nr. 11 (USTC 1032310). See the letter dated 28 Oct 1643, where Vossius notified the recipients of the dedication (G.A.C. van der Lem and C.S.M. Rademaker, *Inventory of the correspondence of Gerardus Joannes Vossius* [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1993]) retrieved via *EMLO*.

10 *Catalogus*, p. 25, nr. 45 (Amsterdam, 1633; USTC 1013386). This is the translation of the first part of the *Conciliator*, first published in 1632, made by Dionysius Vossius (on this work see B. Fisher, 'God's word defended. Menasseh Ben Israel, biblical chronology, and the erosion of Biblical authority', in D. van Miert, H. Nellen, P. Steenbakkers and J. Touber (eds.), *Scriptural authority and biblical criticism in the Dutch Golden Age. God's word questioned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 155–174).

11 On this work, see G.J. Miller, 'Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran* (1543) as the sixteenth-century "Encyclopedia" of Islam', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 24, nr. 2 (2013), pp. 241–254. The first edition was published in 1543.

12 *Catalogus*, p. 69, nr. 40. As Uythage argued that the prophet was the grand Antichrist, this work sparked a quarrel with the Leiden Church council, which accused him of dissenting from the Reformed position that the Pope was the Antichrist (see R. Vermij, 'Ruzie over de antichrist. Cornelis Uythage (ca. 1640–1686) als geleerde querulant', *Studium. Tijdschrift voor Wetenschap- en Universiteits-geschiedenis | Revue d'Histoire des Sciences et des Universités* 7 (4) (2015), pp. 209–222).

13 *Catalogus*, p. 48, nr. 107; p. 69, nr. 46 (USTC 1026687); p. 75, nr. 259 (published under the pseudonym of Lucius Cornelius Europaeus, as the entry in the catalogue indicates); p. 73, nr. 176.

New Testament, as well as by Calvin and his successor, Theodorus Beza.¹⁴ The German Reformation is represented by the *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri* by Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552) and a few works by Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), together with the account of Melancthon's life by the German scholar Joachim Camerarius the Elder (1500–1574).¹⁵ We also find works by members of the 'Second Reformation', such as the *Oeconomia Christiana* by Petrus Wittewrongel (1609–1662), a minister at the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, which aimed to counteract the general moral decline he observed by providing rules for the application of Reformed principles to everyday family life.¹⁶ Amongst the Mennonite authors, the most prominent figure is Galenus Abrahamsz de Haen (1622–1706), to whom Pieter had sent materials belonging to his grandfathers.¹⁷ The catalogue also lists his popular catechism book, the *Anleyding tot de kennis van de christelyke godsdiens tot onderwijs der jeugd* (Amsterdam, 1677).¹⁸ The Socinians are represented by the writings of their leader Paulus Socinus and by exponents such as Johannes Crellius and Valentinus Smalcus.¹⁹ Both Grotius's rebuttal of Socinus's ideas and Crellius's reply to Grotius are present in the catalogue.²⁰ By Grotius we also find his works attempting to foster the reconciliation amongst churches.²¹ Finally, spiritualism is present with its forerunner Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) and Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert (1522–1590).²²

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- 14 By Erasmus, e.g. *Paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum* (1541): *Catalogus*, p. 4, nr. 52; by Calvin, most notably the *Institutio Christianae religionis* in the edition published in Geneva in 1533: *Ib.*, p. 4, nr. 66 (USTC 450054). By Beza, e.g. *Tractatus Theologici* (Geneva, 1582): *Ib.*, p. 3, nr. 49.
- 15 Cochlaeus's *Commentaria: Catalogus*, p. 4, nr. 59 (USTC 663508); *De vita Philippi Melanctonis: Catalogus*, p. 80, nr. 396.
- 16 *Catalogus*, p. 27, nr. 84 (Arnhem, 1661).
- 17 See chapter 3.
- 18 *Catalogus*, p. 49, nr. 144 (USTC 1813534). See Paul G. Hoftijzer, 'A Collegiant library in Rijnsburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The books of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn (d. 1715)'; in R. Jagersma, H. Blom, E. Chayes and A.-M. Hansen (eds.), *Private libraries and their documentation, 1665–1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), pp. 77–97.
- 19 Socinus: *Catalogus*, p. 27, nrs. 98–9; p. 48, nrs. 98–101; Crellius: *Ib.*, p. 26, nr. 62; p. 27, nr. 97; p. 48, nr. 102; p. 30, nr. 69; Smalcus: *Ib.*, p. 24, nr. 25. Some of these works were published in the small town of Raków (Racovia) in Poland and were available at a few Amsterdam booksellers (see Hoftijzer, 'A Collegiant library').
- 20 Grotius's *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi, adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem* (s. a., s. l.; *Catalogus*, p. 68, nr. 25) and Crellius's *Ad librum Hugonis Grotii, quem de satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum scripsit, responsio* (Racovia, 1622; p. 26, nr. 62).
- 21 *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (Amsterdam, 1641; USTC 1013480) and *Annotata ad vetus testamentum* (Paris, 1644; USTC 1515162): *Catalogus*, p. 4, nr. 55.
- 22 *Catalogus*, p. 5, nrs. 90–1; p. 5, nr. 82; p. 48, nrs. 118–9.

Several editions of and commentaries on the Acts and Documents of the synod of Dordrecht testify to a special interest in this event.²³ Traces of the serious internal conflict in the Dutch Reformed church are found in a catalogue entry registering the presence of various writings both in support of and against the Remonstrants, and a copy of the quarto book *Haagse Conferentie* (1611), referring to the 1611 conference in The Hague that had discussed the theses of Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus in the presence of the States General.²⁴ Moreover, there is a copy of the resolution issued by the States of Holland in 1614 to keep the peace between the two factions and which Pieter mentions in the biography of his grandfather Jacob Dircksz (Fig. 5.1).²⁵ The Arminian ideology is further represented in the catalogue by several works, such as treatises and an account of the life of Johannes Uytenbogaert (1557–1644), who headed the Arminians after Arminius's death in 1609, and the *Belydenisse van de Remonstranten* by the theologian Simon Episcopius (1583–1643), who had led the Remonstrants at the Synod.²⁶ As noted earlier, Episcopius was involved in a dispute settled by burgomaster Jacob Dircksz and he also figured in one of the prints recorded in the list of items bequeathed to Cornelis.²⁷ Two editions of the *Acta et scripta Synodalia Dordracena* further stated the Remonstrant positions at the Synod.²⁸ There are also works by Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), a leading member of the Gomarist faction and professor of theology, namely his *Oratio Inauguralis* delivered after his appointment at the University of Utrecht, entitled *De pietate cum scientia conjungenda*, and the *Exercitia et bibliotheca, studiosi theologiae*, a guide to the study of theology containing bibliographical references.²⁹ A similar example showing the systematization of theological knowledge is the *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus* (Zurich, 1664) by the erudite Swiss theologian and orientalist Johann Heinrich

23 *Catalogus*, p. 5, nrs. 75 and 84; p. 25, nr. 43; p. 45, nr. 21*; p. 46, nr. 36.

24 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 27, nrs. 88 and 89.

25 *Catalogus*, p. 27, nr. 81: *Resolutien van de Staten van Holland tot vrede der kerken (Resolutie vande doorluchtige moghende heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt. Tot den vrede der kercken*, The Hague, 1614; USTC 1032056); see ACA 76, inv. nr. 227, p. 280.

26 *Catalogus*, p. 49, nr. 132.

27 Chapter 2.

28 *Catalogus*, p. 5, nr. 75 (Leiden, 1620; USTC 1028176) and p. 25, nr. 43 (Harderwijk, 1620; USTC 1010278).

29 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 25, nr. 48 (the edition in the catalogue is published in 1638) and *ib.*, p. 68, nr. 15. No year is mentioned in the book catalogue, it could be either the Utrecht editions of 1644 and 1651, or the Frankfurt edition in 1685 (see A. Goudriaan, 'Theologia practica. The diverse meaning of a subject of early modern academic writing', in J.J. Ballor, D.S. Sytsma and J. Zuidem (eds.), *Church and school in early modern Protestantism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 443–456 [447]).



FIGURE 5.1 Title page of the *Resolutie vande doorzuchtige moghende heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt. Tot den vrede der kercken* (The Hague, 1614). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM Pfl. A 1 10b

Hottinger (1620–1667), which includes a list of the most important libraries and of the major works and authors on the subject of theology.³⁰

In Pieter's almanacs there is no evidence to suggest he took a keen interest in theological subjects. His grandfather Jacob Dircksz emerges as the most likely first owner of many of the earlier theological books listed in the catalogue, volumes that represent a breadth of religious currents: the broad theological studies mentioned by his grandson, his exposure to Calvinist theology in Geneva, and his direct involvement in the Arminian controversy offer ample explanation for the presence of numerous books that explore these topics. The *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus*, published in the year Pieter's father died, testifies to a later interest in the systematization of theological knowledge. Amongst the more recent books, we find some of the works by Christophorus Wittichius (1625–1687), a German-born theologian and professor of theology at Leiden: the *Consensus veritatis in scriptura divina et infallibili revelatae cum veritate philosophica a Renato des Cartes detecta*, which uses Cartesian dualism to distinguish truth from scriptural interpretation and was published in Leiden in 1682, and the *Anti-Spinoza*, a refutation of Spinoza which appeared posthumously in 1690.³¹ These books might have been of interest with regard to Cornelis's studies; as mentioned in chapter 3, Pieter in fact sent him the 'dictata' about Cartesius by De Volder.

1.3 *Libri Juridici*

As is to be expected from the library of a graduate in Canon and Civil law, juridical books are the most numerous in the catalogue (499, ca. 21%). However, not all these books should be automatically assigned to Pieter since, as we saw, several members of his family studied law at various universities in the Dutch Republic and abroad. The juridical books in the catalogue, covering a variety of subjects, testify to the presence of different schools and approaches, ranging from the more theoretical to the more practical, as well as several regulations, by-laws, and charters (*keuren, handvesten, plakkaten*) of Amsterdam and other cities.³² Roman law is strongly present with several editions of Justinianus's

30 Divided into: I. *De bibliothecariis et bibliothecis*; II. *De Theologia Biblica*; III. *De Theologia Patristica*; v. *De Theologia Topica, Symbolica et Systematica* (*Catalogus*, p. 26, nr. 56).

31 *Catalogus*, p. 25, nrs. 52 and 53. Full title: *Anti-Spinoza sive Examen ethices Benedicti de Spinoza, et Commentarius de Deo et ejus attributis* (Amsterdam, 1690; USTC 1824371).

32 E.g. for the beginning of the seventeenth century are two copies of the 1613 and 1629 editions of the Amsterdam *Handvesten* in folio, and one copy of the 1613 edition in quarto (*Catalogus*, p. 11, nrs. 210–211, and p. 33, nr. 243, respectively); for the late seventeenth century: *Vervolg van de handvesten, privilegien, octroyen, costumen ende willekeuren der stad Amstelredam van den Iare 1671. 1672. &c. tot May 1683* (*Catalogus*, p. 11, nr. 212).

Corpus Iuris Civilis, as well as the school of the ‘postglossators’ with editions from the second half of the sixteenth century of works by Cynus de Pistoia (1270–1336), Baldus de Ubaldis (1327–1400), and the most influential Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313–1357).³³ We also find the writings of the main representatives of humanistic jurisprudence, such as Andreas Alciatus (1492–1550), Ulrich Zasius (1461–1535), Guillaume Budaeus (1468–1540), and Antonius Faber (1557–1624). The volume by Zasius – his *Responsa iuris sive consilia*, published in Basel in 1538 – is the oldest book (amongst the titles listing a publication year) within this category.³⁴ Both the French and the Italian traditions are equally well represented: the (reformation of the) *mos italicus*, with works such as *De methodo ac ratione studendi*, an important contribution to the debate on juridical methods written by Matteo Gribaldi (1500–1564), professor of civil law at Padua and other French universities, and the *mos gallicus* with works by Jacques Cujas (1520–1590), François Hotman (1524–1590) and Hugues Doneau (1527–1591).³⁵

Not surprisingly, Hugo Grotius frequently appears in the catalogue: his fundamental work *De jure belli ac pacis* is present with a total of five editions, including the first edition in quarto published in Paris in 1625 (Fig. 5.2).³⁶ These editions offer further proof of several book collections coming together in this catalogue. The Paris edition might have been purchased by Cornelis during his Grand Tour in France or given him as a personal gift by Grotius himself when the two met in Paris as mentioned in chapter 2. There are also two editions in quarto of Grotius’s textbook *Inleiding tot de Hollandsche rechtsgeleertheyd* (The Hague, 1631 and Delft, 1657).³⁷ One of these could be the in-quarto edition mentioned in Pieter’s Ilpenstein inventory. Another edition, this time in octavo, is listed in the aforementioned list of movable objects destined to belong to Pieter’s eldest son Cornelis, again with no specified date of

33 *Catalogus*, p. 7, nrs. 115, 116, 117 and 118.

34 *Catalogus*, p. 9, nr. 169.

35 On Gribaldi, see D. Quaglioni, “‘Iis, qui vix usquam locum tutum inveniunt’. Giuristi, riformatori religiosi, fuorusciti. Matteo Gribaldi Mofa († 1564)”, *Laboratoire italien*, 3 (2002), pp. 79–92.

36 *Catalogus*, p. 31, nr. 182 (USTC 6026902). The other editions are: two folio editions in 1631 (*Catalogus*, p. 10, nr. 200; USTC 1013258) and 1647 (*Catalogus*, p. 10, nr. 201; USTC 1014097), two octavo editions in 1626 and in 1646 (*Catalogus*, p. 50, nrs. 154–155; USTC 2135255 and 1013914). For the publication history of this work see H. Nellen, *Hugo Grotius. A lifelong struggle for peace in Church and State, 1583–1645* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 429–434. The making of the publication of the first edition in Paris is discussed in J.S. Reeves, “The first edition of Grotius’ *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis*, 1625”, *American Journal of International Law*, 19, 1 (1925), pp. 12–22.

37 *Catalogus*, p. 32, nrs. 217 (USTC 1013685 and 1032611) and 216 (USTC 1842014), respectively.



FIGURE 5.2 Title page of Grotius's *De Iure belli ac pacis* (Paris, 1625). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OG 63-1754

publication. Here is additional proof that Pieter owned more books than those sold at the auction.

Dutch law is further represented by several of its most important exponents, such as Mattheus Wesembecius (1531–1586), whose commentaries,

based on the *usus modernus Pandectarum*, were used by many scholars.³⁸ Pieter's book catalogue contains, moreover, numerous works of eminent Law professors at Dutch universities such as Paulus Buis (1570–1617) in Franeker, Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657) and Bernardus Schotanus (1598–1652) in Leiden, Antonius Matthaeus (1601–1654) in Utrecht, Petrus de Greve (1621–1677) at Harderwijk and later at Nijmegen, Ulrik Huber (1636–1694) at Franeker, Paulus Voet (1619–1667) in Utrecht and his son Johannes Voet (1647–1713) – under whom Pieter's son Jan had studied – in Leiden (Fig. 5.3).³⁹ The writings of these scholars aimed primarily at bridging the gap between the theoretical, academic principles of law and the local customs and juridical procedures applied in contemporary legal practice.⁴⁰ In fact, the catalogue also contains books that were used in the local administering of law cases, such as three editions of *D'instructie vanden Hove van Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Vrieslandt* (The Hague, 1623; 1639; 1661); the 1631 edition of the *Maniere van procederen* by Paulus Merula (1558–1607), reprinted several times since it first appeared in 1592; an edition of the *Practijke civile* by Filips Wielant, initially published in 1598; and two editions of the *Praxis rerum criminalium* by Joos de Damhouder (Antwerp, 1596; 1601).⁴¹ There are, moreover, two editions of the *Papegay, ofte formulier-boek van allerhande requesten*, the first edition of 1642 and a later 1658 edition, a work written by Willem van Alphen to aid the presentation of requests at courts of justice in Holland.⁴²

Besides works that cover areas of jurisprudence such as the *ius feudale*, the *ius criminale*, marriage, debts, and the confiscations of goods, one encounters certain volumes that focus on the debate about maritime jurisdiction, a matter of vital economic importance for the Dutch Republic.⁴³ We may also recall that

38 *Catalogus*, p. 10, nr. 191; p. 31, nrs. 184–185; p. 53, nr. 273. See Ahsmann, 'Teaching the *ius hodiernum*', p. 427.

39 *Catalogus*, p. 71, nrs. 121–2; p. 71, nr. 115; p. 51, nr. 191; p. 53, nr. 271; p. 71, nr. 99. Voet's *Commentarius ad Pandectas* (p. 50, nr. 185, s. a., s. l.) first appeared in 1698. Regarding Jan's studies in Leiden, see chapter 2. His diploma of *doctor utriusque iuris* (5 February 1699) is signed by Voet and other professors (ACA 76, inv. nr. 243).

40 See Ahsmann, 'Teaching the *ius hodiernum*' and R. Feenstra, 'New reflections on some law professors at Leiden between c. 1580 and c. 1715', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d'histoire du droit / The Legal History Review*, 81, nrs. 1–2 (2013), pp. 5–15. An introduction on the state and tradition of seventeenth-century Law in the Dutch Republic is given in Mourits, *Een kamer*, pp. 165–167.

41 *D'instructie: Catalogus*, p. 32, nrs. 214–215 (the 1639 edition is bound together with the 1623); *Practijke civile: Catalogus*, p. 53, nr. 279; *Praxis rerum criminalium: Catalogus*, p. 28, nrs. 118–119.

42 *Catalogus*, p. 33, nrs. 237–238.

43 On the *ius feudale*, see e.g. *Catalogus*, p. 52, nr. 222; p. 53, nrs. 252 and 274; on the *ius criminale*: e.g. p. 54, nr. 282; on marriage: e.g. p. 50, nrs. 161, 173 [1] and 175; on debts: e.g. p. 31, nr. 176; p. 52, nr. 219; on confiscation of goods: e.g. p. 9, nr. 178; p. 28, nr. 116; p. 29, nr. 125.

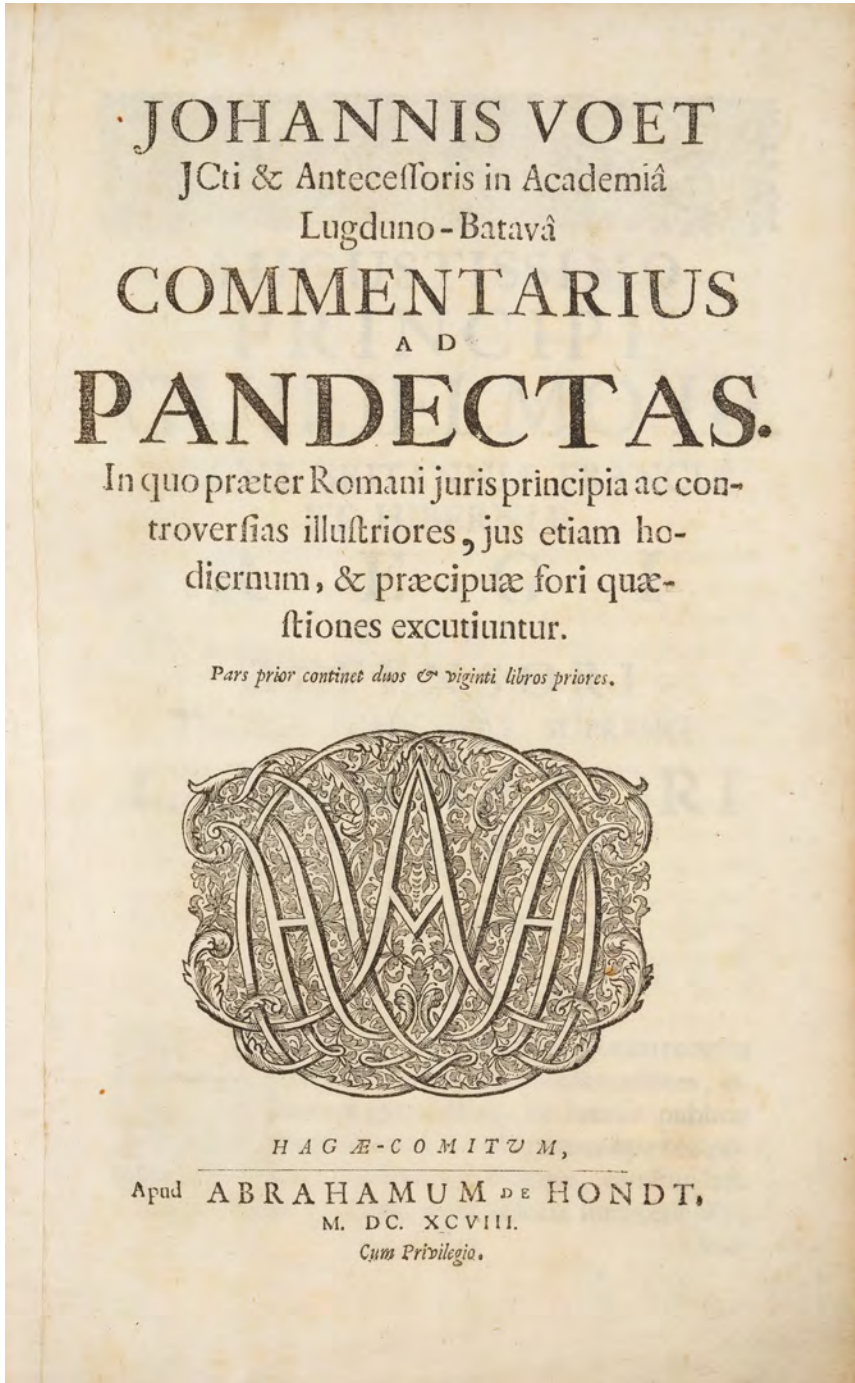


FIGURE 5.3 Title page of Johannes Voet's *Commentarius ad Pandectas* (Leiden, 1698). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OF 63-33

Pieter was commissioner of maritime affairs for the Amsterdam government in 1666, with his brother serving the following year. Amongst the works on this subject are, most notably, *De mare libero*, Grotius's famous treatise proclaiming the freedom of the seas, and John Selden's *Mare clausum*, adopting the opposite stance.⁴⁴ Another book is directly connected with Pieter or his father Cornelis serving as directors of the East India Company, namely an undated folio volume containing the ordinances for the officials in the service of the Company.⁴⁵

The presence of several graduates in law in the (extended) De Graeff family, and that of juridical works in use for several centuries, make it difficult to establish the identity of the original buyers or previous owners of the books in this category. That a few books, such as those by Grotius, are present in several editions is a further indication of various book collections having been merged into the catalogue. As shown in appendix 2, Fig. 9.7, amongst the juridical books for which the date of publication is provided in the catalogue (ca. 60%), 75% of them date from before the middle of the seventeenth century. The older editions are aligned with the generation of Pieter's grandparents (e.g. his maternal grandfather and Volkert Overlander, who had studied law), but more research on jurists' libraries is needed to properly grasp what was still considered up-to-date in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁶ As seen in a passage from his almanacs, Pieter possessed at least one book previously belonging to his deceased cousin, the lawyer Adriaen Coetenburg, which proves how complex and difficult it is to trace the ways in which books entered his collection.⁴⁷ Amongst the works that Pieter could have bought himself are Carolus Molinaeus's *Opera Omnia* and Antoine Mornac's *Observationes*.⁴⁸ They were both published in Paris, in 1658 and 1659 respectively, corresponding to the period when Pieter was in France for his Grand Tour and then to obtain his *licentiaat* in Orléans in 1660. Finally, we also

44 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 50, nrs. 156 (s. a., s. L) and 157 (s. a., s. L).

45 *Ordonantien voor de officieren in dienst der Oostindische Compagnie: Catalogus*, p. 11, nr. 209 (s. a., s. L). A book in a quarto format with a similar title was published by Joan Blaeu in 1650: *Ordonantien en instructien voor de officieren en allen anderen, die hun in den dienst der generale geotroyeerde Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, te water oft te lande, begeven hebben, ende noch sullen begeven* (De Bibliotheek, Rotterdam, shelf mark nr. 1351 B 59).

46 For the first half of the seventeenth century, see the comparison between Thysius's library and those of four others who graduated in Law, discussed in Mourits, *Een kamer*, pp. 164–181.

47 See chapter 3.

48 *Catalogus*, p. 7, nrs. 125 and 131.

come across more recent books that point to the younger generation, such as Johannes Voet's *Commentarius*, which first appeared in Leiden in 1698. As Voet was one of the professors of Pieter's son Jan in Leiden, this book must have been used during Jan's studies. The auction then offered Jan the occasion to dispose of books he no longer needed.

1.4 *Medici & Philosophici*

Following the order in the catalogue, medical books come next. A few date from the sixteenth century, e.g. the *Practica Canonica* (Venice, 1503) by Giovanni Michele Savonarola (1385–1468), the *Kruydtboeck* (Antwerp, 1581) by the Flemish physician and botanist Matthaeus Lobelius (Matthias de l'Obel, 1538–1616), and Carel Batten's *Medicijn-boek* (Dordrecht, 1593), one undated edition of which was listed in Pieter's probate inventory for Ilpenstein.⁴⁹ Amongst these books, there may have been some that originally belonged to his father, Cornelis, and that Pieter said he had in his keeping.⁵⁰ More recent publications include the *Observationes medicae*, by the famous Amsterdam doctor Nicolaas Tulp (1593–1674), and the *Geneeskundige aanmerkingen* by Jacob van Hervelt (1646–before 1724).⁵¹

Two practical treatises translated into Dutch draw our attention due to their potential direct connections with Pieter and his family: one on the removal of bladder stones, the *Tractat van het steensnijden* by François Tolet (1647–1724), and the other on the treatment for syphilis, *De Spaansche pok-meester*, written by the Scottish physician David Abercromby (died ca. 1702) and published in Amsterdam in 1691 (Fig. 5.4).⁵² By integrating the information collected from his almanacs, we can directly link Tolet's treatise to Pieter, who suffered greatly from this ailment and underwent surgery to remove the bladder stones.⁵³ *De Spaansche pok-meester*, on the other hand, may be the key that allows us to understand the illness afflicting his son Cornelis. Although a certain post-mortem diagnosis after so many centuries and on the basis of sparse information is impossible, Cornelis's 'indisposition of mind and body' attested by the sources matches the symptoms of neurosyphilis. This venereal disease

49 *Catalogus*, p. 11, nr. 217; p. 13, nrs. 249 and 250.

50 Chapter 2.

51 *Catalogus*, p. 54, nrs. 287 and 288 (s. l., s. a.). On Van Hervelt, see J.H. van Eis, 'Jacob van Hervelt, een onbekend medicus uit de 17^e eeuw', *GEWINA / TGGNWT*, 8, nr. 1 (2012), pp. 15–26.

52 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 54, nrs. 289 (USTC 1557011 and 1836828) and 292 (USTC 1822343). See J.R. Prakken, 'Van schouw-, schurft- en pokmeesters tot huidartsen', *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, 120, nr. 20 (1976), pp. 886–891.

53 See chapter 2.



FIGURE 5.4 Engraved frontispieces of the *Tractat van het steensnijden* (The Hague, 1686), Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM 62-8593, and of *De Spaanse Pokmeester* (Amsterdam, 1691). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-817

was extremely widespread at that time amongst young men, one of the most affected groups being students, along with soldiers and sailors.⁵⁴ Considering the hypothesis that Cornelis suffered from this disease, the appointment of a curator for his assets, the constant assistance from servants, and his retreat at Ilpenstein can now be understood in a new light.

Turning now to the philosophical works included in the book catalogue, we are given an interesting glimpse of certain sixteenth- and seventeenth-century intellectual movements and beliefs. First, we note *De viribus imaginationis* by Thomas Fienus, which was recommended to Pieter by the Jewish doctor who came to treat his wife's illness in January 1678.⁵⁵ This book was thus deemed to be still worthwhile reading seventy years after it first appeared in Leuven. Neither date nor publisher are indicated in the catalogue, but the book is listed

54 B.B. Roberts, *Sex and drugs before rock 'n' roll. Youth culture and masculinity during Holland's golden age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 158–159.

55 See chapter 3.

under the heading 'Medici & Philosophici in Duodecimo &'. The reference indicates that the copy could not have been a first edition, which was in octavo, and narrows down the options to the edition published in Leiden in 1635, or that of 1657, which appeared in London.⁵⁶

The catalogue contains, moreover, several works on moral philosophy that explore and explain human passions, a topic that attracted much interest in this period – since self-knowledge and self-control were indeed deemed necessary characteristics for those serving in public and political roles. Noteworthy in this regard are two copies of Descartes's treatise on this subject, *Les passions de l'âme*, the *Caracteres des passions* by Marin Cureau de la Chambre (1594–1669), and the *De Amore*, first published in 1531 in Rome and containing passages on love from ancient authors compiled by Augustinus Niphus (1473–1545?), an Aristotelian philosopher from Padua.⁵⁷ There is, moreover, one treatise exploring the dangers of anger and the remedies to counter it: the *Remedium ferendarum iniuriarum, sive de compescenda ira*, by the Italian physician Girolamo Donzellini (1513–1587).⁵⁸ Given that the dates of publication of the books in octavo and smaller formats are rarely mentioned, it is difficult to relate titles to specific members of the De Graeff family. The case of Fienus's treatise, moreover, shows that early seventeenth-century books were still read in the last part of the century.

Several titles can be directly related to the Neo-Stoic philosophy, a school of thought initiated by Justus Lipsius meant to reconcile Stoicism and Christianity and channel their precepts into a practical guide of conduct. We find indeed various editions of classical Stoic writers, most notably Epictetus and Seneca,

56 Leiden, Elzevier, 1635 in 24 ° (USTC 1027884) and London, Roger Daniel, 1657 in 12 ° (USTC 3071836).

57 *Catalogus*, p. 55, nr. 332 (*s. l., s. a.*); p. 73, nr. 159 (*s. l., s. a.*) and p. 74, nr. 194 (*s. l., s. a.*).

58 *Catalogus*, p. 76, nr. 268 (*s. l., s. a.*). First published in Venice in 1586. Most likely Pieter's book catalogue contained the edition published in Leiden, in 1635 by Joannes Maire, which is in duodecimo, as is the book in the catalogue (USTC 1015977). In this book Donzellini drew on his personal experiences, as he was accused of heresy several times and was ultimately condemned to death by drowning by the Venetian Inquisition in 1587, less than two years after this book's publication. See A. Arcangeli, 'Girolamo Donzellini on anger. Managing emotions between inquisition trials', in F. Barbierato and A. Veronese (eds.), *Late Medieval and Early Modern religious dissents. Conflicts and plurality in Renaissance Europe* (Pisa: Edizioni Il Campano, 2012), pp. 58–77, esp. 70–77 and A. Jacobson Schutte, s.v. Donzellini, Girolamo, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 41 (1992), pp. 238–243 (here the 1635 edition is erroneously identified as being printed in Lyon).

two editions of the latter being edited by Lipsius himself.⁵⁹ Since Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz studied under Lipsius in Leiden, some of these books may originally have belonged to him. Other Neo-Stoic works include *Les oeuvres* by the French philosopher Guillaume Du Vair (1556–1621), and the popular philosophical work *De la sagesse*, a guide to wisdom, by Pierre Charron: both men were important exponents of this intellectual movement.⁶⁰ Absent from this group are works such as Lipsius's famous treatise *De constantia*, and classical works by Boethius and Marcus Aurelius. Numerous titles focus on logic, amongst them the unidentified manuscript containing an introduction to this subject, and the influential textbook *Logica vetus et nova* by the German Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665), who is also present in the catalogue via his *Nadere uitbreiding wegens Renati Cartesii bedenkingen van d'eerste wijsbegeerte*, in the Dutch translation made by Hendrick Glazemaker (Amsterdam, 1683).⁶¹ The latter is one of the several works discussing aspects of Cartesian philosophy and its relation to Aristotelian ideas.⁶² Amongst them we find De Volder's *Exercitationes academicae* (Amsterdam, 1695), which we have already linked to Pieter's son Cornelis.⁶³

Amongst the *Libri Medici & Philosophici* in the catalogue are a few titles on the art of distillery, such as the *New vollkommen distillierbuch* and the successful *Pharmacia Galenica & chymica* by the Jesuit pharmacist Jan Bisschop

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- 59 Epictetus: *Catalogus*, p. 54, nrs. 301 (*s. l. s. a.*), 302 [1] ([Cologne], 1596; USTC 650990 and 650991) and 303 ([Lyon], 1600; USTC 154740); Lipsius's editions of Seneca: *ib.*, p. 12, nr. 233 (Antwerp, 1605; USTC 1005006) and p. 72, nr. 135 ([Amsterdam], 1628; USTC 1013217 and 1025292).
- 60 *Les Ouvres* by Du Vair: *Catalogus*, p. 19, nr. 380 (Paris, 1619); *De la sagesse: Catalogus*, p. 73, nr. 160 (*s. l. s. a.*). The first edition is dated 1601, and the treatise had appeared in thirty-six editions by 1672 (J. Sellars, 'Neo-Stoicism', in *IEP, Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://iep.utm.edu/neostoic>, last accessed April 2024).
- 61 *Logicae compendiosa introductio: Catalogus*, p. 12, nr. 237; *Logica vetus et nova*: p. 72, nr. 140 (*s. l. s. a.*), on this work see A. Strazzoni, 'A logic to end controversies. The genesis of Clauberg's *Logica Vetus et Nova*', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 2, nr. 2 (2013), pp. 123–149; *Nadere uitbreiding*: p. 73, nr. 169, on this see T. Verbeek, 'Clauberg: A bio-bibliographical sketch', in T. Verbeek (ed.), *Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665) and Cartesian philosophy in the seventeenth century* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1999), p. 192.
- 62 Among which: Renatus Cartesius, *Meditationes* (Amsterdam, 1644; USTC 1031887): *Catalogus*, p. 34, nr. 21; Samuel Maresius, *De abusu philosophiae cartesianae* (Groningen, 1670; USTC 1807151): *Catalogus*, p. 34, nr. 262; Johannes de Raey, *Clavis philosophiae naturalis: seu, Introductio ad naturae contemplationem, aristotelico-cartesiana* (Amsterdam, 1677; USTC 1813712): *Catalogus*, p. 34, nr. 263.
- 63 Burchard de Volder, *Exercitationes academicae, quibus Ren. Cartesii philosophia defenditur adversus Pet. Dan. Huetii censuram philosophiae cartesianae* (Amsterdam, 1695; USTC 1829658): *Catalogus*, p. 55, nr. 321. See chapter 2.

(1590–1664).⁶⁴ We can safely connect some of these books to Pieter's grandfathers because of their interests and experiments in making distillates.⁶⁵

1.5 *Libri Miscellanei*

1.5.1 Classics

The third most numerically represented group of books consists of writings from classical antiquity (315, ca. 14%). For their role in shaping and legitimizing elite culture, classical authors are here discussed as a separate group rather than within their corresponding subject categories. Classics were taught at Latin schools, where pupils practiced the *'imitatio'*: a means to learn how to speak eloquently and write in a refined way, but also to be inspired by moral examples and maxims.⁶⁶ The classical cultural heritage was incorporated into various aspects of Dutch society, including art, architecture, literature, philosophy, and political thought. The words of Greek and Latin authors and the visual statements expressed in sculpture and architecture also provided many concepts, comparisons, allegories and visual references to support the legitimation of power and status, as well as of particular political aspirations and a programme of colonial imperialism.⁶⁷ As pointed out by Weststeijn, the ideological construction of Dutch imperialism has its roots in an interpretation of Cicero's *De officiis* (present in three editions in the catalogue), where the author discusses the conflict between the honourable ('*honestum*') and the expedient ('*utile*') and declares this to be an artificial distinction, as the two coincide in the common good.⁶⁸

The books in the catalogue cover a wide range of topics: from literature and plays (e.g. Euripides, Terence, Persius, Juvenal), to historiographical accounts

64 *Catalogus*, p. 13, nr. 254 (s. l., 1591) and p. 54, nr. 291 (s. l., s. a.). On the *Pharmacica Galenica & Chymica* (first edition Ghent, 1653) see E. Homburg, 'Chemistry in the Low Countries. A comparison between North and South, 1600–1900,' in J. Ramón Bertomeu-Sánchez, D. Thorburn Burns and B. van Tiggelen (eds.), *Neighbours and territories. The evolving identity of chemistry* (Mémosciences: Louvain-la-neuve, 2008), p. 72.

65 See chapter 2.

66 Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-won unity*, *passim*.

67 On examples on how Latin defined status in the early modern period, see F. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe, XVI^e–XX^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), pp. 246–272. In this context, see also the comparisons between the Bickers and Cicero's exile in contemporary pamphlets (cited in Scholten and Hoyle, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters', p. 88) and with the busts of Roman emperors in figurative arts such as the portraits of Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hooft in figure 2.19.

68 A. Weststeijn, 'Empire of riches. Visions of Dutch commercial Imperialism, c. 1600–1750,' in R. Koekkoek, A.-I. Richard, A. Weststeijn (eds.), *The Dutch Empire between ideas and practice, 1600–2000* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 37–65.

(e.g. the works of Roman historians such as Livy, Tacitus and Flavius Josephus, several editions of Plutarch's *Parallel lives* and of Quintus Curtius Rufus's deeds of Alexander the Great), philosophical treatises (e.g. Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca), oratory (Demosthenes and Quintilian), and geographical descriptions (Strabo and Pausanias).⁶⁹ Notable are the six editions of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Histories of Alexander the Great* (the oldest published in 1613, the most recent in 1680), which enjoyed great popularity in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere (Fig. 5.5).⁷⁰ As mentioned in chapter 2, the Macedonian king and his deeds provided subject matter to be depicted on the carpets featured prominently in the larger reception room on the *bel-etage* of Pieter's house on the Herengracht. Narrated in a style more akin to a novel than a historical treatise, Curtius Rufus's accounts of Alexander not only highlight the corruptive influence of the East and its dichotomy with the West, but also emphasize the delicate balance between personal glory and the safety of the state.⁷¹ In Roman readers, Curtius Rufus's version elicited moreover an explicit identification between the Romans and the Macedonian army: despite accepting the authority of the king (much like the Romans had accepted the *princeps*) they were unwilling to forfeit their freedom to follow a boastful ruler. It is evident how Curtius Rufus's multi-layered interpretation of the Alexander *topos* could appeal to Pieter and his family members, involved in the VOC trade and advocates of 'true freedom', particularly in the face of contemporary political change.

Amongst the editions of Cicero (28 in total), most of those having the publication year specified are clustered between 1536 and 1590 (ten out of thirteen),

69 For example, the catalogue features the second edition of the surviving tragedies of Euripides (preceded only by Aldus's *editio princeps* of 1503) published in Basel by Johann Herwagen in 1537 (*Catalogus*, p. 60, nr. 489; USTC 654573). On Aristoteles, we find the *Dell'Anima* (*Catalogus*, p. 35, nr. 289; USTC 848987). This is a comment on Aristotle's *De Anima* written by the Bolognese physician Baldassare Pisanelli (1517–1587) and published in Venice in 1594 (short biographical notes on Pisanelli are given in G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, vol. 7 [Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1789], pp. 49–50). Strabo's *Geography* is present with an expensive Aldine edition of 1516, with unspecified manuscript annotations (*Catalogus*, p. 14, nr. 265; USTC 857595), which was sold for *fl.* 7, while Pausanias is present with the edition published in 1550 in Basel by Johannes Oporinus (*Catalogus*, p. 15, nr. 292; USTC 683337).

70 *Catalogus*, p. 16, nr. 315 (Cologne, 1628; USTC 2525369); p. 61, nr. 535 ([Leiden], 1649; USTC 1016423); p. 64, nr. 632 (*s. l.*, 1613); p. 66, nr. 668 (*s. l.*, *s. a.*); p. 76, nr. 284 (Venice, 1680; USTC 1705016 or 1750594); p. 78, nr. 325 (*s. l.*, *s. a.*). On Alexander the Great also: Arrianus, *De expeditione Alexandri Magni* ([Geneva], 1575; USTC 450683), *Catalogus*, p. 18, nr. 354.

71 On the actualisation of the Alexander *topos* in the Roman world, see Dawn L. Gilley, 'The Latin Alexander: Constructing Roman identity', in Kenneth Royce Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 304–324.



FIGURE 5.5 One of the six editions of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Histories of Alexander the Great* that are present in Pieter's catalogue (*Catalogus*, p. 16, nr. 315). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM KF 61-3561

corresponding to the formative years of Pieter's great-grandfathers' and grandfathers' generations.⁷² The other three were published in the last decades of the seventeenth century.⁷³ Tacitus, on the other hand, is represented by fourteen editions, mostly in Latin, with three in Italian and one in French.⁷⁴ If we look at the dates of publication, no editions are published earlier than 1608. This matches the emergence of support for the 'Attic' prose style at the end of the sixteenth century (promoted by Lipsius amongst others), in which Tacitus was held up as an example of good style in Latin, as opposed to Cicero.⁷⁵ Amongst the titles, we in fact also find Erasmus's *Dialogus Ciceronianus: sive de optimo genere dicendi*, which critiques the style of early sixteenth-century scholarly Latin written in imitation of Cicero.⁷⁶ Lipsius is present via several of his works, amongst them a first edition of his *Antiquae lectiones* (1575), the result of the studies he pursued in Rome between 1568 and 1570.⁷⁷ For his direct contacts with this scholar, we can pinpoint Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dirksz as a likely first owner and reader of these books. Similarly, the works on philological methods and textual criticism do not accord with the interests revealed by Pieter in his notes and almanacs and can more plausibly be associated with other members of his family.⁷⁸

72 The edition of 1536 is the *Orationes*, published in Paris (*Catalogus*, p. 15, nr. 305; USTC 147138) and the edition of 1590 the *Lettere Familiari*, in Italian, published in Venice (*Catalogus*, p. 20, nr. 409; USTC 828592).

73 *Catalogus*, p. 61, nrs. 530-1-2 (published in 1677 [USTC 1813784], 1688 [USTC 1821562] and 1689 [USTC 1564402]; all commented on by Johannes Georgius Graevius).

74 The three Italian editions: *Catalogus*, p. 41, nrs. 445-447; the French edition: *Catalogus*, p. 83, nr. 506.

75 See M.W. Croll, "Attic Prose" in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Philology*, 18, nr. 2 (1921), pp. 79-128.

76 *Catalogus*, p. 57, nr. 406.

77 *Catalogus*, p. 59, nr. 465 (USTC 401654). On this work see, G. Tournoy, J. Papy and J. De Landtsheer, *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), p. 59.

78 E.g. *De arte critica* by the German scholar Gasparus Scioppius (1576-1649), which offered a set of rules for the young embarking on learning the complex art of textual criticism and the most common sources of scribal errors and misinterpretation: *Catalogus*, p. 62, nr. 551 (s. l., s. a.). The USTC records in 8° (which corresponds to the format of this book in the catalogue) are published in Nürnberg in 1597 (658740) and in Amsterdam in 1662 (1844261). On Scioppius, see A. Grafton, 'Kaspar Schoppe and the art of textual criticism', in H. Jaumann (ed.), *Kaspar Schoppe (1576-1649), Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998), pp. 231-243. Interesting to note is the work on textual criticism on Famianus Strada's *De Bello Belgico*, written by Scioppius. In this book, titled with the suggestive pun *Infamia Famiani*, the author analyzes sections of the *De Bello Belgico*, highlighting the grammatical errors and including examples of correct usage. *Catalogus*,

Amongst the various editions of classical authors, one noteworthy example is Tacitus's *Opera*, edited by Lipsius and published in Antwerp by the Officina Plantiniana with the stated publication date of 1608 (= misprint for 1607), bearing manuscript annotations in the margins by the Leiden professors Josephus Justus Scaliger (Lipsius's successor) and Dominicus Baudius.⁷⁹ That this is the only item with handwritten marginalia by famous scholars, along with the absence of other evidence that would identify Pieter as a collector of this kind of material, makes it probable that this book entered his library as an inheritance. In this case, the most likely candidate for the source of the book in this collection is Willem Schrijver (the son of Pieter's aunt Wendela), whose grandfather Petrus Scriverius as a student had been in direct contact with Scaliger and Baudius. As discussed in previous chapters, Pieter inherited a portion of Schrijver's son's possessions and kept books and manuscripts for Schrijver in his house, which increases the chances that Scriverius was this book's original owner.⁸⁰

In terms of value of books within this subject category, the folio edition of the commentary on Homer's *Iliad* by Eustathius of Thessalonica, published in Rome in 1542, stands out as the third most expensive item in the catalogue (*fl.* 60).⁸¹ Next, we find the incunable edition of Virgil's *Opera*, published in Venice in 1486 (*fl.* 24:10).⁸² Virgil's *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* are also present in their first Dutch translations, made by the famous poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), who dedicated is *Wercken* to Pieter's father.⁸³ Absent from the catalogue is Vondel's translation of the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which he had dedicated to Pieter himself.⁸⁴

1.5.2 History and Historiography

Books on historical subjects follow next (201, ca. 9%). Numerous works concentrate on the history of the Dutch Republic, both ancient and contemporary. These include: the works by early humanists such as Adrianus Barlandus,

p. 74, nr. 217 (*s. l., s. a.*). USTC records a copy in 12°, as the title in the catalogue, published in Amsterdam in 1663 (1800663).

79 *Catalogus*, p. 15, nr. 293 (Antwerp, 1608; USTC 1003469): *Taciti Opera cum notis Justi Lipsii, in margine quaedam sunt annotata manu Joh.[sic] Scaligeri & D. Baudii*. The year 1608 appears to be a printer's error; the Plantin-Moretus edition appeared in 1607.

80 See chapters 2 and 3.

81 *Catalogus*, p. 14, nr. 279 (USTC 828521).

82 *Catalogus*, p. 16, nr. 323 (USTC 990011).

83 *Publius Virgilius Maroos wercken. In Nederduitsch dicht vertaelt door J. v. Vondel: Catalogus*, p. 84, nr. 537.

84 See chapter 2.

the famous *Batavia* by Hadrianus Junius (Leiden, 1588), the *Compendium historiae Batavicae* by the Leiden historian Antonius Thysius Jr. (1603–1665), the *Batavia illustrata* (Leiden, 1609) by Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660), two copies of the new edition of the *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie* by Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612), three editions of the *Chartre Chronyck* by Matthijs van der Houve (1577–1646), the *Nederlantsche oorloghen* by Pieter Christiaansz Bor (1559–1635) in the 1621 edition published in Leiden, two editions of the *Nederlandsche Historien* and their continuation (*Vervolg der Nederlandse historien*) by Pieter's relative, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647), two editions of Grotius's *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis* and the *Chronicon Hollandiae* he wrote with Janus Dousa and his son (Leiden, 1617), three volumes of the famous *Historie* by Lieuwe van Aitzema (1600–1669), as well as his *Vredehandel* (The Hague, 1650) and the *Herstelde Leeuw* (The Hague, 1652), Christianus Schotanus's *Beschryvinge van de heerlyckheydt van Frieslandt* (Amsterdam, 1660) and numerous local chronicles of various authors.⁸⁵ Pieter mentions several of these works as references for his family history, offering direct proof that he consulted these books himself.⁸⁶ Van Aitzema's *Historie*, moreover, appears in an almanac entry recording that Pieter had lent the sixth volume of this work to Jacob Boreel.⁸⁷

There are also numerous historical descriptions of cities, notably the Dutch edition of Johannes Isacius Pontanus's *Historische beschrijvinghe van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1614), though the later description of this city by Olaf

85 Barlandus's *Hollandiae comitum historia et icons: Catalogus*, p. 58, nr. 430 (s. l., 1603); Junius's *Batavia: Ib.*, p. 39, nr. 380 (USTC 422668 and 430174), discussed in C. Maas, 'Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia* and the formation of a historiographical canon in Holland', in D. van Miert (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 38–68. *Compendium historiae Batavicae: Catalogus*, p. 76, nr. 274; *Batavia illustrata: Ib.*, p. 40, nr. 411 (USTC 1019662 and 1510048); by Emanuel van Meteren: *Commentarien ofte memorien van-den Nederlandtschen staet, handel, oorloghen ende gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden* (...) ('Schotlandt buyten Danswijck': 'Hermes van Loven' [fictitious imprint]): *Ib.*, p. 23, nr. 455; *Chartre Chronyck: Ib.*, p. 22, nr. 449 (The Hague, 1641), nr. 450 (Leiden, 1646; USTC 1515210) and nr. 451 (s. l., 1633 [misprint for 1636]); *Nederlantsche oorloghen: Ib.*, p. 22, nr. 448 (Leiden, 1621; USTC 1020977 and 1435843); by P.C. Hooft: *Ib.*, p. 22, nr. 439–441 (Amsterdam 1677 [USTC 1813775], 1642 [USTC 1033650] and 1654 [1826011]); Grotius's *Annales: Ib.*, p. 18, nr. 366 (Amsterdam, s. a.) and p. 77, nr. 308 ([Amsterdam], 1658; USTC 1839506); *Chronicon Hollandiae: Ib.*, p. 37, nr. 331 (USTC 1028921); *Historie* by Van Aitzema: *Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 524 (The Hague, 1657; USTC 1841804); *Vredehandel: Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 525 (USTC 1514289); *Herstelde Leeuw: Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 526 (USTC 1803392); Schotanus's *Beschryvinge: Ib.*, p. 22, nr. 436.

86 See chapter 2.

87 Chapter 3.

Dapper is missing.⁸⁸ Pontanus's work epitomizes the pride associated with Amsterdam's rapid rise to prominence, a development to which the De Graeff family felt they significantly contributed.⁸⁹ This message is also emphasized by the subject that Pieter chose for the ceiling of the *kleijne zijdelkamer* in his Herengracht house, with the personification of the city of Amsterdam at its centre, surrounded by the four continents.⁹⁰ The broad geographical spectrum covered by Dutch explorations and commerce is mirrored by the books in the catalogue: histories of other European countries are well represented, as well as accounts of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, America, and China.⁹¹ The first edition of Walter Raleigh's *The history of the world*, published in London in 1614, is also worth mentioning as it is the only book in English (dictionaries excluded) present in the catalogue.⁹²

88 *Catalogus*, p. 42, nr. 478 (USTC 1030799; previously published in Latin with the title *Historia urbis et rerum Amstelodamensium*, Amsterdam, 1611). Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1663).

89 See Dudok van Heel, 'Op zoek naar Romulus', p. 44.

90 See chapter 2.

91 E.g. on England, the edition of *Britannia* by William Camden, published in London in 1594 (*Catalogus*, p. 37, nr. 334; USTC 512498) and the *Florus Anglicus, seu rerum Anglicarum* by the Amsterdam-born Lambert van den Bos ([Amsterdam], 1652: *Catalogus*, 76, nr. 262; USTC 1801036); on Scotland, the *Rerum Scoticarum historia* by Georgius Buchananus ([Frankfurt], 1594: *Ib.*, p. 59, nr. 447; USTC 690724); on France, the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory, Bishop of Tours (*s. l.*, 1604: *Catalogus*, p. 59, nr. 445), and several other historical treatises in French (especially amongst the octavo editions); on Germany, Philippus Cluverius's *Germaniae antiquae libri tres* (Leiden, 1616: *Ib.*, p. 14, nr. 272; USTC 1028175); on the Italian peninsula, the first edition of *La Historia di Italia* (Florence, 1561: *Ib.*, p. 20, nr. 402; USTC 835391) by Francesco Guicciardini, *La guerra di Cambrai* (Venice, 1560: *Ib.*, p. 66, nr. 662; USTC 842933) by Andrea Mocenigo, and the *Historia Insubrica* by Erycius Puteanus, which contains the history of Milan from the fifth century BCE to the tenth century CE (*s. l.*, *s. a.*: *Ib.*, p. 59, nr. 471). On Poland, *De Republica Polonica* by the Prussian historian Christoph Hartknoch (1644–1687) (*s. l.*, *s. a.*: *Ib.*, 59, nr. 466). On Byzantine and Ottoman empires: e.g. the *Historia musulmana Turcorum* by Joannes Leunclavius (Frankfurt, 1591: *Ib.*, p. 16, nr. 320; USTC 662570 and 662571), the Dutch translation of Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, entitled *Allgemeen Historie der Turken* (Amsterdam, 1670: *Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 512; USTC 1807073), and an unspecified edition of the *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (*s. l.*, *s. a.*: *Ib.*, p. 81, nr. 455). On America: the Dutch translation of the account of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta (1540–1600), *Historie naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien* (*s. l.*, *s. a.*: *Ib.*, p. 66, nr. 676); *West-Indische spieghel* (Amsterdam, 1624: *Ib.*, p. 42, nr. 470; USTC 1029834). On China: *Histoire du royaume de la Chine* by the Portuguese missionary Alvaro Semmedo (1585–1658), (*s. l.*, *s. a.*: *Ib.*, p. 64, nr. 623).

92 *Catalogus*, p. 21, nr. 418 (USTC 3006285 and 3006353). For an analysis of this work, see N. Popper, *Walter Raleigh's "History of the World" and the historical culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

The auction catalogue contains not only historical accounts but also important contributions to the development of historical method and criticism. Amongst the first category, which may relate to Jacob Dircksz's historical studies but also to Pieter's own genealogical research, are the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* by Jean Bodin (1530–1596), on how to judge the reliability of sources, the *Synopsis historiarum & methodus nova* by Johan Jacobus Beurer (1537–1605), the first edition of *Dell'arte historica* by Agostino Mascardi (1591–1640), published in Rome in 1636, and one humorous collection of ancient historians' slips and mistakes entitled the *Farfalloni de gli antichi storici* by Secondo Lancellotti (1583–1643).⁹³ Vossius's *De historiae utilitate oratio* (Amsterdam, 1632), dedicated to Jacob Dircksz and other burgomasters, is missing. A more recent work which is present in the catalogue is the *Animadversiones historicae* (Amsterdam, 1685) by Jacobus Perizonius (1651–1715).⁹⁴ Since Perizonius was professor of history at the University of Franeker starting in 1682, and at Leiden starting in 1693, this book must have been part of the study materials of Pieter's son Cornelis.

The several genealogies and books containing coats of arms of Dutch, French, German, English and Polish lineages in the catalogue reflect the interest in this subject taken by Pieter and his relatives, a passion they shared with their contemporaries.⁹⁵ Several of the histories of families or important individuals are illustrated via depictions of coins. Moreover, there are also important contributions to the study and systematisation of numismatics such as Charles Patin's *Introductio ad historiam numismatum* (Amsterdam, 1683), commonly found in the libraries of coin collectors like Pieter (Fig. 5.6).⁹⁶

93 Bodin's *Methodus: Catalogus*, p. 56, nr. 368 (s. l., s. a.). The first edition of this book was published in 1566 in Paris (see Mourits, *Een kamer*, p. 204). Beurer's *Synopsis: Ib.*, p. 59, nr. 451 (s. l., s. a.). Mascardi's work: *Ib.*, p. 41, nr. 454 (USTC 4012366). See S. Tutino, *Shadows of doubt. Language and truth in Post-Reformation Catholic culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 40 ff. *Farfalloni: Ib.*, p. 66, nr. 670 (s. l. [Venice], s. a.). USTC records six editions in 8° published in Venice between 1636 and 1677.

94 *Catalogus*, p. 62, nr. 547 (USTC 1825140).

95 E.g. Nicolaus Rittershausen, *Genealogiae Imperatorum, Regum, Ducum, Comitum, praecipuorumque aliorum procerum Orbis christiani deductae ab anno Christi M cccc, continuatae ad annum M DC LXIV* (Tubingen, 1669): *Catalogus*, p. 19, nr. 375; Jérôme de Bara, *Le Blason des armoiries* (s. l., 1561): *Ib.*, p. 21, nr. 426; Salomon Neugebauer, *Icones et vitae principum ac regum Poloniae* (Frankfurt, 1620): *Ib.*, p. 38, nr. 372 (USTC 2057767) and Charles Segoing, *Mercure Armorial* (Paris, 1652): *Ib.*, p. 40, nr. 426 (USTC 6065730 and 6121981).

96 *Catalogus*, p. 77, nr. 296 (USTC 1826452). See J. van der Waals, 'Met boek en plaat. Het boeken- en atlasbezit van verzamelaars', in E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker (eds.), *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992) p. 214.



FIGURE 5.6 Engraved frontispiece of Charles Patin's *Introductio ad historiam numismatum* (Amsterdam, 1683). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OMT OK 80-307 (1)

Other noteworthy titles on this subject are e.g. Nicolas Chevalier's *Histoire de Guillaume III, roy d'Angleterre (...) par médailles (...)* (Amsterdam, 1692), and two copies of Claude-François Menestrier's *Histoire du roy Louis le Grand, par les medailles (...)* (Paris, 1691).⁹⁷ Given the recent publication dates of these books, we can safely assume that they were purchased by Pieter himself, but the two copies of Menestrier's work again hint at the presence of another collection merged into this one.

1.5.3 Politics

Books on political subjects are well represented in the catalogue (100, ca. 4%), either as accounts focusing on a specific country or as treatises of political theory and philosophy discussing the best type of government. On the national Dutch level, we encounter several works by the anti-Orangist Johan and Pieter de La Court (Fig. 5.7), some of which are also recorded in the Ilpenstein's inventory: the *Politike gronden* (Leiden, 1669), two copies of the *Politike discoursen* (Leiden, 1662), *Consideratien van Staet ofte politike weegschael*, and *Interest van Holland*.⁹⁸ Grotius's *Apologeticus eorum qui Hollandiae ex legibus praefuerunt*, a defence of his conduct during the Orangist coup of 1618, and two accounts of the life of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt are further evidence of the family's republican sympathies.⁹⁹ The catalogue also lists two copies of the *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, Grotius's theoretical work on church-state relations written in support of Oldenbarnevelt's instances in the midst of the religious controversy and published only posthumously in 1647.¹⁰⁰ Amongst Pieter's purchases, we can certainly count the book by Emanuel van der Hoeven with the self-explanatory title *Hollands aeloude vryheid, buyten het stadhouderschap* (Amsterdam, 1706). Illustrated by the artist Romeyn de Hooghe, this book is an example of the republican publications that appeared during the second Stadtholderless period inspired by the ideas of the De la

97 *Catalogus*, p. 21, nr. 419 (USTC 1559965) and *Ib.*, p. 21, nr. 420.

98 On the political thought of the De la Court brothers, see A. Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age. The political thought of Johan and Pieter de la Court* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

99 *Catalogus*, p. 56, nr. 370; *ib.*, p. 43, nr. 493 (s. l., 1658); *ib.*, p. 66, nr. 696 (s. l., s. a.).

100 *Catalogus*, p. 46, nr. 55. On this work, see H.-J. van Dam, 'Hugo Grotius's manuscript of *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* identified', *Grotiana*, 11 (1990), pp. 34–42 and *Id.*, trans. *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, vols. 1–2. Studies in the history of Christian thought (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001). For the contribution this work was meant to give within the Anglo-Dutch relations, see M. Barducci, 'The Anglo-Dutch context for the writing and reception of Hugo Grotius's *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, 1617–1659', *Grotiana*, 34 (2013), pp. 138–161.



FIGURE 5.7 Title pages of De La Court's *Politike Discoursen* (Leiden, 1662) and *Politike Gronden* (Leiden, 1669). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OG 63-7504 and UBM W 117 776

Court brothers.¹⁰¹ A reflection on the Eighty Years' War is given in the *Statera belli & pacis*, in which the Louvain professor Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), discussing the respective benefits of war and peace, concludes in favour of ending the war.¹⁰² Interest in the political situation in England is, moreover, particularly prominent, which comes as no surprise given the complex political relations between this country and the Dutch Republic. English politics are dealt with in works such as the *Corona Regia* (1615), a critique of King James I erroneously attributed to Isaac Casaubon, and the *Elenchi motuum nuperorum in Anglia* by George Bate (1608–1668), physician to Charles I, Oliver Cromwell and Charles II, and an eyewitness to the English Civil War, which he recounts in this book.¹⁰³ The debate concerning the controversy over the position of the English monarchy is reflected by the writings of Claudius Salmasius, who defended King Charles I, and John Milton, supporter of Cromwell.¹⁰⁴ Published

101 See J. Fongers, 'The echoes of the brothers De la Court in early eighteenth-century republican publications', RMA dissertation, Utrecht University, 2019.

102 *Catalogus*, p. 74, nr. 184. See J. van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 197.

103 *Catalogus*, p. 80, nr. 403 and *ib.*, p. 79, nr. 391.

104 By Salmasius: *Defensio regia pro Carolo Primo* (*Catalogus*, p. 80, nr. 392) and *Responsio ad Miltonum* (*ib.*, p. 62, nr. 552); by Milton: *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* (*ib.*, p. 80, nr. 393)

in 1620 (just when the Twelve Years' Truce was nearing its end and war was about to resume) and reprinted several times, the *Spiegel der Spaensche tyrannye*, on the other hand, presented Spain as a cruel and deceitful enemy.¹⁰⁵

With regard to political philosophy and the discussion about the best form of government, there are, in addition to Machiavelli's *Princeps* and *De Regno*, two editions of Bodin's masterpiece *De Republica*, and the *Augustus sive de convertenda in monarchiam republica* by the prolific Cyriacus Lentulus, one of the first professors of politics.¹⁰⁶ There are moreover two influential works in the Northern Netherlands: The *De arcanis rerum publicarum libri sex* by the German Arnoldus Clapmarius (1574–1604), listed in the catalogue in the edition published in Frankfurt in 1624, and the *De Republica Hebraeorum* by the Dutch scholar Petrus Cunaeus (1586–1638), who suggested the federal organization of an imagined Hebrew state as a model for the government of the Dutch Republic.¹⁰⁷ From his exile in Paris, Grotius continued to influence the political debate at home with his *Verantwoording van de wettelijke regering van Holland en West-Friesland* which is present in the catalogue.¹⁰⁸ We also find the first Dutch translation of Thomas Hobbes's controversial political treatise *De cive*, entitled *De eerste beginselen van een burger-staat* and published in Amsterdam in 1675.¹⁰⁹ Unmissable as well were the works on the Italian naval republics of Venice and Genoa, both regarded with interest as potential models for the Dutch patriciate.¹¹⁰ Given the prominent political positions held by

written in response to Salmasius's *Defensio regia* under commission of the Parliament. On the debate in the Dutch Republic for the execution of Charles I, see H. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic. Literature, politics, and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

105 *Catalogus*, p. 43, nr. 498 (Amsterdam, 1620; USTC 1012856 and 1016574).

106 *Princeps: Catalogus*, p. 61, nr. 519 (*s. l., s. a.*, in octavo) and p. 76, nr. 266 (*s. l., s. a.*, in duodecimo). *De Regno: Ib.*, p. 57, nr. 386 (*s. l., s. a.*). *De Republica: Ib.*, p. 16, nr. 316 (Paris, 1586; USTC 142330) and p. 59, nr. 455 (*s. l.*, 1601). *Augustus: Ib.*, p. 78, nr. 324 ([Amsterdam], 1645; USTC 1032560).

107 *Catalogus*, p. 38, nr. 366 (USTC 2110853) and p. 46, nr. 43 (*s. l., s. a.*), respectively.

108 *Catalogus*, p. 43, nr. 483 (*s. l., s. a.*).

109 *Catalogus*, p. 66, nr. 685 (*s. l., s. a.*). This Dutch translation is discussed in C.W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the mind. Studies in seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch translation with a checklist of books translated from English into Dutch, 1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill/Leiden University Press, 1983), p. 59 ff.

110 On Venice, e.g.: Graswinckel's *Libertas Veneta* (Leiden, 1634; USTC 1027998): *Catalogus*, p. 38, nr. 361; Sansovino's *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare* (Venice, 1604; USTC 4036489): *ib.*, p. 41, nr. 443; Giustiniano's *Le Histoire Venetiane* (Venice, 1576; USTC 833543): *ib.*, p. 41, nr. 444; Graswinckel's *De jure praecedentiae* ([Leiden], 1644; USTC 1027786): *ib.*, p. 59, nr. 472; Contarini's *Della republica, e magistrati di Venetia libri cinque* (*s. l., s. a.*): *ib.*,

several members of the De Graeff extended family, it is not surprising to find these types of books in the catalogue.

Other books in this category belong to the genre of the *speculum principis* ('mirror for the prince'), which aimed to offer pedagogical and political advice to princes so that they would conduct themselves in an exemplary manner: from Cicero's *De officiis* to the collection of *sententiae* from various authors gathered in Erasmus's *Apophthegmata*, as well as Lipsius's influential *Politica*.¹¹¹ There is also, significantly, the Dutch translation of the *Basilikon Doron*, King James VI of Scotland's famous treatise on how to become a good monarch, addressed to his son, and the Latin edition, appeared in Brussels in 1649, of the emblem *Idea principis christiano-politici* by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648).¹¹² It is tempting to relate these books to the role played by Cornelis de Graeff in the education of the young prince Willem III of Orange.¹¹³ Works such as *De legato et legatione* by the Polish politician and diplomat Christopher Varsevicius (1543–1603), *L'Ambassadeur* by Jean Hotman de Villiers (1552–1636), and *Le parfait ambassadeur* by Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, in the French translation made by Nicolas Lancelot, are oriented to a greater extent towards those desiring to embark on a diplomatic career.¹¹⁴ The more recent influential treatise on diplomacy *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* by Abraham de Wicquefort (1606–1682), published in 1681, is not present amongst the books in the catalogue.¹¹⁵ As Pieter himself never held a diplomatic post, we may

p. 83, nr. 524; On Genoa: Borgo's *De dominio serenissimae Genuensis reipublicae in mari ligustico* ([Rome], 1641; USTC 4014949): *ib.*, p. 38, nr. 360.

111 *De Officiis: Catalogus*, 58, nr. 421 ([Lyon], 1562; USTC 139178), p. 61, nrs. 513 (*s. l., s. a.*) and 530 (Amsterdam, 1688; USTC 1821562). *Apophthegmata: Ib.*, p. 58, nr. 422 ([Cologne], 1581; USTC 612547). *Politica: Ib.*, p. 74, nr. 212 (*s. l., s. a.*) and p. 77, nr. 313 (*s. l., s. a.*). The *Index in Lipsii politica* is also present at p. 75, nr. 251. The genre of the *speculum principis* is discussed in E. de Bom, 'Political Advice', in S. Knight and S. Tilg (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Neo-Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 139.

112 *Een coninglijck gheschenck: Catalogus*, p. 66, nr. 677 (Amsterdam, 1603; USTC 1012546). *Idea principis: Ib.*, p. 16, nr. 317 (USTC 1003180 and 5044838).

113 See chapter 2.

114 *De legato: Catalogus*, p. 77, nr. 312 (*s. l., s. a.*). On Varsevicius, see R.L. Ferring, 'Christopher Varsevicius. Polish Renaissance diplomat, statesman, and political writer', *Polish Review* 5, nr. 2 (1960), pp. 98–109. *L'Ambassadeur: Ib.*, p. 65, nr. 639 (*s. l., s. a.*). It was first published in 1603; the political context in which this publication came about is discussed in Lucien Bély, 'La polémique autour de *L'Ambassadeur* de Jean Hotman. Culture et diplomatie au temps de la paix de Lyon', *Cahiers d'histoire*, 46, nr. 2 (2001), <https://doi.org/10.4000/ch.233> (last accessed April 2024). *Le parfait ambassadeur: Ib.*, p. 41, nr. 434 (Paris, 1635) and p. 82, nr. 493 (*s. l., s. a.*).

115 On him, see M. Keens-Soper, 'Abraham de Wicquefort and diplomatic theory', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 8 (1997), pp. 16–30.

point to his father, Cornelis, as a possible previous owner of these books given Cornelis's involvement in diplomatic negotiations.

1.5.4 Literature

We may now turn to the large body of literature in the catalogue, which includes prose, plays, poetry and emblem books (153, ca. 7%) and which shows several direct connections to the De Graeff family. Amongst the Dutch authors, we find Johan van Heemskerck with his famous pastoral *Batavische Arcadia*, the poems of the already mentioned P.C. Hooft, and plays by Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero and Joost van den Vondel.¹¹⁶ The presence of Vondel's tragedy *Palamedes* should come as no surprise since the allegory of the Greek hero falsely accused of treason was an unambiguous condemnation of Van Oldenbarnevelt's execution.¹¹⁷ Vondel shared the De Graeffs' political orientation and had expressed his admiration for the family on other occasions.¹¹⁸ The poet and family friend Gerard Brandt is also included with a collection of his poems and his epic on the Peace of Münster, *Het sluiten der Eeuwige Vrede* (1648), dedicated to Cornelis de Graeff, who had played a crucial role in the peace negotiations.¹¹⁹ Additional books directly related to the De Graeff family are the *Poemata* by Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), the famous Neo-Latin poet and professor at the *Athenaeum Illustre*, and the *Musae juveniles* (1662) the most important collection of poems by Robertus Keuchenius (1636–1673). The first, listed in the catalogue in two undated editions, contains the celebratory poems for both of Cornelis's marriages and for the marriage between Christina de Graeff and Jacob Bicker. The latter includes the celebratory poem in honour of Cornelis and, as already mentioned, the wedding eulogy for Pieter and Jacoba.¹²⁰ On marriage is also Barlaeus's *Faces Augustae*

116 *Batavische Arcadia: Catalogus*, p. 66, nr. 687 (Amsterdam, 1662; USTC 1531566). Poems by P.C. Hooft: *Ib.*, p. 42, nr. 474 (Amsterdam, 1656). Bredero's *Alle de Spelen* (*s. l., s. a.*): *Ib.*, p. 43, nr. 500. *Palamedes* (Amsterdam, 1627): *Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 511; *Verscheide comedien van Vondel* ('various comedies by Vondel'): *Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 515.

117 See T. Harmsen, 'De stof van Vondels derde tragedie. *Palamedes* (1625)', *Neerlandistiek* (2016), <https://www.neerlandistiek.nl/2016/01/de-stof-van-vondels-derde-tragedie-palamedes-1625> (last accessed April 2024).

118 Chapter 2.

119 Respectively: *Catalogus*, p. 67, nr. 701 (*s. l., s. a.*) and p. 23, nr. 458 (USTC 1031377). See M.B. Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Münster in Amsterdam. De dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 13, nr. 1 (1997), pp. 193–200.

120 *Poemata: Catalogus*, p. 78, nr. 350 and p. 80, nr. 413. *Musae juveniles: Ib.*, p. 56, nr. 356 (USTC 1843678). The celebratory poem in honour of Cornelis is on p. 37, the wedding eulogy on p. 40.

(Dordrecht, 1643), a Latin translation of stories from the famous *Trou-ringh* by Jacob Cats (1577–1660), followed by six dialogues about marriage.¹²¹ Moreover, it is worth mentioning the exiled Czech philosopher and pedagogue Johann Amos Comenius who has been a private teacher of Pieter's brother Jacob. Of Comenius's works, Pieter owned the *Schola Ludus*, the *Synopsis physicae ad lumen divinum reformatae* and *Diogenes cynicus redivivus* (Amsterdam, 1658), the latter dedicated to his brother Jacob and Nicolaes Witsen.¹²²

The number of satirical works in the catalogue is especially large, including the so-called *Satyrae Menippeae*, particularly popular in the Dutch Republic as a means to express unorthodox views on religion and politics.¹²³ Another satirical work, listed in the catalogue amongst the *Libri Juridici* due to its subject matter, is the *Aresta amorum* by the French poet Martial d'Auvergne (1430–1508), a parody of the fifteenth-century legal language and procedures of the Paris parliament in the form of a collection of love quarrels put before the 'Parlement d'Amour'.¹²⁴ Literature from other European countries is also present, both in the original language (especially Italian and French) and in translation. Amongst the latter is the Dutch translation of the satire on Spanish life written by Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645), and the German poet Hartmann Schopper's Latin translation of the famous poem about Reynard the Fox, a satire of court life originating in the twelfth-century *Roman de Renart*, first printed at the end of the fifteenth century and often reprinted across Europe.¹²⁵

121 *Catalogus*, p. 56, nr. 357 (USTC 1028057).

122 *Schola Ludus: Catalogus*, p. 58, nr. 417 (s. l., s. a.). *Synopsis: Ib.*, p. 72, nr. 148 (s. l., s. a.). *Diogenes: Ib.*, p. 74, nr. 205 ([Amsterdam], s. a.). See also chapter 2.

123 Such works were very popular amongst Leiden students. We find, for example, a few works by Daniel Heinsius (the satire on ignorance *Laus asini*, undated, but most likely Leiden, 1629; *Catalogus*, p. 75, nr. 257), and the *Sardi Venales* (first published in 1612), an attack against all theologians by Cunaeus (*Ib.*, p. 78, nr. 327, s. l., s. a.). Somos explores this subject in M. Somos, *Secularisation and the Leiden Circle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 201 ff.

124 *Catalogus*, p. 71, nr. 124 (s. l., s. a.); the editions currently in USTC which match the format (duodecimo or smaller) date to 1555 or 1566. On this work, see K. Loysen, *Conversation and storytelling in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French "Nouvelles"* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 59–90.

125 *Spaanse droomen: Catalogus*, p. 84, nrs. 547–8 (s. l., s. a.). *De admirabili fallacia et astutia vulpeculae Reinikes: Ib.*, p. 76, nr. 265 (s. l., s. a.). For the re-elaboration of this character during the centuries, see L. Vezzosi, 'Il viaggio di Renard ovvero la metamorfosi della volpe', in A. Saraçgil and L. Vezzosi (eds.), *Lingue, letteratura e culture migranti* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2016), pp. 121–148; on the translation by Schopper, see W. Schouwink, 'Reinike from the pen of a mercenary. Hartmann Schopper's *Opus Poeticum*', *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*, 7, nr. 1 (1994), pp. 161–182.

It is noteworthy that, in comparison to other contemporary libraries, there is an above-average number of Italian authors and works written in Italian.¹²⁶ For example, there are Dante's *Commedia* in the edition published in Venice in 1578, several works by Boccaccio (in Italian, French and Dutch), Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso* (Venice, 1589), Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, and a miscellaneous collection of Italian authors (*Della fabrica del mondo*) published in Venice in 1589.¹²⁷ There are, moreover, works that appear less often in Dutch libraries, such as the *Opera* of the Italian poet Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) and the *Macaronica* by the poet Teofilo Folengo (1491–1544), written in his characteristic mix of Italian and Latin.¹²⁸ In the genre of entertainment literature, we can mention the Italian translation of the French novel *L'Elena olandese rapita* published in Venice in 1687, recounting the troubled love story of an upper-class girl from Amsterdam.¹²⁹ It is also worth noting a rare early seventeenth-century book by Giacomo Franco (ca. 1550–1620) entitled *Habiti delle donne Venetiane*, which contains twenty illustrations depicting the elaborate dresses worn by Venetian women and their wedding customs (Fig. 5.8).¹³⁰

No specific interest for Italy emerges in Pieter's almanacs (apart from one reference to coins from Italy), nor can any book in Italian be found in his inventories. The more recent books must have therefore belonged to his brother Jacob or to his son Cornelis, who had spent a significant amount of time travelling in Italy and would have been proficient in Italian. For example, *L'Elena olandese rapita* (of which the first edition appeared the same year they were in Venice) would have served as pleasant pastime reading for the two 'Amsterdammers' in the Doge's city. Most likely the books published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries should be linked with Pieter's grandfathers. Jacob Dircksz, who visited Italy during his Grand Tour at the end of the sixteenth

126 For a survey of Italian books in Dutch seventeenth century libraries, see P. van Heck, 'Libri italiani nelle biblioteche private olandesi del Seicento', in *L'Italiano oltre frontiera. V Convegno Internazionale (Leuven, 22–25 aprile 1998)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 93–109, which focuses on the presence of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Ariosto and Tasso.

127 *Commedia: Catalogus*, p. 21, nr. 417 (USTC 808800). Works by Boccaccio: *Ib.*, p. 43, nr. 503 (s. l., s. a.); p. 65, nrs. 663, 666 and 667 (s. l., s. a.); p. 81, nr. 439 (s. l., s. a.); p. 83, nrs. 525 and 528 (s. l., s. a.). *L'Orlando Furioso: Ib.*, p. 21, nr. 416 (Venice, 1589). *Gerusalemme Liberata: Ib.*, p. 42, nr. 459 (s. l., s. a.). *Della Fabrica del mondo: Ib.*, p. 20, nr. 397 (Venice, 1589).

128 Sannazaro's *Opera: Catalogus*, p. 74, nr. 200 and p. 78, nr. 349 (both s. l., s. a.). *Macaronica: Ib.*, p. 78, nr. 346 (s. l., s. a.).

129 *Catalogus*, p. 83, nr. 521 (s. l., s. a.).

130 *Catalogus*, p. 21, nr. 430 (s. l., s. a.). It was first published in Venice in 1610. See A.R. Jones, 'Labor and lace. The crafts of Giacomo Franco's *Habiti delle donne venetiane*', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17, nr. 2 (2014), pp. 399–425.



FIGURE 5.8 The engraved title page and one of the illustrations in Giacomo Franco's *Habiti delle donne Venetiane* (Venice, ca. 1592–1609). MET Museum, Call number 34.36

century, had acquired a good knowledge of Italian, as his grandson wrote in his notes. Pieter Jansz Hooft also travelled in Italy and although it is difficult to precisely pinpoint his whereabouts, we know that he stayed in Padua in 1612.¹³¹ Perhaps it was he who purchased the *Habiti delle donne Venetiane* and brought it back home.

Special mention should be made of the illustrated moral and didactic literature known as emblem books, which are present in the catalogue mostly in editions from before 1660.¹³² The catalogue contains the *Emblemata* by Andreas Alciatus (1492–1550), the first book to adopt what will become the typical tripartite structure of the genre (*motto*, *inscriptio* or *sententia*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*), and gave it its name.¹³³ Dutch emblem books are well represented, for instance by the famous *Amoris divini emblemata* by Octavius Vaenius (ca. 1556–1629), the first edition of *De cleyn werelt* by Jan van den Kiele (1556–1621),

131 See chapter 2.

132 Granted two instances of dubious year of publication (p. 16, nr. 317 and p. 40, nr. 405), which possibly were due to typesetting mistakes. For emblem books in the Netherlands, see A. Adams and M. van der Weij (eds.), *Emblems of the Low Countries. A book historical perspective* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2003).

133 *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 599 (Paris, 1618; USTC 6016162).

and the *Emblemata* collections by Jacob Cats (including the highly popular *Houwelyk*), Johan de Brune (1588–1658), Florentius Schoonhovius (1594–1648) and Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612–1653).¹³⁴ Several emblem books from East Central Europe are also listed, such as the *Peristromata regum* included in the *Fragmenta scriptorum* of the Polish writer Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro (ca. 1620–1679), and the *Emblemata* by the renowned Hungarian humanist scholar Iohannes Sambucus (1531–1584).¹³⁵ The presence of emblem books, a genre whose popularity had declined by the middle of the seventeenth century, is typical of an older collection. The work by Jan Luyken, who revived the genre in the second half of the seventeenth century, is absent. Once again, the most likely original readers of these books belong to the generation before Pieter's.

1.5.5 Astronomy

The catalogue lists several star atlases and treatises on astronomy and astronomical instruments, the knowledge of which was crucial for navigation. Amongst them are an early seventeenth century edition of the sixteenth-century important work *De globis* (Amsterdam, 1624) by the English mathematician and geographer Robert Hues (1553–1632), in which he explained the use of the first English-made globes created by Emery Molyneux and their practical

134 *Amoris Divini Emblemata: Catalogus*, p. 40, nr. 405 (Antwerp, 1688). USTC currently contains editions published in Antwerp in 4° dated 1602, 1608, 1660 and 1667; during this research no edition dated 1688 has been retrieved, so the date might indicate a possible typesetting mistake. On this work, which contains epigrams in Latin, Spanish, Dutch and French, see: S. López Poza, 'Alonso de Ledesma and the Spanish epigrams in the polyglot edition of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*', in E. Stronks and P. Boot (eds.), *Learned love. Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht conference on Dutch love emblems and the internet* (November 2006) (DANS Symposium Publications, 2007), pp. 93–109. *De cleynerelt: Catalogus*, p. 43, nr. 485 (Amsterdam, 1608; USTC 1030080). Cats's *Alle de Werken: Ib.*, p. 23, nr. 453 (Amsterdam, 1658; USTC 1839267) and p. 44, nr. 533 (Amsterdam, 1661; USTC 1844668). Cats's *Houwelyk: Ib.*, p. 84, nr. 536 (s. l., s. a.). De Brune's *Emblemata: Ib.*, p. 40, nr. 407 (Amsterdam, 1624; USTC 1022627). Schoonhovius's *Emblemata: Ib.*, p. 40, nr. 406 (Amsterdam, 1648; USTC 1030582). This book originated within the context of the Leiden humanist circle and under the influence of Baudius and Lipsius. On this subject see K. Enenkel, 'A Leyden Emblem Book. Florentius Schoonhovius's *Emblemata partim moralia, partim etiam civilia*', in J. Manning, K. Porteman and M. van Vaecck (eds.), *The emblem tradition and the Low Countries. Selected papers of the Leuven international emblem conference, 18–23 August, 1996* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 177–195. Van Boxhorn's *Emblemata: Ib.*, p. 79, nr. 386 (s. l., s. a.).

135 *Fragmenta Scriptorum: Catalogus*, p. 77, nr. 316 (s. l., s. a.). See A. Kolos, 'Emblematic series "Peristromata regum" by Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro. Preliminary recognition', *Meluzyna*, 7 (2017), pp. 19–43. Sambucus's *Emblemata: Ib.*, p. 79, nr. 356 (s. l., s. a.).

applications for making observations at sea; a description of the astrolabe by Franz Ritter (1579–1641); the *Selenographia* (Danzig, 1647), addressing the moon and the construction of telescopes, by Johannes Hevelius (1611–1687); and the first edition of a work on surveying and levelling, the *Traité du nivellement* (Paris, 1684), by the famous French astronomer Jean Picard (1620–1718), which includes the drawings of his levelling and measuring instruments.¹³⁶ The Dutch translation of Francis Godwin's utopian novel *The man in the moone* (1638) further reflects the period of intense observation and speculation about astronomical phenomena.¹³⁷ Two copies of the *De sphaera* (Venice, 1591; Lyon, 1593), written by Joannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1195–1256) and edited by Christophorus Clavius (1537–1612), offer useful information on their previous owners.¹³⁸ The *De sphaera* was a standard textbook on astronomical principles to be used in schools. In 1626, Clavius's edition was superseded by that of the Leiden professor Franco Burgersdijk, which became the obligatory textbook in the curriculum of all Latin schools in the province of Holland.¹³⁹ Therefore the timeframe during which the two Clavius editions listed in the catalogue were in use narrows down their potential users to members of the generation preceding Pieter's.

1.5.6 Geography and Travel

The auction catalogue lists several travel accounts that collectively describe a wide range of geographical areas (82, ca. 3%). Noteworthy here are the 33 small volumes of the Elsevier collectible bestseller *Respublicae*, each describing respectively the geopolitical situation of one country in Europe, Asia and Africa.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, and this is not unusual for a family possessing the De Graeffs' social status, there are expensive atlases in folio, such as all eleven

136 *De Globis: Catalogus*, p. 34, nr. 276 (Amsterdam, 1624; USTC 1012859). Ritter's *Astrolabium: Ib.*, p. 34, nr. 273 (Nurnberg, 1613; USTC 2029308). *Selenographia: Ib.*, p. 12, nr. 243 (Danzig, 1647; USTC 2089242). *Traité du nivellement: Ib.*, p. 73, nr. 163 (USTC 6056132).

137 *De Man in de Maan: Catalogus*, p. 73, nr. 170 (s. l., s. a.). See W.H. van Seters, 'De Nederlandse uitgaven van *The Man in the Moone*, *Het Boek*, 31 (1952–1954), pp. 157–172.

138 *Catalogus*, p. 34, nrs. 266 (USTC 822871) and 267 (USTC 146336).

139 See M. Buning, 'Fashioning cosmology. Franco Burgersdijk as the author of the Dutch *Tractatus de sphaera*', in M. Valleriani (ed.), *De sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the early modern period* (Berlin: Springer, 2020), pp. 359–380 (esp. 368 ff.).

140 *Catalogus*, p. 76, nr. 270. See V. Conti, 'Consociatio civitatum. Le repubbliche nei testi elzeviriani (1625–1649)', in V.I. Comparato and E. Pii (eds.), *Dalle 'Repubbliche' elzeviriane alle ideologie del '900. Studi di storia delle idee in età moderna e contemporanea* (Florence: Olschki, 1997), pp. 86–104.

volumes of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (1662), which were sold for *fl.* 72.¹⁴¹ Amongst the popular genre of city descriptions we find Montanus's description of Amsterdam as well as the already mentioned description by Pontanus.¹⁴² A book that is connected directly with Pieter and his managerial role in the VOC is *Verwaarloosde Formosa* (Amsterdam, 1675) by Frederick Coyett, the last governor of the island's Dutch colony (Fig. 5.9).¹⁴³ The book contains Coyett's account of the surrender of Fort Zeelandia to the Chinese fleet, an event that caused Coyett to be tried for high treason. Explorations of faraway countries are represented by *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe* by the Italian historian Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526), one of the earliest printed records of the discovery of the New World.¹⁴⁴ Travel accounts to the Middle East, India and China are recorded in several works, such as the *Itinerario* by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611), published in Amsterdam in 1596 and instrumental in the Dutch Republic's maritime expansion and the establishment of the Dutch East India Company; the *Peregrinatio in Aegyptum, Arabiam, Palaestinam, et Syriam* by the German explorer Martin von Baumgarten (Nuremberg, 1594); the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* by Bartholomaeus Saligniacus (Magdeburg, 1593); the first edition of the influential description of China *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas* written by Trigautius, procurator of the Jesuits' mission in China (Augsburg, 1615); and Dapper's description of Syria and the Holy Land (Amsterdam, 1677).¹⁴⁵ Pieter's great uncle Pieter Dircksz de Graeff (1574–1645), the only Catholic in the De Graeff family, travelled to the Holy Land in 1613. His pilgrimage is testified by the certificate issued in Jerusalem still preserved in the De Graeff family archive which lists the names of the places he visited.¹⁴⁶ As

141 *Catalogus*, p. 13, nr. 258. See chapter 2 for the patronage and direct connections between the De Graeff and the Blaeu families.

142 *Catalogus*, p. 44, nr. 518 (Amsterdam, 1665; USTC 1802641).

143 *Catalogus*, p. 42, nr. 475 (Amsterdam, 1636 = misread of 1676; USTC 1561638).

144 *Catalogus*, p. 57, nr. 374, dated 1573. No edition dated to this year has been retrieved, but editions are known from 1574 (published in Cologne, USTC 631305). The year on the title page is written as 'MDLXXIII', which explains the misread date during the typically rushed inventory practice.

145 *Itinerario: Catalogus*, p. 23, nr. 463 (USTC 428707); to contextualize this work, see A. Saldanha, 'The itineraries of geography. Jan Huygen van Linschoten's "Itinerario" and Dutch expeditions to the Indian Ocean, 1594–1602', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101, nr. 1 (January 2011), pp. 149–177. *Peregrinatio: Ib.*, p. 37, nr. 346 [1] (USTC 675233). *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: Ib.*, p. 37, nr. 347 (USTC 667218). *De christiana expeditione: Ib.*, p. 37, nr. 348 (USTC 2029816). Dapper's *Beschryving: Ib.*, p. 22, nr. 435 (USTC 1813735).

146 ACA 76, inv. nr. 20.



FIGURE 5.9 Engraved frontispiece of Coyett's *Verwaarloosde Formosa* (Amsterdam, 1675).
Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM Pfl. J s 12

Pieter Dircksz died unmarried and childless, the earlier books on this subject may reveal that Pieter inherited part of his collection and hence demonstrate a passage of properties between people otherwise difficult to trace from archival sources.

Amongst the numerous books concerning journeys, both by land and by sea, we also find more practically oriented travel guides. Besides one *Reisboek door Nederland* in octavo, several books contain practical advice about visiting Italy.¹⁴⁷ For example, there are three editions of Franz Scott's popular *Itinerario d'Italia* (and continued after Scott's death by his brother Andrea).¹⁴⁸ It was first published in 1600 in Latin on the occasion of the Jubilee of that year with the title *Itinerarium Italiae*, and then it was translated into several languages over the course of 150 years. Moreover, we find one guide to Naples and its surroundings in duodecimo written by Pompeo Sarnelli (1649–1724) and published in the last decades of the seventeenth century, and the famous *Il burattino veridico*, the successful pocket-sized itinerary by Giuseppe Miselli (1637–1695).¹⁴⁹ The author aimed to provide concrete and reliable advice to early modern travelers in Europe based on his extensive journeys and the experience he had acquired as a papal courier.¹⁵⁰ A short vocabulary list contains the “most essential words for the travelers in various languages in Europe”, presented in a comparative table, which juxtaposes their translations into Italian, French, Spanish, German, Polish and Turkish, a selection that underlines the importance of the latter two languages in the contemporary geopolitical context at the outset of the Great Turkish War.¹⁵¹ The first edition was published in Rome in 1682, and was followed by several other updated and revised editions published in Rome, Venice and Bologna up until ca. 1700.¹⁵² As mentioned earlier, Pieter's brother and eldest son, in Italy between 1686 and 1688, went to several

147 *Catalogus*, p. 66, nr. 689 (s. l., s. a.), probably to be identified with the *Reis-boek door de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën* by Jan Claesz ten Hoorn (Amsterdam, 1689 [USTC 1820202] and Amsterdam, 1700 [USTC 1848254]).

148 The editions in the catalogue are: *Itinerarium Italiae* (s. l., s. a.): *Catalogus*, p. 76, nr. 281; *Itinerario: Ib.*, p. 65, nr. 664 (Rome, 1650; USTC 4018585) and *ib.*, p. 65, nr. 664* (s. l., 1665).

149 *Guida de' Forestieri: Catalogus*, p. 83, nr. 509 (s. l., s. a.). The book in the catalogue is undated; the editions in USTC date from between 1685 and 1700 and are all published in Naples. *Il burattino veridico: Ib.*, p. 83, nr. 512 (s. l., s. a.).

150 See G. Platania, 'Un fedele amico per ogni viaggiatore: La "guida alla conversazione". Il caso del *Burattino Veridico* del seicentista Giuseppe Miselli', in V. De Caprio (ed.), *Compagni di Viaggio* (Viterbo: Sette città, 2008), pp. 53–79 and P. Tinti, 'Il paratesto del viaggiatore: il *Burattino veridico* di Giuseppe Miselli (1637–1695) e la sua fortuna editoriale', in C. Reale (ed.), *Il libro al centro. Percorsi fra le discipline del libro in onore di Marco Santoro* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2014), pp. 459–475.

151 G. Miselli, *Il Burattino Veridico, ovvero, istruzione generale per chi viaggia, con la descrizione dell'Europa, distinzione de' Regni, Prouincie, e Città, e con la Tavola delle Poste nelle vie più regolate, che al presente si trovano. Data alla luce da Giuseppe Miselli corriere detto Burattino (...)* (Rome: Michel'Ercole, 1682). Part II, Cap. XIII, p. 252 ff.

152 Tinti, 'Il paratesto', p. 474; see also USTC.

cities across the peninsula.¹⁵³ As the years spent travelling correlate well with the dates of publication for both travel guides, we can safely assume that they purchased them for the up-to-date information that would be useful to them during their journeys.

1.5.7 Dictionaries and Manuals

Related to geography and travel books is the presence of numerous dictionaries and manuals for studying ancient and modern foreign languages. Apart from several Greek and Latin dictionaries, there are, for example, two editions of the ambitious *Dictionarium octolingue* by the Italian lexicographer Ambrogio Calepino (1440–1510) with translations in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, Spanish and English, and the English-Dutch dictionary by Henry Hexham (ca. 1585–1650).¹⁵⁴ Given the date of publication, Pieter might have used Hexham's dictionary during his journey to England about a decade later. The more recent English-Dutch dictionary by Willem Sewel (Amsterdam, 1691) is in fact missing from the list.¹⁵⁵ Amongst the manuals, several were aimed at the study of Latin and Greek.¹⁵⁶ For example, we find the famous Latin grammar *Minerva, sive de causis linguae Latinae commentarius* published in Franeker in 1689, a textbook written by the Spanish philologist Franciscus Sanctius that can surely be regarded as a resource Pieter's son Cornelis would have used during his studies.¹⁵⁷ Attention to correct grammar and a pleasant style in Latin is expressed by the presence of such books as the *Orthographiae ratio*, a treatise written by Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547–1597) to formalize the use of Latin words, and *De causis linguae latinae* by Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), first published in 1540.¹⁵⁸

A marked interest in the understanding of Hebrew and ancient Near Eastern languages is shown by the presence of the *Grammaticae chaldaicae et syriacae*, the *Manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum* and *De abbreviaturis hebraicis*, all by the German Hebraist Johannes Buxtorfius (1564–1629), the *Orthographiae et analogiae ebraicae delineatio* (Amsterdam, 1646) by the German biblical

153 See chapters 2 and 3.

154 *Dictionarium octolingue: Catalogus*, p. 14, nrs. 280 (Geneva, 1620; USTC 6702402) and 281 (Lyon, 1648). Hexham's *Dictionarium: Ib.*, p. 39, nr. 388 (Rotterdam, 1647; USTC 1513205 and 3049702).

155 W. Sewel, *A large dictionary of English-Dutch*, 2 pts (Amsterdam, 1691).

156 For Latin: e.g. the *Progymnasmata latinitatis* by Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626); *Catalogus*, p. 62, nr. 568 (s. l., s. a.); for Greek: e.g. the grammars by Otho Gualtperius (1546–1624) and Petrus Ramus (1515–1572); *Ib.*, p. 62, nrs. 566 and 567, respectively (both s. l., s. a.).

157 *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 603.

158 *Catalogus*, p. 57, nr. 379 (Venice, s. a.) and p. 60, nr. 483 (s. l., s. a.), respectively.



FIGURE 5.10 The *Fransche letterkonst* by Thomas la Grue (Amsterdam, 1671) dedicated to Pieter's brother Jacob. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM 61-5462

scholar Christianus Ravius (1613–1677), and the *Diatriba, de veris et antiquis Ebraeorum literis* by the French scholar Louis Cappel (1585–1658).¹⁵⁹ Pieter's father Cornelis was proficient in ancient Near Eastern languages and as such he is the most likely previous owner of these books.¹⁶⁰ However, it is worth recalling that a book of prints for learning Hebrew was recorded (together with a similar volume for learning Greek) amongst the books at Ilpenstein in Pieter's probate inventory.¹⁶¹ Whether this book previously belonged to his father, or whether it signals an interest on Pieter's part or that of other family members in learning Hebrew, is difficult to say. The proto-sinological study *De re literaria Sinensium commentarius*, by the German Theophilus Spizelius (Gottlieb Spitzel, 1639–1691), indicates moreover an interest in the Chinese language.¹⁶²

159 By Buxtorfius: *Catalogus*, p. 46, nr. 58 (s. l., s. a.); *ib.*, p. 69, nr. 48 (s. l., s. a.); *ib.*, p. 47, nr. 59 (s. l., s. a.). By Ravius: *Ib.*, p. 24, nr. 8 (Amsterdam, 1646; USTC 1013898). By Cappel: *Ib.*, p. 69, nr. 33 ([Amsterdam], s. a.); editions in 12^o like the title in the catalogue that are currently in USTC are published in Amsterdam in 1634 and 1645.

160 See chapter 2.

161 See chapter 4.

162 *Catalogus*, p. 73, nr. 181 (s. l., s. a.). The editions currently in USTC are published either in 1660 (Amsterdam; USTC 1563284) or 1660/1661 in Leiden (USTC 1844679). On this work,

Finally, the catalogue also includes Edward Brerewood's influential book on the origins of languages (in Jean de la Montagne's 1640 translation), which discusses the diversity of languages and religions.¹⁶³ Finally, a direct connection with Pieter's brother can be established with the *Fransche letterkonst* by Thomas la Grue (1620–1680).¹⁶⁴ Jacob is the book's dedicatee. We learn from its preface that the author had been teaching him French (Fig. 5.10).

In a time when a great deal of communication occurred through epistolary contacts, attention was paid to rules for writing well-crafted letters. In the catalogue we find, indeed, several works aiming to provide guidelines and templates for good letter-writing, including three editions of Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis*, two editions of the *Secretaire a la mode* by Jean Puget de la Serre (1600–1665) and *Le Secretaire inconnu* by Barthélemy Piélat (1640–1681).¹⁶⁵ Piélat is directly connected to Pieter: he hired him to teach French to his children Cornelia and Cornelis and his niece Maria de Witt.¹⁶⁶ Letters written by classical authors and renowned modern scholars were also used as inspirational sources for their content, as well as exemplary models for letter-writing. The catalogue contains, in fact, several collections of *epistolae* by famous scholars, in not only Latin but also French and Italian: for example, Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), Justus Lipsius, Cesare Rao (ca. 1532–1587), Jacobus Crucius (1579–1635).¹⁶⁷ It includes, moreover, the *Epistolae clarorum virorum* and its satirical counterpart, the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.¹⁶⁸ For an individual performing a public role, a polished writing style was as important as refined speaking eloquence. Given the De Graeff family's involvement in politics and public administration, it is

see P. Cornelius, *Languages in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century imaginary voyages* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965), p. 66.

163 *Recherches curieuses sur la diversité des langues et religions par toutes les principales parties du monde mises en français: Catalogus*, p. 65, nr. 644 ([Paris], 1640; USTC 6039795).

164 *Catalogus*, p. 67, nr. 709 ([Amsterdam], s. a.).

165 *De conscribendis epistolis: Catalogus*, p. 57, nr. 393 (octavo); *ib.*, p. 74, nr. 196 and p. 78, nr. 337 (duodecimo and smaller), all editions undated. *Secretaire a la mode: Ib.*, p. 81, nrs. 442 and 458 (s. l., s. a.). *Le Secretaire inconnu: Ib.*, p. 82, nr. 470 (s. l., s. a.).

166 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 8 December. See chapter 2.

167 By Petrarca: *Catalogus*, p. 58, nr. 426 (s. l., 1601). By Scaliger: *Ib.*, p. 62, nr. 544 ([Leiden], 1627; USTC 1028641). Lipsius's *Epistolae selectae* ([Leiden], 1586; USTC 429137 and 429139: *Ib.*, p. 63, nr. 604) and *Epistolae* (Leiden, 1590; USTC 430306 and 430557): *Catalogus*, p. 37, nr. 332. By Rao: *Ib.*, p. 65, nr. 656 (s. l., s. a.). By Crucius: *Ib.*, p. 73, nr. 173 and p. 78, nr. 339 (both s. l., s. a.).

168 *Catalogus*, p. 61, nr. 529 ([Lyon], 1561; USTC 153116) and *ib.*, p. 78, nr. 344 (s. l., s. a.). For an analysis of the content and aims of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, see R.P. Becker, *A war of fools. The letters of obscure men. A study of the satire and the satirized* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981).

not surprising to find also several books dedicated to oratory and rhetoric in the catalogue. Besides the already mentioned *Orationes* by Demosthenes and Quintilian, we find several other works by humanist scholars such as Muretus (1526–1585), Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Caspar Barlaeus.¹⁶⁹ Noteworthy here as well is the *Medulla Oratoria*, an acclaimed manual of rhetoric written by the Norwegian priest Iver Pedersen Adolphus (1620–1665).¹⁷⁰

1.5.8 Mathematics and Science

The library of a *homo universalis* could not be complete without books concerning mathematics and science. Amongst the titles on mathematics and geometry are the first edition of the *Opuscula varia mathematica* (Bologna, 1653) by Scipione Chiaramonti (1565–1652), the *Clavis mathematicae* by William Oughtred (1574–1660) as well as Euclid's *Elements*.¹⁷¹ One example of the application of Euclidian principles to the creation of a new trigonometric surveying device is discussed by Henri de Suberville in *L'Henry-metre* (Paris, 1598).¹⁷² An interest in empirical observation and experimental method is further evidenced by the types of scientific publications listed in the catalogue. There are several works by Francis Bacon (e.g. the *Novum organum scientiarum*, first published in 1620, and the French translation of his *De augmentis scientiarum* published in 1632 in Paris under the title *L'Accroissement des sciences*), and the *Experimenta* by Robert Boyle (1627–1691).¹⁷³ A few titles focus on zoology, with

169 By Muretus: *Catalogus*, p. 59, nr. 473 (s. l., 1615). USTC records editions in octavo dated 1615 (like the book in the catalogue) being published in Mainz (2004080 and 2108172). By Puteanus: *Ib.*, p. 78, nr. 340 (s. l., s. a.). By Heinsius: *Ib.*, p. 61, nr. 507* (s. l., s. a.). By Barlaeus: *Ib.*, p. 80, nr. 414 (s. l., s. a.).

170 *Catalogus*, p. 74, nr. 190 (s. l., s. a.).

171 *Opuscula varia mathematica: Ib.*, p. 34, nr. 271 (Bologna, 1653; USTC 1727201). This work included various treatises such as *De phasibus lunae*, *De horizonte sensibili*, *De usu speculi pro libella*, *De altitudine Caucasi liber unus*, (corrected and enlarged version of the same treatise published by Naudé in Paris in 1649), and *Ex inspectione imaginis subiecti per reflexionem ex aqua quiescente in vase investigare quanta sit diameter Terrae*. *Clavis Mathematicae: Ib.* p. 55, nr. 327 (s. l., s. a.). As to Euclid's *Elements*, the catalogue lists two editions of his *Elementa Geometriae*, one edited by Christophorus Clavius (1537–1612) and published in Frankfurt in 1654 (*ib.*, p. 55, nr. 325; USTC 2576766), the other by Henrik Coets (1670–1730) (*ib.*, p. 55, nr. 325; s. l., s. a.), and two copies of *Les éléments d'Euclide* in the French edition by George Fournier (1595–1652), published in Paris in 1654 (*ib.*, p. 73, nr. 164; USTC 6057825). On this see M. Lacoarret, 'Les traductions françaises des œuvres d'Euclide', *Revue d'histoire des sciences Année*, 10, nr. 1 (1957), pp. 38–58, esp. nr. 22, p. 47 and p. 54.

172 *Catalogus*, p. 41, nr. 432 (USTC 352).

173 Bacon's works: *Catalogus*, p. 73, nr. 157 (s. l., s. a.) and p. 41, nr. 433 (Paris, 1632; USTC 6023530). Boyle's *Experimenta: Ib.*, p. 73, nr. 155 (s. l., s. a.). Christiaan Huygens received

treatises on ornithology, entomology and ichthyology.¹⁷⁴ Their dates of publication point to several generations of potential users. More research is needed to establish the extent to which the earlier publications were superseded by more recent ones, thus allowing a further narrowing down of readers within the De Graeff family. For the various chemical treatises published in 1625, and late sixteenth-century works on alchemical experiments, such as the *Aureum vellus*, we can more securely point to De Graeff's grandfathers as likely candidates, in view of their interest in these subjects.¹⁷⁵

1.5.9 Periodicals

Of the periodicals that from the end of the sixteenth century began to appear and spread the news of publications, discoveries and current debates amongst the scientific community, only four are present in the catalogue. There are six unspecified volumes of the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, one of the earliest periodicals, published between 1588 and 1638; seventeen volumes of the *Mercurie François*, the first French journal issued between 1611 and 1648, in a total of twenty-five volumes; the first issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* (1665), established to disseminate news about books and scholars within the Republic of Letters; and finally the issues from February 1695 to 1696 of the German-based *Acta Eruditorum*.¹⁷⁶ This last periodical addressed a broad range of topics, so why precisely it would have been acquired is difficult to pinpoint. It is interesting to note that the issue in the catalogue published, for example, the first part of Leibniz's *Specimen Dynamicum* and other writings by the philosopher and mathematician, as well as recording the publication in 1693 in Paris of a group of contributions to mathematics and physics (including Christiaan

visits by Boyle in April 1661 during his stay in London (see 'Journal de Chr. Huygens. Le voyage à Paris et à Londres de 1660–1661', in *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Hugens* (1950), 571–572 [11, 12 and 20 April 1661]). Since Pieter was there in the same period and met Huygens (*ib.*, p. 572 [17 April 1661]), it is possible that he also had direct contacts with Boyle.

- 174 E.g., the *Historia Animalium* (Frankfurt, 1620; USTC 2109842) by the Swiss polymath Conradus Gesnerus (1516–1565); *Catalogus*, p. 11, nr. 222; two editions of the history of insects by the Dutch naturalist Jan Swammerdam: *Ib.*, p. 33, nrs. 248 (Utrecht, 1682; USTC 1818056) and 250 (Utrecht, 1669; USTC 1806559); Ulisse Aldovrandi's *Ornithologia* (*s. l.*, *s. a.*) and the *Histoire des poissons* (Lyon, 1558) by Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566), professor of medicine at Montpellier: *Ib.*, p. 12, nr. 225.
- 175 *Verschejde chymische tractaten* (Frankfurt, 1625); *Catalogus*, p. 33, nr. 252. *Aureum vellus*: *Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 530 ([Rorschach], 1598; USTC 614838). See chapter 2.
- 176 *Mercurie François*: *Catalogus*, p. 64, nr. 611. *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*: *Ib.*, p. 58, nr. 438. *Journal des Sçavans*: *Ib.*, p. 83, nr. 508. *Acta Eruditorum*: *Ib.*, p. 37, nr. 342. About this journal see H. Laeven, *The Acta Eruditorum under the Editorship of Otto Mencke. The history of an international learned journal between 1682 and 1707*, trans. L. Richards (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1990).

Huygens's *Opuscula*), and announcing the publication of Abraham de Graeff's *De geheele mathesis of wiskonst* in 1694 in Hoorn.¹⁷⁷ Two books by this famous Amsterdam mathematician were also listed in Pieter's Ilpenstein probate inventory.¹⁷⁸ No other journals of this period are mentioned in the catalogue which may indicate an interest for only specific aspects of scientific advancements. Alternatively, we may find a reason for the omission in the almanac entry recording how Pieter had given all the issues of the *Mercurius* in his possession to his son Jan: perhaps the titles in the catalogue were only what was left over from a larger collection that Jan kept for himself?

1.5.10 Arts and Architecture

A few titles relate to the arts and (military) architecture: besides two unspecified books of prints, we find Dürer's *Menschelijcke proportion* (Arnhem, 1622) which possibly corresponds to the edition of the work listed in Pieter's Ilpenstein inventory, and the *Neue künstliche, Wohlgerissene und in Holtz geschnittene Figuren* (Frankfurt, 1620) that he composed together with Hans Holbein the Younger (ca. 1497–1543).¹⁷⁹ There are, moreover, two editions of Vossius's *De quatuor artibus popularibus* with a section on painting (dedicated, amongst others, to Cornelis de Graeff) and *De schilder-konst der oude*, Franciscus Junius's influential treatise on visual arts translated into Dutch by his nephew Johan de Brune the Younger.¹⁸⁰ Karel van Mander's earlier *Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604) is, however, absent.

Concerning architectural theory, the catalogue lists two editions of Vitruvius's *De architectura* commented by Guillaume Philandrier (1505–1565), one with unspecified place and date of publication, the other published in 1586.¹⁸¹ Noteworthy here as well is the compendium on Renaissance architectural theory entitled *Eerste deel der bouw-kunst* (Leiden, 1664), compiled by the

177 On the *Specimen Dynamicum: Acta Eruditorum* 1695, p. 145. On the publication of Huygens's *Opuscula: Acta Eruditorum* 1695, p. 129. On De Graeff's *Wiskonst: Acta Eruditorum* 1695, p. 280.

178 Chapter 4.

179 'Twee printeboken': *Catalogus*, p. 23, nr. 468. Dürer's *Menschelijcke proportion: Ib.*, p. 13, nr. 253 (USTC 1028410). See chapter 4 for the Ilpenstein inventory. Dürer's *Figuren: Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 528 (USTC 2096891).

180 Vossius's *De quatuor artibus popularibus: Catalogus*, p. 34, nr. 259 (Amsterdam, 1650; USTC 1032333) and *ib.*, p. 37, nr. 339 (s. l., s. a.). On Vossius's knowledge system expressed in his *De quatuor artibus popularibus*, and on the part dedicated to painting, see C. Nativel, 'Neo-Latin and the plastic arts in Northern Europe', in P.J. Ford, J. Bloemendal and C. Fantazzi (eds.), *Brill's encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin world* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 559–572. Junius's *Schilder-konst: Ib.*, p. 44, nr. 532 (Middelburg, 1675; USTC 1812262).

181 *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 605 (s. l., s. a.), probably either Rome, 1544 (USTC 762290) or Venice, 1557 (USTC 848053). *Ib.*, p. 35, nr. 285 (Lyon [Geneva], 1586; USTC 451085).



FIGURE 5.11 Engraved frontispiece of Joost Vermaarsch's *Eerste deel der bouw-kunst* (Leiden, 1664). Leiden, Maatschappij Nederlandse Letterkunde (M3) 1208 F 55

master mason Joost Vermaarsch with the intention of making available, in a practical manual, the principles of the influential Italian architects Vincenzo Scamozzi, Andrea Palladio and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola.¹⁸² The book was

¹⁸² *Catalogus*, p. 35, nr. 294 (Leiden, 1664; USTC 1801735).

published the same year that Pieter and his father bought the plot on the Herengracht that would be the site of his soon-to-be-built family house. This manual may well have helped inspire the construction of the house, which, as we can gather from other passages from Pieter's almanacs, was built following these principles.¹⁸³ The absence of other earlier works on similar subjects – for example Salomon de Bray's *Architectura moderna* (Amsterdam, 1631) and Simon Bosboom *Cort onderwys van de vyf colommen* (Amsterdam, 1657) – offers further justification to link the purchase of Vermaarsch's practical manual with the construction of the house.

1.5.11 Other Library Catalogues

At the end of this overview, we now survey the presence of a few catalogues of public and private libraries. They indicate an interest in these book collections and possibly also auctions of private libraries attended by Pieter himself. Amongst the catalogue of public libraries are the first printed catalogue of Leiden University's library (1595), the seventeenth-century catalogues of the libraries of the city of Amsterdam (1612 and two copies of 1668) and the University of Utrecht (1670), and the catalogue of the manuscripts kept at the *Bibliotheca Paulina* in Leipzig (1686).¹⁸⁴

With regard to private libraries, some of their owners were members of Pieter's social network. He possessed the auction catalogue of the library of the Amsterdam Burgomaster Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen (1625–1704), who had been one of his companions in the journey he made as a young man to Berlin.¹⁸⁵ There is also the catalogue of the library of Johan de Witt II (1662–1701), the son of the Grand Pensionary and an eager collector. The auction of his library and other precious items was held in Dordrecht on 20 October 1701 and was a memorable event.¹⁸⁶ There is no reference in Pieter's almanacs

183 Piccoli, 'Home-making'.

184 *Nomenclator autorum omnium, quorum libri vel manuscripti, vel typis expressi exstant in Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden, 1595; USTC 423469): *Catalogus*, p. 38, nr. 363; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Amstelodamensis*: *Ib.*, p. 37, nrs. 350 (Amsterdam, 1668; USTC 1805201) and 351 (Leiden, 1612; USTC 1019218); *Catalogus Bibliothecae ultrajectinae* (Utrecht, 1670; USTC 1807398): *Ib.*, p. 19, nr. 378; Joachim Feller, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi* ([Leipzig], [1686]; USTC 2595884): *Ib.*, p. 75, nr. 254.

185 The auction was held on 14 April 1704 at Huydecoper's house. *Bibliotheca Maarseveniana* (Amsterdam, 1704): *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 585. See chapter 2.

186 *Bibliotheca Wittiana* (Dordrecht, 1701): *Catalogus*, p. 74, nr. 185. There is a 'bis' besides this entry in Pieter's catalogue, which usually indicates the presence of two copies of the same book. In this case, however, it is more likely that this 'bis' signals instead the presence of both catalogues that were printed for the *Bibliotheca Wittiana*, the second part being

of a trip to Dordrecht to attend this auction; this catalogue is present here surely due to a more personal reason, given the close relationship between the two families.¹⁸⁷ Then there are sales catalogues of the libraries of the famous Amsterdam teacher Petrus Francius (1654–1704) – auctioned on 14 April 1705 – and of the merchant and book and art collector Paulus Uchelius (1642–1702) – auctioned on 1 October 1703 –, the latter being particularly renowned for the splendidly bound books, and the impressive number of prints and miniatures in his collection.¹⁸⁸ In all cases there is no reference to these events in Pieter's almanacs.

Finally, we find the *Bibliotheca Goesiana*, the auction catalogue of the library of Wilhelmus Goesius (1611–1686), Lord of Boekhorst and counsellor of the High Court of Holland, held in Leiden on 7 April 1687.¹⁸⁹ Along valuable and rare books, also his collection of coins, medals and paintings was sold at the auction.¹⁹⁰ The sale of this *uystekende bibliotheek* ('excellent library'), as it was advertised on the newspapers, piqued the interest of all bibliophiles and the catalogue was distributed also in Hamburg, London and Paris.¹⁹¹ A copy of the catalogue preserved at the Leiden University Library which includes the buyers' names, allows us to identify who bought what.¹⁹² Amongst them is one "De Graef" who bought several books amongst the *Libri Theologici* and *Historici*, including a few titles in Greek and Hebrew (such as the first edition

dedicated to coins and other precious items in his collection (*Bibliothecae Wittianae Pars Secunda; Sive Numismatum ac Operis Prisci Thesaurus*). On the library of Johan de Witt and his son, see G. van Den Bergh, 'What became of the library of Grand Pensionary Johan De Witt (1625–1672)? With special reference to law books', in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d'Histoire du Droit / Legal History Review* 66, nrs. 1–2 (1998), pp. 151–170.

- 187 Pieter's notes record a few visits of Johan de Witt II and his wife, Wilhelmina de Witt (e.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 214 (1694), 27 August; ACA 76, 184A, 13/23 June 1698). Upon Johan II's death, he sent his condolences to Wilhelmina (ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 26 January); when she died of smallpox, he sent his condolences to her mother, Maria van Berkel (widow of Cornelis de Witt) (ACA 76, inv. nr. 220 (1701), 10 February).
- 188 Francius's library: *Catalogus selectissimorum librorum celeberrimi viri Petri Francii eloq. & histor. in Ill. schola Amstelaed. nuper Prof. (...)* (Amsterdam, 1705): *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 587. On Francius, see Van Miert, *Illuster onderwijs*, pp. 163–169. Uchelius's library: *Bibliotheca Ucheliana* (Amsterdam, 1703): *Ib.*, p. 63, nr. 588. On the auction of this library, see H. De La Fontaine Verwey, 'The binder Albert Magnus and the collectors of his age', in *Quaerendo*, 1, nr. 3 (1971), pp. 158–178, esp. 175 ff.
- 189 *Catalogus*, p. 63, nr. 586.
- 190 On the content and importance of this library, see B. van Selm, 'Schama and the library of Gulielmus Goesius', *Quaerendo*, 18, nr. 3 (1988), pp. 222–224.
- 191 See e.g. *Amsterdamse courant*, 13 February 1687 and *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 1 April 1687.
- 192 UB 754 F3.

of the Septuagint and the *Codex Talmudicus* both printed in London).¹⁹³ Could this be a slight misspelling of Pieter's surname, or does it refer to another individual with a similar surname? The only title also present in Pieter's catalogue is the rather common *Kerckelycke geschiedenissen* by Triglandius so this does not provide sufficient evidence to identify in Pieter the buyer of the books.¹⁹⁴ Excluding close family members, a case of homonymity is possible as surnames such as "De Graeff" or "De Graef" are frequently found in archival documents in this period.¹⁹⁵ In his almanacs, Pieter noted that he had arrived in Heemstede (the village south of Haarlem where he had his *buitenplaats*) on the evening of 6 April and in the Hague on the evening of 8 April, where he would stay until 4 May. There is no mention of a stopover in Leiden to attend

193 The books acquired by "De Graef" at the auction are: *Theologi in folio*, p. 5, nr. 77: Jean Mercier, *In Genesin, primum Mosis librum, sic a Graecis appellatum, commentarius*, ed. Théodore de Bèze (Geneva, 1598; USTC 451630 and 451643); p. 6, nr. 103: Pietro Galatino, *De arcanis Catholicae veritatis, libri XII* followed by Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica libri tres* (Frankfurt am Main, 1672; USTC 2541751). *Theologi in quarto*, p. 8, nr. 4: Yoseph ben Dawid ben Yahya, *Paraphrasis Dn. Iosephi Iachiade in Danielelem. Cum versione, et annotationibus Constantini L'Empereur ab Oppyck* (Amsterdam, 1633; USTC 1011714 and 1792409); p. 10, nr. 37: St Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei libri XXI, cum commentariis Johannis Ludovici Vivis* (Frankfurt, 1661; USTC 2551413 and 2595308); p. 11, nr. 49: *Vetus Testamentum graecum ex versione LXX interpretum, juxta exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum* (London, 1653; USTC 3068126 and 3068794); p. 14, nr. 107: Johann Buxtorf, *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* (Basel, 1645; USTC 2011401); p. 14, nr. 109: Stephen le Moyne, *Varia Sacra* (Leiden, 1685; USTC 1558567 and 1825687); p. 16, nr. 139: *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (London, 1648; USTC 1791584 and 3049375). *Historici in folio*: p. 3, nr. 33: Johannes Uytenbogaert, *Kerkelijke historien* (Rotterdam, 1647; USTC 1018660 and 1029149); p. 3, nr. 34: Iacobus Triglandius, *Kerkelijke geschiedenissen ende aanmerkingen op de Kerkelijke historien van Uitenbogaard* (Leiden, 1650; USTC 1028934); p. 16, nr. 287: Philippus Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672; USTC 1809430). *Historici in quarto*: p. 20, nr. 6: Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, *Nederlantsche historie. Eerste boeck, behelsende de eerste veranderingen in de godsdienst ende leere, neffen de harde vervolgingen daer over ontstaen in de Nederlanden, voor ende tot de tijden toe van Keiser Karel de Vijfde* (Leiden, 1649; USTC 1027513); Claude Fauchet, *Les antiquités et histoires gauloises et françoises* (Geneva, 1611; USTC 6702896 and 6702944).

194 *Catalogus*, p. 5, nr. 87 (USTC 1028934).

195 For example, a Pieter de Graeff from Oegstgeest is recorded in the burial register at the archives of the city of Leiden (Buiten begraven 1684–1707, archive nr. 0501A, inv. nr. 2064, 23 July 1697). As far as Pieter's close family members, his brother Jacob and his son Cornelis were in Venice at that time, while his other son Jan was not yet thirteen, as he was born in October 1673. A homonymous cousin that Pieter often corresponded with had died in 1679 (ACA 76, inv. nr. 199 (1679), 21 March) and can therefore be excluded from the list of possible candidates.

the auction.¹⁹⁶ Interestingly, amongst the locations where Goesius's auction catalogue was available, the newspaper advertisements include the reference to 'Hage de Graef' which can be identified with Cornelis de Graef, publisher active in The Hague in that period.¹⁹⁷ He may be a good candidate for the De Graef listed in Goesius's catalogue. Given these pieces of evidence, we can conclude that it was not Pieter the 'De Graef' who purchased books at Goesius's auction. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this library catalogue in his auction catalogue undeniably indicates his interest in this sale. It is more likely that it was Goesius's extensive coin collection – which had been assembled by the famous scholar Nicolaas Heinsius (Goesius's brother-in-law) – that attracted his attention.

2 Pieter's Book Auction Catalogue: Final Thoughts on a Family-Contributed Collection

The catalogue reveals a polyhistor's book collection, primarily composed of books published during the first half of the seventeenth century. But who was this polyhistor then? The analysis of the catalogue suggests that the collection, auctioned under Pieter's name, is not the accomplishment of a single individual but rather an accumulation spanning several generations. Undoubtedly Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz and his father Cornelis emerge as previous owners of several books in this catalogue. Their library – which as proposed in chapter 3 must have been housed in Herengracht 216 – represents the core of this collection. While Pieter's interest for numismatics clearly emerges in his almanacs, there are no indications that he cultivated an analogous interest in collecting old and rare books or manuscripts. The note he made about the sale to Pieter Six of the prestigious reference edition of Plato's work published in 1578 by Henri Estienne can be read as an indication that he was aware of their monetary value but was not particularly interested in them as collector's items.¹⁹⁸ The manuscripts in the catalogue include ancient chronicles, reflecting Pieter's interest in historical research and his role as keeper of documents related to his family history.¹⁹⁹ The exceptions in this regard are the precious thirteenth-century manuscript Bible in Hebrew (which will be investigated more closely in the epilogue) as well as the printed edition of Tacitus's

196 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 6 April.

197 See USTC.

198 See chapter 3.

199 See chapter 3.

Opera with handwritten scholarly notes. It appears quite certain that Pieter inherited both works, as well as the editions by important and sought-after publishers such as Manutius, Frobenius, Stephanus and Plantinus, rather than acquired them himself.

In the quest to identify potential previous owners of these books, connections have been sought based on the pieces of information discussed in previous chapters. The books in the catalogue clearly reflect the political sympathies of Pieter and his family and include authors that were personally connected with some of its members, either via family relations (such as P.C. Hooft), through tutoring (e.g. Comenius) or patronage (Vondel and Brandt). Pieter's grandfathers should be linked with several editions of classical authors which are dated during their formative years along with the various chemical and alchemical treatises. More specific to Jacob Dircksz are several theological books, especially those related to the Synod of Dordrecht, in which he was directly involved, and the editions of Calvinist religion published in Geneva, where he resided for about three years at the end of the sixteenth century.²⁰⁰ Amongst the books that point more clearly towards Pieter's father Cornelis, are the specialist books on Hebrew grammar and orthography, the Syrian and Chaldaic grammars as well as the books related to his political and administrative appointments. The catalogue also contains several books that were dedicated to him. In addition, amongst the medical books dated before 1608 we might find those that he received from Jannetje Paulus after she treated him for his severe accident suffered at the age of nine.²⁰¹ Pieter's brother was the owner of the Italian books and some of those printed in Italy (some of which, however, could also have been bought by Pieter's grandfathers during their Grand Tour) and the books dedicated to him by his tutors (such as Comenius and La Grue). Pieter's sons also emerge as the owners of some of the books they used during their studies. The auction of their father's books would have offered a good opportunity to dispense with some of the materials they no longer had a need for. The associations presented here hinge on the availability of preserved information about these individuals. Future research could unearth more detailed information on other members of De Graeff's and Bicker's extended family, thereby facilitating the tracing of their book ownership in some of the catalogue's items. Certainly, the list of names of relatives and ancestors mentioned in the document of the items bequeathed to Cornelis II already contains confirmed and potential candidates.

200 See chapter 2.

201 See chapter 2.

A female reader can be clearly detected in the case of the *Habiti delle donne Venetiane*, Giacomo Franco's richly illustrated booklet on the dresses of Venetian women. Given that the book's publication date only slightly precedes Pieter's maternal grandfather's stay in Venice, it is plausible to suppose that he was the one who brought the book to Amsterdam, perhaps as a gift to Gertruid Overlander. Another book on a female subject is the *De secretis mulierum* by the (Pseudo) Albertus Magnus which appears twice in the catalogue.²⁰² Although it contained hardly any reliable information about the female body, this work was popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it was meant not for a female but for a male audience.²⁰³ Beyond this, we may note that the female presence amongst the books' authors is sparse. The only female authors in the catalogue are Anne Douglas, Countess of Morton (1610–1654), present with her book of prayers, and Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492–1549), Queen consort of Henry II King of Navarre, with her *L'Heptameron ou histoires des amans fortunez*.²⁰⁴

Finally, books that can be assigned with certainty to Pieter include Fienus's *De viribus imaginationis*, mentioned in his almanacs as a book he should read, the books on contemporary history (such as Van Aitzema's *Historie*), which he directly consulted and referred to, and more recent books such as *Hollands aeloude vryheid, buyten het stadhouderschap* (1706) which was illustrated by his longtime friend Romeyn de Hooghe. The books on numismatics, in addition, can certainly be linked to him due to the frequent references to coins and medals in his almanacs. For many other books in the catalogue, it is difficult to suggest the precise person who first acquired and used them. For some books, moreover, a possible candidate has been suggested, but other potentially interested readers, still uncharted due to the lack of preserved sources, are of course possible. This is true, for example, both for some of the books on genealogy, since Pieter shared this interest with his father and his uncles and great uncles, and for some of the books directly connected with the VOC, which were published when his father was *bewindhebber* but which Pieter might also have consulted later. Several cases, moreover, require further research to establish when an edition was superseded by later editions, as was possible to demonstrate

202 *Catalogus*, p. 72, nr. 130 (s. l., s. a.).

203 B. Glas, 'Gescheiden werelden. Wat mannen moesten weten over vrouwen. De secretis mulierum', in Marco van Egmond, Bart Jaski and Hans Mulder (eds.), *Bijzonder onderzoek. Een ontdekkingsreis door de Bijzondere Collecties van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht* (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, 2009), pp. 210–215.

204 *De Gravinne van Morton gebeden* (*Catalogus*, p. 69, nr. 57); *L'Heptameron: Ib.* p. 81, nr. 440 (most likely the edition published in Paris in 1698 [12 °]).

in the case of Clavius's edition of the *De Sphaera*. A more in-depth analysis of the juridical books, for example, could highlight more specific time periods and areas of use and thus allow the identification of a specific potential user amongst the several members of the (extended) De Graeff family who studied law. To conclude, this analysis has shed light on the complex stratification of this book collection resulting from a multi-generational effort and it has demonstrated, once again, the complexity of approaching auction book catalogues as sources to determine reading interests and book ownership.

Early Modern Private Libraries as Physical Spaces: 'Reconstructing' Pieter's *boeken kamer* in 3D

After having investigated which books Pieter owned, we now turn to the physical space where he stored (part of) them. The presence of private libraries in houses is not common in seventeenth century Dutch inventories. In his research on study rooms from 1590 to 1725, Van der Veen found only nine references in the inventories he examined, with the earliest reference dating back to 1669.¹ At a time when public libraries were still limited in their holdings, private libraries were a necessity, but one that only wealthy people could afford. Beyond the standardized depictions of learned men (and a few women) in front of bookshelves, common enough in paintings and engravings, the visual and textual documentation that still exists and that can help provide a clear picture of what a typical room looked like is rather scarce.

In our case, various sources taken together have allowed the location of Pieter's library in his house to be identified and has enabled the fashioning of a reconstruction hypothesis for its interior. First, there is his probate inventory, where we find reference to the *boeken kamer*, with its exiguous furnishing, between the 'green room' (*groene kamer*) and the 'grand salon' (*grote kamer*).² Further evidence comes from Pieter and Jacoba's testament, which clearly states that this room was located above the entrance hall in the same house (a position confirmed by one of Pieter's almanac entries).³ Finally, a few entries from Pieter's almanacs and the list of items bequeathed to Cornelis provide more information about the contents of the room, concerning both the furniture and the types of books that were stored there. The following paragraphs investigate the available evidence in greater detail.

1 J. van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil- studeerkamers in zeventiende-eeuwse woningen, voornamelijk te Amsterdam, Deventer en Leiden', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 51 (2000), p. 149.

2 ACA, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (nr. 5075), inv. nr. 5001, not. Michiel Servaas, 8 March 1709, p. 445.

3 See chapter 2 and ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 17 November; ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July.

1 The Interior

Modifications made to this room in the second half of the twentieth century made it barely recognizable as an originally enclosed space (Fig. 6.1). Most notably, the wall on its northeastern side was almost completely demolished to create a larger area, merging this smaller room with the adjacent one (the *grote kamer* in Pieter's time). Fortunately, plans from 1974 preserved in the Bouwarchief of the Amsterdam City Archives document the situation before these changes and hence allow us to envision its original wall partition, to have a sure sense of its measurements and identify some of its other characteristics (Fig. 6.2, left). We are looking at a ca. 6.20×2.85 m room situated on the upper floor, well insulated between the two aforementioned rooms, to which there was direct access. A third door allowed entry from the stairs. Due to its central position between the other rooms, the library was not equipped with a fireplace, which would have increased the risk of accidental fires. A large window faced southeast, ensuring that there was enough light coming into the interior



FIGURE 6.1 Pictures of the remaining walls which originally enclosed the *boeken kamer*, taken in 2019 by the author when the building hosted the Museum of Bags and Purses. Left: the wall and the original door opening which connected the library to the *groene kamer*. Right: Highlighted in red, the last standing part of the wall that divided the room from the *grote kamer*

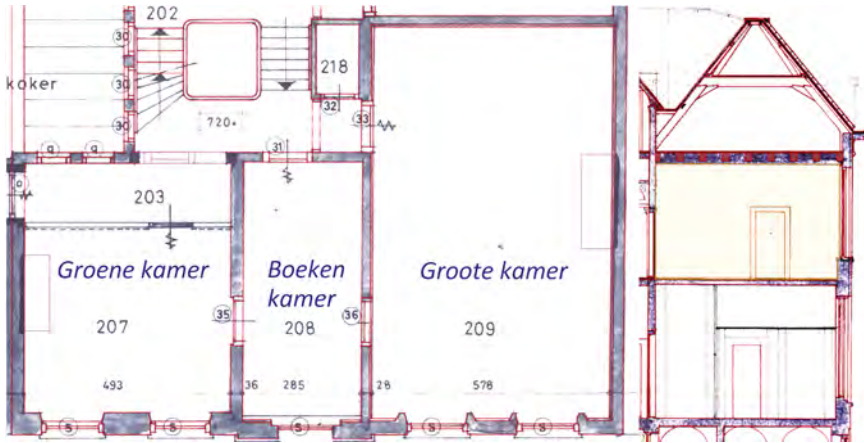


FIGURE 6.2 Left) Digitized drawing of the plans made in 1974 showing the original tripartite subdivision of the rooms in the front portion of the house (Bouwarchief, Amsterdam City Archives, reworked in AutoCAD by the author). Proposed digital restorations are in purple. The partition between mrs. 203 and 207 was not part of the original layout. The stairs were also probably different in Pieter's time due to modifications made in the second half of the nineteenth century. Right) Section representing the entrance hall at the ground floor, with the *boeken kamer* above. The wooden beams on the ceiling of the *boeken kamer* are visible

(later, we will see what preventive measure was taken to prevent book damage from direct light exposure). These characteristics would have created the ideal conditions for storing and displaying books, as well as the possibility of restricting access to only the select group of visitors who were allowed to enter the house's more private quarters on the upper floor.

The 1974 plans also reveal the presence of nine wooden beams on the ceiling, as we would expect from this type of room based on pictorial evidence (Fig. 6.2, right).⁴ It is, however, also possible that the beams were covered (for example by a coffered ceiling) but there is no evidence that securely confirms the presence of such a covering. Likewise, there is no explicit indication of the material used for the floor, but we can assume that it was made of wooden boards, as this was the usual practice for rooms on the upper storey. The adjacent *grote kamer* also had a wooden floor, which we know from an almanac entry in which Pieter recorded the purchase of Norwegian wood to be laid

4 Their measurements, as they appear on the plan, are: the main beams ('moerbalken') 19 × 32.5 cm; joists ('kinderbalkjes') 9.5 × 11.5 cm.

down on the floor of this room.⁵ There is no record of a similar purchase for the library floor. Considering Pieter's meticulous record-keeping, one explanation for this absence could be that he already owned the wood (he in fact refers to his own wood in several almanac entries).⁶ The beams would have been laid down via the technique of blind nailing, common at that time, which guaranteed the floor's smooth finish.⁷

Zooming in on the furnishings in the room, the inventory records only an oak cupboard ('een eeken houtte kas') valued at 4 gulden. There was then a small iron chest ('een klijen eijser kistje') that was initially valued at 6 gulden and then crossed out, and finally two print boards ('twee prentebordjens') that hung on the wall, valued together at 1 gulden (see fig. 4.3). The appraised value of the cupboard was just below average in comparison to the others listed in Pieter's inventory.⁸ The notarial evaluation considered the size, decoration, type of wood and condition of the furniture to establish the worth of each piece. Via comparisons with the descriptions and values of the other cupboards in the inventory, we can therefore assume that this particular piece was not too elaborate or imposing. As for the small iron chest, this object was used as a lockbox to keep precious small items such as jewellery or money. It is likely that this small chest also was stored in the cupboard, which would have offered additional protection of its contents if one locked the cupboard door. Finally, the inventory offers no information about the subject of the two print boards. Providing an inexpensive way to adorn the wall, they lacked the representational character of paintings. In Pieter's inventory, we find them not only in the library but also in the *camer solder*, a private room on the second floor where thirteen of them hung on the wall.⁹ Here too a more specific description of

5 ACA 76, inv. nr. 189 (1668), 9 November: '9 November heeft Claes Gerritsz M[eeste]r scheepstimmerman van de Oost Ind[ische] Comp[agnie] op myn begeeren myn toegesonden twee siouwers met een schuyt en hebbe met deselve te rugh gesonden 18 stux plancken ieder langh omtrent 36 of 37 voeten en 7 stux Noortsche deelen alle sonder quasten dese alle geprojecteert om in mijn groote sael te leggen, en dit ten eynde op een bequame plaets om te droogen geleght mogen werden. Op 17 July 1670 alle de bovenstaende deelen wederom ontfangen.'

6 E.g. ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July.

7 See A. Viersen, 'De vloerconstructie van de Grote Zaal van Kasteel Amerongen', in E. Koldeweij (ed.), *Over de vloer. Met voeten getreden erfgoed* (Zwolle: Waanders/Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten, 2008), pp. 116–131, and E. Koldeweij, "Wat er op de vloer omme-gaet". Poppenhuisvloeren en de realiteit', in Koldeweij (ed.), *Over de vloer*, pp. 132–161.

8 The values of the various types of cupboards (22 in total) in the inventory range between *fl* 1 for an oak small one (p. 461) and *fl* 20 for a walnut one in the grand salon (p. 445); the average is about 5 gulden.

9 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 432.

their subject is lacking. Only for another print in the inventory, do we know that it depicted the Palace of Versailles. It was recorded in the second part of the *camer solder*.¹⁰ The subjects of other two prints, Simon Episcopius and Robertus Junius, are given in the document listing the items bequeathed to Cornelis.¹¹

As mentioned in chapter 4, the absence of bookcases in the section of the inventory dedicated to the *boeken kamer* is easily explained by their being fixed furniture and hence not usually recorded in these sorts of registrations. The note mentioning the presence of a quantity of books in this room and elsewhere in the house is already an indication that shelves for books must have existed. Furthermore, an almanac entry banishes all doubts and not only confirms the presence of such bookcases but also gives us more specific information about their appearance. On 20 July 1690, Pieter noted:

Heeft mijn huysvrouw gedurende mijn absentie aen sekere Cornelis of Timmerknecht of aen Pieter Dircksz aenbestedt 't maecken van noch een boeckekas voor onse soon op 't Camertge boven 't voorhuys en[de] dat voor 5 daegen werckens, die Cornelis heeft behalven mijn hout daertoe noch v[an] Hendrick van der Burg ter goeder Rekening gehaelt 2 langen en 6 korter deelen van 1 1/4 duym. 15 Feb[ruari] 1691 P[ieter] Dircksz bet[aelt]¹²

During my absence, my wife contracted a certain Cornelis or woodworker servant or Pieter Dircksz to make an additional bookcase for our son in the room above our entrance hall for 5 days of work; beside my own wood, Cornelis has taken 2 long and 6 short pieces of 1 1/4 thumb from Henrick van der Burg. Paid Pieter Dircksz on 15 February 1691.

Pieter had taken his brother's books to his house just a month before. To make space for these additional several hundred items, it must have been necessary to reorganize the library and other places in the house where books were kept. Moreover, Jan had started taking private lessons with Ferguson the same day this entry was written.¹³ This also would have entailed an expansion of the library to accommodate the books needed for his education. The entry refers to the construction of a bookcase to complement one or more other existing

10 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 438.

11 See chapter 2.

12 ACA 76, inv. nr. 210 (1690), 20 July.

13 See chapter 4.

ones. Via another entry in Pieter's almanacs, we know of another bookcase which, as already mentioned, was constructed in May 1687 in the *camer solder*.¹⁴ This bookcase also had six planks, but in case of the bookcase for the *boeken kamer* two longer pieces are also included, which were needed as side supports.

This evidence shows that a self-standing bookcase was added on one wall of the library and that it was estimated that this work would take a carpenter five days to complete. Either this bookcase had filled a previously empty space in the room or, what is more likely, another piece of furniture was moved elsewhere to make space for it. An entry from February 1682 points to the second scenario. It informs us that Pieter's library at that time contained an iron chest belonging to his brother, who kept its keys.¹⁵ Jacob, often away, needed a safe place to store money and precious personal belongings. This need was satisfied perfectly by his brother's library. As we learn from another almanac entry, in fact, the three doors of this room could all be locked.¹⁶ Perhaps Jacob's chest is the same iron chest that we find recorded in the inventory in the *groene kamer*, the room adjacent to the library.¹⁷ It is reasonable to imagine that after Jacob's death, the chest could easily have been moved into this nearby room to make more space for books in the library.

Research on study rooms and libraries in the Dutch Republic has shown that these spaces were usually simply furnished.¹⁸ In this particular library, however, the inventory does not mention even the basic elements commonly found in other inventories, such as tables, chairs and lecterns.¹⁹ The question then arises whether their absence reflects the actual situation of the room, or

14 See chapter 4.

15 ACA 76, inv. nr. 202 (1682), 3 February: '3 dito, Feb[ruari] aen myn broeder ov[er]gegeven 't saldo van de Rekening met hem op 27 Decemb[er] 1681 geslooten bedraegende f 2756-18-8 die by hem geleght syn in een ysere kist op myn boeckekamer waer van de sleutel item van 't hanghslot onder hem berust, en[de] heeft daervan 2 sackgens off f 1260 gesonden aen den Adv[ocaa]t Jacobus Pathuys tot Groeningen om daer voor door Jacob Allertsz[oon] Paerden te koopen, die door Jan Creger aen[de] Groeninge boode bestelt syn.'

16 ACA 76, inv. nr. 190 (1670), 28 April: 'dito [~~crossed out: nae~~] Jan Turcksz overgelevert 6 sleutels 2 van de Camer boven 't voorhuys 2 van de beste Camer, 1 van de voordeur, 1 van de Camersolder: The 'beste Camer' (grand salon) had two doors, one towards the stairs and one towards the library; the other two doors of the library (here the 'Camer boven 't voorhuys') that the entry refers to must be therefore the two remaining ones, one towards the *groene kamer* and the other towards the stairs.

17 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, p. 439.

18 See Van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil- studeerkamers'.

19 Cf. Van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil- studeerkamers'.

whether such elements used to be there but were not recorded in the inventory. Given the spatial context of the library within the house, it is possible that the absence of additional furniture truly reflects the purpose of this room, namely its role as a storage place for books. This large canal house offered plenty of space for reading and study in other rooms (for example in the *comptoir* and in the *camer solder*) so there was no need to include furniture pieces to facilitate these activities in the library. Moreover, books could have been easily taken from the library to be consulted in either of the adjacent rooms in which tables and chairs were abundantly present.²⁰ Like the spatial arrangement of Petronella Oortman's dollhouse, where a door on one side of the *tapijtkamer* opens onto the small library, here the *boeken kamer* would also have been easily accessible from the *grote kamer*, where close acquaintances were welcomed. As mentioned in chapter 4, Pieter recorded one such case in his almanacs, when the family friend Gerard Brandt chose and borrowed a few pamphlets from the library.

It must be noted, however, that Pieter and Jacoba's intention, as written in their testament, to bequeath the library's contents (as well as those of the *comptoir* and the 'hekje' in the *camer solder*) to their eldest son, Cornelis, would have given to the notary a reason to omit those objects from the inventory.²¹ The aforementioned document listing all the movable objects from the Herengracht house and Ilpenstein that Cornelis inherited has a section entitled 'Kassen, Tafels, Lessenaars' ('Cupboards, Tables, Lecterns').²² There, one encounters a total of five oak cupboards of different sizes, the pine wood planks of broken-up bookcases, three (small) tables and, finally, two lecterns covered in green fabric.²³ The planks of one of the cupboards, broken, are said to have belonged to a '*comptoir* cupboard', which we therefore can assign to the furniture in Pieter's office, as well as the writing table ('schrijf-tafel').²⁴ There is no doubt that a portion of the broken-up bookcases was in the library. Unfortunately, however, as the items are grouped together by type and not by room, it is not possible to determine whether any of the others – and if so, which ones – were also originally there. Given the limited dimensions of the room and assuming that the space for storing books was maximized, we can conclude that not much more than a small table (for example, the 'genoteboomd eeken-hout op stand

20 ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 439–444 (*groene kamer*) and pp. 445–448 (*grote kamer*).

21 See chapter 2, where the section of the testament is cited in full.

22 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated.

23 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated. The broken-up bookcases are described as 'de vure planken van de gebroekene boeke-kassen'.

24 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated: 'de eeken Planken van een gebroken comptoir kas.'

tafeltje' on the list) with a lectern on it would have fitted in the room; in this case they would likely have been positioned near the window.

The last section of the document recording the objects bequeathed to Cornelis opens up the possibility that other items were in the *boeken kamer*. In this section, the objects listed also came from the *comptoir*, the *boeken kamer* and the 'hekje' in the *camer solder* (this time not from Ilpenstein), so it is not possible to assign them to a specific room with certainty. Amongst them were five chairs, a few (small) coat racks, four iron curtain rods, sealing stamps (two with the coat of arms of the Hooft family), three East Indian fans, a small ebony flute with a silver mouthpiece, a glasses case made of shagreen fastened with small silver nails, a few small boxes either silver- or gold-plated, some flasks with medicinal water, some leaden cases, a protractor ('graad-boogh') and some other (unspecified) mathematical instruments, a globe, a tin-plated lantern, three *comptoir* stoves, a few bottles and jars and some glass urinal bottles.²⁵ Besides these objects, there were also various items that made up a small gathering of curiosities: a few horns, amongst which two with (engraved) black figures and a copper fitting and various sea-horns in a wooden box, a drawer with minerals, stones, small horns and other small items, a multitude of large and small eggshells and a turtle shell.²⁶

From Pieter's almanacs we can trace the provenance of these (or similar) objects. In June 1675, his cousin Jan de Blocq gave him four Guinean (Ghanaian) blowing horns and some weapons that used to belong to the deceased Jan Valckenburgh, who had been director-general of Elmina (in present-day Ghana).²⁷ In November 1676 IJsbrand Godske, upon his return from Cape of Good Hope (where he had served as VOC governor since 1672), brought him a gold mahmudi coin, a small piece of oriental gold and a rhino horn.²⁸ In

25 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated.

26 ACA 76, inv. nr. 606A, series nr. A 90, unpaginated: 'twee hoorens met swarte figuren en coper beslagh' (which must have been similar to the Rijksmuseum object BK-NM-2456); 'twee witte hoorens'; 'eenige andere hoorens van weijnig waardij'; 'een houtte bak met verscheidend zee-hoorens'; 'een Laadje met eenige mineraal, steenen, hoorentjes, en andere geringe kleenigheden'; 'een menigte groote en kleijne vogel eijer-schalen' and 'een groot schild-padde-schild'.

27 ACA 76, inv. nr. 195 (1675), 17 June: '17 dito van Neef Jan de Blocq afslaeger ter goeder Rekeningh en[de] om te betaelen pro rato als de rest dat Schouten heeft [?] sal v[er]kooopen, ontfangen vier stux guinees geweer, synde soort van spies of lansgeweer, nevens vier Guineese hoorens om op te blaesen, gekomen uyt 't sterffhuys van de generael Valckenburgh.'

28 ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 6 November: 'op Vrydagh 6 dito heeft dito H[ee]r Ysb[er]ant Gotske my gegeven een goude mammoedy nevens noch een kleyn stuckge onbekent

March 1678, Michiel Hendricksz Ryck brought him a piece of gold from the Salida mine on the western coast of Sumatra.²⁹ He received another such piece from Andries Boogaert, governor in Banda, which had been brought to him by Jan van Oosterwyck, senior merchant and officer on the returning fleet to Amsterdam. Together with this item, Boogaert also sent Pieter 'a tooth of a strange fish', a small gold nugget from Japan and three other pieces of mined gold.³⁰ Another gift, this time of a silver mineral stone in a small box, was given to him by Captain Thomas Tobiasz in October 1680, in return for the tea that Pieter had sent him the day before.³¹ Horns and minerals were not the only gifts that Pieter received. In October 1694, Pieter Weijman, steersman, brought him three bottles containing 'Indian small animals' in aqua forte which were given to him by Jacob van Naersen, a merchant in Batavia.³² A few years before, in October 1683, burgomaster Gerard Bors even gifted him a living 'Indian deer' (muntjac?), just arrived with the return fleet.³³ Pieter kept the animal in his garden until it died in early February 1687 and then sent its body to Jan Koenerding, *chirurgijn* of the VOC, to be stuffed.³⁴ As with the fluid-preserved

orientaels gout, nevens een Rynoseros hoorn en[de] waer tegen hem v[er]eert hebbe een Noorthollantse ducaton van Enckhuysen met Letters op de Rant.'

- 29 ACA 76, inv. nr. 196 (1676), 19 March: '19 maert 1678 van[de Heer] Michiel Hendricksz Ryck een stukke gouwe minerael steen uyt de Sillidaze Mine.'
- 30 ACA 76, inv. nr. 198 (1678), 10 July: 'op sondagh 10 dito door den opperkoopman en[de] Schout by nacht van de Retourvloot gen[aempt] Jan van Oosterwyck van de H[ee]r Andries Boogaert laetst geweest synde Gouverneur in Banda ontfangen van Batavia
1 tant van een vreemde vis
1 kleyn klompie Japanse gout aende w[egende] 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ eng[els]
1 steenge waer in 't gout blinckt getrocken uyt de Sillidase Goutmyne op de WestCust
3 stukgens berhgout uyt dergelycke steenen wegende 1 grootste 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ engels 't ander 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ 't derde mede 3 $\frac{1}{4}$.'
- 31 ACA 76, inv. nr. 200 (1680), 2 October: '2 dito heeft my Cap[i]t[eyn] Thomas Tobiasz toegesonden en[de] v[er]eert een kleyn Doosge met silver minerael Steen.'
- 32 ACA 76, inv. nr. 214 (1694), 29 October: '29 dito vrijdag heeft Pieter Weijman onlanx voor tweede Stuurman met Nichtevecht 't huijs gekomen aen mij gebracht de 3 kelder Flessen met Indiaense gediertens in een seker water om te conserveren, hem door Jacob van Naersen tot Batavia mede gegeven.' A 'kelder fles' is a square mouth-blown glass bottle especially intended for the export of jenever.
- 33 ACA 76, inv. nr. 203 (1683), 29 October.
- 34 ACA 76, inv. nr. 207 (1687), 7 February: 's' nachts tusschen 6 en 7 dato Feb[ruari] is gestorven mijn Indiaens Hartie met gedraeijde Hoorens, niet wetende of casueel of soo gepresumeert werd v[er]suymt is hebbe ick 't selve alhier achter in mijn Thuijn gehadt 't sedert 29 October 1683 als p[er] Compt[oir] Alm[anak] en hebbe ick 't selve 't huys gesonden aen m[ee]ste[r] Jan Koenerding Chirurgyn van[de] O[ost-Indische] Comp[agnie] om 't selve op te setten.'

specimens, there is no further reference to it in the inventory, nor amongst the objects bequeathed to Cornelis.

While for us they are tainted evidence of colonial exploitation, for Pieter these objects must have been tangible testimonies of the faraway riches and wonders that the VOC had brought close to hand. Complementing the *kleijne zijdelkamer's* ceiling representing Amsterdam as the centre of the world, and adding an exotic touch to the library, they would have been a conversation piece in his house, drawing the attention of guests. It is also possible that Pieter kept (part of) these items in his *comptoir*, as suggested by other cases.³⁵ Their amount and the almanac entries warrant the conclusion that they were not actively sought after by Pieter to build a comprehensive and varied collection. As a comparison, we can look at larger, more impressive and famous gatherings of such specimens, for example those assembled and displayed in an orderly array by the Dutch collector Levinus Vincent (1658–1727) and his wife, Joanna van Breda. This ‘Wonder Theatre of Nature’ (*Wondertooneel der Nature*), as Levinus would call it in the printed catalogue, was not just a pastime but a way to show the wonders of nature, and hence the power of God through his creations.³⁶

2 Towards a 3D Reconstruction of the Library’s Interior

Via the evidence discussed so far, we can start imagining what Pieter’s *boeken kamer* had once looked like: a rather small room with a large window facing south-east, wooden beams on the ceiling, the floor made of wooden boards, a cupboard on one wall and bookcases on the others with doors in between. Perhaps a small table near the window, with a lectern on it, would have completed the room’s furniture. Finally, a small gathering of curiosities, made up not of antiquarian objects, as in the library of Jacob de Wilde (Fig. 6.3), but of specimens of the natural world, would have added certain features characteristic of a ‘Wunderkammer’.³⁷ As is apparent from visual evidence, other typical elements of these rooms include mathematical instruments and globes.

35 See W. Fock, *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600–1900* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2001), p. 23.

36 L. Vincent, *Wondertooneel der Nature* (François Halma, Amsterdam, 1706). See B. van de Roemer, ‘Redressing the balance: Levinus Vincent’s *Wonder Theatre of Nature*’, in A. Green (ed.), *The Public Domain Review. Selected essays*, vol. II (Cambridge: PDR Press, 2015) pp. 46–59. Available online at <https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/redressing-the-balance-levinus-vincents-wonder-theatre-of-nature> (last accessed April 2024).

37 On De Wilde’s library see Frans A. Janssen, ‘The library of Jacob de Wilde’, *Quaerendo* 50 (2020), pp. 339–361.



FIGURE 6.3 The library of Jacob de Wilde in his house at Keizersgracht 333 in a drawing that his daughter Maria made in the occasion of the visit of the tsar Peter the Great in 1697 (Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1938-1300)

We see them, for example, in the respective libraries of De Wilde and of the German scholar Zacharius Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), represented in his *ex libris* (Fig. 6.4). In the latter case, the presence of a numismatic cabinet in the foreground offers further proof of the visual and spatial connection between the book and coin collections. We find this connection as well in Pieter's house with the proximity between his library and the *grote kamer*, where three cabinets housed his numismatic collection for display.³⁸

Pictorial evidence is also useful in making a reconstruction hypothesis for the furniture in the room. The portrait of one of Pieter's contemporaries, Barend van Lin (ca. 1641–1705), allows us to peek into a cupboard similar to what Pieter must have had in his library.³⁹ If we lighten the otherwise dark background of the scene, we can see a cupboard where large (atlas) volumes, of the sort that would not have safely been stored on the bookcase nearby, are stacked one on top of the other (Fig. 6.5). Unlike cupboards that stored textiles or porcelain, the contents of which was described in detail, there is no mention of what was contained in the cupboard in Pieter's library. We can be fairly sure that it was mainly used to keep books and other manuscripts or printed

38 See chapter 2.

39 On this painting, see J. van der Veen, 'De identificatie van de zogenoemde wiskundige les door Michiel van Musscher', *Maandblad Amstelodamum*, 95, nrs. 3/4 (2008), pp. 46–48.

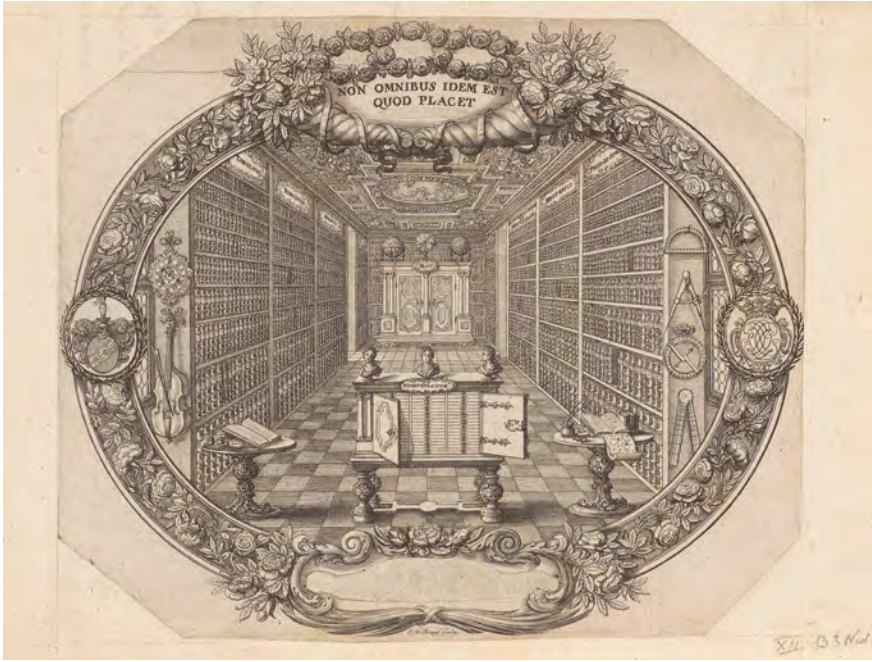


FIGURE 6.4 *Ex libris* of Zacharius Conrad von Uffenbach (1710–1719). Rijksmuseum (RP-P-2015-26-1860)

materials with characteristics (they were, e.g., more expensive, larger or more fragile) that made them ill-suited to be placed on the shelves. This piece of furniture could also offer a place to safely store (a part of) his collection of curiosities and the small iron chest.

Numerous engravings depicting scholars represent them with bookcases in the background.⁴⁰ Despite the standardized fashion of these images, other sources confirm that bookcases in private libraries were simply constructed. In Jan Luiken's *Het leerzaam huisraad* (Amsterdam, 1711), the bookcase is an unpretentious structure, with five shelves of progressively shorter heights based on the books' format (Fig. 6.6). The miniature bookcase in the small library of Petronella Oortman's dollhouse, created in Amsterdam between 1686 and 1710, offers a contemporary example of this sort of furniture (Fig. 6.7).⁴¹ In addition, in this case the seven shelves are spaced out to accommodate books

40 Some examples are discussed in Van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil- studeerkamers'.

41 H.H. Dommissie, *Het Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis. Interieur en huishouden in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Waanders/Rijksmuseum: Amsterdam, 2000), p. 332 and image nr. 602, p. 335 (the bookcase); image nr. 478, p. 269 (the entire library).



FIGURE 6.5 Portrait of Barend van Lin with his younger brother and his future brother-in-law, painted by Michiel van Musscher, ca. 1671 (Amsterdam Museum, SA 35787). Background of the room lightened by the author to make the cupboard and the bookcase visible

in different formats and, for the same reason, the bottom two are deeper than the upper shelves. The bookcase, embellished with a simple moulding at the top, is equipped with copper rods, hidden in the back and supporting two green curtains.⁴² The iron curtain rods listed amongst the objects bequeathed to Cornelis must therefore have belonged to the bookcases which were broken up when Pieter's library was dismantled and his books auctioned off. These

42 See Dommissie, *Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis*, p. 332. A similar situation is found in the inventory of Pieter de La Court van der Voort (1739), where four bookcases with curtain rods and green silk curtains are mentioned ('4 boekenkassen soo groot als kleyn met haar gardijnsroeden en groene saayen gordijnen', in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock and A.J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, vol. 1vb [Leiden: Afd. Geschiedenis van de Kunstnijverheid, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1986–1992], p. 574, cited by Dommissie, *Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis*, p. 126).



FIGURE 6.6 'De Boeke-kas' in Jan Luiken's *Het leerzaam huisraad* (Amsterdam, 1711), p. 72

curtains served the purpose of protecting the books from dust and from direct sunlight exposure.

We turn now to the question of which colours were present in Pieter's *boeken kamer*. Pictorial and archival sources inform us that bookcases could be left with their natural wood colour variations, or alternately they could be painted. In the latter case, green was a preferred colour, which would come back in certain other objects, most notably curtains, in the room.⁴³ Excluding the lectern covered in green fabric, whose presence cannot be established with certainty, there is no explicit information about colours in Pieter's *boeken kamer*. The

43 See the example of Johannes Carlier (discussed in Van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil-studeerkamers', p. 151), whose library bookshelves were painted green and the window curtains also were in this colour, whilst the fabric of other objects in the room was blue.



FIGURE 6.7 The library in Petronella Oortman's dollhouse (Amsterdam, ca. 1686–1710) and a detail of the bookcase (in Pijzel-Dommissie, *Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis*, p. 335)

broken pinewood planks of the bookcases do not seem to have been painted (elsewhere in the document painted furniture is explicitly mentioned). Portraits of Pieter's contemporaries depicted in their study rooms include such plain wooden bookcases, as in the case of the portrait of the Amsterdam burgomaster Johannes Hudde (1628–1704) painted by Michiel van Musscher in 1686 (Fig. 6.8). When curtains are present in other rooms of the house, their colour (or material) is usually indicated. For this room, no window curtains are recorded in the inventory, but we can infer the presence of curtains on the bookcases by the reference to the iron rods. Since the adjacent rooms had accents of green, and this colour comes forward more frequently in the house as a whole, the bookcases' curtains are green in the proposed reconstruction.⁴⁴

Computer graphics helps us to visualize a reconstruction hypothesis of this room (Fig. 6.9). In this representation, three bookcases with green curtains fit into the portions of the walls that are separated by the doors, and the cupboard

44 Most notably in the *groene kamer*, where, as the name suggests, the fabric of the chairs, pillows, blankets and the bedstead's curtains were all green (see ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, e.g. pp. 439 and 447); but also, for example, in the window curtains of the *grote kamer* and of Pieter's bedroom (ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 447 and 452). Present in the house, but appearing more seldom, were red (e.g. for nine velvet chairs in Pieter's bedroom) and purple (for the curtain of the windows in the *kleine zijdelkamer*): see ACA 5075, inv. nr. 5001, pp. 451 and 448 respectively.



FIGURE 6.8 Portrait of the Amsterdam burgomaster Johannes Hudde (1628–1704) painted by Michiel van Musscher in 1680 (Rijksmuseum, SK-C-528)

stands against the remaining wall. A globe and some horns are placed on top of the cupboard to signal their presence in the archival documents, while some mathematical instruments hang on the side of a bookcase, similarly to what is represented in depictions of other libraries (see figs. 6.3–4). The way in which curtains hang on the bookcase is reconstructed following the contemporary miniature bookcase from Petronella Oortman's dollhouse (Fig. 6.7). To model the hundreds of books on the shelves, a low-polygon approach was preferred: this makes use of pictures of rows of books taken at the Thysiana library to



FIGURE 6.9 3D reconstruction hypothesis of Pieter's *boeken kamer* (image author)

create the typical variability in book bindings and sizes that one finds with seventeenth-century libraries.⁴⁵

Although, for this library, an unusually high number of sources allow us to imagine its interior within the room's certain volumetric boundaries, there are still uncertainties with regard to how exactly items looked and where precisely they were positioned. As such, transparency is important: viewers should be able to follow the reasoning process, access the underlying data sources, and

45 I thank Paul Hoftijzer, curator of the Thysiana library, for allowing me to take the pictures, and Alessandro Pantò for his help.

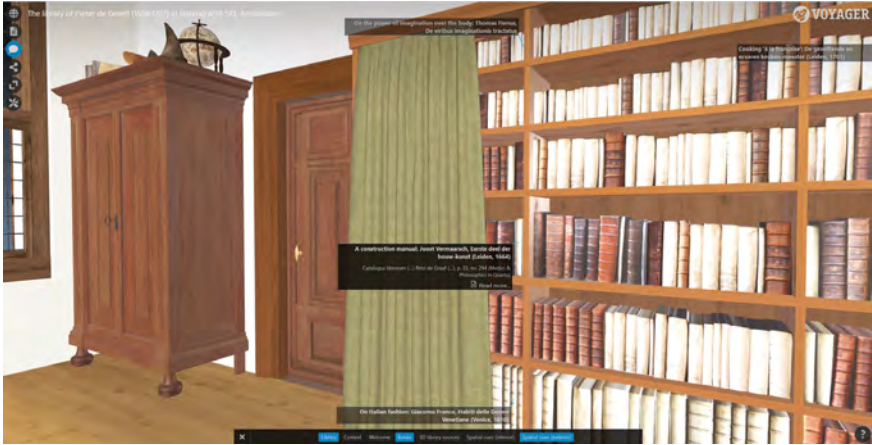


FIGURE 6.10 Screenshot of the 3D scholarly edition's current online environment showing some of the annotations which allow users to explore the content of the library via a selection of books (image author)

understand the varying degree of uncertainty in the 3D reconstruction, both at the object level and at their location. For this reason, a 3D scholarly edition of this library's reconstruction has been developed to make 3D models and contextual explanations accessible.⁴⁶ While interacting with the virtual environment, users can explore the room and, if interested, they can delve deeper into a curated selection of books and the sources that were used for the reconstruction, including direct links to scanned archival documents (Fig. 6.10).

3 The Storage Capacity of the *boeken kamer*

Besides interactive explorations and annotation capabilities, 3D reconstructions also afford analytical possibilities. As they represent a scale version of the actual space, it is possible to verify what fits in a room if its dimensions are known. In the case of Pieter's *boeken kamer*, the size of the room can be reconstructed with certainty. The 3D reconstruction is therefore used to estimate the storage capacity of this room as a way to evaluate whether the books listed in the auction catalogue would have all fit in it.

From the inventory we know that one part of the wall was occupied by a cupboard. The proposed reconstruction displays bookcases occupying the

⁴⁶ Available here: <https://editions.pure3d.eu/project/18/edition/1/index.html>.

other three walls. As mentioned, other pieces of furniture listed as bequeathed to Cornelis might have been placed in this room, but their presence cannot be established with certainty. The 3D model, therefore, represents the maximum capacity of the room as a storage place for books, based on at least one bookcase having six shelves. Each shelf of the modelled bookcases is about 1 m long for the two longer bookcases on either side of the room and about 80 cm for the one near the window. The question that needs to be answered relates to the thickness of the books in the various formats. To establish that, a sample of books in the Thysiana library were measured to determine a range of sizes per format.⁴⁷ Based on these parameters, the proposed reconstruction hypothesis shows that the bookcases would have accommodated less than half of the auction catalogue's contents.⁴⁸

Despite the variability in the books' thickness, which would affect the estimated number of items that the bookshelves could accommodate, the 3D reconstruction shows that Pieter's *boeken kamer* was certainly too small to contain all the books listed in his auction catalogue and the additional manuscripts and documents that he owned. An external argument that supports this hypothesis comes from one of the rare visual sources that are regarded as realistically representing a seventeenth-century library, namely that of Jacob de Wilde (fig. 6.3). De Wilde's auction catalogue listed about 1,360 works, therefore considerably less than what we find in Pieter's catalogue.⁴⁹ Yet the etching depicting his library, which has been regarded as a faithful rendition, shows a much larger space than what was available in Pieter's *boeken kamer*.

Where, then, were the rest of Pieter's books kept? We know that he also had books in his *comptoir* and the *camer solder*, but whether they would have provided enough room is difficult to ascertain given the absence of more secure information. Pieter's probate inventory at Herengracht 573 lists numerous chests and cupboards for which no content is explicitly mentioned (unlike similar items where textiles or porcelain were recorded). These are, therefore, possible additional locations where books could be stored, especially the outdated, less displayable volumes. Another possible scenario to consider is that books that belonged to him and that were sold at the auction were still at his parents' house at Herengracht 216. As the analysis of the catalogue has demonstrated, several books can be linked to Pieter's father and grandfather.

47 *Folio*: 3–11 cm; *Quarto*: 1–9 cm; *Octavo*: 1–7 cm; *Duodecimo* and *Vigesimoquarto*: 1–5 cm.

48 If considering two bookcases of six shelves and one of seven shelves (as in the reconstruction proposed in fig. 6.9): ca. 990; if all three bookcases of six shelves: ca. 930.

49 Janssen, 'The library of Jacob de Wilde', p. 352.

Given their broad interests and social status, a lack of a private library in their house would be surprising. In the light of this hypothesis, the absence of a library mentioned in Catharina's inventory (the only one surviving for this house in the period under consideration) can be explained by its contents not being part of her belongings. Instead, the books were passed on directly to her sons as part of the division of Cornelis' inheritance, as demonstrated by their 'shared *Opera Calvini*' discussed in chapter 3.

4 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to investigate Pieter's private library as a physical space, contributing in this way to the still limited knowledge of what a *boeken kamer* would have looked like in early modern Amsterdam. Once again, a picture can be sketched by relying on a combination of different sources – for example, Pieter's almanacs can help establish the presence and measurements of the bookshelves, the still-standing house can help determine the size of the room, and contemporary dollhouses can help reconstruct some of the furniture. Archival research has highlighted the likely presence of certain curiosities which are directly linked to Pieter's role as *bewindhebber* of the VOC and to his network of contacts in the Dutch colonies. These tangible testimonies of the VOC's far-reaching expansion would have strengthened the status markers embodied by the books in the library and the numismatic collection in the adjacent *grote kamer*.

The 3D reconstruction offered a way not only to visualize a reconstruction hypothesis of the interior but also to reflect on the storage capacity of the room. It showed that the library could house less than half of the books that were auctioned off, and in doing so it opened up different scenarios to explore. The remaining books must therefore have been kept elsewhere in this house or in other houses inherited over the years. The most likely candidate in the latter case is the house he inherited from his parents. As it had previously been inhabited by his grandfather, this house would have offered a stable location for the family books that, as we saw in the previous chapter, are present in significant numbers in the book auction catalogue. Further research on this house could shed light on its spatial organization and possibly confirm the presence of a library. These observations, in any case, warn against rushing to simple conclusions regarding the domestic space in which books were kept, and they draw attention to the complexity of this matter, especially when dealing with large collections assembled over the course of several generations.

Epilogue: the Afterlife of Pieter's Book Collection and Final Remarks

The auction of Pieter's library took place at the shop of the publishing family Boom at the Singel near the Jan Roodenpoortstoren. There, Johanna Veris, together with the heirs of her brother-in-law Hendrik (who had come to Pieter to inquire about his willingness to auction his brother's books), continued the family business. How the auction went, and whether the advertisements managed to attract a significant number of buyers, are not known. The presence of handwritten prices in the margins allows us to see how much each of the 1,282 lots was sold for and to estimate the total selling price at over *fl.* 2400. This estimate is not precise because some of the prices are not clearly legible and because the last item mentioned in the catalogue are 'various packages' ('Verschide Packetten') that are left unpriced. However, as already mentioned, the inventory listing all the movable objects bequeathed to son Cornelis contains a more precise amount, *fl.* 2469,13.¹ Most books sold for less than one guilder, and these volumes were often grouped together to make them more appealing as a lot. Perhaps, then, the auction had not been so successful after all. Unlike what we sometimes see in other catalogues, Pieter's does not record any buyers' names. For the moment, after 9 July 1709 there are no further traces of his books – with one exception.

1 Biblia Hebraica punctata cum Masora

Two elaborate manuscript volumes of a Bible in Hebrew, dated 5052 and sold together for 88 guilders, stand out as the catalogue's most expensive item. The catalogue entry describes it as a 'Biblia Hebraica punctata cum Masora, etc. scripta in pergameno, anno 5052. 2 voll. *Codex praestantissimus et elegantissimis litteris exaratus*'.² The very specific characteristics of this manuscript indicated in the catalogue entry make it possible to search for it, and one very likely candidate has been identified during this research as the two manuscripts currently kept at the Berlin State Library under the signature 'Hamilton 80

1 See chapter 2 'Bound by books: Books through the generations.'

2 *Catalogus*, p. 1, nr. 1.



FIGURE 7.1 Covers of the manuscripts Hamilton 80-1 (left) and 80-2 (right), Berlin State Library

(1 and 2)' (Fig. 7.1).³ Although it is possible that the Bible mentioned in the catalogue went missing at some point, it is striking that the characteristics of Hamilton 80 match the description in the auction catalogue: the vocalization and the Masoretic annotations on the two folio volumes were indeed completed in 5052 (1291/2).⁴ Handwriting analysis points to a copy made within an Ashkenazi milieu in Germany.⁵ The impressive decorative micrography adorning the pages accounts for the value ascribed to the volumes over the centuries

3 Digital copies are available at the library's website: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00014F7900000000> (last accessed April 2024).

4 Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology. Historical and comparative typology of Hebrew Medieval codices based on the documentation of the extant dated manuscripts until 1540 using a quantitative approach* (Jerusalem and Hamburg: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2022) (<http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9349>) discusses these two volumes with regard to their content, dating and their erroneous pairing to form a complete Bible. The colophon on Ham 80 (2) (fol. 255v) provides additional details on the first owner and on the copyist who completed this work.

5 The manuscripts are included and described in SfarData, the Codicological database of Hebrew Palaeography, under the record number 0G091. I thank Emile Schrijver for pointing me to this resource and Heide Warncke for her assistance.



FIGURE 7.2 Left) The last page of Hamilton 80-2 with an example of the decorative micrography that adorns the volumes. Right) The colophon with the drawing of the ass ascending the ladder accompanying the protective spell

as a collector’s item outside their community of origin (Fig. 7.2, left). The protective dictum at the end of the colophon, a kind of incantation (‘may this book not be damaged, neither this day nor forever, until the ass ascends the ladder’), and the accompanying drawing of the animal climbing a ladder may have helped ensure the manuscripts’ long-term preservation (Fig. 7.2, right).⁶

If these are indeed the same manuscripts as those listed in Pieter’s auction catalogue, a closer inspection may reveal information that can help reconstruct their journey that led to their arrival at the Berlin State Library. The first important clue is the signature of Gerard Meerman (1722–1771), which appears on one of the first pages in both volumes. In one of the volumes, moreover, one loose page is inserted where the Dutch translation of the colophon has been noted (Fig. 7.3). Analysis of the watermark on the page reveals a type (horn in a shield, surmounted by a crown, Fig. 7.3, highlighted) of a form similar to

6 See E. Littell, *Littell’s living age* 73 (Boston, 1862), p. 64.

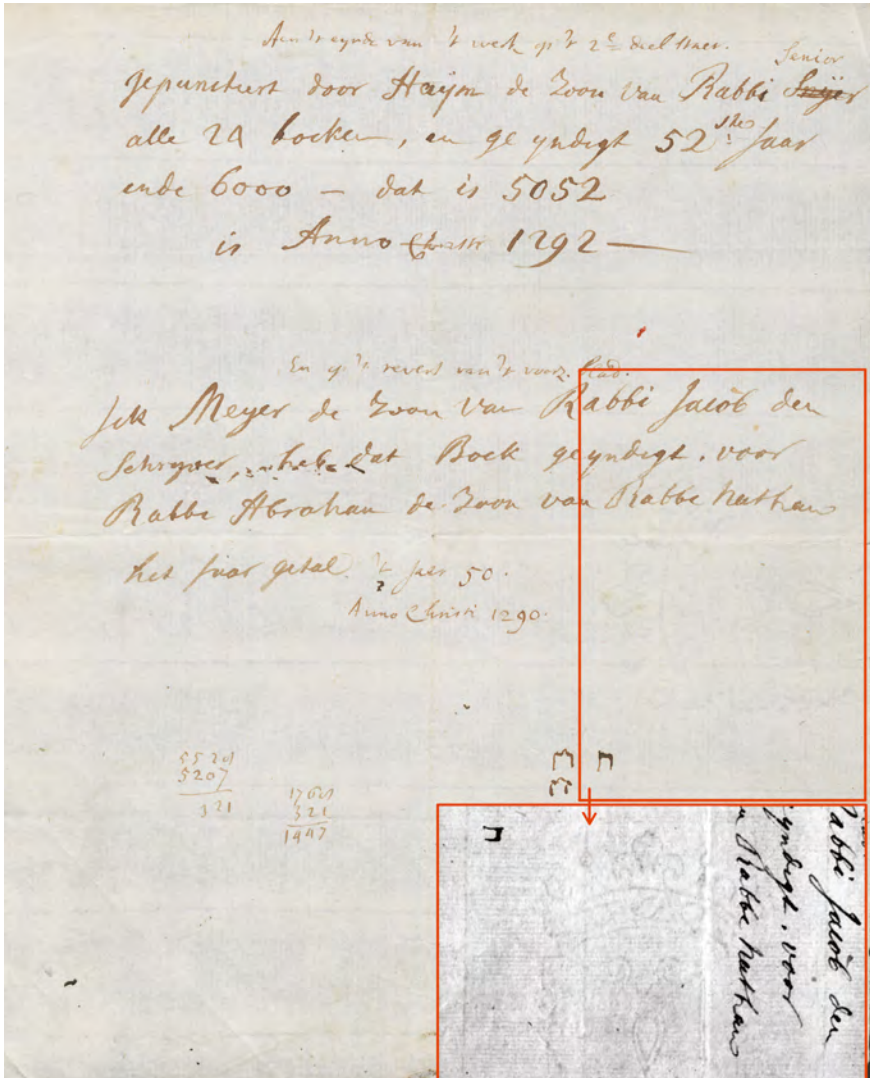


FIGURE 7.3 Loose page inserted in Hamilton 80-2 with the Dutch translation of the colophon. Highlighted in red is the place where the watermark is visible

those found on letters dating to the 1810s.⁷ As such, it provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the creation of the paper sheet. Besides allowing us to place

7 See M. Vandaele, 'Archiefjes IX. Joannes-Augustinus van Caneghem (1770–1858). Van "architecte-voyer" tot "provincialen bouwmeester" 7 – Watermerken (1795–1800)' (online publication, 2015). Retrieved from <https://marc-vandaele-archiefjes.be/Mijn%20Website>

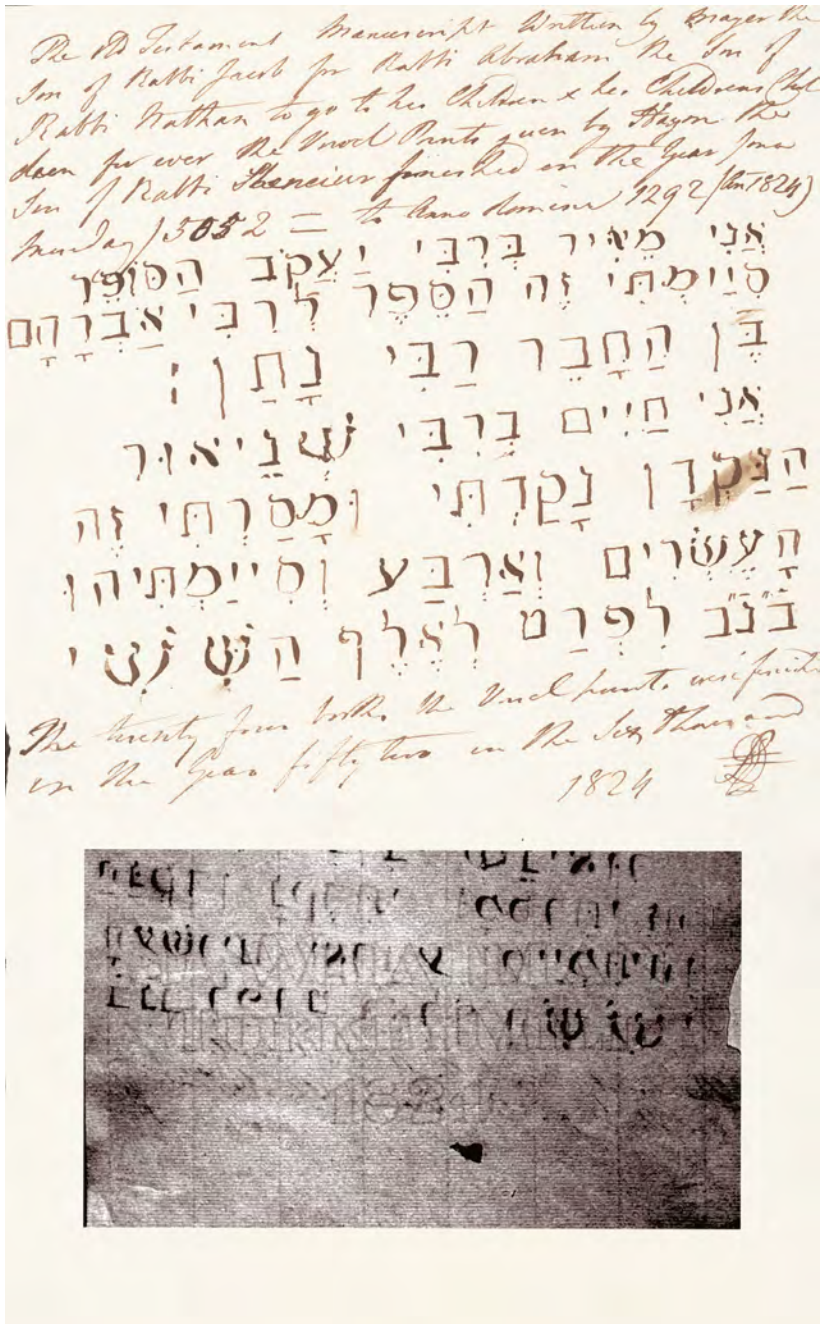


FIGURE 7.4 Loose page with the colophon's transcription and an English translation. Superimposed below an enhancement of the contrast to reveal the watermark, dated 1824

these manuscripts in the famous Meerman library, these observations confirm that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were indeed in the Netherlands. This piece of information supports our identification and provides a starting point to reconstruct the chain of later owners.

An entry in the auction catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Meermanniana* (1824), which precisely describes these volumes' characteristics, informs us that they were sold for *fl.* 135 when this library was auctioned.⁸ Moreover, the preserved list of buyers allows us to follow the whereabouts of the volumes, which were acquired by the London bookseller Thomas Payne (the younger, 1752–1831). Another loose page, dated 1824, contains the Hebrew transcription of the colophon as well as an English translation, the latter surely inserted for the benefit of English-speaking buyers (Fig. 7.4). In this case, the watermark has a clearly visible date, 1824, and thus confirms the date handwritten on the document (Fig. 7.4). At an unspecified time not long after they arrived in London, the manuscripts were bought by August Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1834), as evident from their appearance in the auction catalogue of his library (1844).⁹ There is no doubt that they are the same manuscripts as they are indicated as 'formerly in the Meerman library' in the catalogue entry. In this case, too, the catalogue includes the name of their buyer, Alexander Douglas Hamilton (1767–1852). With their transfer to him, the manuscripts appear in private libraries for the last time. In 1882 Hamilton's entire collection was acquired by Prussia, then was transferred to the State Library in Berlin, where they have been kept up through the present.

As emerges from this reconstruction of ownership (Fig. 7.5), there is a gap of a few decades between the sale of the manuscripts at the 1709 auction and the moment when they entered Meerman's library. Further research on Meerman's acquisition of these volumes may possibly allow us to fill in this interval with the missing link(s). The other, longer gap relates to the manuscripts' owners before entering Pieter's collection. They certainly stand out amongst the other items in his auction catalogue. Based on the evidence collected during this

/ARCHIEFJES/9%20J.-A.%20VAN%20CANEGHEM%20-%207-%20WATERMERKEN%201795-1800.pdf (last accessed April 2024).

8 *Bibliothecae Meermannianae Tomus IV sive catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*. The *Biblia Hebraica* appears as the first item under *Manuscripti codices orientales varii argumti*.

9 *The Gentlemen's magazine* 22 (London, 1844), p. 600, nr. 95. They are indicated as 'formerly in the Meerman library' in the catalogue entry. See also their description made by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, librarian to the Duke of Sussex, in *Bibliotheca Sussexiana. A descriptive catalogue, accompanied by historical and biographical notices, of the manuscripts and printed books contained in the library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex*, vol. 1, part 1 (Longman and Co.: London, 1827), pp. viii–xii.

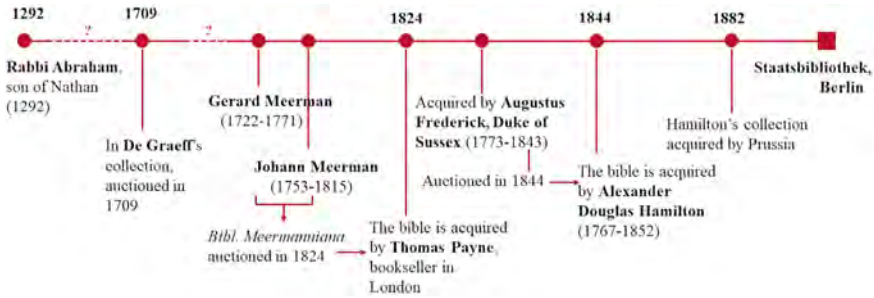


FIGURE 7.5 Reconstruction of the history of ownership of the manuscript Bible; the question marks indicate the gaps that may possibly be filled by further research

research, they do not align with the types of books that Pieter would acquire by himself. Moreover, given his accurate record-keeping, he would have deemed it noteworthy to record a purchase or a gift of this kind, but his extant almanacs contain no references to them.¹⁰ Although some evidence indicates direct interest by Pieter or one of his family members in learning Hebrew, it seems more likely that these precious manuscripts entered the collection in the generations preceding him.¹¹ Due to their interests and their political roles, Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz and especially his father Cornelis (who was also proficient in Near Eastern languages) appear likely candidates. It cannot be excluded, however, that the manuscripts were part of some other inheritance that has remained uncharted in this study. Additional research could shed light on when and under what circumstances these manuscripts entered the De Graeff collection. Such insights may uncover previously unknown interactions between the family and the Amsterdam's Jewish community. At present, these manuscripts underscore the value of digitization and online availability of these kinds of resources to facilitate the reconstruction of the paths taken by books over the centuries.

2 The Book Auction Catalogue as a Collector's Item

Not only do these manuscripts tell an interesting story of their afterlife as a collector's item. The auction catalogue does so as well. A manuscript note reading 'c[um] Pret[ius]' at the top of the preserved copy's title page (Fig. 1.2) hints at

10 The almanacs cover the years between 1664 and 1706 with a gap for 1700, for which the corresponding volume is currently lost.

11 See chapter 4.

why this catalogue is currently in Russia. The note was written by Józef Andrzej Załuski (1702–1774) who, together with his older brother Andrzej Stanisław (1695–1758), was an avid book collector.¹² It is not clear when the brothers acquired this book auction catalogue (another person might have owned this catalogue before them), but the research by Otto Lankhorst has shown that they possessed many other Dutch auction catalogues.¹³ Their famous library in Krakow, which numbered about 400,000 books and 20,000 manuscripts, was made a public library in 1748. Following the Greater Poland uprising in 1794, the library was taken as a war trophy by Catharine the Great in 1795 and, transported to St Petersburg (with considerable damage and losses endured during the journey), it became the core of the Imperial Public Library.¹⁴ This catalogue was not amongst the items returned to Poland after the Treaty of Riga (1921), and thus it was spared the extensive destruction wrought on Poland's book patrimony by the Nazis in 1944.

3 Travelling Through Time and Space with Pieter's Private Library: Final Thoughts

This book has undertaken the task of reconstructing Pieter de Graeff's library, both as a collection of books and as a physical space. In the process, it has established connections between books, events, and individuals, while also reconstructing the intricate lives and histories of the De Graeff extended family. These elements have been contextualized within the broader narrative of Amsterdam's and the Dutch Republic's unfolding history. The availability of a rich array of sources has made it possible to sketch a variegated, dynamic picture of the books Pieter owned and exchanged during his lifetime. This

12 I would like to thank Maria Tkachenko, librarian at the National Library of Russia, for providing me with information about the previous ownership of the catalogue and for drawing my attention to Załuski's handwritten note.

13 Lankhorst further established that several of the Dutch book auction catalogues now in St. Petersburg previously belonged to the Leiden-based publisher Pieter van der Aa (Lankhorst, 'Vijftien pakketten'). The presence of Van der Aa's signature on their title page and its absence on Pieter's catalogue indicate that Van der Aa was not the previous owner of the latter.

14 Lankhorst, 'Vijftien pakketten', p. 69. See also T. Szwaciński, 'An important milestone in research on the manuscripts from the Załuski Library and their documentation', *Polish Libraries*, 2 (2014), pp. 242–247. O.N. Bleskina and N.A. Elagina, with the cooperation of K. Kossarzecki and S. Szyller, provide a systematic inventory of the manuscripts from the Załuski library in the Imperial Public Library in *The inventory of manuscripts from the Załuski Library in the Imperial Public Library* (Warsaw: National Library of Poland, 2013).

research has once again proved that a book auction catalogue is not necessarily a full record of the contents of a given library and that the collection of additional evidence – when available – allows us to better grasp the transformations of a personal library over a course of years. By analysing Pieter's almanacs and other archival documents, it was possible to identify books and other printed and handwritten materials that he owned or had passed on to somebody else and that, being absent from his auction catalogue, would not have otherwise been detected. Moreover, the list of movable objects inherited by his eldest son, Cornelis, has provided evidence to measure how much potentially has been left out of inventories (for example, as in this case, because of already bequeathed goods). Finally, it has been possible to suggest a few other books that had once belonged to the family but do not appear in any of the consulted archival sources – Frans Banning Cocq's *Geslacht-Register* and Vondel's work dedicated to Pieter's father, amongst others. Due to their special significance, these books remained in the family, and only much later were they sold, donated or lent to public institutions.

The De Graeff case highlights the importance of an integrated approach to the reconstruction of a private library. Admittedly, the abundance of sources available in this particular case is quite exceptional. Nevertheless, less copious archival documentation can still aid book historians in their efforts to analyse a book collection: besides probate inventories, already widely used, references to books may also be found in testaments, lists of bequeathed goods or divisions amongst heirs. Even if books are not specifically mentioned, they may allow the charting of an individual's inheritance to forecast whether their book possessions resulted from combining multiple collections, as in Pieter's case. As discussed in chapter 2, archival research showed that Pieter inherited properties from numerous close and distant relatives. This finding offered a first reason to ask whether all the books – especially the older editions – in his book auction catalogue actually matched his interests.

This research has also provided the necessary context to analyse the catalogue. The biographical information on Pieter and his family members gathered from primary and secondary sources allowed the formulation of hypotheses about the potential previous owners of the auctioned books. By looking at the more than 2,300 books contained in the catalogue, and considering the presence of numerous old editions, one would have assumed Pieter to have been a bibliophile, an impression *not* imparted by the other sources discussed in this monograph. Indications of a particular interest in collecting books or searching for old and rare editions are nowhere to be found in his writings. Pieter's orientation towards books seems instead to have been more practical: they were useful sources of information for reconstructing the history of his family,

as well as being helpful for administrative, political and educational purposes and, for example, for medical treatments.

One could argue that the types of available sources strengthen this impression but are silent with regard to other types of reading experiences. In fact, it is true that the almanacs did not serve as a personal diary (even though in some cases we saw that Pieter noted more private and family-related matters) but rather functioned as a business journal. Hence, they would not have been the appropriate place to annotate his choices in relation to leisure reading, about which we have, in fact, no knowledge at all. However, given the numerous almanac entries dedicated to the exchanges or purchases of coins and commemorative medals, one would have expected to find similar transactions for books in cases where he regarded such objects as valuable collectable items. Their utter absence therefore offers conclusive proof that Pieter had no interest in collecting books.

Delving into Pieter's library has not only led to a deeper understanding of his life and that of his relatives, but it has also highlighted the roles of certain family members who contributed to its creation, most notably Pieter's grandfather Jacob Dircksz de Graeff with his broad interests; his father, Cornelis, with his political and administrative appointments; and his brother, Jacob, with his travels in Italy and his inheritances. Researching the books in Pieter's collection allowed light to be shed on lesser known aspects of their lives and to uncover previously unexplored connections (such as the circumstances leading to the auction of Frans Banninck Cocq's books). It also identified previous owners amongst more distant relatives, such as Willem van der Does (Jacob's father-in-law), Pieter's great-uncle Pieter Dircksz de Graeff and cousin Adriaen Coetenburg, thus proving how complex and stratified the history of a book collection can be. Moreover, it drew attention to the figure of Pieter's eldest son, who inherited the books. We caught glimpses of his everyday life during his formative years and revealed the possible cause of his mental illness. It must be noted, however, that there are other possible contributors to Pieter's book possessions that this research may not have accounted for, due to a lack of ego-documents and archival sources that would allow more in-depth investigation of their study paths and personal interests. Additional archival research may lead to the identification of other possible previous owners – for example, from the Bicker side – of certain books in the catalogue and might further clarify the dynamics underlying this collection's creation and management.

The resulting picture of the collection auctioned off under Pieter's name is an image of a stratified assemblage accumulated by several owners over the course of decades. This conclusion allows us to introduce an additional sort of meaning that Pieter attached to his book collection, besides its undoubtful

role as status symbol: apparently bucking the trend of a more pragmatic and 'unsentimental' approach towards books evident in the Dutch Republic, for him books were also tangible memories of his relatives, their stories and their contribution to the growth of Amsterdam.¹⁵ The intensity of memory here must have faded away in the following generation, supplanted by more pragmatically oriented needs. The year of the auction was not only the year in which Pieter's son Jan married Johanna Hooft but also the year in which he entered the *vroedschap*, marking the end of the political ostracism the republican De Graeffs had faced after the Disaster Year. The sale of Pieter's books was organized by his children – certainly Jan, with the possible involvement of Agneta as well – to dispose of a mostly outdated collection so as to free up space in the family's Herengracht house, a property that Cornelis had inherited but that was going to be rented out by newlywed Jan. This auction would have also given them the opportunity to pack and sell other books deemed no longer useful (the catalogue, in fact, lists some of Jan's and Cornelis's study books) as well as possibly those that would still have been kept in their grandparents' house on the same street.

Setting the identification of individual owners aside, taken collectively the books in this library give us an impression of the microcosmos of knowledge that a wealthy regent family had access to and drew from in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Classical authors who played a key role in the education of the Republic's humanist elite, works on philosophical and political thought, regulations and charters, geographical and historical accounts, literature and pastime reading as well as medical treatises provide a cross-section of the accumulated knowledge of the time. Given the family in question and their appointments to top positions in the Amsterdam city government and as VOC directors, this library gives us, moreover, a glimpse of the body of ideas shaping the conceptual and ideological framework that undergirded the Dutch Republic's political and colonial identity both nationally and internationally: from Cicero's arguments dissolving the tension between the *utile* and the *honestum* in the *De officiis* (which became foundational principles for and a justification of the VOC's global trade) to Grotius' vision of the freedom of the seas and of free trade with his *Mare liberum* and the *De jure belli ac pacis*. In addition, the numerous works charting the historical context and geopolitical situation in other countries, most notably France, England and Spain – as well as those of Venice, the other *respublica* established on naval

15 On the pragmatic approach towards books in the Dutch Republic, see A. Pettegree and A. der Weduwen, *The bookshop of the world. Making and trading books in the Dutch golden age* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 35.

power – testify to the keen attention that the Amsterdam patriciate devoted to developments on the international scene. Classical antiquity remained a source of themes and exemplar figures which continued to resonate with contemporary audiences. One such figure prominently featuring in Pieter and Jacoba's house was Alexander the Great. The conqueror of Asia was the subject of the wall carpets in their *grote tapijte kamer* as well as of several books in the auction catalogue. On the one hand, he exemplified the courageous ruler, his deeds immortalised in tapestries fitting for a king's palace. On the other hand, Curtius Rufus's rendition of the Alexander *topos* served as a reminder of the dangers of exotic excess, intoxicating ambition and unlimited imperial expansion.

We may wonder, at this point, how representative Pieter was of Amsterdam's elite culture in his time and of his fellow VOC directors. As the custodian of the family archive, he undertook the task of piecing together his family's history. This endeavour felt increasingly urgent following the Disaster Year, which had swept away the republican political aspirations of his family. We have already observed that this engagement with genealogical research was common amongst affluent burghers looking to enhance their status by means of verified or alleged roots in noble ancestries. Likewise, his keen interest in collecting commemorative medals and coins was shared by many contemporaries, some of whom – such as Jacob de Wilde – had built even larger, more widely admired collections. Although (once again) it is important to consider possible biases in the sources at our disposal, the image of Pieter that emerges from his ego-documents is that of a man preoccupied with his family and his relations, along with the management of his lands and houses. The Herengracht house provided substantial traces of the exotic worlds that the VOC had brought within easy reach: the luxury items (e.g. Asian textiles and East India furniture pieces) listed in Pieter's probate inventory and the commodities (spices, coffee, chocolate) consumed by the household, as we learn from his almanacs. While these objects and goods projected status and good taste as paired with moral values in his household, there is little evidence that these exotic worlds sparked any intellectual engagement or scholarly curiosity on his part.¹⁶

Pieter's writings contain almost nothing akin to the excitement for learning and the interest in sciences shown by Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), one of

16 On the early modern association between good taste and virtue, see H.J. Cook, *Matters of exchange. Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 14. For the collection practices of urban elite, see E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker, *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst en rareitenverzamelingen 1585–1735* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992).

his fellow VOC directors and a man who served several times as Amsterdam burgomaster.¹⁷ A learned and influential patron, insatiable in his quest to acquire knowledge and a prolific writer, Witsen used to complain about the little time he could allot himself, due to his public duties, for reading and contemplation.¹⁸ His library, as well as his collection of *artificialia* and *naturalia* – which included hundreds of bottles containing embalmed animals – was an important element in his scholarly work.¹⁹ From what we can gather from the available archival documents, Pieter's collection of *naturalia* was, for its part, far more limited. It served as a status symbol and certainly fulfilled his curiosity (although it is not clear from the almanac entries whether the exotic objects were sent to him in reply to his specific requests or as gifts), but it was not, as in Witsen's case, a locus of scientific investigation.

Another element explored in this research has been the domestic space where books were kept in Pieter and Jacoba's urban residence on the Herengracht and in other country houses owned by Pieter. Investigation of the available probate inventories, looking for references to books, has highlighted interesting characteristics and differences between them. By reading the inventory's spatial dimensions and reconstructing the notary route within with the help of a 3D digital reconstruction, it has been possible to reach a deeper understanding of the spatial arrangement and the presence of books in the Herengracht house. The proximity of the *boeken kamer* to the adjacent *grote kamer*, with his numismatic collection and family portraits, created a place of self-representation to be shared with the select visitors who were granted access to the more private quarters located on the upper floor. A more detailed 3D reconstruction of the private library at the Herengracht house has 'materialized' the various elements that made up this room in the virtual environment. In this case, the reconstruction was based on integrating the list of objects in the inventory with that of the items bequeathed to Cornelis and the information provided by Pieter's almanac entries. Alone, each of these sources would have supplied only a partial image of this room's contents. Such annotated 3D reconstructions are useful tools for historical research and at the same time expand the media assets that the field of public history has at its disposal to facilitate access to historical data. Besides visualizing the library,

17 See Peters, *De wijze koopman*.

18 M. Peters, 'From the study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717). His life with books and manuscripts', *Lias* 21, nr. 1 (1994), p. 1.

19 On Witsen's library see Peters 'From the study of Nicolaes Witsen'. His collection is analysed in R.P. Brienen, 'Nicolaes Witsen's collection, his influence, and the primacy of the image', in D. Cashion, H. Luttikhuisen and A. West (eds.), *The primacy of the image in Northern European art, 1400–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 222–238.

the 3D environment reproducing the room's real-world measurements allowed us to formulate a hypothesis about its storage capacity. If less than half of the books that Pieter owned could fit on the shelves, as the 3D model shows, where would the rest be kept? Possible scenarios have been proposed in chapter 6, and these may well be further explored and consolidated by future research.

The creation and use of digital resources has been important to this book's preparation. Besides the 3D reconstruction of the room that anchors the books to a specific place, an annotated transcription of the auction book catalogue in tabular form has been made available online. In this study, the transcription has facilitated a 'distant reading' of the catalogue to cumulatively map out the characteristics of the books and their groupings per period, subject, language etc. In future research, the transcription will allow comparison of this catalogue to the libraries of those amongst Pieter's contemporaries who held similar administrative and political positions in order to investigate to what extent, and where, it corresponds or deviates. The characteristics of Pieter's collection, which has now proved to be the result of a multi-generational effort, may be used to generate patterns that can be applied to recognize a similar creation process for other private libraries. It is hoped that scholars will increasingly create and make available digital transcriptions following a standardized structure so that they can be automatically parsed and matched by *ad hoc* scripts.²⁰ This computational approach to early modern bibliometrics will allow, for example, a more straightforward and refined identification of differences and commonalities across book sale catalogues and will enhance our understanding of the development and transmission of ideas during this period. Moreover, it will make it easier to monitor and study specific aspects of the (second-hand) book market, such as price fluctuations. Quantifications on the presence of

20 In this regard, the project *MEDIATE* (Measuring Enlightenment: Disseminating Ideas, Authors, and Texts in Europe) at the Radboud University in Nijmegen has been developing an interoperative, open-access database of about 3,000 eighteenth-century Dutch book sale catalogues of small to medium-size libraries. This corpus will certainly promote these research venues and has already yielded results that show the importance of a computational approach to book historical studies. See <https://mediate18.nl/> (last accessed April 2024). See also e.g. A.C. Montoya, 'Des catéchismes à Voltaire. Le projet *MEDIATE* et le rôle des livres "moyens" dans la transmission culturelle à l'époque des Lumières', in A. Dhermy (ed.), *La transmission des savoirs à l'ère numérique* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2021), pp. 58–71; R. Jagersma, 'Dutch printed library sales catalogues, 1599–1800. A bibliometric overview', in A. der Weduwen, A. Pettegree and G. Kemp (eds.), *Early modern book trade catalogues* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 87–117; H. Blom, R. Jagersma and J. Reboul, 'Printed private library catalogues as a source for the history of reading', in J. Rose and M. Hammond (eds.), *Edinburgh history of reading. 1. Early readers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 249–269.

specific books on a large corpus of catalogues would also make it possible to understand when a book was still considered a valid source of information and when it became obsolete. Such determinations will assist in the identification of collections, such as De Graeff's, that reflect a multi-generational endeavour.

Digital transcriptions and large-scale digitization projects also provide useful resources to reconstruct the history of book ownership. On the one hand, titles could be matched between catalogues of private libraries as well as to other existing databases to find out, for example, whether and where surviving copies of a book are kept. On the other hand, the digitization of books and manuscript allows for a close (at a distance) inspection of their material properties. A growing body of digitized resources will certainly aid book historians in reconstructing the journeys of books through different times and places, thus bringing into focus the multiple significances that books held in different contexts. In the De Graeff's case, additional research on the whereabouts of the manuscript Bibles may shed further light on the Jewish community in Amsterdam and its possible relations with members of the family.

To conclude, by focussing on the reconstruction of a private library, this research has enabled us to explore an important period in the history of the Dutch Republic from the perspective of a prominent republican family. Researching the biographies and houses of Pieter and his relatives has been instrumental in analysing his books, which, in turn, have provided significant insights into their readers' worldviews. At the same time, this study has underscored the importance of supplementing book historical studies with archival research for a more comprehensive understanding of a book collection and its dynamics of accumulation. Finally, it has highlighted the contribution of digital methods to develop innovative approaches in book historical studies, to contextualise a private library within its original domestic settings and to facilitate its analysis. This research demonstrates once again the power of books as polyhedral objects which reveal much about their owners, and as a means (surprisingly at times) of connecting different people, places and historical periods.

Transcription and English Translation of Pieter de Graeff's Diplomas in Canon and Civil Law, University of Orléans, 16 Novembre 1660

ACA, Family De Graeff Archive (76), Inv. Nr. 122, Items Nrs. 307 and 308

The transcription follows item nr. 307 (diploma in canon law) and includes, within square brackets, the words where nr. 308 (diploma in civil law) differs.

Universis praesentes literas Inspecturis Petrus des Chasteaux, presbyter Iuris utriusque et sacrae facultatis theologiae parisiensis doctor et socius sorbonicus scholasticus et canonicus Insignis ecclesiae et almae universitatis Aurelianensis Cancellarius, salutem. Plurima sunt quae nos monent ut illi praemiis dignitatum Insignibus extollantur qui se viros fortes praebent ac strenuos et maxime qui sacri Iuris Canonici [Civilis] scientiae per quam spiritualia disponuntur, pariter et terrena, assiduo labore et curiosa vigilia agrum perfodientes scientiae thesaurum collegerunt. Cum igitur eruditum virum magistrum Petrum de Graeff Amstelo Batavum in dicto Iure bacculaureum nobis per magnae scientiae sagacis diligentiae et per optimaefamae viros utriusque Iuris dictae universitatis professores in ea actu regentes oblatum examinaverimus et per alios doctores ipsum explorari cum rigore fecerimus diligenter qui post rigidum publici examinis certamen excussum uno ore asserebant eundem De Graeff dignum et sufficientem ac talem approbantes nobis obtulerunt ad titulum licentiae in dicto Iure obtinendum. Nosque ipsi de eius honestis moribus probitate vitae Litterarumque scientia per plures qui ipsum noverunt ad plenum fuerimus certiores facti et quod a puerilibus exordiis per stadia disciplinae scholasticae currendo sic profecerit ut iam per eum veluti duris assuetum athletam ecclesia dei resque publica Christiana adiuvari possit, pupilli vero viduae ceteraeque miserabiles personae defendi. Id Circo volentes eidem De Graeff post angustias solamen post certamina victoriam et requiem post labores elargiri, tametsi eius merita nequeamus ad sufficientiam honorare, Idoneum tamen ad dictam Licentiam censemus atque post examinis habiti rigorem contulimus Invocato Jesu Christi nomine eiusque intactae Matris ac victoriosae Sanctae Crucis, autoritate apostolica nobis concessa et qua fungimur in hoc negotio damus atque concedimus eidem magistro Petro

de Graeff praesenti et acceptanti Licentiam et auctoritatem regendi legendi ordinarie docendi publice disputandi dubia declarandi et Interpretandi in dicto Iure Canonico [Civili] atque caetera omnia quae ad doctoratum Iuris Canonici [Civilis] spectare et pertinere noscuntur hic et ubilibet locorum. Datum Aureliae sub sigillo nostro et scribae nostri signo, anno domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo, die vero decima sexta, mensis novembris / praesentibus Petro Jannis et Isaaco Collot testibus ad praemissa vocatis.

De Lalande Antecessor^[1] et Rector, Riviere[?] Antecessor

Nequid huic diplomati desit, quo ad plenam perfectamque eius et similium formam, sicut vetera Aurelianensis Academiae exigunt statuta, nomen meum auctoritate publica hic apposui et sigillum Inc[li]tae Nat[ion]is Germ[ani]cae appendi iussi.

Johann Adam de Schöning

I[n]clitae N[ationis] G[ermanicae] Procurator

English Translation

Pierre de Chasteaux, priest, Parisian doctor of both rights and of the sacred faculty of theology and member of the Sorbonne, scholar and canon of the distinguished Church and chancellor of the nurturing Aurelian University, greets all who will examine this act. Many are those things that induce us to elevate, with exceptional awards of merit, those who show themselves to be determined and tenacious men and especially those who, digging in the field of the knowledge of sacred canon [civil] law with constant effort and scrupulous attention, by means of which spiritual things are arranged as well as earthly things, have acquired the treasure of doctrine. Therefore, after having examined the learned man, the master Pieter de Graeff, Batavian of Amsterdam, baccalaureate in the aforementioned law, presented to us by men of great knowledge, keen discipline and great fame, professors of both rights in the aforementioned university, who currently hold the office in it, and, having carefully considered that the same was examined with inflexibility by other doctors, who, after the rigorous challenge of a public examination, unanimously declared De

1 Jacobus Delalande, mentioned in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais* 1916, Tome 17, n. 210, p. 291.

Graeff himself worthy and adequate and presented him to us, proving him to be of such quality as to obtain the license in the aforementioned right. And, we were fully informed of his honest behavior, of his probity of life, of his knowledge of scholarship by many who knew him, and, given that, since the early beginnings, running through the stages of educational training, he has made so much progress that now, through him, as an athlete accustomed to demanding efforts, the Church of God and the Christian community can be helped, in particular orphans and widows and all other unfortunate people can be defended. For this reason, wanting to give the same De Graeff relief after hardships, victory after struggles and rest after fatigue, although we cannot sufficiently honor his merits, we nevertheless consider him suitable for this license and, after the inflexibility of the examination, we have discussed, having invoked the name of Jesus Christ and his virgin Mother and the victorious Holy Cross, for the authority granted to us that we use in this office, we give and grant to the same master Pieter de Graeff who is present and who receives the license and authority to rule, read, teach regularly, debate publicly, clarify and interpret doubtful matters in canon [civil] law and all other questions that are known to concern and are pertinent to the doctorate of canon [civil] law, here and everywhere else. Given in Orléans under our seal and the signature of our scribe in the year of the Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty, on the sixteenth day of the month of November, present as witnesses Petrus Jannius and Isaac Collot, witnesses summoned to the premises.

De Lalande Predecessor and Rector, Riviere[?] Predecessor

There is nothing lacking in this diploma, to which, in full and perfect form of it and the like, as the old statutes of the Aurelian Academy require, I have placed my name here by public authority, and ordered the seal of the Illustrious German Nation to be affixed.

Johann Adam de Schöning

Officer of the Illustrious German Nation

Overview of the Books in Pieter de Graeff's Auction Catalogue Divided per Subject, Language, Format, Date and Place of Publication

Topics			
First subject	Count	First subject	Count
Law	499	Astronomy / Cosmology	24
Theology / Religion	405	Dictionary	23
Classical authors	315	History / Politics	19
Literature / Novels / Poems	111	Letters	19
History / Historiography	87	Oratory / Rhetoric / Eloquence	18
Philosophy	39	Military	18
Oratory / Rhetoric / Eloquence	23	Mathematics	18
Letters	19	Curiosities / Others	17
Biographies / Genealogies / Memoires	9	Economics / Administration	16
Miscellaneous	4	Medicine	16
Geography / Atlas / Travels	4	Magic / Supernatural	16
Politics	3	(Library) catalogue	14
Religion	2	Philology	12
Medicine	2	Emblem book	11
Agriculture	2	Zoology / Natural history	10
Law	1	Costume	10
History / Politics	1	Encyclopedia	9
Antiquities	1	Science	9
Architecture	1	Education / Pedagogy	9
History / Historiography	201	Chemistry / Alchemy	8
Literature / Novels / Poems	142	Architecture	6
Politics	100	Arts	6
Geography / Atlas / Travels	82	Seafare / Ships	5
Biographies / Genealogies / Memoires	72	Journals	4
Antiquities	54	Engineering / Technology	4
Philosophy	50	Geology	4
Manuals / Templates	49	Mythology	2
Miscellaneous	27	Total	2324

FIGURE 9.1 Number of books per subject. The resulting total amount represents each individual work: i.e. works that were bound together in one book (identified with 'item' in the catalogue) are included in the calculation, while multiple copies (usually identified with 'bis' in the catalogue) are not included.

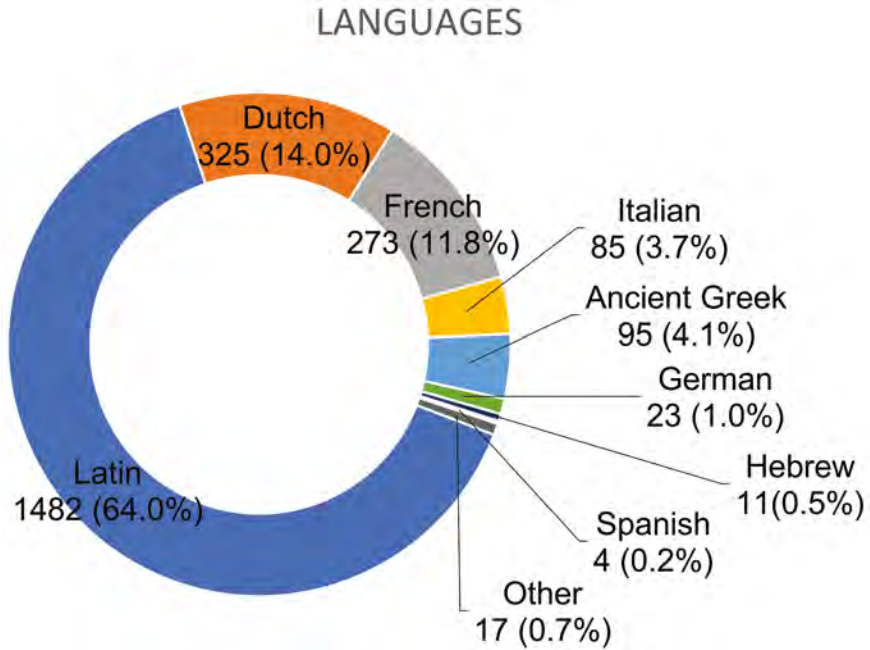


FIGURE 9.2 Percentages of books per languages. 'Dutch' includes items in Dutch only and books in Latin with Dutch translation (4); 'French' includes items in French only and books in Latin and French (2); 'Ancient Greek' includes items in ancient Greek only and books in Latin and ancient Greek texts; 'Hebrew' includes items in Hebrew only and in Latin and Hebrew. 'Other' includes English (2), German and Malay (2), Arabic (1), and combinations of the other languages, mainly found in dictionaries (14).

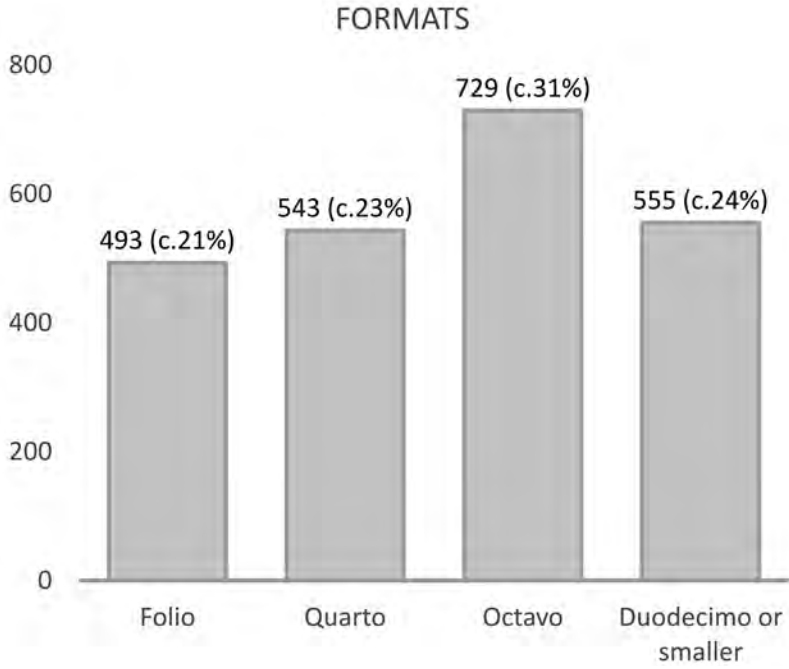


FIGURE 9.3 Number of books for each format

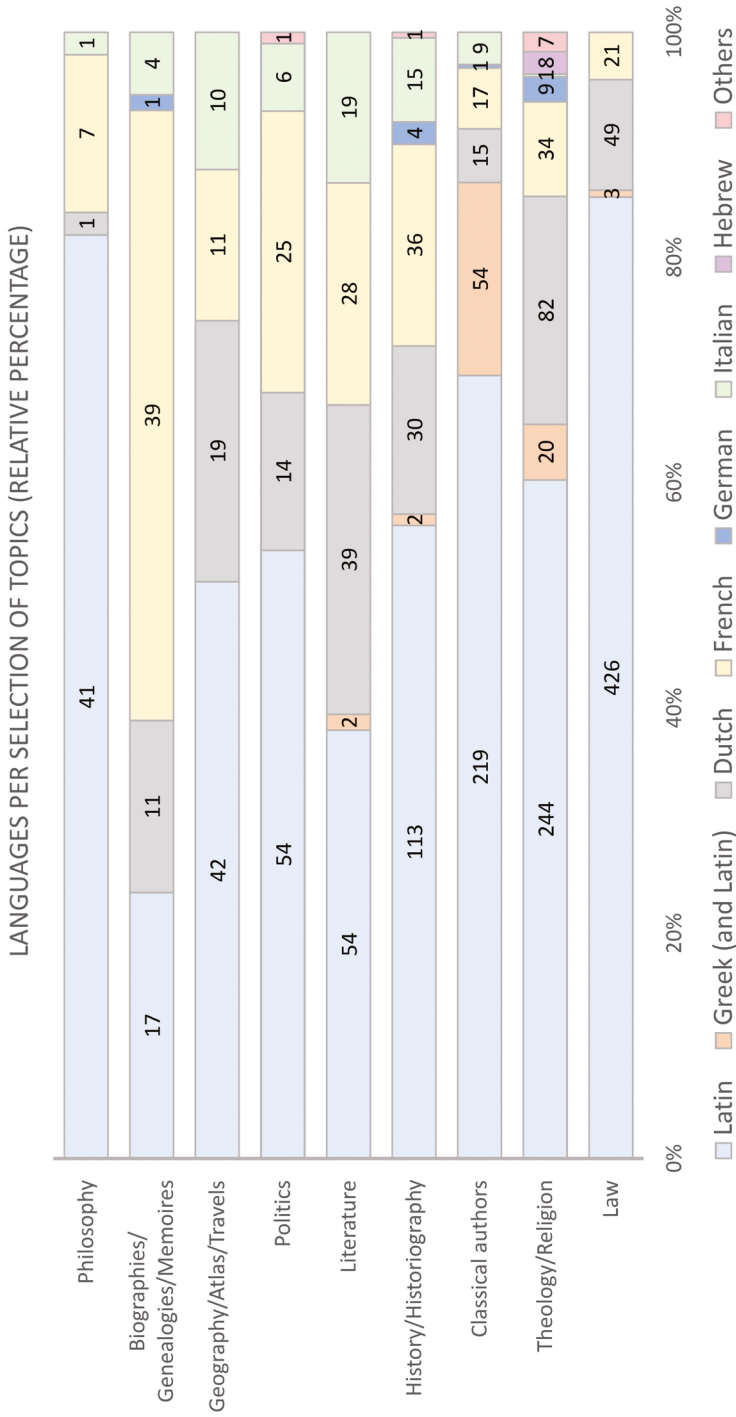


FIGURE 9.4 Languages per topic (relative percentages). Juridical and Philosophical books are mostly in Latin, while French is the most common language for books covering topics such as biographies, genealogies, and memoirs. The presence of books in Dutch increases in literary works and in geographical and travel treatises.

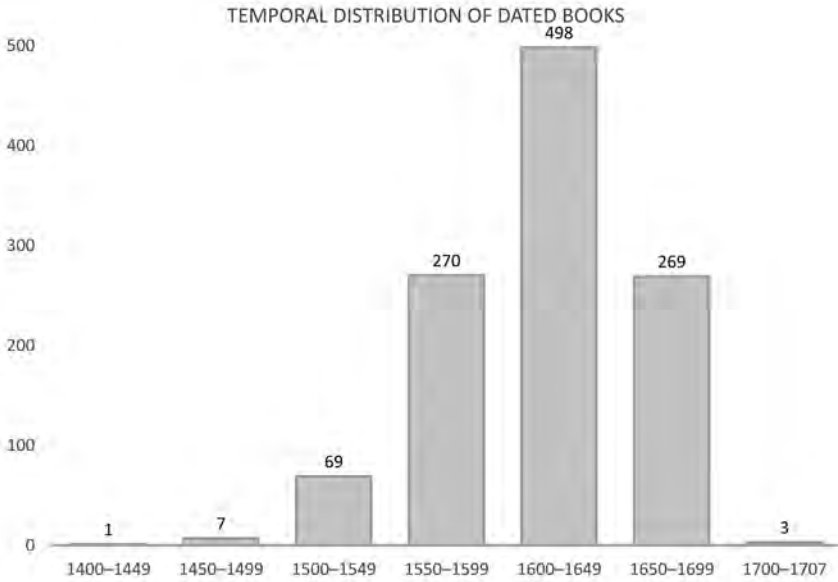


FIGURE 9.5 Books per period of publication. Note that this chart presents only the items for which the date of publication is indicated in the catalogue, with a few corrections for identified typesetting mistakes (i.e. 1116 over 2324, namely c. 48% of the total). About one third of them are books in folio (i.e. 429, see fig. 9.6). The distribution indicates that the majority of the books in the catalogue were published before 1650.

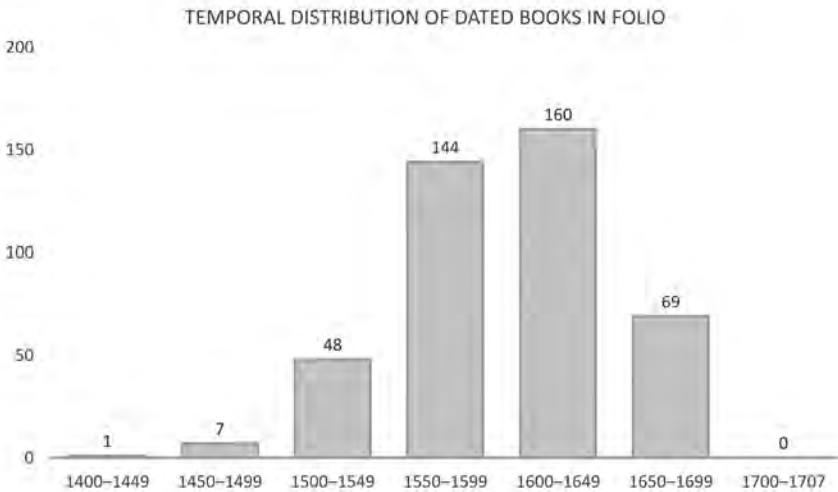


FIGURE 9.6 Temporal distribution of the books in folio for which the date of publication is provided in the catalogue

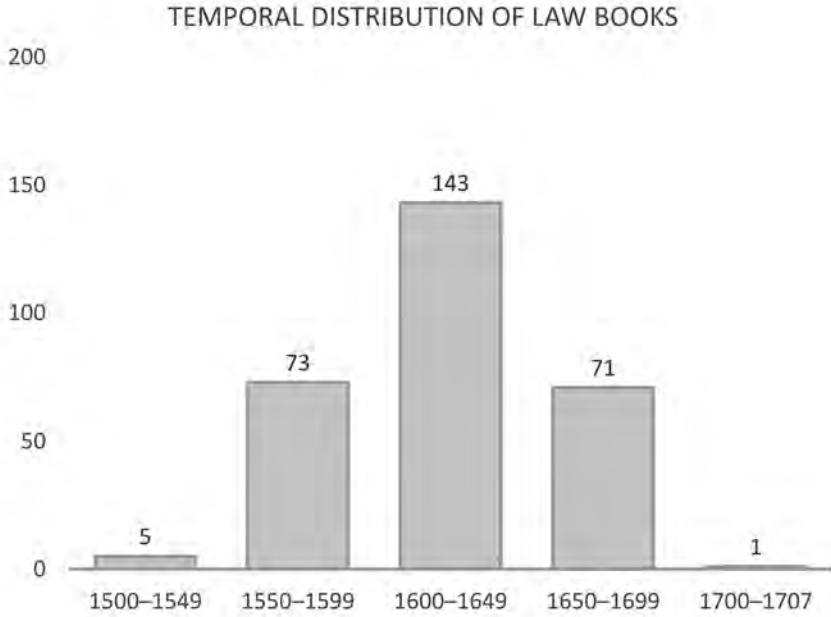


FIGURE 9.7 Temporal distribution of the juridical books based on their year of publication (only those for which the publication date is given in the catalogue are considered, i.e. 60% of the total)

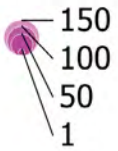


FIGURE 9.8 Map showing the places of publication of the books in the catalogue. Only the books for which the place of publication is indicated in the catalogue or has been inferred with certainty are included.



Legend

Number of books per place of publication



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Please note that this bibliography follows the Dutch reference style in alphabetizing surnames with prefixes. The sorting is done by the main part of the surname that comes after the prefix (e.g., 'Bert van Selm' is alphabetized as 'Selm, Bert van').

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PIETER DE GRAEFF (1638-1707) AND HIS *TREFFELYKE* *BIBLIOTHEEK*

On 9 July 1709, over 2,300 books were sold at a public auction at the shop of the publishing family Boom in Amsterdam. They comprised the 'beautiful library' (*treffelyke bibliotheek*) of the patrician Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707), member of a prominent regent family. This monograph draws on unpublished archival sources and De Graeff's book auction catalogue to explore his library and its significance. While tracing the microhistories of De Graeff's relatives against the backdrop of the Dutch Republic's unfolding history, this research reveals his book collection as a microcosmos of knowledge accumulated through generations. De Graeff's *boeken kamer* – the library room in his Amsterdam residence – is also investigated and visualized through computer graphics, resulting in an online, interactive and annotated 3D model.

Chiara Piccoli is a Research Associate at the 4D Research Lab of the University of Amsterdam. In her research she investigates the historical relationship between people, their built environments, and their material culture with the aid of digital methods.

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