



A Toast to ‘Neerlands Wonder’: Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker’s Portrait Stipple-Engraved on Glass

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With the publication of *De Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* in 1782, co-authors and life companions Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker (1738-1804)¹ and Agatha Deken (1741-1804) attained celebrity status. The life and work of these two Dutch women writers of the eighteenth century would be commemorated in the form of several published portrait prints,² prints of their country house Lommerlust in Beverwijk and the picturesque garden house where Wolff-Bekker did her writing (‘kluisje’, fig. 1), and a silver medal minted upon their death with the inscription ANIMO UNO AC PRAECLARE (unanimous and superb, referring to their close bond, fig. 2).

Among the Wolff-Bekker and Deken memorabilia, two goblets bearing the portraits of Wolff-Bekker and Deken hold a special place, both in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (figs. 3, 4). The glass with the stipple-engraved portrait of Deken had previously been acquired by the museum in 1951, followed by the acquisition of the second glass with the stipple-engraved portrait of Wolff-Bekker in 2020. Both engraved glasses are attributed to David Wolff (1732-1798),³ a glass engraver working in The Hague in the second half of the eighteenth century and specialized in stipple-engraved portraits.

< Detail of fig. 4

The Wolff-Bekker and Deken portrait glasses are pendants, comparable in size and shape. Both portraits are based on an engraved double portrait from 1784 (fig. 5) by the printmaker Antoine Cardon (1739-1822) after (now lost) miniatures by Willem Neering (1757-1810) and enclosed within a similar cartouche. Despite these similarities, however, striking differences can be discerned. The glass with Deken’s portrait is incomplete: at the top, only the outline of the cartouche has been stipple-engraved.⁴ Furthermore, Wolff-Bekker’s portrait glass has a floral decoration executed in line engraving, and therefore made by a different hand (fig. 6).⁵ Lastly, the same glass also has an inscription on its reverse (see fig. 12), while Deken’s glass bears no inscription.

The inscription on the Wolff-Bekker glass contains references to the engraver, the person who commissioned the glass (rarely inscribed on drinking glasses), the author herself and her ‘public’. What can an investigation of the inscription tell us about Wolff-Bekker’s reputation, and about the context in which the glass circulated? When studying its meaning, it becomes clear that Wolff-Bekker was greatly admired for her polemic against orthodox ministers, in which she criticized their hypocrisy and incitement. In all probability, the present glass was commissioned by a Patriot in The Hague with close ties



to Wolff-Bekker's publisher. The provenance confirms that, early on, the glass was owned by two of her closest friends. Combining research into its inscription and provenance, this article provides a (partial) reconstruction of the network of Wolff-Bekker's admirers in which the glass circulated.

Glasses for Special Occasions

Engraved wine glasses played a special role in eighteenth-century society. Many celebratory occasions called for an honorary toast and a glass engraved to mark that occasion (a new company, a wedding, a birth, a friendship or one's country). The engraved inscriptions on these glasses were read aloud, with people taking turns to raise toasts and drink, ending with a final toast to

Fig. 1

CASPAR JACOBSZ PHILIPS, *View of the Garden House at the Country House Lommerlust in Beverwijk, 1752-89.* Etching, 169 x 211 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1905-595, gift of Mrs Brandt, Amsterdam, and Mrs Brandt, Amsterdam.

Fig. 2

JOHAN GEORGE HOLTZHEY, *Death of Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker and Agatha Deken, 1804.* Silver, d. 4.3 cm, w. 19.6 gr.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-VG-1-3126, gift of J.M. van Gelder-Nijhoff.





Fig. 3
DAVID WOLFF
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with the
Portrait of Agatha
Deken*, c. 1784-89/91.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 17.5 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-16528.



Fig. 4
DAVID WOLFF
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with the
Portrait of Elisabeth
Wolff-Bekker*,
c. 1784-89/91.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 17.7 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum
inv. no. BK-2020-107,
purchased with
the support of
H.B. van der Ven,
The Hague.

Fig. 5
ANTOINE
ALEXANDRE JOSEPH
CARDON AFTER
WILLEM NEERING,
*Double Portrait of
Elisabeth Wolff-
Bekker and Agatha
Deken*, c. 1784.
Etching, 250 x 185 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1909-518,
gift of H.P. Gerritsen,
The Hague.



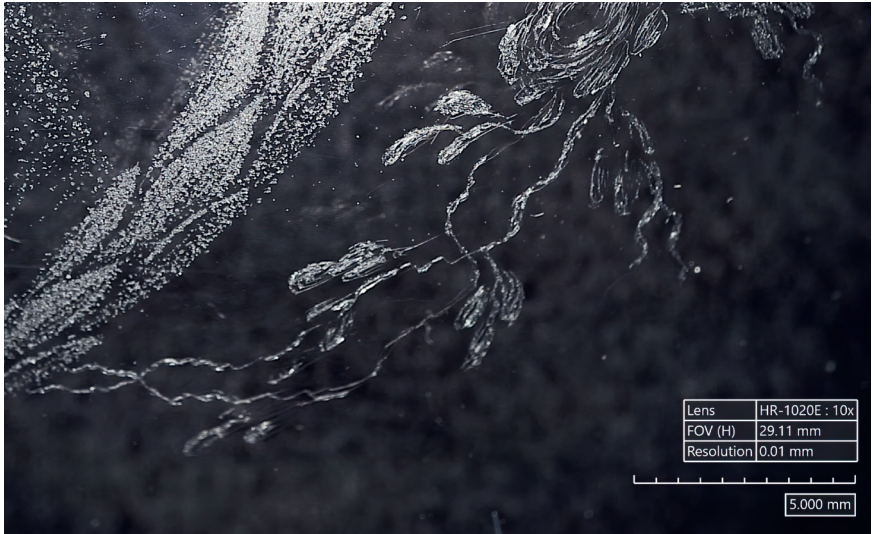


Fig. 6
Detail of the lower
right side of *Goblet
with the Portrait
of Elisabeth Wolff-
Bekker* (fig. 4).
Zoom lens 10 p.
Photo: Annegreet
Kalteren

friendship.⁶ Many of these ceremonial wine glasses were wheel-engraved, a technique whereby the engraver used a rotating wheel to grind away an image in the glass surface. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, however, the stippled engraving of glass was introduced. This second technique involves the use of a diamond-point stylus to build up an image with a series of small dots tapped into the glass. Stipple engraving had the advantage that it enabled the artist to articulate light and dark with far greater subtlety, thus creating highly realistic images such as portraits.

The majority of stipple-engraved glasses date from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, coinciding with Wolff-Bekker and Deken's great literary success. The duo's *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*, published in 1782, tells the story of an orphan whose honour is compromised due to a lack of proper guidance. Achieving instant fame, not to be equalled in their lifetime again, the two authors continued to publish successful works, in collaboration and on their own. During this same period, both women – especially Wolff-Bekker – became

vocal political supporters of Patriots: critical-thinking burghers who wished to limit the stadholder's power and demanded a greater political say in the nation's governing.⁷ One year after the political upheaval of 1787, which saw the Patriots' influence greatly diminished, Wolff-Bekker and Deken departed for France in the wake of many other Patriots. Not until 1797 would the pair return to the Netherlands.

In expressing their political views on paper, Wolff-Bekker and Deken were no exception. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, books, magazines, pamphlets, poetry and theatrical plays were increasingly being used as instruments to sway public opinion. In the area of religion, the struggle primarily concerned the difference between an orthodox versus an enlightened Christian interpretation of the Bible. Politically, in the context of the Patriots' struggle (Patriottentijd), the main subject of debate was the role of the stadholder, as expressed in pamphlets, songs and manifestos. Important persons or events of the past (Socrates, The Dutch Revolt) often formed the battleground for these diverging views, with politics and religion closely intertwined.⁸

Among the individuals portrayed on stipple-engraved glasses during this period are historical figures and contemporaries. Seldom, however, does one encounter glasses with portraits of literary figures. These include two stipple-engraved glasses bearing portraits of the seventeenth-century author Joost van den Vondel, both in connection with a literary society (the Leiden society *Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen* and the Hague society *Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt*, fig. 7).⁹ Among Wolff-Bekker and Deken's literary contemporaries, one of the few people to have his portrait stipple-engraved on glass was the founder of the society *Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt*, the pastor and poet Johannes van Spaan (1724-1789, fig. 8).¹⁰ The immense popularity of published writers' portraits that emerged in the eighteenth century was not reflected in stipple-engraved glasswork.¹¹

What makes the Wolff-Bekker and Deken glasses even more exceptional is that both display stipple-engraved portraits of women, a rare genre in the eighteenth century. While women are sometimes encountered in stipple engravings, for example, as allegorical personifications, there are few known portraits of women on glass. The exception is Wilhelmina of Prussia (1751-1820), whose portrait is engraved on several glasses, almost invariably in relation to her husband, Prince of Orange, Stadholder William V (fig. 9).¹²

The portraits of Van Spaan and Vondel were both associated with a society – the setting in which engraved glasses were typically raised in a toast.¹³ In fact, various glasses related to all kinds of societies (of a literary, cultural, social or administrative nature) survive to the present day. Diverse as the representations on these society glasses



Fig. 7
AERT SCHOUMAN
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with Portrait of
Joost van den Vondel*,
1774.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 19.7 cm.
The Hague,
Kunstmuseum, inv.
no. OGL-1954-0006.

Fig. 8
DAVID WOLFF
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with Portrait
of Johannes van
Spaan*, c. 1776-86.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 15.2 cm.
Stuttgart,
Landesmuseum
Württemberg,
inv. no. 1991-302.
Photo: Hans Mayr
Lizenz: CC BY-SA 4.0



may be, portraits were subordinate to other themes.

By far the largest group of stipple-engraved portrait glasses from the eighteenth century was produced in connection with the Patriot struggle. These objects must therefore be seen in the broader context of propaganda campaigns (whether or not in a formal association) instigated by Patriots or Orangists. The latter, who supported the prince, raised toasts using glasses adorned with stipple-engraved portraits of William v or Wilhelmina of Prussia. Patriots, in their turn, drank to their cause with glasses on which portraits of their leaders were depicted, such as Cornelis (Kees) de Gijselaar (1751-1815) or the Amsterdam burgomaster Hendrik Daniëlsz Hooft (1716-1794, fig. 10). They also raised glasses – especially before 1787 – bearing the image of highly venerated historical figures from the past, e.g. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the De Wit brothers and Hugo de Groot.¹⁴ Besides portrait glasses, the Patriots also had glasses with an engraving of a Keeshond, sometimes even shown urinating on an orange tree (fig. 11).¹⁵ After the Batavian Revolution, in which a new republic was formed (1794-99), the emphasis lay on the relationship with France.¹⁶ With no reason to toast a leading figure or hero of the past, the portraits on glass disappeared.



Fig. 9

ATTRIBUTED TO
DAVID WOLFF (glass
engraver), *Goblet
with a Portrait of
Wilhelmina of Prussia,*
detail, c. 1775-
in or before 1798.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 15.1 cm.
Amsterdam
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-NM-723.

Fig. 10

ATTRIBUTED TO
DAVID WOLFF
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with a Portrait
of Hendrik Daniëlsz
Hooft, Burgomaster
of Amsterdam,*
detail, c. 1780-in or
before 1798.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 15.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
BK-NM-10754-85,
A.J. Enschedé
Bequest, Haarlem.

Provenance

At the time the Rijksmuseum acquired the portrait glass of Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker, its provenance was unclear. Research has since revealed that at the end of the nineteenth century, the glass was in the collection of a pastor in the city of Zwolle, obtained via an inheritance. From him, the glass can be traced back to Maria Allier, a niece of Magdalena Greeger (1757-1825), with whom she lived after her husband, Christiaan Adriaan Nissen (1757?-1802), had died. Allier is named a beneficiary in Nissen and Greeger's will.¹⁷ From 1780 onwards, Magdalena ('Leentje' or 'Dutje') and her husband, Chris (or Chrisje), had in fact been friends with Wolff-Bekker and Deken. It was not just any friendship: surviving letters reveal a relationship of deep mutual affection.¹⁸ During the Beverwijk period, the two couples essentially formed a single household, spending their summers together at Lommerlust and their winters at Nissen's house in Amsterdam. It therefore seems fitting that the glass was once in the Nissens's possession.

In 1783, Wolff-Bekker and Deken authorized Nissen to oversee their financial affairs and manage their assets.¹⁹ Nissen also stood surety for Agatha Deken when buying Lommerlust.²⁰ He had numerous connections in the network around Wolff-Bekker, with personal ties to her nephew, Jan Bekker Teerlink (1759-1832), as well as her niece, Jansje Teerlink (1766?-1825) and her husband, Jan van Crimpen. Furthermore, their social and business relationships were also interconnected.²¹ In 1790, Nissen founded a vinegar factory in Beverwijk, the town where Wolff-Bekker and Deken had been living before their move to France. He ran the company together with Gerard van Rhijn, a magistrate-secretary from Beverwijk and an acquaintance of the two women.²²

The friendship between the two couples took a dramatic turn, however, when Nissen experienced a major financial crisis, facing bank-



ruptcy. As overseer of Wolff-Bekker and Deken's financial affairs, Nissen was endangering their financial position. As early as July 1789, the two women complained from France about Nissen's lack of response.²³ In 1791, they revoked his power of attorney.²⁴ In the end, the two women lost almost their entire fortune due to Nissen's financial indiscretions. Surviving correspondence shows no more contact after this time. In letters written after their return to the Netherlands, Wolff-Bekker speaks reproachfully of the matter: 'Nissen's rascally Bankruptcy'²⁵ and 'that the Burgher Nissen has ruined us so completely'.²⁶

It was probably Wolff-Bekker and Deken's publisher, Isaac van Cleef (1748-1803), who first informed them of Nissen's dire situation. When still in France, the two writers transferred power of attorney to Van Cleef, enabling him to represent their business interests on their behalf. Given their

Fig. 11
ANONYMOUS,
Goblet with
Keeshond Urinating
on an Orange Tree,
detail, 1785-95.
Lead glass, wheel
engraving, h. 13.5 cm.
Rotterdam,
Museum Boijmans
van Beuningen,
inv. no. 335 (KN&V).
From the estate of
Dr. E. van Rijckevorsel.
Photo: Tom Haartsen

pressing financial situation and political developments in France, Wolff-Bekker and Deken chose to return to the Netherlands in 1797.²⁷ In the autumn of that same year, they moved to The Hague.²⁸ Nissen himself had moved to The Hague in 1795, followed by a move to Naaldwijk in 1798.²⁹ There exists no evidence of a renewed contact between Wolff-Bekker and Deken and the Nissens. One may therefore presume that the glass was already in Nissen's possession, prior to the two couples' falling out.³⁰ This allows a more precise dating of the glass. It could only have been engraved at some point between 1784 – the year in which the double portrait was published – and 1789/91, the period of Nissen's bankruptcy and the end of his friendship with Wolff-Bekker.

Honoured as a Defender and Combatant

The inscription on the reverse of the Wolff-Bekker portrait glass offers several clues to help us better understand the context in which it was produced (fig. 12). The last line conveys that Wolff-Bekker was particularly admired for her polemic activities:

WOLF STIPTE DEES BEELDNIS
OP HEINSIUS LAST:
EEN VROUW, NEERLANDS WONDER,
WIEN DE EEREKROON PAST,
'T IS BEKKER, WOLFS WEDUW,
DIE SCHEPPENDE GEEST,
VAN PROBUS G'EERBIEDIGT,
VAN KALCHAS GEVREESD.

Wolf stippled this image
at Heinsius's cost:
A woman, Neerlands wonder,
whom the crown of honour befits,
It is Bekker, Wolf's widow,
that creating spirit,
Revered by Probus,
Feared by Calchas.

WOLF STIPTE DEES BEELDNIS. This first 'Wolf' refers to the glass engraver David Wolff.³¹ The second Wolf is Elisabeth Wolff, born Bekker: 'T IS BEKKER, WOLFS WEDUW. She is lauded for her talent: DIE SCHEPPENDE GEEST, appreciated by one Probus – VAN PROBUS G'EERBIEDIGT – and dreaded by Calchas – VAN KALCHAS GEVREESD. Probus and Calchas are names with an allegorical meaning and form part of a literary repertoire comprising references to classical figures.

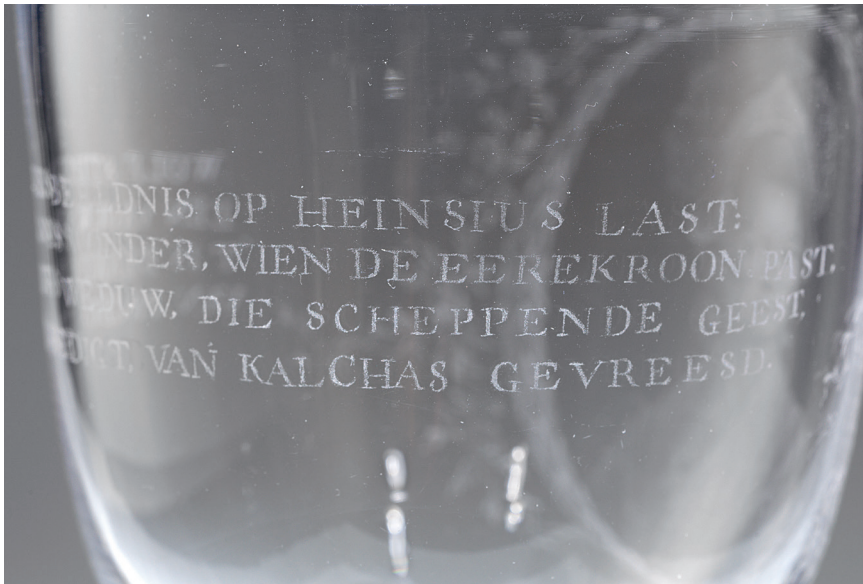


Fig. 12
Detail of inscription
on the reverse of
Goblet with the
Portrait of Elisabeth
Wolff-Bekker (fig. 4).

The Latin 'Probus' signifies righteous, decent, good or modest. The same meaning occurs in contemporaneous textual sources. Probus is a civilized man, a respectable burgher and an ideal candidate for marriage.³² Calchas, the seer during the Trojan War, also figures in eighteenth-century texts, but then transformed into a treacherous preacher. From his lofty pulpit, Calchas speaks falsehoods, and misleads or incites the people: 'There is no nefarious deceit, no scheme howsoever much dispraised, with which Calchas, as of old, has not blackened himself'.³³

In a 1768 issue of the spectatorial magazine *De Philosoph*, Calchas and Probus figure in a story that clearly illustrates the contrast between the two. The events take place in the fictitious kingdom of Zuidland, where, after the king's death, two princesses are caught up in a struggle for succession. Virtuous Probus, the lover of one princess, is forced to confront the high priest Calchas, whose son Fat wishes to marry the other princess. When a fight breaks out between Probus and Fat, Calchas attempts to deceive the people by pretending the gods have turned against Probus.³⁴

On the Wolff-Bekker glass, Probus and Calchas represent the contrast between good versus bad, the conscientious versus the hypocritical, the reputable versus the cheat. The inscription's last line – revered by Probus, feared by Calchas – therefore says much about how Wolff-Bekker was perceived. Her reputation as a defender of virtue and combatant of hypocrites arose from her polemical writings from the seventeen-seventies. Wolff-Bekker vehemently criticized the intolerant churchmen and their willful incitement of the people.³⁵ She specifically targeted Johannes Barueth (1709-1782, pseudonym Paulus Dortsma) and Petrus Hofstede (1716-1803). Her public attacks, carried out with evident zeal and pleasure, brought her widespread

renown. In 1772, she was particularly outspoken in a series of publications. In *Zedenzang, aan de menschenliefde, by het verbranden des Amstel-damschen schouwburgs*, she fiercely denounced the intolerance shown by the narrow-minded orthodox ministers who decreed that the fire in the Amsterdam city theatre was a punishment from God. In *De menuet en de dominees pruik*, she decried their hypocrisy, their schemes aimed to incite unrest; she also gave them names like 'Bigot' and 'False Appearance'.³⁶

Despite the frequency of Wolff-Bekker's verbal attacks on preachers, Calchas figures only once in her written works. As told in *De onveranderlyke Santhorstsche Geloofsbelijdenis*, likewise published (anonymously) in 1772:

The bigot Calchas cries with harrowing misery
(While he stomps [his] feet and causes the Pulpit to shake):
'The Church, the true Church, the Church is in danger!'
The thousands, who fly impetuously from his hand,
Believe what he says and eye us craftily.
They have Calchas's word:
'Would Calchas betray them?'
Oh yes: they surely wish to betray the Law of the Church.³⁷

With this text, Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker gave an (unsolicited) defence of the Amsterdam professor Pieter Burman (1713-1778) and his circle of friends. Burman regularly organized gatherings of an anti-stadholder character at his country estate Santhorst. A popular poet who penned his works in Neo-Latin, he wrote about seventeenth-century heroes like Johan de Wit, whose sympathies were opposed to the stadholder. During meetings on his country estate, Burman would read Latin translations of Vondel, with numerous toasts raised to the group's five core values: Fatherland, Freedom, Peace, Friendship and

Tolerance.³⁸ These veiled attacks on the stadholder and the emphasis on religious freedom were viewed unfavourably by the most stringent members of the Reformed Church. Pastor Johannes Barueth expressed his disapproval in an anonymously published brochure.³⁹

Wolff-Bekker and Burman had several mutual friends. Although not a member of the Santhorst circle herself, she undoubtedly felt an affinity with their cause. In her satirical poem, she described the group around Burman as a religion, complete with its own articles of faith, religious holidays (named after historical freedom fighters, including the De Wit brothers) and saintly relics (Hugo de Groot's book chest). In the text, Calchas has no leading role; he is identified as a preacher who threatens the religious community, attempting to incite discord by turning the people against the group of worshippers, the 'Santhorsters'.⁴⁰ Although the Calchas on the glass, who fears Wolff-Bekker, may possibly refer to Pastor Barueth, with whom she engaged in a polemic,⁴¹ it is more likely that it points to anyone whose behaviour echoed that of Calchas.

Though it cannot be ruled out that Probus refers to an existing person, here too it seems unlikely. Some eighteenth-century sources show that Probus was used as an alias/pseudonym.⁴² For instance, one 'Probus' appears in a polemic introduced by Petrus Nieuwland (1722-1795), a Hague pastor, who posited that ghosts and other creatures might exist. Among the many reactions that ensued, two pamphlets were published by an individual writing under the alias Probus,⁴³ of whom nothing is known except that he belonged to the Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam.⁴⁴ When referring to this polemic almost ten years later,⁴⁵ Wolff-Bekker makes no mention of Probus. Accordingly, a link to one specific individual seems improbable. Calchas and Probus, as

mentioned in the inscription on the glass, must therefore be interpreted as two opposites: 'the hypocritical preacher' versus 'the virtuous burgher'.

Commissioned by a Patriot

The remaining part of the inscription offers a clue concerning the person who paid for the glass: OP HEINSIUS LAST, to be interpreted as 'commissioned by Heinsius'. It therefore gives us the name of the person who ordered the glass from the glass engraver. The surname Heinsius/Heijnsius/Heynsius may refer to several people; best qualified, however, is the master carpenter Pieter Heijnsius (1729-1802) living in The Hague. Maria Heijnsius (1760-1792), one of three children born to Heijnsius and his wife, Geertrui Bisschop (1730?-1807), was in fact married to Isaac van Cleef, Wolff-Bekker and Deken's main publisher. Besides being a devout Patriot, Heijnsius also had the financial means to commission a stipple-engraved glass.

Pieter Heijnsius was a multi-talented, enterprising man who earned a substantial income. As master carpenter, he moved in the highest circles and worked on several projects for the stadholder in the so-called Stadhouderslijk Kwartier. In 1769/70, he did the carpentry work for the Corps de Garde's riding school on the Frederikstraat in The Hague,⁴⁶ designed by architect Pieter de Swart. In 1771, he sold two buildings to the stadholder. A couple years later, Heijnsius and his business partner, Johannes Marda (c. 1750-1796), renovated the same two buildings for the new painting gallery on the Buitenhof, a project overseen by architect Philip Willem Schonck and realized in 1773/74.⁴⁷ In his profession as master carpenter, Heijnsius also worked for various private individuals in The Hague.⁴⁸ Additionally, he served as an appraiser,⁴⁹ and for several years, as an examiner for the certification of surveyors.⁵⁰ Moreover, in notarial acts he is con-

sistently described as a coffin maker.⁵¹ For a period of several years, Heijnsius was also active as a merchant in Scottish and English coal.⁵² Furthermore, he taught architectural design at the Fundatie van Vrijvrouwe van Renswoude in The Hague, an educational institution for orphaned children. Johannes Marda also attended this school before training under the stadholder's architect, Pieter de Swart. After studying for several years in Paris, Marda returned to the Netherlands in 1772, at which time he began working for Heijnsius.⁵³ The two men worked on various projects in a collaboration that ended only with Marda's death in 1796. Given the nature of his activities, Heijnsius's network of clients was so highly diverse that few conclusions can be drawn from it. His artistic network included the aforementioned architects Schonck and De Swart, the sculptor Jacob Berkman⁵⁴ and the painter Dirk van der Aa.⁵⁵ Heijnsius was also an honorary member of the Vrije Teekenacademie in The Hague in the

years 1781 and 1787. Business partner Johannes Marda and son-in-law Isaac van Cleeff were also on the same list as honorary members.⁵⁶

Regarding his political affinity, Heijnsius can be described as a stalwart Patriot, even though he is certain to have earned vast sums from working on the stadholder's projects. He was almost surely a member of the Hague arms society Voor 't Vaderland, as his name appears on a list of alleged society members compiled by Orangists in 1787.⁵⁷ During a clash between Patriots and Orangists, Heijnsius's house was plundered.⁵⁸ In February 1795, following the Batavian Revolution, he took a temporary seat in the provisory council of the Hague municipal government.⁵⁹

Remarkably, Heijnsius is not the only member of the society Voor 't Vaderland to have commissioned a stipple-engraved glass with an inscription bearing the name of its commissioner. Like Heijnsius, Johannes Colla, a Hague upholsterer, also worked in the Stadhouderlijk

Fig. 13
MASTER ALIUS
(glass engraver),
*Goblet with Two Boys
Shaking Hands*, with
inscription above the
image in banderole:
VRIENDSCHAP.
Inscription on the
reverse: PRESENT
GEDAAN AAN HET
GESELSCHAP VAN DE
VVVV DEN 10 FEBR
1770 DOOR JOH COLLA,
detail, 1770.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 19.7 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
BK-NM-10754-79-1
A.J. Enschedé
Bequest, Haarlem.





Fig. 14
DAVID WOLFF,
Goblet with
Six Cherubs,
with inscription:
VRIENDSCHAP VREEDE
VRYHEID VREUGDE
VERGENOEGING,
detail, c. 1775-1800.
Lead glass, stipple
engraving, h. 17.5 cm.
Nuremberg,
Bayerisches
Gewerbemuseum,
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum,
inv. no. LGA 3007.

Kwartier and served as a city councillor in The Hague in the years 1795 and 1796.⁶⁰ Colla's name appears on a stipple-engraved friendship glass made for the Hague society vvvvv ('Freedom, Peace, Friendship, Satisfaction and Joy', fig. 13).⁶¹ In total, four surviving glasses can be linked to this Patriot society, at least one of which is associated with the Santhorst circle and the five toasts that were given there (fig. 14).⁶²

To what extent Heijnsius was interested in literature and familiar with Wolff-Bekker's writings is difficult to assess.⁶³ Undoubtedly, the latter's support of the Patriot cause would have drawn his interest. Certain is that he was on very good terms with his son-in-law, publisher Isaac van Cleef. Both men were Patriots and members of the same arms society.⁶⁴ Like his father-in-law, Van Cleef's house was plundered and he also sat on the Hague's provisory council.⁶⁵ As mentioned before, both men were members of the *Vrije Tekenacademie*.⁶⁶ Their close bond is further confirmed

by the joint purchase of a country house in Voorburg in 1787,⁶⁷ indicating that they must have spent time together. The house was sold in 1793, one year after Maria Heijnsius's death.

No correspondence survives between Pieter Heijnsius and Wolff-Bekker (or Deken), nor is there any reference to Heijnsius and/or his wife Geertrui Bisschop in the two women's surviving correspondence with others. Biographer Piet Buijnsters wrote that Wolff-Bekker and Deken's social interaction with those in the literary world was minimal; they instead socialized primarily with government officials, politicians, merchants and preachers.⁶⁸ A master carpenter/contractor and his wife would be an appropriate fit. But regardless, there is no need for a direct connection to Wolff-Bekker for someone to have commissioned the glass: he or she may have toasted the author as an admirer, without knowing her personally. Unquestionably, Heijnsius possessed the wherewithal to commission a costly stipple-engraved glass.⁶⁹ That this was nothing unusual for people in

his circle is additionally confirmed by the fact that both Colla, a fellow Patriot, and Heijnsius's business partner, Marda, also owned stipple-engraved glasses.⁷⁰ Relevant source material pertaining to glass engraver David Wolff unfortunately remains scant as well, with no way of ascertaining whether Pieter Heijnsius had indeed commissioned him to engrave the present glass.⁷¹

A Network of Admirers

Even if commissioned by one person, the glass would have been shared among a network of admirers. Heijnsius's daughter Maria and Isaac van Cleef would inevitably have taken part in this. Possible, though highly unlikely, is that Maria commissioned the glass. Even though women did commonly use their birth names in the eighteenth century, a woman referring to herself by her surname only, seems improbable.⁷² Not much is known about Maria Heijnsius; there are few surviving sources from which we might learn more about her life and her name is barely mentioned in the literature concerning her husband's publishing house.⁷³ Maria Heijnsius and Isaac van Cleef married in 1780. Of their four children, sons Pieter and Jan Elisa would eventually assume the running of their father's publishing house. After Maria's death in 1792, Van Cleef went on to marry Maria Elisabeth Soyer in 1800.⁷⁴

The publisher Isaac van Cleef is known to have been on good terms with Wolff-Bekker and Deken. In 1778, he entered a business relationship with the two authors. This was to be a very fruitful collaboration for both parties, with Van Cleef publishing the literary successes *Sara Burgerhart* and *Willem Leevend*, among others.⁷⁵ He encouraged the writers, paid them well and was highly active as promoter of their work.⁷⁶ Wolff-Bekker and Deken's double portrait was Van Cleef's initiative (see fig. 5).

He printed it as a frontispiece in the work *Fabelen*, published in 1784. It was also published on its own, making it the first portrait print of Wolff-Bekker available to her admirers.⁷⁷ And, as mentioned above, it was this engraved double portrait, made on Van Cleef's instigation, that David Wolff ultimately consulted as a model for the two stipple-engraved glasses bearing the portraits of Wolff-Bekker and Deken. In her surviving correspondence, Wolff-Bekker describes Van Cleef as a 'friend' on several occasions; nowhere is Maria's name mentioned.⁷⁸ Be that as it may, it seems unlikely the Van Cleefs were in the authors' intimate circle of friends, given the meagre amount of correspondence (exclusively with Isaac).⁷⁹ After 1795, Wolff-Bekker and Deken's contact with Van Cleef is no more than incidental (possibly reflecting their diminishing literary successes).⁸⁰

A question that arises is whether Heijnsius, who commissioned the glass, had any kind of contact with its (later) owners, Magdalena and/or Chris Nissen, during this period. Searches in the municipal archives of The Hague and Amsterdam have produced no sign of any contact between Heijnsius and Nissen. Communication did exist, however, between Van Cleef and Nissen: as their business manager, Nissen managed all Wolff-Bekker and Deken's finances, one guesses chiefly centring on the proceeds from their book sales. In a letter to Nissen, the authors mention Van Cleef's name,⁸¹ and even after the bankruptcy, they were still in touch.⁸² Wolff-Bekker and Deken's publisher Van Cleef therefore ostensibly emerges as a pivotal figure in the enlightened/Patriot network surrounding the present glass. He was in close contact with Heijnsius, who commissioned the glass, and in a business relationship with Nissen, while also acting as the publicist of Wolff-Bekker's work.

Conclusion

Interpreting the inscription on the glass with the stipple-engraved portrait of Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker provides a greater understanding of what role this female author of the eighteenth century played in enlightened circles. Even though Wolff-Bekker was a fervent supporter of the Patriot movement, a toast made with this glass was not about paying tribute to the political struggle, as was the case with glasses bearing Patriots' portraits. Wolff-Bekker's admirers were interested not only in her talent as a writer, but also in how this 'Dutch wonder' fought for her enlightened ideals, as could be read in her polemical work. Raising a toast with this glass was therefore in honour of Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker's razor-sharp pen and unwavering bravado.

The glass's connection to a society or less formal, enlightened circle, where people gathered to share and disseminate a desire to improve society, thus becomes apparent.

Friends and admirers – among them, Maria Heijnsius and Isaac van Cleef, Pieter Heijnsius, and Magdalena Greeger and Christiaan Nissen – may have raised a toast to Wolff-Bekker's boldness (whether or not in the authors' presence) in Amsterdam or Beverwijk, or at the country house in Voorburg. The lines of this network ran via Wolff-Bekker and Deken's publisher and promoter, Isaac van Cleef.

The inscription and provenance of the present portrait glass facilitates the identification of these individuals, offering a unique view of the circle in which the glass was created, used and kept. With other eighteenth-century engraved glasses, though produced in a similar context, such clues are scarce. Wolff-Bekker's glass therefore reveals not only its own history, but it also provides insight into the function of decorated wine glasses in eighteenth-century society and the kinds of people who engaged in the then popular toasting culture.

ABSTRACT

Most eighteenth-century glass goblets with stippled-engraved decorations were used during the Patriot struggle to toast their political leaders. In 2020, the Rijksmuseum acquired an exceptional glass with the stipple-engraved portrait of the renowned Dutch author Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker. Research into the glass's provenance revealed it was formerly in the possession of Christiaan Nissen and his wife, Magdalena Greeger, a couple with whom Wolff-Bekker shared a close bond. This friendship endured up until Nissen caused the author's financial downfall in 1791. An inscription on the glass names the engraver who decorated it, David Wolff, and the person who commissioned it, likely Pieter Heijnsius, a wealthy master carpenter and stalwart Patriot from The Hague. Pieter's daughter, Maria Heijnsius, was married to Isaac van Cleef, Wolff-Bekker's publisher. As the publicist of Wolff-Bekker's work, Van Cleef also commissioned the portrait print of Wolff-Bekker that served as the model for the portrait on the glass. Heijnsius and his son-in-law were good friends and both were members of the same Patriot society. Van Cleef was a central figure in Wolff-Bekker's circle of enlightened admirers. The inscription on the glass also provides insight into Wolff-Bekker's reputation. It is true that Wolff-Bekker was a supporter of the Patriot movement, but the latter part of the inscription necessitates a more nuanced interpretation of a toast made with this glass. Wolff-Bekker's admirers were drawn by her literary talent as 'Neerlands wonder', but even more so by her opposition to the Calchas figures of her day: the hypocritical ministers set on deceiving and inciting the people. This reflects Wolff-Bekker's reputation as a defender of virtue and combatant of hypocrites arising from her polemical writings published in the seventeen-seventies and later.

NOTES

- * I wish to thank Dirk Jan Biemond, Lieke van Deinsen, Myriam Everard, Anna Lameris, Marita Mathijssen and Mart Rutjes.
- 1 This article shall refer to Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker, using her full name, not to Betje Wolff, the name by which she is commonly known. In all her published works, Wolff-Bekker retained her deceased husband's surname, used together with her birth name. Known by her friends simply as 'Betje', this article will refer to Wolff-Bekker's official first name, in fact that with which she herself signed her works: Elisabeth.
 - 2 For portraits of Wolff-Bekker, see Lieke van Deinsen, "'k Zeg basta met dat portretteeren": Elizabeth Wolff en de (on)mogelijkheden van het vrouwelijk auteursportret', *Jaarboek De Achttiende Eeuw* 51 (2019), pp. 85-103.
 - 3 David Wolff bears no family connection to Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker.
 - 4 Maartje Brattinga, 'Een onvoltooide stipplegravure van David Wolff?', *Vormen uit Vuur* 248 (2022), no. 1, pp. 4-7.
 - 5 Bertha T. Buckley, Frans Greenwood and Wilfred Buckley, *D. Wolff and the Glasses that He Engraved*, London 1935, pp. 26-27. Buckley states that the inscription has also been line engraved. A microscopic examination of the glass, however, has shown that the inscription is by no means a line engraving. My thanks to Annegreet Kalteren.
 - 6 For ceremonial wine glasses, see Margriet B. de Roever, 'Coronato Baccho: Gelegenheidsglazen in de stedelijke cultuur', in Hubert Vreeken and Jan M. Baart, *Glas in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum en Museum Willet-Holthuysen*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1998, pp. 36-51; C. Willemijn Fock, 'Het decor van huiselijk vermaak ten tijde van de Republiek', in Jan de Jongste, Juliette Roding and Boukje Thijs (eds.), *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd*, Hilversum 1999, pp. 40-72, esp. pp. 58-59; Kristin Duysters, *Facetten van glas: De glascollectie van het Historisch Museum Arnhem*, coll. cat. Arnhem 2003; Anna Lameris, 'Eighteenth Century Lead Glass in the Netherlands', *AIHV Annales du 20e Congrès 2015* (2015), pp. 578-84; Anna Lameris, *Amicitiae: A Toast to Friendship*, Amsterdam 2018.
 - 7 See for example Elisabeth Bekker, *De Natuur is mijne Zanggodin: Dichtstuk*, The Hague 1784; *Aan de Vaderlandsche Burgers*, The Hague 1786; *Vrijheid Blijheid: Vaderlandsch Dichtstuk*, The Hague 1786 and *Aan de Amsteldamsche Burgers*, The Hague 1787. See also Piet J.A.M. Buijnsters, *Wolff en Deken*, Leiden 1984, pp. 238-42 and Hendrika C.M. Ghijsen, *Dapper vrouwenleven: Karakter- en levensbeeld van Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken*, Assen 1954, p. 318.
 - 8 For this subject, see Inger Leemans, Gert-Jan Johannes and Joost Jacobus Kloek, *Worm en donder: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1700-1800: De Republiek*, Amsterdam 2013, pp. 609-708.
 - 9 Frans G.A.M. Smit, *Uniquely Dutch Eighteenth-Century Stipple-Engravings on Glass: A Systematic Catalogue with Keys for the Identification of the Engraved Glasses*, Peterborough 1993, pp. 94-95; Henriëtte Helena Pijzel-Domisse et al., *Glinsterend glas: 1500 jaar Europese glaskunst: De collectie van het Gemeentemuseum Den Haag*, coll. cat. Zwolle 2009, p. 244, cat. no. 368; Charles Dumas (ed.), *Een koninklijk paradijs: Aert Schouman en de verbeelding van de natuur*, exh. cat. Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum) 2017, p. 318.
 - 10 Van Spaan was initially an Orangist; however, his political views shifted and he relinquished his position as chairman of the society with its strong Orangist leaning. Van Spaan's portrait was removed from the society's meeting place; unclear is whether the glass was removed too. See Smit 1993 (note 9), p. 84.
 - 11 For writer's portraits, see Lieke van Deinsen's publications, including *The Panpoëticon Batavûm: The Portrait of the Author as a Celebrity*, Amsterdam 2016; *Litteraire erfletters: Canonisering in tijden van culturele crisis, 1700-1750*, Hilversum 2017; for Wolff-Bekker's portraits specifically, see Van Deinsen 2019 (note 2).
 - 12 In 1993, Frans Smit (note 9), pp. 117-20) describes three women in engraved glass portraits: Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker, Agatha Deken (each a single glass) and Wilhelmina of Prussia (portrayed multiple times).
 - 13 De Roever 1998 (note 6), p. 38.
 - 14 Pieter Cornelis Ritsema van Eck and Henrica M. Zijlstra-Zweens, *Glass in the Rijksmuseum*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1995, 2 vols., vol. 2, nos. 563, 447; Gerrie van den Brink, 'Patriottische symbolen op drinkglazen 11', *Antiek* 22 (1987), pp. 4-11, esp. p. 10.
 - 15 Gerrie van den Brink, 'De keeshond als patriottisch symbool op drinkglazen', *Antiek* 21 (1987), pp. 649-56, esp. p. 650.
 - 16 Van den Brink 1987 (note 15), p. 11.

- 17 Johannes Dyserinck, Wolff-Bekker and Deken's nineteenth-century biographer, found the glass with the Wolff-Bekker portrait in the collection of Pastor Isaak Molenaar; see *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 August 1885; *Het Vaderland*, 25 August 1885. Isaac Molenaar was an anabaptist teacher in Zutphen. He also owned a glass bearing the initials of the Nissen/Greegers. After her husband's death, Greeger moved to the home of Maria Allier, whose niece, Judith Allier, was married to Isaack Molenaar. My thanks to Myriam Everard for this information. Maria Magdalena Allier is named as the sole heir in Nissen/Greeger's will; see Municipal Archives of The Hague (hereafter NL-HAHA), Notarial Archive of The Hague (access number 0372-01, hereafter NA), inv. no. 2156, not. Harmen Stenfert, will, original deed 4205, 4 April 1798, p. 624. Remarkably, the portrait glass with Agatha Deken was not held in this collection; that glass was purchased in 1951 by the Rijksmuseum from the collection of Raimond Kneppelhout van Sterkenburg, together with four other glasses. The glass may very well have entered this owner's possession via his family: both his grandfather, Cornelis Kneppelhout, and his great uncle, Johannes Kneppelhout (the writer Klikspaan), as well as the latter's uncle, Cornelis de Gijsselaar, are all known to have been collectors. More specifically, Johannes Kneppelhout is also known to have had a collection of glasswork. Regarding Deken's portrait glass, noteworthy is that the engraving is incomplete; tenable is that this glass was also meant to bear an inscription. For Deken's portrait glass, see Brattinga 2022 (note 4).
- 18 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), p. 208. See for example: 'Briezend verlang ik naar u, wanneer koomd gy, schryf dit toch, ik zal uw Bed zo zagt maaken of 't voor een kraamvrouwtje was (...)' (I churn with longing for you, when will you be coming, please write this, I will make your bed so soft, as if it were for a woman in childbed); in AD and BW to Magdalena Nissen-Greeger, undated, in Piet J.A.M. Buijnsters, *Briefwisseling van Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken. Uitgegeven met inleiding en aantekeningen door dr. P.J. Buijnsters*, Utrecht 1987, p. 517. Elisabeth Wolff-Bekker is referred to by the initials BW, Agatha Deken by the initials AD.
- 19 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 203, 208; H.A. Höweler, *Archivalia betreffende Aagje Deken, Betje Wolff en personen uit haar kring*, Amsterdam 1949, p. 35. That Chris Nissen was a tobacco merchant can be deduced from his estate inventory; see Amsterdam City Archives (hereafter NL-ASDSAA), Archief van de Commissarissen van de Desolate Boedelkamer (access number 5072, hereafter DB), inv. no. 5243.
- 20 NL-ASDSAA, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (access number 5075, hereafter NA), inv. no. 16371, not. Jan Harmsen, authorization regarding mortgage, deed 400587, 27 March 1782.
- 21 Roelof van Gelder, 'De verre neef: Vier brieven van Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken aan Jan Bekker Teerlink', *Parelduiker* 12 (2007), no. 3, pp. 37-48, esp. p. 38; Roelof van Gelder, *De koopman van Kanton: Jan Bekker Teerlink (1759-1832)*, Amsterdam 2022, pp. 28-29, 36; NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 16158, not. Pieter Mastenbroek, procuration, deed 288134, 18 May 1786; NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 16165, not. Pieter Mastenbroek, bond, deed 264224, 15 October 1789; NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 15645, not. Anthony Mijlius, bond, deed 641007, 20 October 1790.
- 22 NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 15645, not. Anthony Mijlius, companyship, deed 642288, 27 October 1790; Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), p. 378; Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), p. 563. In 1789, Van Rhijn was granted authorization to manage Deken and Wolff-Bekker's business affairs; see NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 16165, not. Pieter Mastenbroek, authorization, deed 265733, 27 August 1789; NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 16165, not. Pieter Mastenbroek, authorization, deed 272796, 27 October 1789.
- 23 AD and BW to C.A. Nissen and M. Nissen-Greeger, letter 168, 3 July 1789 in Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), p. 562.
- 24 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), p. 270.
- 25 'schurkagtig Bankroet van Nissen'. BW to Coosje Huet-Busken, letter 176, October/November 1798, in Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), p. 581.
- 26 'dat den Burger Nissen ons zo geheel geruïneerd heeft'. AD to Coosje Huet-Busken, letter 598, 15 May 1799, in Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), p. 598.
- 27 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 270-73.
- 28 Piet J.A.M. Buijnsters, *Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken*, The Hague 1979 (*Schrijversprentenboek*, vol. 20), p. 62.
- 29 A.W. de Vink, 'De kunstverzamelingen van stadhouder Prins Willem v en hare lotgevallen sedert 1795', *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1993), pp. 54-134, esp. p. 80.
- 30 Nissen's estate inventory, compiled at the

- time of his bankruptcy, does list several glasses. Whether the present glass was among them cannot be determined with certainty. See NL-ASDSAA, DB, Nissen and Greeger, 1793-1794, no. 5243. My thanks to Marita Mathijssen.
- 31 It is remarkable, though not unusual, for Wolff to inscribe his own name with a single 'f', as on the stipple-engraved goblet with two putti holding a coiled-up snake. The inscription, on the altar between them, reads: D: WOLF 1794. This glass is preserved in Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, inv. no. 1190 (KN&V). My thanks to Anna Lameris.
- 32 See for example: '[Juliana Deugdliet over de Almanakken]', *De Denker* 8 (1770), pp. 41-48, in which a woman seeks a suitable candidate with whom to marry. 'Probus' is found most worthy. He has her best interest in mind; her true happiness is his primary concern. One year later, we again encounter a 'good' Probus on the market as a candidate for marriage; see '[Uitslag van drie Huwelyken, door Amoenus, Avarus en Probus aangegaan]', *De Denker* 9 (1771), pp. 169-76. At the Hague society Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt, a poem is dedicated to Probus and his virtuousness; Johannes Van Spaan, 'Aan Probus', in *Proeven van poëtische mengelstoffen, door het dichtlievend genootschap onder de spreuk Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt* 7 (1780), p. 233.
- 33 'Er is geen snoed bedrog, geen list hoe zeer gelaakt, waar meê zich Kalchas niet van ouds heeft zwart gemaakt.' Everard J.B. Schonck, 'Aan Aristus', *Fabelen en vertelsels*, Nijmegen 1779, pp. 24-25; Schonck, in a poem about widespread corruption, describes Calchas as a corrupt charlatan who incites the people to rise up in protest. For an early example, see Jakob Zeeus, *De wolf in 't schaepsvel*, Rotterdam 1711, pp. 64-65, in which Zeeus lists the falsehoods committed by priests, from antiquity onwards. Circa 1782, a fiery pamphlet published in The Hague fiercely attacks the German influence on the city's Lutheran community, and more specifically, the influence of the preacher Frans Georg Christiaan Rütz. In the pamphlet, Rütz is compared to Calchas; see Jan Smit, *Den Haag in den patriottentijd*, The Hague 1916, p. 19.
- 34 U.P., [untitled], *De Filosooph* 3 (1768), no. 128/129, pp. 185-200.
- 35 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), p. 116.
- 36 'Dweepziek'; 'Valscheschyn'. Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 108-25.
- 37 'De dweeper Calchas schreeuwt met eisselyk misbaar / (Terwyl hy stampvoet en den Predikstoel doet beeven): / "De Kerk, de waare Kerk, de Kerk is in gevaar!" / De duizenden, die van zyn hand doldriftig vliegen, / Gelooven 't geen hy zegt en zien ons gluiwend aan. / Zy hebben Calchas woord: "Zou Calchas hen bedriegen?" / Och ja: men wil gewis het Recht der Kerk verraên.' Eene Zuster der Santhorstsche, *De onveranderlyke Santhorstsche geloofs-belydenis*, 1772, p. 3.
- 38 'Vaderland, Vrijheid, Vrede, Vriendschap, Verdraagzaamheid'. Smit 1993 (note 9), p. 51, cat. no. Ac23.
- 39 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 93-100; Smit 1993 (note 9), p. 51, cat. no. Ac23; *De advocaet der vaderlandsche kerk: of Vrymoedige verdediger van derzelve grond-constitutie, herformde leer; aenzienlyke bescherm-heren; regtzinnige leraers, en standvastige belyders, tegen de beledigende geschriften van dezen tyd. eersten stuk*, The Hague 1771.
- 40 Andre Hanou, 'Wolff in schaapsvel: De Onveranderlyke Santhorstsche Geloofs-belydenis, 1772', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 1/2 (2000), pp. 37-51, esp. pp. 40-42.
- 41 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 101-03.
- 42 One example is Everhart Jan Benjamin Schonck (1745-1821), teacher, poet and a member of the Leiden society Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen, who dedicated one of his poems to Probus, stating that he had written this poem 'in the room of this Probus'. This suggests Schonck was referring to a fellow member of Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen; this person's exact identity, however, remains unclear. See Everardus J.B. Schonck, 'Het Vooroordeel', *Fabelen en Vertelsels*, Nijmegen 1779, pp. 70-78 and Johannes Antonius Kolkhuis Tanke, *Dr. E.J.B. Schonck 1748-1821: Een bijdrage tot de studie van het literaire leven in Nederland op het einde van de achttiende eeuw*, diss. Nijmegen (Radboud University) 1963, pp. 40-41.
- 43 Probus, *Beredeneerd vertoog, om te bewyzen, dat 'er geen spooken zyn, of zyn kunnen. Of Nederige wederlegging, van de aanmerkingen over de mooglykheid van het bestaan der spooken*, Amsterdam 1766; *Probus afscheid aan het spook-geschild, of weder-antwoord op het noodige aanmerkingen, van den wel eerwaarden heere Petrus Nieuwland*, Amsterdam 1766.
- 44 See Probus, *Vrymoedige gedachten ter*

- gelegenheid van twee vacante predikants-plaatzten in de Luthersche Gemeente binnen Amsterdam, 1773. Probus's name does not appear in A. de Kempnaer and Jan Izaaac van Doorninck, Vermomde Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche schrijvers, Leiden 1928.*
- 45 *De Bekkeriaansche Doling, 1775*, published anonymously.
- 46 W.K. Schukking, 'De Frederikskazerne te 's-Gravenhage: Een bijdrage tot haar bouwgeschiedenis, tevens behelzende een overzicht van haar bewoning', *Die Haghe Jaarboek* (1935), pp. 65-135, esp. pp. 71, 93-99.
- 47 Freek H. Schmidt, *Pieter de Swart: Architect van de achttiende eeuw*, Zwolle 1999, pp. 166-67, 205; De Vink 1993 (note 29), pp. 69-73; C. Willemijn Fock, 'De schildrijngalerij van Prins Willem V op het Buitenhof te Den Haag', *Antiek* (1976), pp. 113-37, esp. pp. 126-33.
- 48 See for example NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3699, not. Abraham Mosset, estate juffrouw Hendrinkje Waller, original deed 4552, 1 February 1786, p. 149; NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3680, not. Gilles Mijné, estate and legacy Elisabeth Vogel, original deed 4340, 28 March 1785, p. 98.
- 49 'De Haagsche club in de Houtstraat 1748-1895', *Die Haghe Jaarboek* (1901), pp. 191-214, esp. p. 204.
- 50 E. Muller, Willem A. van Ham en Kees Zandvliet, *Admissies als landmeter in Nederland voor 1811: Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de landmeetkunde en haar toepassing in administratie, architectuur, kartografie en vesting- en waterbouwkunde*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1987, p. 157.
- 51 See for example NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3699, not. Abraham Mosset, estate juffrouw Hendrinkje Waller, original deed 4552, 18 June 1786, p. 146; inv. no. 3680, not. Gilles Mijné, estate and legacy Elisabeth Vogel, original deed 4340, 28 March 1785, p. 93; inv. no. 3684, not. Jan Willem van Alphen, original deed 4453, 11 December 1805, p. 616.
- 52 NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3633, not. Hendrik van der Ven, contract, original deed 3916, 10 April 1784, p. 215-16; NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3633, not. Hendrik van der Ven, contract, original deed 3920, 29 March 1790, p. 291.
- 53 Eva Roëll, *Tekenen ter Verlichting: Architectuurtekeningen in de achttiende-eeuwse Republiek*, Utrecht 2010, pp. 45, 68; Muller, Van Ham and Zandvliet 1987 (note 50), p. 181; Schmidt 1999 (note 47), p. 205.
- 54 Berkman frequently collaborated with Pieter de Swart; both Heijnsius and Berkman were involved in the project for the stadholder; see Schmidt 1999 (note 47), p. 247; C.E. Zonneville-Heyning, 'Enkele kanttelingen bij de inrichting van de nieuwe vleugel van het stadhoudelijk kwartier', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 31 (1980), pp. 410-22.
- 55 Fock 1976 (note 47), p. 127; NL-HaHGA, NA, inv. no. 3699, not. Abraham Mosset, estate juffrouw Hendrinkje Waller, original deed 4552, 1 February 1786, p. 148. This connection with Van der Aa is intriguing, as the glass engraver David Wolff is assumed to have worked in Dirk van der Aa's studio; evidence of a link, however, is not found anywhere in the archives. For this subject, see Annegreet Kalteren, 'Het staartje van Wolff', *Vormen uit Vuur* 251 (2023), pp. 2-7.
- 56 [*Jaaruitgave van de Vrije tekenacademie te 's-Gravenhage ter gelegenheid van de prijsuitreiking*], The Hague 1781; *Vrye Teekenacademie, opgericht in 's Graavenhaage. Present exemplaar voor de Leden*, The Hague 1787.
- 57 *Extra ordinaire Brielsche Courant van 17 jan. 1787 waarin de naamlijst der honoraire leeden van 't Wapen-Corps onder de zinspreuk 'Voor 't Vaderland in 's-Gravenhage'*, Brielle 1787; *Lyst der notabele veel vermogende leeden, van het majestueus corps van wapenhandel, ter zinspreuk voerende Voor 't Vaderland, ter vereeuwiging van alle de navolgende ontzaggelyke helden*, 1787, pp. 7, 17. For the arms society Voor 't Vaderland, see Karin Rademaker, *Voor 't Vaderland* (unpublished master's thesis accessible in the Municipal Archives of The Hague, c. 1988).
- 58 Smit 1916 (note 33), p. 64.
- 59 Hendrik E. van Gelder, 'De Regeering van 's Gravenhage, 1795-1851', *Die Haghe Jaarboek* (1908), pp. 216-58, esp. p. 221; idem, 'De Regeering van 's Gravenhage, 1795-1851', *Die Haghe Jaarboek* (1908), pp. 216-58, esp. p. 221.
- 60 Ritsema van Eck and Zijlstra-Zweens 1995 (note 14), p. 427, cat. no. 538; Van Gelder 1908 (note 59), pp. 221, 223, 225.
- 61 'Vrijheid, Vreede, Vriendschap, Vernoegeen en Vreugd'.
- 62 There is no further information on this society in the Municipal Archives of The Hague; Smit 1993 (note 9), pp. 23, 51-52, 70, 124-25, cat. nos. Ac23, Ac24, Cb26 and Dd3.
- 63 The name Heijnsius does not appear on the membership rolls of the Hague literary society Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt: NL-HaHGA, Genootschap Kunstliefde

- (access number 0046-01), inv. no. 93 Name register of the members, 1772-1786; 9-23 registers of minutes, 1780-1798. Given the Orangist character of this society, Heijnsius would not have felt at home here. Moreover, his name appears nowhere in the source material associated with the Leiden society *Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen*; see Bert Thobokholt, *Het taal- en dichtlievend genootschap Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen te Leiden, 1766-1800*, Utrecht 1983.
- 64 *Lyst der notabele veelvermogende leeden 1787* (note 57), p. 6; *Extra ordinaire Brielsche Courant van 17 jan. 1787* (note 57). My thanks to Myriam Everard.
- 65 Van Gelder 1908 (note 59), pp. 230-31; Smit 1916 (note 33), p. 64.
- 66 Anonymous, *Naamlyst der leden honorair van de vrye Haagsche Teeken-Academie*, [The Hague 1787], no page numbers.
- 67 For this purchase, they probably issued a bond for 7000 guilders, see NL-HAAG, NA, inv. no. 3680, not. Gilles Mijné, original deed 4340, 10 December 1786, p. 798; A.W. de Vink, 'Voorburgsche buitenplaatsen', *Die Haghe Jaarboek* (1903), pp. 261-453, esp. pp. 299, 431.
- 68 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), p. 303.
- 69 The costs ranged from 42 to 84 guilders; see Frans G.A.M. Smit, 'Gegraveerde wijnglazen van het achttiende-eeuwse Collegie van Schout, Schepenen and Griffier der stad Leyden', *Vormen uit Vuur* 147 (1992), pp. 31-40; Vreeken and Baart 1998 (note 6), cat. nos. 294, 296.
- 70 Upholsterer Johannes Colla commissioned a stipple-engraved glass; Johannes Marda possessed a stipple-engraved glass by David Wolff, bearing the portrait of Willem v; see Kalteren 2023 (note 55), p. 5. Unlike his business partner, Marda would have had Orangist sympathies.
- 71 Few sources regarding David Wolff have been preserved. Recently, Annegreet Kalteren unearthed additional biographical information on Wolff; see Kalteren 2023 (note 55).
- 72 In legal documents, the woman's birth name was typically used. In all other cases, the recognizability of the individual in question is the primary concern, with different ways of using one's name. My thanks to Laurien van der Werff.
- 73 J.C. van Wermeskerken, *De gebroeders Van Cleef, 1739-1939*, The Hague 1939; E.F. Kossman, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw*, The Hague 1937; Louis P. Sloos, *Voor den dienst der Armée*, Amsterdam 2001.
- 74 NL-HAAG, NA, inv. no. 3706, not. Cornelis van der Cocq, will Isaac van Cleef and Maria Heijnsius, original deed 4585, 9 September 1781; NL-HAAG, NA, inv. no. 3798, not. Willem Scheurleer, proof of legitimate portion, original deed 5825, 20 March 1800; NL-HAAG, NA, inv. no. 3798, not. Willem Scheurleer, will Isaac van Cleef and Maria Elisabeth Soyer, original deed 5825, 12 April 1800; NL-HAAG, Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken 's-Gravenhage, Scheveningen en Loosduinen (access number 0377-01), inv. no. 8177, sheet 54, inv. no. 8446, sheet 27 and inv. no. 9157, sheet 21.
- 75 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 194-95.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 77 Van Deinsen 2019 (note 2), pp. 96-97; *Nederlandsche courant*, Amsterdam, 2 January 1784.
- 78 See BW to Catharina Dóll-Egges, 14 October 1799 and BW and AD to Hendrik Vollenhoven, 23 January 1801, in Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), pp. 606, 648.
- 79 In his book of letters, Buijnsters included two letters to Van Cleef. Nevertheless, the surviving written correspondence is far from complete; logically, there is certain to have been more correspondence between the authors and their publisher.
- 80 Buijnsters 1984 (note 7), pp. 303-04.
- 81 AD and BW to Chr. A. Nissen and Magdalena Nissen-Greeger, letter 168, 3 July [1789], in Buijnsters 1987 (note 18), pp. 562-63.
- 82 Chr. A. Nissen to M. Greeger and Marie Madeleine Allier, [Wesel, 8, 9, 10 June 1795], in Höweler 1949 (note 19), p. 61.