

The Clergyman and his Grandson

The Story of a Family

• GIJS VAN DER HAM •

n 5 October 1684 the Remonstrant minister Isaac Pontanus wrote to his daughter Catharina. Included in the letter was a message for Catharina's son. 'Give our darling Heineman a hearty kiss from me and tell him that his Grandpapa hopes that he is making good progress in his reading, and that we will read all sorts of wonderful books together again in our study.' Almost six years later, in June 1690, Pontanus's grandson received the first letter addressed to him personally by his grandfather, in reply to a letter he had sent him. 'If it would be to the benefit of both of us, I sincerely wish that for many years it may not be the last time and may continue so for a long time that the content of our letters is always as pleasant as the first time, but with weightier subject matter as time goes on' (fig. 1).2

Hendrik van Beek, affectionately known as Heineman, was ten years old in 1690. From the two letters and the fact that they have survived it is evident that there was an extraordinary bond between him and his grandfather. This is confirmed by the existence of the little portrait and the gold medallion recently acquired by the Rijksmuseum.³ They appear together in the 1689 portrait by Michiel van Muscher (1645-1705, fig. 2). The grandfather, sitting in front of a well-stocked bookcase, has put his arm around young

Detail of fig. 2

Hendrik's shoulders. It is tempting to assume that they are in the study referred to in the 1684 letter. Together they hold the medallion that was acquired with the little portrait (fig. 3). It is a gift that Pontanus gave his grandson for his birthday in 1688. The Latin inscription engraved on the medallion tells us that Hendrik was born on 29 February 1680 - a leap day.4 In 1688 he was therefore celebrating his birthday on the actual day for only the second time in his life. On the reverse is another Latin inscription, which opens with an invocation - Cresce Puer - from Ovid's Metamorphoses (II, 642), continues in Pontanus's own words and ends with a Greek text from Homer's Iliad (6.208). 'Grow up, child, in virtue before God, in love for your mother, dear to your family through affection, to good people through righteousness, harming no one, nourished by honest study, in your fearless character equal to good fortune or ill, righteous as long as you live and blessed after death. May long-suffering God hear these fervent prayers! Be always the best and stand out above the rest' (fig. 4).5

Isaac Pontanus had high hopes of his grandson, encouraged his education and tried to ensure that Hendrik would lead a useful and meaningful life – this shines out from both letters and from the medal. They both lived in the

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Fig. 1 Letter from Isaac Pontanus to Hendrik van Beek, Utrecht, 24 June 1690. Amsterdam City Archives (612/562).

prosperous Amsterdam of the 17th century - although the grandfather enjoyed the glory years and his grandson witnessed the start of stagnation and relative decline – where they belonged to the better classes. But precisely what the medallion and the portrait signify is not easy to determine. Until recently little more was known about them than what is inscribed on the medallion itself. All the same, it has proved possible to gain an impression of their lives, and we can now conjure up a picture of a reasonably comfortably-off family and answer the question as to whether Hendrik lived up to his grandfather's expectations.

The Clergyman

Isaac Pontanus lived to the ripe old age of 83. He was born on 7 April 1627 in

Leiden and died on 3 August 1710 in Amsterdam, where he was buried five days later in the Westerkerk.⁶ Little is known about his father, Simon, except that in 1620, when he was 23, he went to study Humanities at Leiden University; he was described in the register as 'Batavus', which probably means that he came from rural Holland, not a city.⁷ Given his son's chosen career it would seem likely that he was a Remonstrant, but we cannot be sure, particularly since at the time Isaac was born it was not wise to profess this persuasion openly in Leiden.

The Remonstrant, more liberal version of Calvinism came about at the beginning of the 17th century as the unforeseen consequence of a dispute about predestination between two Leiden professors, Gomarus and Arminius. In essence the Remonstrant

Fig. 2 MICHIEL VAN MUSSCHER, Double portrait of Isaac Pontanus and Hendrik van Beek, 1689. Oil on silver-plated brass, diam. 9 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (gift from the Rembrandt Society, made possible by the Remonstrant Congregation Rotterdam, inv. no. NG-2008-40).



Figs. 3 and 4 ANONYMOUS, Gold medallion, given by Isaac Pontanus to Hendrik van Beek, 29 February 1688. Gold, engraved, diam. 9 cm. Obverse and reverse. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (gift from the Rembrandt Society, made possible by the Remonstrant Congregation Rotterdam, inv. no. NG-2008-41).



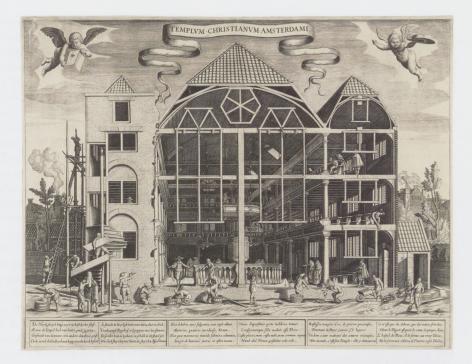


Fig. 5
FRANS BRUN,
The Remonstrant
Church on Keizersgracht in Amsterdam
under construction,
1630. Engraving,
410 x 530 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-OB-76.429A).

faith inspired by Arminius boils down to the belief that there is scope for human free will and that who will go to heaven is therefore not determined from the outset. According to the strict tenets of Calvinism, in contrast, this is a selection that man cannot influence in any way: God has predestined it, and no one can have any effect on it. Although there were also many similarities between the two groups, the Remonstrants were ejected from the official church at the Synod of Dordrecht of 1618-19. Many people fled the country; those who stayed behind could at best practise their religion in secret.

The group who remained faithful to Remonstrant ideas was not a very large one. They were denounced from the pulpits of the Reformed churches; in most towns they were oppressed and even prosecuted, and they had no opportunity to attend church. Since only members of the official church could hold public office, it took courage and determination to stick to

Remonstrant principles. In Remonstrant circles a humanist vision began to prevail and individual personal responsibility was emphasized even more strongly. As a rule, Remonstrants were more tolerant of people of other faiths and more open to things that were outside religion as such. They became increasingly marginalized, and so the authorities soon ceased to view them as a threat.

In 1626, a year before Isaac Pontanus was born, some important Remonstrant leaders plucked up the courage to return to the Republic. Four years later, in 1630, work started on building a Remonstrant conventicle - an unofficial, but tolerated church - on Keizersgracht in Amsterdam (fig. 5); a year later the first General Assembly of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, the organization in which the Remonstrant faithful had come together, was held in Rotterdam. From then on the Remonstrants were tolerated in these two cities. However, Pontanus's birthplace, Leiden, was one of the towns

where they were still persecuted and their services were banned.8

At some point, it is impossible to say precisely when, the Pontanus family, now including a daughter, Sara, born around 1633, moved to Amsterdam. There, on 3 May 1643, the sixteenyear-old Isaac heard that the Council of the Remonstrant Congregation had accepted him as a student at the Remonstrant Seminary.9 This had existed since 1634 and was closely associated with the Athenaeum Illustre, founded in 1632, a higher education institution with which Amsterdam endeavoured to compete with the university in Leiden. The professors there, Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648) and Gerard Vossius (1577-1649), taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy and rhetoric. Their classes, all taught in Latin, were the basis of the clerical training.10

Five years later, soon after his father's death in early May 1648, Pontanus was sent to the South Holland village of Oude Wetering to begin his ministry.11 This was followed by stays in Dokkum in Friesland and, from 1650, in Friedrichstadt, a small town founded in Schleswig-Holstein in 1620 that was originally specifically intended for Remonstrant exiles from the Dutch Republic – today it is the home of the only Remonstrant congregation outside the Netherlands.12 Friedrichstadt was Pontanus's first permanent appointment, but ministers did not usually stay there for long, and he was no exception. In 1652 he relocated to Den Briel, albeit under pressure and only after the directors of the Brotherhood had assured him that he would be able to accept a calling elsewhere straight away. After just eighteen months he decided to accept an invitation from the Remonstrant Congregation in Amsterdam and become a minister there.13 Shortly before his departure at the beginning of 1654 he married Elisabeth Gouwenaer. They had five daughters - Maria, probably

born in 1654, Catharina (1656), Elisabeth (between 1658 and 1660), Magdalena (1661) and Sara (1663); three other children died soon after birth.¹⁴

When Pontanus took up his appointment in Amsterdam two other Remonstrant ministers were working there - one of whom, Bartholomeus Praevostius (1587-1669), had been there since the very beginning. In 1660 they were joined by a fourth minister. Pontanus saw many colleagues come and go until he retired at the end of 1702. He was 75 and had been attached to the church in Amsterdam for almost 49 years. 15 For this reason, if for none other, he was the man who had provided continuity and hence stability. For many years, for instance, Pontanus was the senior minister of the church in Amsterdam and frequently chairman (praeses) or vice chairman (assessor) of the General Assembly of the Brotherhood. He held office for the last time in 1697.16

It is worth remembering that when he took up his post the Remonstrant Congregation in Amsterdam had been in existence for less than 25 years and people were still searching for the course they wanted to take and the kind of church they wanted to be. Even the very existence of their own church was the subject of debate from time to time, chiefly because the condemnation of one another by Christians and the divisions in Christianity were a thorn in the side of the Remonstrants. This was why, in 1660, Pontanus and his colleague Andries Poelenburg (1628-1666) suggested to the Brotherhood that it might be possible to collaborate or merge with the Mennonites – they even raised the question of reunifying with the official Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁷ In that same year Pontanus published an address to three Mennonite communities, Aenspraak tot de Vereenighde Duitsche, Friesche, en Waterlantsche Gemeenten, in which he stressed the similarities rather than

the differences between Remonstrants and Mennonites. Pontanus argued that they differed fundamentally on just two points, the holding of civic office - opposed by Mennonites - and infant baptism, which he regarded as not 'strictly necessary', but at the same time not in conflict with the Bible.18 He believed that these issues did not have to stand in the way of closer cooperation or even an amalgamation, revealing himself as a pragmatist. Interestingly, his three youngest daughters were not baptized until they were over twenty - a predominantly Mennonite practice.

During this same period there were many in both Remonstrant and Mennonite circles who wanted to go still further and saw the relationship through the church as less important than the personal profession of faith. The physician Laurens Klinkhamer (1626-1687), for instance, in a treatise advocating freedom of speech in the congregation, Vryheydt van spreecken inde gemeynte der geloovigen beweesen, written in 1655, contended that a religious community with its associated rituals was not a necessary precondition for believers and that everyone had to be able to speak freely about their faith. This stance was typical of the Collegiants, a loose grouping of free-thinkers whose meetings were also attended by Remonstrants. Their views inevitably undermined ecclesiastical authority and the position of the clergy, and so objections to ideas like these were raised in Remonstrant circles.19 Pontanus, too, rejected them. In his 1660 treatise, Tractaet van de sichtbare kerke Christi, he analysed Klinkhamer's ideas in depth and argued that the faithful did need the spiritual guidance of ministers.20 In the same work Pontanus had attacked the Amsterdam Mennonite ministers Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan (1622-1706) and David Spruijt, who had also cast doubt on the value of the existing churches and stressed the

importance of individual faith in their reflections on the state of the churches, Bedenckinge over den toestant der sichtbare kercke of 1657. Pontanus took a remarkably mild tone with them. He described their criticism as 'fair', but thought that they had gone too far and thrown the baby out with the bathwater by questioning all spiritual guidance so that they had departed from the path of 'honest moderation' and had raised differences of opinion precisely where 'mutual tolerance' was possible.²¹ These words seem to sum up his own attitude.

Pontanus was widely praised as a minister. In 1672, Geeraert Brandt (1626-1685, fig. 6), who became his closest colleague in 1667, went so far as to compare him in a poem with the renowned classical Greek orator

Fig. 6
P. SCHENK
AFTER MICHIEL
VAN MUSSCHER,
Portrait of Geeraert
Brandt at the age
of 57, c. 1683.
Mezzotint,
193 x 134 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-1906-3476).



Demosthenes and his Roman counterpart Cicero.²² These were obviously rhetorical flourishes, but this does not alter the fact that Pontanus must have been a gifted preacher. In 1720 his pupil Cornelis de Wit, who was a minister in Berkel, wrote that Pontanus had learnt from his teacher Vossius always to go straight to the heart of things, abiding by the maxim 'do not tell me what the matter of which you speak is not, but what it is'. He even

asserted that the success of the Remonstrant Church was due in no small measure to the way Pontanus had performed his duties, and described him as the soul of the Remonstrant Brotherhood.²³

Nevertheless Pontanus was not a man who put himself forward, and we have others to thank for the fact that some of his sermons appeared in print. After Pontanus retired, Johannes Brandt published a substantial volume



Fig. 7
JAN LUYKEN,
Title plate of
Pontanus's XL.
Bedenkingen,
1702. Engraving,
188 x 143 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-08-45.010).



Fig. 8
CHRISTOFFEL
LUBIENITSKI,
Portrait of Philippus
van Limborch, c. 1705.
Oil on canvas,
105.5 x 85 cm.
Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
(on permanent loan
from the Remonstrant
Congregation,
Rotterdam, inv. no.
SPKK S2).

– almost 700 pages – in which he had collected 40 of Pontanus's sermons (fig. 7) that he had written out on the basis of Pontanus's miscellaneous notes. ²⁴ It had taken some considerable arm-twisting to get Pontanus to consent to this. ²⁵ Long after Pontanus's death De Wit edited two more collections of his sermons. ²⁶

Pontanus demonstrated on more than one occasion that his position as a cleric was most important to him when he was asked to use his knowledge for the benefit of the seminary. The task of examiner and guardian were self-evidently part of this,²⁷ but when

he was asked in 1663 to teach Greek, Latin, Hebrew and philosophy he made it clear that his job as a minister took precedence; he stepped down a year later when it became clear that he could not successfully combine teaching and preaching.28 Despite this, at the end of 1666 he was chosen to succeed the late Andries Poelenburg as professor of theology. After just six months Pontanus let it be known that he was resigning this post because his work as a minister was suffering. He proposed appointing Philippus van Limborch (1633-1712, fig. 8) on terms that meant he could devote all his time and energy



Fig. 9
CHRISTOFFEL
LUBIENITSKI,
Portrait of Isaac
Pontanus, c. 1700.
Oil on canvas,
52 x 43 cm.
Remonstrant
Congregation,
Rotterdam.

to teaching.²⁹ Van Limborch, unlike Pontanus, was a scholar to the core and rapidly proved to be the right man in the right place. He raised the standard of the seminary, among other things by publishing *Theologia Christiana* (1686), the book that definitively formulated the Remonstrant doctrine. There was no longer any question of a merger with other churches.

Pontanus's long career ran parallel to the gradual, permanent establishment of the Remonstrant community in the Netherlands. It was abruptly cut short in 1698, when he was struck down by a serious illness, possibly a stroke, which left him incapable of preaching.³⁰ Four years later his ministry officially came to an end and he retired.

Paterfamilias

In the early days in Amsterdam Pontanus lived on Oudezijds Voorburgwal. After a few years he moved his growing family into a house on Keizersgracht that belonged to the church. His wife Elisabeth died there at the end of July 1668.³¹ He remained there as a widower with his five still young daughters until his marriage to Maria Ansloo on 22 March 1672. Some seven years older than he, she had been a widow



Fig. 10 REMBRANDT VAN RIJN, Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert, 1633. Oil on canvas, 130 x 103 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (acquired with the support of the Rembrandt Society, made possible in part by the Prins Bernhard Fonds, the VSBfonds, the Rijksmuseum Foundation, the government and private donors, inv. no. sk-A-4885).

> for 20 years, and had a son, Jacob, by her first husband, Dirk Leeuw.³² The whole family moved in with her in her house on Lauriergracht, the presentday number 80.³³ Maria died in 1702, but Isaac continued to live in the house until his death.³⁴

Two portraits of Pontanus have survived – the double portrait with his grandson Hendrik (fig. 2) and one of him on his own (fig. 9). There are striking similarities between the two. He is shown at home, not in his official capacity, and in both cases he wears a Japanese silk robe with a cravat and sits in front of a bookcase.

That he is not shown as a clergyman is certainly remarkable – and not just because Pontanus was important to the Remonstrant congregation as a minister. In this church, more than any other, there was a tradition of portraying clerics in their official garb, as we see, for instance, in the portraits of Johannes Wtenbogaert (fig. 10), one of the founders of the Brotherhood, and Pontanus's close colleagues Brandt and Van Limborch (figs. 6 and 8).³⁵

The informality is easily explained in Michiel van Musscher's 1689 double portrait. It was, after all, a gift to Pontanus's own grandson and designed for the lid of the box in which the gold medallion he had given him was kept. The reason for the other portrait can only be conjectured. It was painted later, as Pontanus's grey hair shows, and remained in the family after his death. In 1720 it was bequeathed to the Remonstrant Congregation of Rotterdam, where it remains to this day.36 The relaxed, domestic atmosphere and the reference to scholarship, or at least wide reading, notwithstanding, this portrait does contain an allusion to his profession and calling. With his right hand he points to the Bible; on the page of the open book before him we read the word Genesis. Perhaps a link was being made with his retirement in 1702, the end of his long career in the church, although it is difficult to reconcile the beginning - the first book of the Bible - and the end. The painting is not dated, but it is signed, although the signature is hardly legible. One can however recognise it as the signature of Christoffel Lubienitzki (1660/1661-after 1729), son of the Polish liberal Stanislas Lubienitzki with whom Pontanus was in touch around 1670. Also, the way Pontanus is posed and the manner in which his hands have been painted are very reminiscent of other portraits by Lubienitzki. He was himself a Remonstrant and, like Van Musscher, frequently painted other Remonstrants, among them Van Limborch (fig. 8) and some of Geeraert Brandt's sons; he lived not far from Pontanus, in Tweede Rozendwarsstraat. Later he was involved on behalf of the Remonstrant Congregation in administering the annuities of Pontanus's youngest daughters.37

These daughters' legacies included part of Pontanus's library – what his grandson Hendrik had been left was auctioned separately in 1719.³⁸ Needless to say Isaac owned numerous religious works, predominantly by Remonstrants, but he also had a great many books by classical authors

like Plutarch, Tacitus, Seneca and Epictetus, by thinkers like Erasmus, Socinus, Hobbes and Descartes, and by Dutch authors like Cats, Vondel and Hooft. It is also interesting to note that he owned a copy of the Koran, confirming the impression given by the Latin inscriptions he had had engraved on the medallion for his grandson: Pontanus was a man with wide-ranging, humanist interests.

The two portraits not only show Pontanus's erudition, they also reveal that he was a relatively affluent man. The elegant Japanese robe he wears in the larger portrait looks expensive. The size of the gold medallion also indicates wealth. As a minister he was paid an annual salary of 1,500 guilders, including rent, and he received a pension of 800 guilders after he retired.39 Set against the yearly income of an average artisan - around 300 guilders this is a considerable amount; nonetheless, one would not get really rich on it. It is, of course, possible that his father had left him a comfortable little fortune in 1648 but there is no evidence of this. We do, though, know that he owned several pieces of land which he leased out.40 It is also perfectly possible that his second marriage brought him greater prosperity. Both spouses were taxed in class 1 at their burials, indicating that they were well-to-do.41

During the last years of his life certainly after the death of his wife in 1702 - Pontanus, now old and frail, was nursed by his daughter Catharina. Starting in 1704 she kept an accurate record of all income and expenditure from which, among other things, it emerges that she paid herself an allowance of 300 guilders each year 'for a year's care for Papa', and also that he got a new Japanese satin robe in June 1704 (13 guilders) and a nightcap in February 1708.42 One of the last items in these accounts is for the poem and epitaph that Claas Bruin wrote at the relatives' request. The epitaph, which probably only ever appeared in print,

again summoned up the image of a modest, friendly, peace-loving man.⁴³

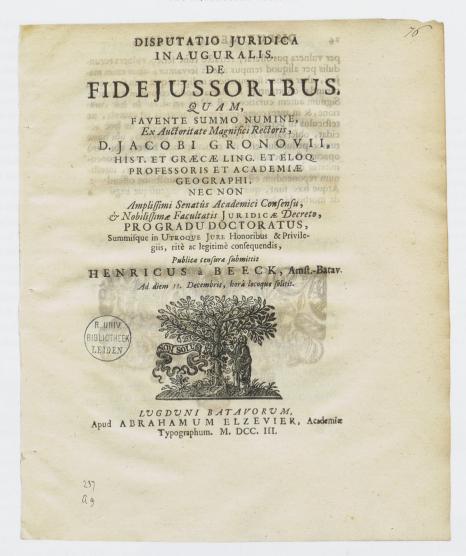
Grandson

Although Pontanus had five daughters, he was not to have many descendants. Only two of his daughters got married -Maria to Willem Swartepaart in 1674, Catharina five years later to the then 30-year-old Hendrik van Beek.44 Both sons-in-law came from Mennonite, not Remonstrant families.45 Maria and Willem had one child, Judith, but she did not survive into adulthood and probably died in her teens. Little Hendrik was Catharina and her husband's only child. Hendrik Senior was a silk dyer and in 1678, as the eldest son, had inherited De Pelikaan dve works, a business his mother had managed for years after the death of her husband, Jacob. 46 De Pelikaan

was also on Lauriergracht, at what is now number 84 (fig. 11), so Catharina and Hendrik met as neighbours. Their son was two when Hendrik died in March 1682.47 The 25-year-old Catharina suddenly found herself alone with a little boy to bring up and a business to run. Fortunately, her father immediately assumed his son-in-law's responsibility for young Hendrik.48 This fact sheds a very different light on the medallion and the accompanying portrait. They were not simply a generous gesture on the part of a loving grandfather; the two objects were also and above all a reflection of the role that Pontanus had assumed in the boy's life. The protective hand on the boy's shoulder must be construed literally, and the grandfather was directly responsible for the future of his grandson expressed on the medallion.

Fig. 11 J.D.C. VELTENS, The Beuker & Hulshoff sugar refinery on Lauriergracht in 1880, with to its immediate right the building that was the home of Catharina Pontanus and the location of De Pelikaan dye works around 1700, c. 1850-70. Oil on canvas, 70 x 90 cm. Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam (inv. no. sa 1763).





Catharina continued to run the dye works herself, as we see from the substantial amounts outstanding for 'dyeing fees' and the money subsequently entered as receipts from the Silk Hall, where all silk was inspected.⁴⁹ Dyeing silk was an important part of the silk-making process; it preceded the weaving stage and was strictly regulated, in part because of the huge sums involved – it was a luxury industry.50 Several members of the Van Beek family worked in this branch, some of them very successfully.51 It was a highly lucrative business, which may help explain the fine clothes worn by grandfather and grandson in the portraits. The birthday boy Hendrik is particularly splendidly dressed, with his gold-embroidered blue bow tie, lace jabot and lace cuffs, likewise embellished with gold thread.

Pontanus, though, had a very different career in mind for his grandson. Hendrik was probably sent to the Latin school at quite a young age; when he was about fifteen he attended the Athenaeum Illustre.⁵² This was an essential preliminary to the next step – studying law at the University of Leiden.⁵³ Hendrik enrolled for the law course on 18 September 1702

Fig. 12
Title page of
Hendrik van Beek's
dissertation, 1703.
Leiden University
Library (signature
237 A 9: 76).

and on 11 December 1703 he publicly defended his thesis and was awarded his doctoral degree in law.54 The subject of this dissertation was not exactly original - between 1700 and 1710 no fewer than 18 other students wrote their theses on De Fideiussoribus (On Guarantors) in Leiden (fig. 12).55 Nevertheless, this day and this piece of work can be regarded as the successful conclusion of Hendrik's education and hence as a triumph for his grandfather. Hendrik made sure that he shared in the celebrations, dedicating his thesis to him and making it clear just how much he owed him. Isaac, in turn, 'as affectionate towards you as a father', congratulated his grandson on this fine result - in Latin, just as he had done on the gold medallion. Again, in a rather moralizing tone, he wished him great prosperity as a 'vigilant and alert servant of the law [and] a faithful upholder of justice ... filled with what is noble and good, steadfast in prosperity and adversity [and] ready to offer help to the unfortunate.' He ended his poem with the heartrending words: 'I end - yet is there any end to the profession of my affection? I end - could a grandfather ever be sated in (expressing) his good wishes?'56

His grandfather's goal appeared to have been achieved and Hendrik's career appeared to get off to a flying start. Within a week of his graduation he was sworn in as a lawyer at the Court of Holland in The Hague, whereupon he set up in practice in Amsterdam.57 Something over four years later, on 25 January 1708, he was also appointed as a notary.58 He subsequently practised both professions in tandem. Unfortunately we know nothing about his activities as a lawyer, whereas in all probability they were the most important - Hendrik certainly presented himself as such. The files he dealt with as a notary have, though, survived. On the basis of this evidence, one can hardly say that Hendrik was successful. In his first year he handled

21 cases, while the two notaries who were appointed at the same time dealt with more than twice and almost four times as many. Hendrik's activities as a notary actually plummeted in 1711 and continued to decline to virtually none in 1715.59 It is also noticeable that the cases he did take had very little substance to them. It may be that he devoted all his attention to his work as a lawyer, but a successful advocate would surely have had a thriving practice as a notary too. What seems more likely is that the dve works took up a great deal of his time, for at the beginning of 1717 he let it be known that his mother had suffered a stroke after the death of her father and was no longer capable of managing the business herself.60

In other respects, too, Hendrik suffered disappointments and things did not go as well as he had no doubt hoped. He never married, although he did father a daughter in 1706. The little girl – Henderina Elisabeth – was baptized in the Catholic clandestine church called De Krijtberg, a highly unusual venue for the child of a Remonstrant father. The mother. Johanna Hacquart, must have come from a Catholic family. Shortly after his appointment as a notary, the city authorities had ordered Hendrik to reach a settlement with her, in which he paid 150 guilders for deflowering her and for the costs of the confinement, and a further 110 guilders a year in alimony until Henderina was 16.61 Henderina always bore Hendrik's surname, but he did not mention her in his will.62

Hendrik's life was a relatively short one. He died on 7 August 1718, at the age of 38.⁶³ He was reasonably well off and was buried as a lawyer with the associated rights. The cost of the funeral amounted to very substantial 275 guilders.⁶⁴ This does not alter the fact that the boy on whom Pontanus had pinned all his hopes and for whom he had gone to extraordinary lengths

had not had a family of his own, had strayed from the path of moral rectitude and had not been able to pursue the career of which he had dreamed. Hendrik's life seems to have ended in a minor key.

Legacy

At around six in the evening of 12 March 1717, over a year before his death, Hendrik had entrusted the notary R. van Paddenburg with a sealed document that was only to be opened after his death.65 Its contents exposed deep discord between Pontanus's daughters. Hendrik named his mother as his sole heir and stipulated in minute detail that his two aunts, Magdalena and Sara, might 'never, ever, in perpetuity' inherit 'anything, be it as a whole, be it in part, yes, down to the least spoon handle, so to speak' from him or his mother.66 He accused them of having caused his mother to have a stroke by the way they had treated her. Six years earlier, shortly after Pontanus's death, mother and son had together drawn up a will in which they had appointed one another as their heirs and instructed that, upon their deaths, Catharina's older sisters Maria and Elisabeth and after them the Remonstrant Brotherhood could lay claim to the estate.⁶⁷ Catharina's two younger sisters were not mentioned at all. As early as 1697 Sara and Magdalena had themselves drawn up a will in which each named the other as her heir, a disposition that they confirmed in broad outline in 1714 and in 1719.68 This would all seem to indicate that the sisters were quarrelling among themselves even while their father was alive.

When Hendrik revoked his earlier will in March 1717, his two older aunts were both dead. Elisabeth died at the beginning of 1714, when she was about 55; the 60-year-old Maria passed away a year later. They must both have been living in impoverished circumstances, since in both cases the family had to

step in to ensure they had a decent burial. ⁶⁹ One of the reasons for this was that their father's estate had still not been settled and divided. It was not until 2 October 1715, more than five years after Isaac's death, that an agreement was reached between Catharina on the one hand and Sara and Magdalena on the other – an agreement which, to judge from Hendrik's words, must have been arrived at with the greatest reluctance. ⁷⁰

In April 1717 Hendrik had stipulated in a new sealed statement that the Remonstrant Congregation in Rotterdam would get all his possessions after the death of his mother, even though, as far as we can discover, neither he himself nor his grandfather had had any special ties with Rotterdam.71 His will had to be executed remarkably soon after his death, for his mother, Catharina, died within the month.72 Whatever the precise reason for these regrettable goings-on may have been, Hendrik's efforts to cut his aunts out proved to have been in vain when the Remonstrants refused his bequest. They did, though, endeavour to find a solution that would as far as possible not offend all the remaining parties. Eventually it was agreed that the whole estate of mother and son should be shared equally between the two surviving sisters - Sara and Magdalena and the Brotherhood, even though this ran counter to Hendrik's express instructions.73 Most of the effects were sold at auction. Among the few items held back from the sale was the gold medallion in a silver box, with the double portrait of the clergyman and his grandson on the lid. The Rotterdam Remonstrants gave the items to the two sisters, but let it be known that they would like to have them back - and would be prepared to pay for them after their deaths.74

This arrangement was made not a moment too soon, for Sara died at the age of 56 in the last days of 1719.⁷⁵ Not long before this, she and her sister

Magdalena had drawn up a new will. In it each again made the other her sole and universal heir and instructed that on the deaths of both of them their estate should go to the Collegiant orphanage De Oranjeappel on Keizersgracht in Amsterdam.76 There is an unarguable smell of acrimony here. Their father, after all, had turned against the Collegiants in no uncertain terms, whereas his youngest daughters evidently had a great deal of sympathy with this movement - so much, that they wanted to leave it all their worldly goods, which they had largely inherited from him. Perhaps this was one of the causes of the estrangement in the family ranks.

In the end, things were not as bad as they appeared. Three weeks after Sara's death, Magdalena decided to make yet another new will in which there was no mention of any bequest to the Collegiant orphanage.⁷⁷ The beneficiary was now the Remonstrant Congregation in Amsterdam.⁷⁸ A mere two weeks later, on 5 February, Magdalena too was buried in the Westerkerk.⁷⁹ Within ten years of Isaac Pontanus's death, every member of his family – sister, daughters, grandson – was dead!

The Remonstrant Congregation became the executor of the estate, which proved to be worth over 5,000 guilders. The Remonstrant Church in Rotterdam received as a bequest the portrait of Pontanus and the double portrait of him and his grandson – in line with Hendrik's wishes. One might conclude from this and from the fact that Magdalena's estate included the letters from Pontanus to Catharina and to Hendrik, that Hendrik's hatred of his aunts was not mutual.

Be that as it may, this is how it comes about that the portrait of a minister who spent the best part of half a century preaching in Amsterdam still hangs in a church in Rotterdam. The medallion and the little double portrait also remained there until 1981,

when they were stolen along with a number of other treasures. In time the objects found their way into the art trade. The Rijksmuseum acquired the set in 2008 as a gift from the Rembrandt Society on the occasion of its 125th anniversary – a gift made possible by Tefaf Maastricht. At that time, regrettably, no one was aware of the burglary in 1981. The facts only came to light in the course of the research underpinning the present article. Happily, the Remonstrant Congregation of Rotterdam has declared its willingness to leave the ensemble with the Rijksmuseum - a gesture for which the museum is greatly indebted to the church.

The end of the Pontanus family certainly had a number of bizarre features that conspired to determine the fate of the medallion and the little portrait. How it came about that the deaths of mother and son occurred in such a short space of time, followed a mere 18 months later by the youngest sisters, what was the precise cause of the bitter family discord and what persuaded Magdalena to change her will in favour of the Amsterdam Remonstrants at the last moment - these are things we do not know. What is clear is that the harmony which Pontanus strove for as a minister of the church and as a man was conspicuously absent from his own family. The medallion and the double portrait, meanwhile, remain the tangible evidence of the affection in which Pontanus and Hendrik held one another and symbolize the way of life Pontanus aspired to. His story proves, however, that life seldom turns out as one hopes and expects.

NOTES

- 1 'Kust onse lieve Heineman van mijnent wegen hertelijk en seght dat sijn Otepatge hoopt, dat hij vast braaf in sijn lesen voortgaet, en dat wij op onse studeerkamer weer in alle fraye boekken met malkander sullen lesen.' Amsterdam City Archives (ACA), 612 Remonstrant Congregation Archive, 562 (Magdalena Pontanus Bequest file).
- 2 'Kan het voor ons beide nut sijn, so wensche ick van herten dat het in vele jaren voor het laetste niet magh sijn, en langhen tijt so continueren dat den inhout van onse brieven so aengenaem altijt sij als de eerste mael, maer hoe lanx hoe gewightiger van stoffe.'
- 3 Inv. nos. NG-2008-40 and 41. The two pieces are a gift from the Rembrandt Society facilitated by the generosity of Tefaf Maastricht, and made possible by the Remonstrant Congregation in Rotterdam. See also Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 56 (2008), pp. 481-83, and Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt (2009), no. 1, pp. 18-20.
- 4 Ex filia| Catharina| nepoti suavissimo| Henrico van Beek| post secundum quadriennium| tertii natalitia| celebranti ipso intercalari| die| anni mdclxxxviii| d.d.| in aviti favoris| monumentum| Is. Pontanus. ('To his beloved grandson, son of (his) daughter Catharina, Hendrik van Beek, who celebrates his third birthday after his second quadrennium on this the intercalcary day of the year 1688, from Isaac Pontanus as a sign of grandfatherly favour.' The English is derived from a translation into Dutch from the Latin by Dr A.H. Wesseling, University of Amsterdam.)
- 5 Cresce Puer, virtute Deo, pietate Parenti|
 Charus, amore tuis, integritate bonis;|
 Omnibus innocuus, studiis nutritus honestis;|
 Fortunae invicta mente utriusque capax.| Dum superest haec vita probus, post Fata beatus;|
 Audiat haec clemens seria vota Deus! 'Αιεν άριστεύειν κάι ὑπειροχον έμμεναι άλλων.
- 6 These dates for Pontanus's birth and death are given in C. Bruin, 'Op 't afsterven van den eerwaardigen, geleerden en godvruchtigen heere Isaak Pontanus' in his Zede-dichten, Amsterdam 1721 (2nd edition), p. 383. For Pontanus's burial see ACA Burial Registers 1103/15v. The various biographical publications on Pontanus, most of them very brief, always estimate the year of his birth as c. 1625; the year of death is sometimes given as 1711; it is October 1710 in the most recent:

- Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme, volume 3, Kampen 1988, pp. 297-98, with references to earlier literature.
- 7 Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV, The Hague 1875, p. 146.
- 8 See G.J. Hoenderdaal and P.M. Luca (eds.), Staat in de vrijheid; de geschiedenis van de remonstranten, Zutphen 1982, pp. 9-55 (prosecutions in Leiden: p. 62), and T.G. Kootte (ed.), Rekkelijk of precies. Remonstranten en contraremonstranten ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt, Utrecht 1994, pp. 9-35.
- 9 ACA 612/2 (Resolutions of the Remonstrant Congregation Council), pp. 65 and 67; Isaac was entered in the register as 'the son of Symon Pontanus', which seems to suggest that his father had been involved with the church for some time.
- 10 M. van Doorninck and E. Kuijpers, De geschoolde stad. Onderwijs in Amsterdam in de Gouden Eeuw, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 72-75, 80.
- II ACA Burial Registers 1100A/8; Simon Pontanus lived in Berenstraat and was buried in the Westerkerk on 9 May 1648. The decision to send Pontanus to Oude Wetering was taken on 23 June 1648: ACA 612/2 (note 9), p. 88; Pontanus was one of two students to graduate that year: see J. Tideman, De Remonstrantsche Broederschap. Biographische Naamlijst van hare professoren, predikanten en proponenten, Haarlem 1847, p. 366.
- 12 ACA 612/2 (note 9), p. 95 (18 May 1649); J. Tideman, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 330, 366; Hoenderdaal, op. cit. (note 8), p. 51; see also C. Thomsen, Friedrichstadt. Ein historischer Stadtbegleiter, Heide 2001.
- 13 ACA 612/2 (note 9), pp. 127 (7 November 1653), 333; Utrechts Archief (UA), 82 (Remonstrant Brotherhood Archive) 48 (Transcripts of the Proceedings of the Grand Council), pp. 194 (28 May 1652), 212 (6 August 1652); Tideman, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 202, 229.
- 14 The wedding took place on 27 January 1654 (information kindly supplied by E. Lassingvan Gameren, Streekarchief Voorne-Putten and Rozenburg); Elisabeth Gouwenaar was admitted as a member of the Remonstrant Congregation in Amsterdam on 4 June 1654 (ACA 612/295 (Register of Members), p. 77). According to the notice of her marriage published that year, Maria was 20 in 1674 (ACA Banns 689/261), but she was baptized

in Den Briel on 20 June 1655 (Streekarchief VPR 160/2/73 (Remonstrant Brotherhood Brielle Baptismal Register)); Catharina was baptized in Amsterdam on 21 April 1656 (ACA Baptismal Registers 301/65); the other three children were baptized when they were more than 20 years old: Elisabeth on 27 February 1681 (ibid. 301/61) and Magdalena and Sara together on 1 December 1684 (ibid. 301/177). The three who died in infancy were buried on 13 November 1657, 11 June 1665 and 19 April 1667 (ACA Burial Registers 1055/99, 1101/29 and 1101/49).

- 15 ACA 612/2 (note 9), pp. 333-40.
- 16 See Utrechts Archief 82/2 (Remonstrant Society Book 1668-97).
- 17 UA 82/48 (note 13), pp. 458, 480.
- 18 I. Pontanus, Aensprake tot de Vereenigde Duidtsche, Friesche en Waterlandtsche Gemeenten, in Tractaet van de sichtbare Kerke Christi..., Amsterdam 1660, pp. 176, 191.
- 19 Jonathan I. Israel, Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750, Oxford 2001, pp. 342-43; Lucie J.N.K. van Aken, De remonstrantse broederschap in verleden en heden, Amsterdam 1947, p. 81.
- 20 The full title of Pontanus's book is Tractaet van de sichtbare Kerke Christi op aerden, mitsgaders de Ampten, Diensten en Ceremonien der selve, tot Wederlegginge van het gevoelen door Dr. Galenus, en David Spruit, voorgestelt in hare XIX Artikelen, en de naerder Verklaringe der selve. Benevens een Aensprake tot de Vereenighde Duitsche, Friesche, en Waterlantsche Gemeenten. Ook van de Vrijheidt van Spreeken in de Gemeente der Geloovigen, tegen Laurentius Klinkhamer ('Treatise on the visible Church of Christ on Earth, moreover the Offices, Services and Ceremonies of the same, in Rebuttal of the opinions of Dr Galenus, and David Spruit, put forward in their XIX Articles, and the further Explanation of the same. And also an Address to the United German, Frisian and Waterland Congregations. Also on the Freedom of Speech in the Congregation of the Faithful, against Laurentius Klinkhamer'), Amsterdam 1660; Biografisch lexicon (note 6), volume 3, pp. 127-29 (Galenus) and volume 4, p. 256 (Klinkhamer). Other polemics against Klinkhamer were published by Daniel Zwicker and Passchier de Fijne. Klinkhamer himself responded to Pontanus in the 288-page Verdediging van de vryheijt van spreken in de gemeente der gelovigen ofte een Antwoordt waarin de argumenten welcke Isaacus Pontanus tegen de selve heeft uytgegeven, worde ondersocht ende de waar-

- heydt der Geboden, Exempelen ende Redenenen van de vryheijdt meerder bevestigt ('Defence of the Freedom of Speech in the Congregation of the Faithful, or an Answer in which the arguments Isaacus Pontanus has advanced against the same are investigated and the truth of the Examples and Reasons Presented for such freedom is further confirmed'), Amsterdam 1662. Although his colleagues urged Pontanus to write a rebuttal, he seems to have declined the challenge:
- 21 Pontanus himself certainly did not avoid contacts with people of different religious persuasions. In 1668, for instance, he and his close colleague Geeraert Brandt acted as witnesses to the contract between the Polishborn free-thinker Stanislas Lubienitzki (1623-1675) and his publisher Frans Kuyper (1629-1691) for the publication of Lubienitzki's Theatrum Cometicum. The work focused largely on Socinianism, a religious movement akin to Collegianism, but Brandt and Pontanus supported the Polish author. See A.D.A. de Vries, 'Biografische aantekeningen betreffende voornamelijk Amsterdamsche schilders, plaatsnijders, enz. en hunne verwanten' in Oud-Holland 1885, p. 225; I.O. van Regteren Altena and P.J.J. van Thiel, De portret-galerij van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en haar stichter Gerard van Papenbroeck, Amsterdam 1964, pp. 193-95; Pontanus and Lubienitzki were still corresponding about this in 1670 (letter from Pontanus to Lubienitzki in Copenhagen dated 28 October 1670, Leiden University Library SEM 63).
- 22 G. Brandt, Poëzy, Amsterdam 1688, p. 311; in 1701 his son Johannes (1660-1708), who followed in his father's footsteps in 1696 and hence also became a colleague of Pontanus's, produced a bon mot worthy of his father: 'Pontaan hing aan zyn tong de Kerken op by d'ooren' ('Pontanus hung the churches by their ears from his tongue'): K. and J. Brandt, Poëzy, Amsterdam 1725, p. 185.
- 23 '...zeg me niet, wat de zaak, waer gy van spreekt, niet is, maar wat ze is.' C. de Wit, 'De uitgever aan den lezer' in I. Pontanus, Eenige Predikatien, of Bedenkingen, over de gelykenissen van den verloren zoon en den rykeman en Lazarus, Rotterdam 1721. For a critical 19th-century opinion of Pontanus's sermons see J. Hartog, Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde in de Protestantsche Kerk van Nederland, Utrecht 1887 (2nd edition), pp. 166-70.
- 24 I. Pontanus, XL. Bedenkingen over verscheide stoffen van het H. Out Verbont, endigende met

- de histori van Josefs leven, Amsterdam 1702.
- 25 J. Brandt, 'Opdragt aan de Gemeente der Remonstranten t'Amsterdam' in Pontanus, op. cit. (note 24).
- 26 Davids bespiegelingen van maan en sterren, mitsgaders zyn verwondering over 's menschen heerlykheit, verhandelt in eenen bedenkinge over Psalm VIII.V. 4-7, Rotterdam 1717, and Eenige predikatien (see note 23).
- 27 See Utrechts Archief 82, 1471 (Transcript of various discussions about the seminary in the Remonstrant Brotherhood).
- 28 UA 82/48 (note 13); ACA 612/2 (note 9), pp. 170, 172 (25 February 1663 and 20 May 1663); Van Doorninck and Kuijpers, op.cit. (note 10), pp. 81-82.
- 29 ACA 612/2 (note 9), pp. 185, 190 (14 November 1666, 10 July 1667); UA 82/48 (note 13), pp. 560 (16/17 November 1666), 568 (12/14 July 1667); see also H.C. Diferee, Drie eeuwen kerkgeschiedenis 1630 8 september 1930. Gedenkboek van het 300-jarig bestaan der remonstrantsch-gereformeerde gemeente te Amsterdam, Amsterdam [1930], pp. 154-55.
- 30 ACA 612/3 (Church Council Resolutions), 1 September 1698; 'Dedication' by J. Brandt in Pontanus, op. cit. (note 23).
- 31 ACA 378. WK/39 2-8-1668 (Register of Burials, Westerkerk). The author is greatly indebted to R. Lambour and J. Wit, both of Amsterdam, for their generosity in making this information available to him and sharing other archive finds with him.
- 32 ACA Notice of Marriage 688/322 (3 March 1672); see also G. Brandt, 'Ter bruiloft van den eerwaarden here Isaacus Pontanus ... and joffrou Maria Ansloo' in ibid., *Poēzy*, Amsterdam 1688, pp. 311-12. Maria Ansloo was 20 when she was baptized: ACA Baptismal Registers 301/19 (7 September 1639).
- 33 ACA 612/2 (note 9), 3 March 1672. R. Lambour kindly provided me with information about the present house number (see note 31).
- 34 ACA Register of Burials 1057/88; Maria Ansloo was buried in the Westerkerk on 2 May 1702.
- 35 See M. van der Meij-Tolsma, 'Een gemeente gespiegeld in haar voorgangers. De portrettencollectie van de Remonstrantse Gemeente Rotterdam', in T. Barnard and E. Cossee (eds.), Arminianen in de Maasstad. De Remonstrantse Gemeente Rotterdam, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 189-258.
- 36 Will of Magdalena Pontanus dated 22 January 1720, in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 37 The Netherlands Institute for Art History likewise names Lubienitzki as the painter of this portrait (see http://www.rkd.nl);

- cf. also this portrait and that of an unknown man in sale cat. Christie's Amsterdam 10 May 2006, no. 108; for the annuities: ACA 612/3 (note 30), 16 July 1719.
- 38 'Register van boecken etc. op de kerkekamer vercogt den 14 Maij 1720' in ACA 612/562 (note 1); this sale of 114 lots altogether was held after the death of Pontanus's last surviving daughter. According to an advertisement in the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, Hendrik's library was sold by Wetstein in Kalverstraat between 28 and 30 March 1719 (UBA, Bibl. Kon. Ver. v.h. Boekenvak, Archief Boekverkopergilde B 96); in the account of income and expenditure ('Reekening van Ontfang & Uitgaaff...') drawn up after his death (ACA 612/562, note 1), there is an entry for the transport of these books dated 25 March 1719.
- 39 ACA 612/353 (Remonstrant Congregation Ledger), fo. 30, 76.
- 40 See e.g. Streekarchief Voorne-Putten 043, inv. no. 38, no. 572, deed dated 16 January 1720 concerning the sale of these pieces of land.
- 41 Both were taxed 30 guilders. Cf. S. Hart, 'Een sociale structuur van de Amsterdamse bevolking in de 18° eeuw', in ibid., *Geschrift* en getal, Dordrecht 1976, pp. 183-87.
- 42 Record of income and expenditure 1704-1710, in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 43 C. Bruin, op.cit. (note 6), p. 383; see also previous note.
- 44 ACA Notice of Marriage 689/261 (4 October 1674); ibid. 691/203 (30 March 1679).
- 45 Information kindly supplied by R. Lambour.
- 46 ACA 5075/2000 (notary J. van Loosdrecht), will of Maria de Rijcker [Hendrik van Beek Senior's mother] 28 April 1678; this will also contained the inventory of the dye works.

 Maria de Rijcker died on 18 June of that year; with many thanks to R. Lambour for this information. Shortly after her death, Hendrik Senior registered as a burgher: ACA Poorterboek 4/491 (7 July 1678).
- 47 ACA Burial Registers 1102/105 (28 March 1682).
- 48 See also ACA 5004/25, Burial Register, Board of Orphans (Weeskamer), fo. 197 (21 July 1682).
- 49 'Reekening van Ontfang & Uitgaaff... 1718', in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 50 See L. van Nierop, 'De zijdenijverheid van Amsterdam historisch geschetst; de bloeitijd 1648-1730', Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 46 (1931), pp. 28-55, for silk-dyeing in particular pp. 28-40.
- 51 This emerges from genealogical data on the Van Beeck family collected by R. Lambour,

- to which he generously gave me access.
- 52 Van Doorninck and E. Kuijpers, op.cit. (note 10), pp. 65-71.
- 53 According to W. Frijhoff, 'Het Amsterdamse Athenaeum in het academisch landschap van de zeventiende eeuw', in E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, Athenaeum Illustre. Elf studies over de Amsterdamse Doorluchtige School 1632-1877, Amsterdam, 1997, p. 41, most young men from Amsterdam who studied in Leiden were in their early twenties; this would point to the continuation of a course at the Athenaeum, which did not offer law; W. Otterspeer, Groepsportret met Dame ii. De vesting van de macht. De Leidse universiteit, 1673-1775, Amsterdam 2002, p. 211, states that around 1700 the average age of law students was 22.
- 54 Album studiosorum (note 7), p. 771; Leiden University Library, University Archive ASF 349 (Catalogus promotorum). See also Otterspeer, op. cit. (note 53), pp. 213, 218-19.
- 55 See www.picarta.nl.
- 56 The Latin text reads: Auspiciis laetis Themidi sacrandus alumnus/ Ipse praeis: votis te comitetur Avus. | Perge Nepos: Felix caeptis, felicior insta: | Hoc quod es ingressus perfice gnavus iter. | Perge Nepos: vigilans legum vegetusque minister;| Justi Aequique bona Tutor ubique fide. | Perge Nepos: generoso animos imbutus honesto; | Fortunae stabili mente utriusque capax.| Tandem perge Nepos miseris succurrere promptus, Ipse Deus meriti sic tibi Sponsor erit. | Desino: nam quis erit testandi finis amoris? Desino: nam votis quis satietur Avus? ('Under auspicious omens, ready to be dedicated to Themis, Go ahead: your grandfather will accompany you with congratulations. Go forth, my grandson, persevere with success in what you have so successfully begun, Follow the road diligently to the end. Go forth, my grandson, as a vigilant and alert servant of the law, Wherever you may go, be a faithful upholder of justice. Go forth, my grandson, your heart filled with what is noble and good, steadfast in prosperity and adversity. So go forth, my grandson, ready to offer help to the unfortunate, Then God himself will be your help and stay. I end - yet is there any end to the profession of my affection? I end – could a grandfather ever be sated in (expressing) his good wishes?' The English is derived from a translation into Dutch from the Latin by Dr A.H. Wesseling, University of Amsterdam.)
- 57 National Archives The Hague (NA) 3.03.01.01 (Court of Holland Archive), 5935 (Register of Advocates), 18 December 1703

- 58 NA 3.03.01.01/5931 (Register of Notaries), fo. 17v0; ACA 5024 (Burgomasters' Minutes) 25 January 1708.
- 59 The Van Beek files are held in ACA 5075, inv. no. 8067; those of his colleague Burghout in ibid., inv. no. 7836, and of Brooks in ibid., inv. no. 7887.
- 60 ACA 5075/8202 (notary R. van Paddenburgh), deed of opening dated 14 August 1718 of the will of Hendrik van Beek of 12 March 1717. I am indebted to R. Lambour, who brought this document to my attention.
- 61 'Transactie tusschen Johanna Hacquart en Mr. Hendrik van Beecq' 21 March 1708, in ACA 5075/7215 (notary Pieter van Aken); Henderina had two sons, each by a different father, in 1727 and in 1729; both were baptized as Catholics (ACA Baptismal Registers 319/167 no. 4 and 319/193 no. 14).
- 62 ACA Baptismal Registers 368/21 no. 14 (8 September 1706).
- 63 ACA Burial Registers 1103/37 (11 August 1718).
- 64 See note 49.
- 65 See note 6o.
- 66 '... nimmer, nooit, nog in eeuwigheijd iets, 't sij int geheel, 't sij ten deele ja om soo te spreeken tot de minste leepelsteel toe.'
- 67 Will of Catharina Pontanus and Hendrik van Beek 13 May 1711, in ACA 5075/5633 (notary J. Commelin).
- 68 Will of Sara and Magdalena Pontanus
 4 June 1697, in ACA 612/562 (note 1); will of
 Magdalena and Sara Pontanus and Debora
 Feijtama 21 March 1714, in ibid.; will of
 Magdalena and Sara Pontanus 1 December
 1719, in ibid.; both were also the sole heirs
 of their aunt Sara, as her official last will
 of 1717 reveals: will of Sara Pontanus
 4 November 1717, in ibid.
- 69 Deeds drawn up by Catharina Pontanus before notary Pieter van Aken dated 12 February 1714 and 26 October 1717 (Elisabeth), and by Hendrik van Beek before Pieter van Aken dated 7 February 1715 (Maria), in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 70 Agreement between Catharina Pontanus and Sara and Magdalena Pontanus dated 2 October 1715, in ACA 612/562 (note 1); on the same day an agreement was also signed between the three sisters and Maria's brother-in-law, married to her husband's sister, and Aunt Sara officially agreed to make no claim on her brother Isaac's estate.
- 71 Will of Hendrik van Beek 30 April 1717, in ACA 5075/7232 (notary Pieter van Aken).
- 72 ACA Burial Registers 1103/37 (5 September 1718).
- 73 Deed 8 June 1719 between Sara and Magdalena Pontanus and representatives of

- the Remonstrant Community in Rotterdam, in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 74 Rotterdam City Archives 362 (Remonstrant Congregation archive)/4 (Resolutions): minutes 13 June 1719.
- 75 ACA Burial Registers 1103/43 (4 January 1720, according to the Ledger of the Remonstrant Congregation (ACA 612/353, fo 141) died 29 or 30 December 1719); her aunt Sara had died shortly before: ACA Burial Registers 1103/41v0 (13 October 1719).
- 76 Will of Magdalena and Sara Pontanus I December 1719, in ACA 612/562 (note I); on this orphanage, which was founded in 1675, see A. Loosjes, Het Weeshuis der Collegianten 'De Oranjeappel' 1675-1925, s.l. [1925].
- 77 Will of Magdalena Pontanus 22 January 1720, in ACA 612/562 (note 1).
- 78 See ACA 612/562: file on the bequest of Magdalena Pontanus (note 1).
- 79 ACA Burial Registers 1103/43 (Magdalena, 5 February 1720).
- 80 ACA 612/3 (note 39), 22 September 1720.

