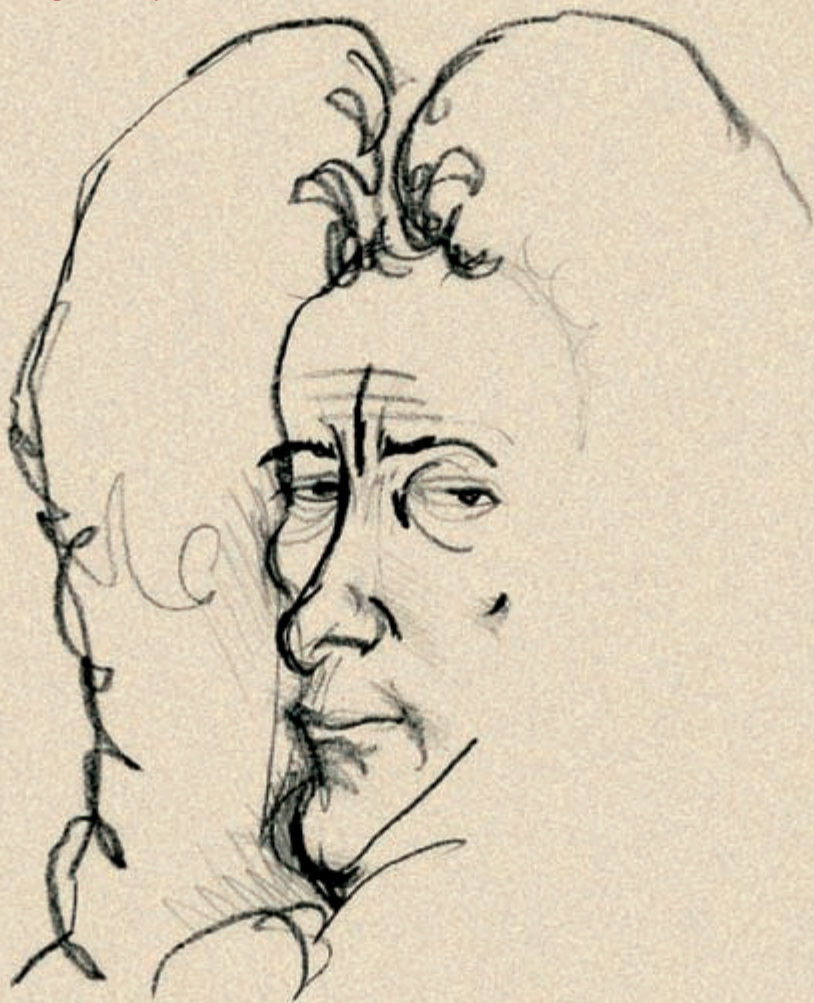


HENK VAN NIEROP

The Life of
Romeyn de Hooghe
1645-1708



Prints, Pamphlets, and
Politics in the Dutch Golden Age

The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe

AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE

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The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe 1645–1708

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Henk van Nierop

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- Fig. 13.18. Jacob Houbraken after Hendrik Bos (after Romeyn de Hooghe?), *Portrait of Romeyn de Hooghe*, 1733. Engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-30.216.
- Fig. 14.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Funeral Procession of William III*, 1702 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-82.976.
- Fig. 14.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to Emanuel van der Hoeven, *Leeven en dood der doorlugtige heeren gebroeders Cornelis de Witt en Johan de Witt* (1705). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1960-345.

- Fig. 14.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to Romeyn de Hooghe, *Spiegel van Staat des Vereenigde Nederlands*, vol. 1 (1706). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1909-2022.
- Fig. 14.4. Romeyn de Hooghe, Illustration to Romeyn de Hooghe, *Hieroglyphica of merkbeelden der oude volkeren* (1735). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1904-1859X.
- Fig. 14.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to François van Hoogstraten, *Het voorhof der ziele* (1668). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM O 63 2266.
- Fig. 14.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, Illustration to Anthoni van Dalen, *Verhandeling van de oude orakelen der heydenen* (1687). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM OK 65 715.
- Fig. 14.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Satire on the Defeat of the Young Pretender at the Battle of Culloden*, 1746. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-83.846.
- Fig. 14.8. Alexey Fyodorovich Zubov after Pieter Pickaert after Romeyn de Hooghe, *Equestrian Portrait of Tsar Peter the Great*, 1704–1726. British Museum, London, 1227997001.

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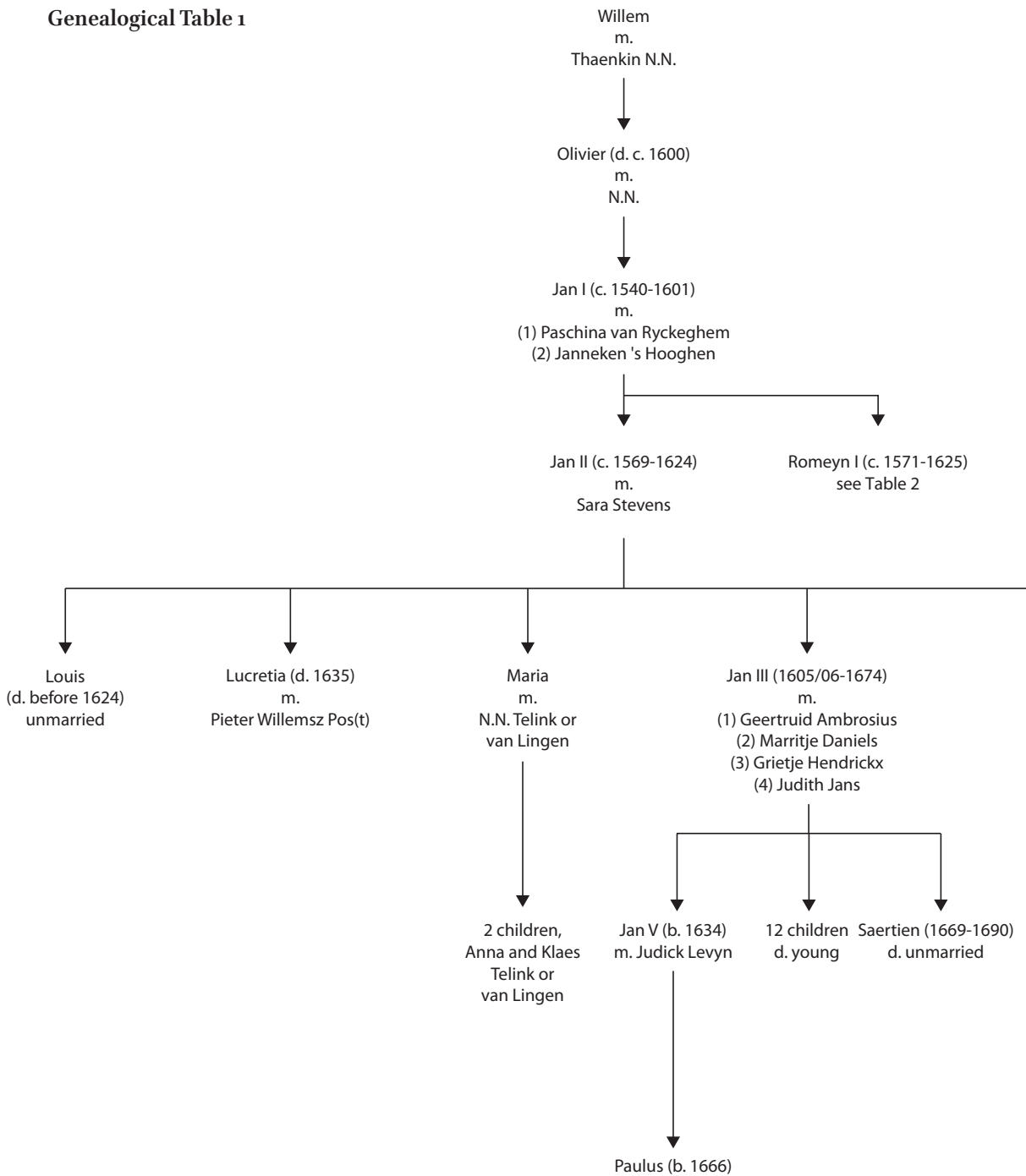
Note on Usage

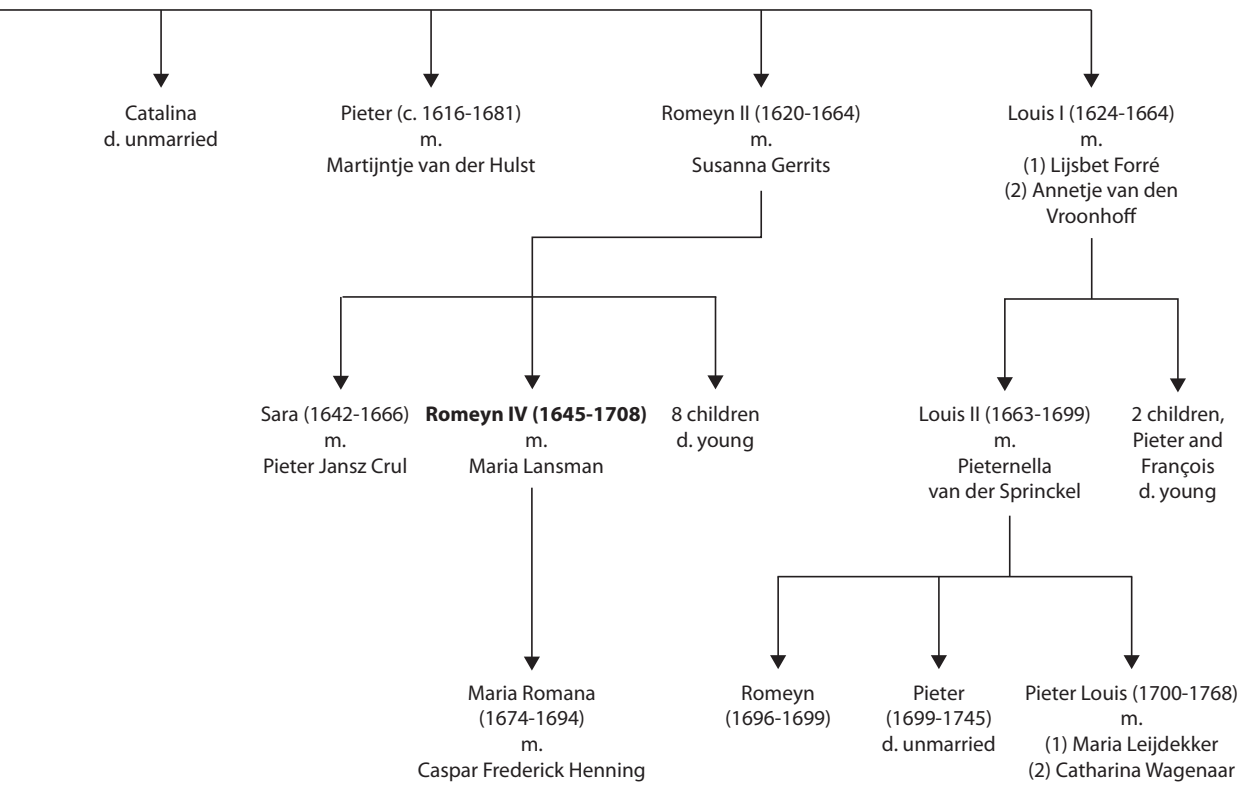
There was no uniform spelling in seventeenth-century Dutch, not even for Christian names and family names. Most names could be rendered in a bewildering variety of ways. The most common first name in Holland, 'Jan', thus appears in the sources as Johannes, Johan, Joannes, and Joan; 'Romeyn' is spelled Romeijn, Romijn, Romein, and Roemein; and 'de Hooghe' as de Hooge, de Hoge, de Hooch, or Dhooghe. I have tried to be as consistent as possible by selecting the spelling used most frequently in the sources or the spelling adopted most often in modern reference works, but complete consistency is impossible.

Dates are rendered in the 'new' or Gregorian year style, which was adopted in Holland in 1583. In Britain (as well as the Dutch provinces of Utrecht and Gelderland) the 'old' or Julian year style continued to be in use, with the result that the English calendar lagged ten days behind the calendar in Holland. In most cases, I have rendered the dates of events in England in old style (O.S.), unless indicated otherwise (N.S.).

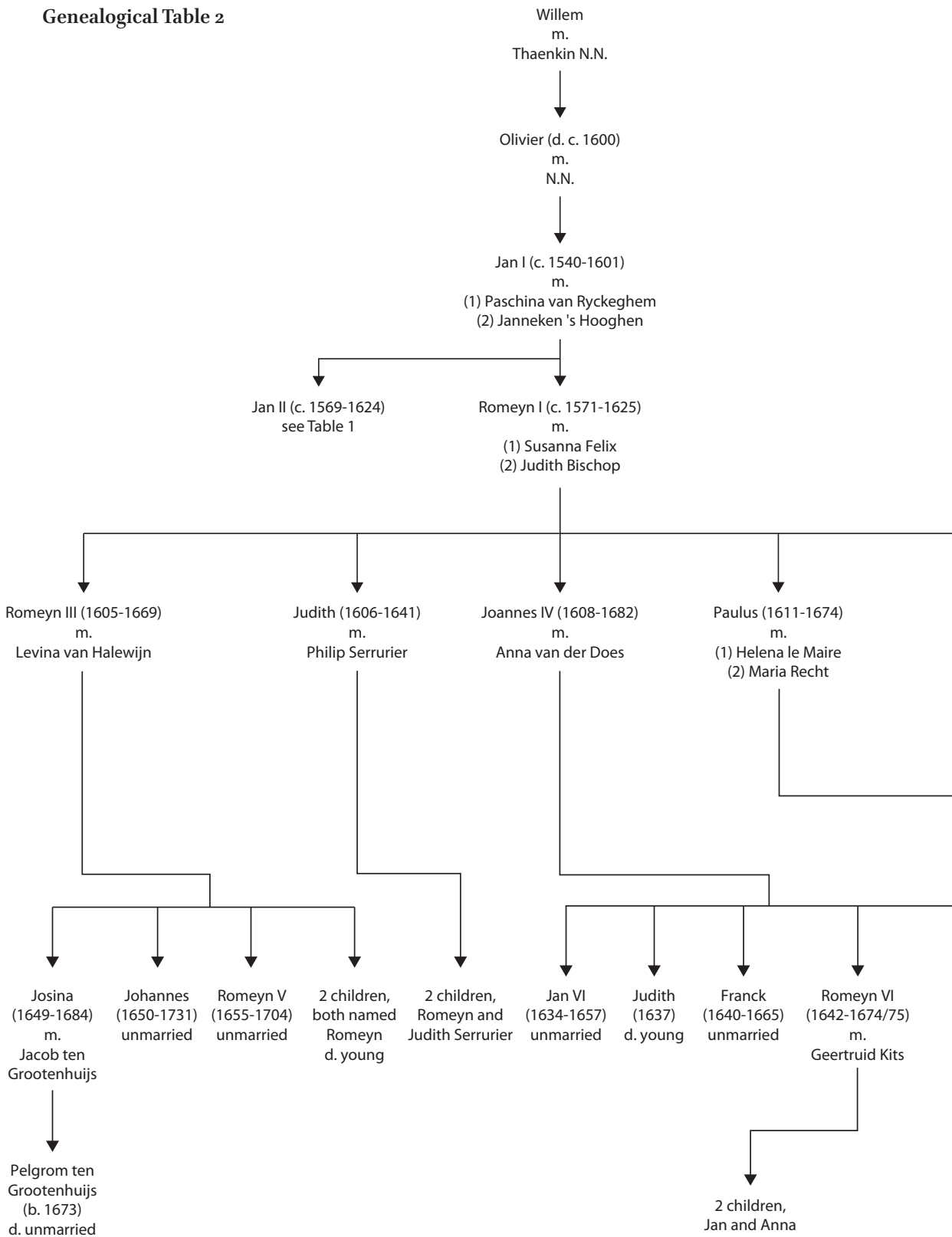
All sums of money are given in guilders, a money of account divided into 20 *stuivers* or stivers. There are various tools for converting seventeenth-century prices into present-day ones, but they are misleading due to the enormous economic and social changes that have taken place over more than three centuries. A master craftsman in seventeenth-century Amsterdam could make roughly 400 guilders a year.

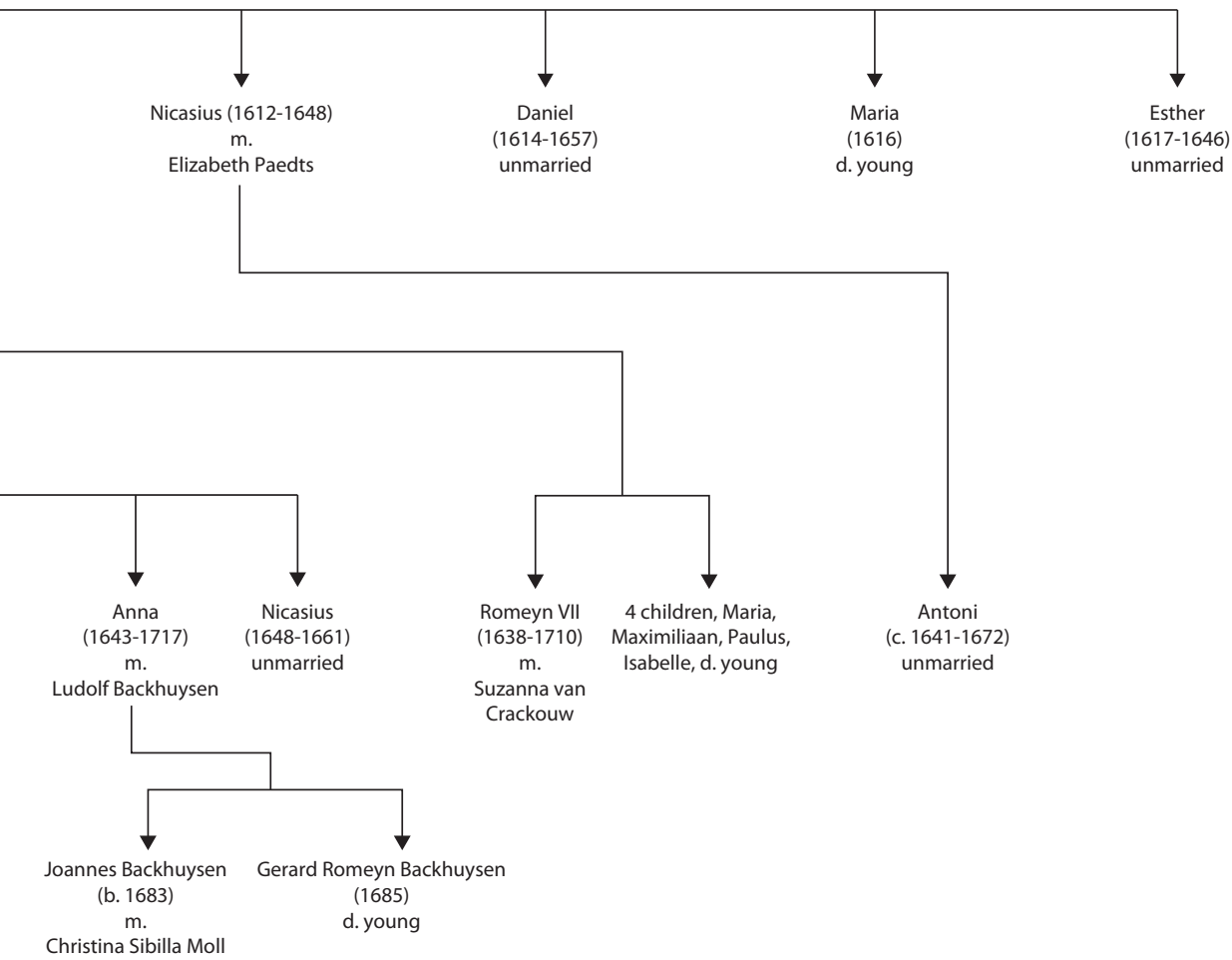
Genealogical Table 1





Genealogical Table 2





Abbreviations

AVS	<i>Atlas van Stolk: katalogus der historie-, spot- en zinneprenten betreffend de geschiedenis van Nederland</i> , ed. by G. van Rijn. 10 vols., Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1895-1933.
b.	born
bapt.	baptized
d.	died
fl.	flourished
FMH	Muller, Frederik, <i>De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen, zinneprenten en oude kaarten</i> . Vol. 1: <i>Jaren 100 tot 1702</i> . Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1863-1870.
H	Hollstein, F.W.H., <i>Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700</i> , vol. 9 (Amsterdam: Herzberger, 1953), entry Romeyn de Hooghe.
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief
Kn.	Knuttel, W.P.C., <i>Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek</i> , vol. 2-2 (1668-1688). The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1895.
LBI	Landwehr, John, <i>Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) as Book Illustrator: A Bibliography</i> . Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co./New York: Abner Schram, 1970.
LE	Landwehr, John, <i>Romeyn de Hooghe the Etcher: Contemporary portrayal of Europe 1662-1707</i> . Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff/New York: Oceana Dobbs Ferry, 1973.
m.	married
Meulman	<i>Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman</i> , ed. by J.K. van der Wulp. 3 vols., Amsterdam: Erven H. van Munster & zoon, 1866-1868.
NA	Nationaal Archief, The Hague
n.d.	no date
NHA	Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem
NNBW	<i>Nieuw Nederlands biografisch woordenboek</i> , ed. by P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, F.K.H. Kossmann. 10 vols., Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911-1937.
n.p.	no place
NUL, PWA	Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Archive
N.S.	New Style (Gregorian Calendar)
O.S.	Old Style (Julian Calendar)

RMA	Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
SAA	Stadsarchief Amsterdam
Thieme-Becker	<i>Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart</i> , ed. by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, 37 vols., Leipzig: Seemann, 1907-1950.
Tiele	<i>Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten: eerste afdeeling, Verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam</i> , ed. by P.A. Tiele. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1858-1861.
unm.	unmarried
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)
Walten Papers	Nationaal Archief, The Hague, 3.03.01.01 (Hof van Holland, 1428-1811), inv. no. 5366, file 14.
WRO	Worcestershire Record Office, Worcester

Introduction

Romeyn de Hooghe was the most inventive, prolific, and versatile graphic artist of the Dutch Republic in the late seventeenth century. He led an extraordinary life: one that proceeded from very austere circumstances – though not quite rags – to riches, and was marred by a never-ending stream of scandalmongering.

The credit side of his biography shows a vast oeuvre of graphic works, unsurpassed in magnitude and originality. Having enjoyed a sound classical education, he was well-read in ancient and modern literature and history. In middle-age, he obtained a law degree and served as a magistrate in Haarlem, where he established a drawing academy. During the six-year war with France (1672–1678), he glorified Stadtholder William III of Orange in a massive array of patriotic prints. Later, he became the stadtholder-king's premier propaganda artist, extolling to a reluctant Dutch audience the virtues of William's invasion of Britain, the Glorious Revolution, and the ensuing Nine Years' War (1688–1697). He lambasted William's adversaries, especially Louis XIV and James II, with acerbic satirical prints of striking originality. During the latter part of his life, he broadened his activities to become an all-round designer of statues, wall and ceiling paintings, triumphal arches, ornamental cups and goblets, and stained-glass windows. He distinguished himself as the author of learned works about the institutions of the United Netherlands, religious iconography, and the genealogy of world religions. He launched the world's first illustrated satirical journal. He allegedly invented new methods to make stained glass and print cotton, and engineered a sailing bomb to be employed in naval attacks. He set up a sandstone business and ran a spy network. Having begun his career as a simple artisan, he became a universal artist, an *uomo universale* in the grand Renaissance and Baroque tradition.

In spite of de Hooghe's astonishing and wide-ranging talents, his life was not an unqualified success. There was an unbalanced and roguish streak to his character that drove him to take vast and unwarranted risks, threatening to destroy his career time and again. He and his family were haunted by controversies, calumny, and slander. In a scurrilous novelette and a flood of libels, he was accused of making pornographic prints, lasciviousness, godlessness, blasphemy, fraud, embezzlement, and thievery. These charges, and the recklessness with which he attempted to refute them, make his biography read like a picaresque novel.

Shortly after his death, whilst duly recognizing his gifts as a designer and etcher, art critics painted a pitch-black picture of his character, privileging moral righteousness over a dispassionate exploration of the facts.¹ Only recently did historians pronounce a more positive verdict. Otto Benesch, for example, regarded Romeyn de Hooghe as

1 Houbraeken, *Groote schouburgh*, vol. 3, pp. 257–265; Campo Weyerman, *Levens-beschryvingen*, vol. 3, p. 113.

‘the most brilliant Dutch illustrator and one of the most important etchers ever’.² In a reconsideration of the pornography affair, Inger Leemans gave a positive spin to his involvement, reading it as an enlightened response to bigotry and priestcraft.³ On the basis of de Hooghe’s own writings on politics and his association with the radical philosopher and pamphleteer Ericus Walten, Jonathan Israel enlisted him into the army of the Radical Enlightenment; and Joke Spaans, exploring his religious convictions, came to the same conclusion.⁴ Whilst it is true that some, though certainly not all, of the charges brought against de Hooghe now appear to be harbingers of a more enlightened age, few historians have taken the trouble to explore the extent to which these accusations were justified.

It is somewhat surprising that no book-length study of his life has been written to date. There are several sketches in biographical reference works, such as the useful entry by M.D. Henkel in the Thieme-Becker lexicon.⁵ More recently, excellent biographical essays by Jeanine Otten and Anna de Haas have appeared, based on original research.⁶ William Harry Wilson’s dissertation on de Hooghe’s art unfortunately remains unpublished.⁷ The third centenary of de Hooghe’s death in 2008 brought an exposition in Amsterdam with an accompanying volume that established a *status questionis*, but also incorporated a considerable amount of fresh research.⁸ The present biography is in many ways indebted to that volume.

This biography does not follow the typical ‘The-Man-And-His-Work’ path. In the absence of a *catalogue raisonné*, our knowledge of Romeyn de Hooghe’s oeuvre is incomplete and uncertain. In any case, the magnitude of his artistic output is too great to warrant meaningful coverage in a biography. In focusing on de Hooghe’s life, I have discussed his art only when it seems to bear direct relevance to his biography. This has resulted in a somewhat uneven treatment of his works: whereas the largest part of his oeuvre consists of book illustrations, the chapters that follow tend to focus on news prints and satires, works that bear a direct relation to contemporary political events in which de Hooghe was involved.

Nevertheless, his vast graphic legacy did form a major source for this biography. His prints are available in two volumes by John Landwehr, one covering the free-standing etchings and the other the book illustrations.⁹ As they are incomplete and

2 Benesch, *Meisterzeichnungen*, p. 368; see also the exhibition catalogue Dallett, *Romeyn de Hooghe: Virtuoso Etcher*.

3 Leemans, *Woord*.

4 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, passim; Israel, *Monarchy*; Spaans, ‘Hiërogllyphen’, and Spaans, ‘Art’.

5 Thieme-Becker, vol. 17, pp. 458–461.

6 Otten, ‘Biografie’; de Haas, ‘Commissaris’.

7 Wilson, ‘Art’.

8 Van Nierop, *Romeyn de Hooghe*.

9 John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) as Book Illustrator: A Bibliography*. Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co./New York: Abner Schram, 1970 (henceforth cited as LBI) and John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe the*

unreliable, both works should be used with caution.¹⁰ Piet Verkruijsse and Garrelt Verhoeven have compiled a useful 'short title' catalogue of books containing de Hooghe's frontispieces and illustrations.¹¹ The prefix 'short title' indicates that the list has been assembled from catalogue entries only and that the authors have refrained from ascertaining whether the illustrations are genuinely by de Hooghe's hand; this is not always the case. The listing in the relevant Hollstein volume is far from complete.¹² These sources must be complemented with Ab van der Steur's catalogue of de Hooghe prints in his collection and Frederik Muller's invaluable catalogue of Dutch 'history prints'.¹³ In the present book, de Hooghe's prints will be identified, where appropriate, by referring to Landwehr's catalogues of freestanding etchings (LE plus page number) and book illustrations (LBI plus reference number), to vol. 9 of F.W.H. Hollstein's *Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (H), and to the Frederik Muller catalogue (FMH).

The prints themselves are readily available online. The largest collection is held by the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, which has made more than 1,500 de Hooghe prints (mostly free-standing ones) accessible on their website. The Special Collections Library of the University of Amsterdam has digitally published its vast collection of de Hooghe's book illustrations and frontispieces. Many other museums, print collections, and libraries have made their holdings digitally accessible, whilst an increasing number of books with de Hooghe's illustrations are being digitized by university libraries, non-profit organizations, and commercial companies such as the Internet Archive and Google Books.

In many of the reproductions of news prints and satirical prints, I have cut off the explicatory letterpress under the etching in order to save space; in these cases, the captions specify 'detail'. The Rijksmuseum Amsterdam website allows interested readers to study these images in their entirety. All artworks reproduced in this volume are etchings, unless specified otherwise.

One major source for the life of Romeyn de Hooghe is the pamphlet collection of the National Library of the Netherlands (*Koninklijke Bibliotheek*) in The Hague. The pamphlets are described in the catalogue by W.P.C. Knuttel and can be accessed digitally.¹⁴ The Knuttel catalogue has a section of nineteen pamphlet titles, labelled – not entirely accurately – 'exchanged between Nicolaes Muys van Holy and Romeyn

Etcher: Contemporary portrayal of Europe 1662–1707. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff/New York: Oceana Dobbs Ferry, 1973 (henceforth LA).

10 An extremely critical assessment of their value is to be found in Becker, 'Review'.

11 Verkruijsse and Verhoeven, 'Short title-lijst'.

12 Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, vol. 9, pp. 118–132, contains 1,131 entries.

13 Van der Steur, *Romeyn de Hooghe*; Frederik Muller *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen, zinneprenten en oude kaarten*. Vol. 1: *Jaren 100 tot 1702*. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1863–1870 (henceforth cited as FMH).

14 W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, vol. 2-2 (1668–1688). The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1895 (henceforth cited as Kn.).

de Hooghe' in 1690.¹⁵ In fact, many other pamphlets in the section on 'The Disputes between William III and Amsterdam' contain information about what was known as the Romeyn de Hooghe affair.¹⁶ Taken together, they provide a fascinating picture of the mud-slinging campaign in which he became embroiled. One of them, entitled *De nyd en twist-sucht nae 't leven afgebeeldt* ['Malice and Spirit of Quarrelling, Drawn after Life'] is his apology and contains a wealth of biographical data. These should not be taken at face value, however, due to the controversial and highly explosive context in which the pamphlet originated.¹⁷

Most of the manuscript sources bearing on de Hooghe's life are kept in the municipal archives of the two cities where he resided, Amsterdam and Haarlem. The notarial archives in particular contain an abundance of detailed information. The private papers of Amsterdam's burgomaster Joan Huydecoper, kept in the Utrecht Archives, include a rich file with papers relating to the 1690 'Pamphlet War', which contains a good number of autograph letters by de Hooghe.¹⁸

The almost daily association, over a number of years, with the subject of this biography has created a certain degree of familiarity. The author hopes that the reader will forgive him for referring to the protagonist by his first name, Romeyn, instead of the more formal and cumbersome 'Romeyn de Hooghe'.

¹⁵ Kn. 13534–13553.

¹⁶ Harms, *Pamfletten*, p. 175; Kn. 13428–13552.

¹⁷ Kn. 13551, *Nyd*.

¹⁸ HUA 67, inv. no. 97.