HENK VAN NIEROP

The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe
1645-1708

Prints, Pamphlets, and Politics in the Dutch Golden Age

AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE
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Henk van Nierop

Amsterdam University Press
## Contents

List of Figures ............................................ 9  
Acknowledgements ....................................... 17  
Note on Usage ............................................ 19  
Genealogical Tables ..................................... 20  
Abbreviations ........................................... 25  
Introduction ............................................. 27  

1. Under the Spire of the Zuiderkerk ................. 31  
   The Zuiderkerk ...................................... 31  
   The Gift of God ..................................... 33  
   Ancestors .......................................... 39  
   The Learned Son ................................... 44  

2. Ingenious Inventions and Rich Designs ............ 51  
   Setting Up .......................................... 51  
   News prints ...................................... 54  
   Paris and Beyond .................................. 56  
   Book Illustrations ................................ 61  
   Critical Appreciation ............................ 65  
   The Art of Etching ................................ 67  
   Inventions and Designs ......................... 69  
   Wrestlers and Jews ............................... 72  
   Commercial Success ............................. 77  
   Marriage ......................................... 79  
   Houses ............................................ 81  
   Claims to Gentility .............................. 85  

3. Patriotic Prints ....................................... 89  
   The Year of Disaster ............................. 89  
   Orangists and Republicans ..................... 90  
   The Elevation of the Prince of Orange ....... 94  
   The de Witt Brothers Slain ..................... 99  
   French Tyranny .................................. 103  
   Illustrating the War ............................. 110  
   The Gelderland Affair ........................... 114  
   Satire ............................................ 119  
   Publishing his Own Work ....................... 123
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedications</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wheel of Fortune</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitors</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. A Wandering Whore and a Talking Dog</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wandering Whore</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Talking Dog</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forged Chinese Pictures</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nicked Timepiece and the Lace Jabot</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The (Not So) Secret Life of Maria Lansman</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honour and Shame</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Anatomist and the Abbé</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novels and Drollery</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. A Fresh Start</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romeyn Evicted?</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Pieter’s Testament</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motives for Moving</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the Consistory</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settling Down</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving Up</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Drawing Academy and a Stately Mansion</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Prestigious Map</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client of the Stadtholder</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Blueberry Diploma</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. The Prince Abandoned and Regained</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Great Turkish War</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Luxembourg Affair</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glorious Revolution</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorifying the Revolution</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. The Harlequin Prints</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampooning the Sun King</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlequin Déodat</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Son of a Miller</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riding the Hippogryph</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs and Toads</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypochondriacs</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Lampooning the Regents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Cows, the Herdsman, and the Wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Affair of the Magistrates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A New Tune: Toads and Barrel-Riders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The French Calendar: The Cock and the Donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bigwig and the Privilege-Seeker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Stagecoach Chat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The French Blue Shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Cricket that Spoils the Harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The Pamphlet War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Triplet of Rogues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Quack: Govert Bidloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hack: Ericus Walten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Orangist Triumvirate at Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arch-Cuckold de Hooghe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vilifying Romeyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scaling Mount Parnassus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arch-Cuckold Shareholder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Memorandum of Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legal Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romeyn Interrogated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blasphemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A False Libel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Embarrassing Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Honour Defended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Chief Sheriff Fooled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More Pamphlets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bribery Exposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malice and the Spirit of Quarrelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romeyn Spins a Conspiracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walten Sacrificed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tying Up Loose Ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Serving the Stadtholder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Desolate End of Ericus Walten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Running a Spy Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father and Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vassal of Kennemerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Composing most Pompously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intendant of the King’s Buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director of the Lingen Quarries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director of the Triumphal Arches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tampering with the Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oil Paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glasses, Cups, and Medals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The World’s First Satirical Periodical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-Portraits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Final Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Masterless Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Man of Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Invisible Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death and Legacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix: Genealogy of the De Hooghe Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manuscript Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pamphlets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Published Primary Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Fig. 1.1. Pieter Hendricksz Schut, *The Zuiderkerk*, c. 1652–1660. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1906-2691.

Fig. 1.2. Romeyn de Hooghe and Gerard Valck, Map of Amsterdam, 1674–1681 (detail). Stadsarchief Amsterdam, KOG-AA-3-02-071.

Fig. 1.3. Jacob van der Ulft, *View of Dam Square*, 1655. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-4576.

Fig. 1.4. Coat of Arms of Simon de Hooghe, Alderman of Ghent. Philippe de l’Espinoy, *Recherche des antiquitez et noblesse de Flandres, etc.* (1631), p. 642. Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM OG 06 522.

Fig. 1.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Shepherdess with Cattle*, 1662. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.011.

Fig. 1.6. Romeyn de Hooghe after Willem Schellincks, *Raid on the River Medway and the Isle of Sheppey*, 1667. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1897-79.259.

Fig. 1.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Title Print to 'Figures à la mode'*, c. 1667. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1939-368.

Fig. 2.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Trade card*, c. 1674–1693. Private collection.

Fig. 2.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Peace Negotiations at Breda*, 1667. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1885-A-9009.


Fig. 2.4. Romeyn de Hooghe after Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Entry of Louis XIV into Dunkirk*, c. 1668. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1911-554.

Fig. 2.5. Romeyn de Hooghe after Jan de Bisschop, Frontispiece to Constantijn Huygens, *Zee-straet* (1667). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-AO-11-43.

Fig. 2.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to *Hollandse Mercurius* (1670). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.263.

Fig. 2.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Bursting of the Dike at Coevorden*, 1678. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.280.

Fig. 2.8. Romeyn de Hooghe, Plate 61 in Nicolaes Petter, *Klare onderrichtinge der voortreffelijke worstel-konst* (1674). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM OG 63 2229.

Fig. 2.9. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Circumcision, probably in the Family of Jeronimo Nunes da Costa*, c. 1665–1668. Drawing on parchment, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-T-00-381.
Fig. 2.10. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Opening Ceremony of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam*, 1675. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-AO-1920-445.

Fig. 2.11. Romeyn de Hooghe after Jacob Isaacksz van Ruysdael, The Portuguese-Jewish Cemetery Beth Haim at Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, ca. 1675–1696. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-AO-8-16B.

Fig. 2.12. Jacob van der Ulft, *Dam Square with ‘The Wakeful Dog’* (detail of fig. 1.3). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-4576.


Fig. 2.14. Pieter Schenk, *View of Binnenkant on Nieuwe Waalseiland*, c. 1710. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 010097003763.

Fig. 2.15. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Portrait of John III Sobieski King of Poland on Horseback at the Battle of Chotyn*, 1674. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-2003-238.

Fig. 2.16. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Allegory of the Marriage of Francisco Mollo and Anna Maria Ooms*, 1674. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1903-A-23614.

Fig. 3.1. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Allegory on the Position of William III as the Saviour of the Fatherland*, 1665 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-68.282.

Fig. 3.2. Romeyn de Hooghe after Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Allegory of the Political Situation*, 1672 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.036.

Fig. 3.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *William III Sworn in as Supreme Commander of the Army of the Dutch Republic*, 1672. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.040.

Fig. 3.4. Romeyn de Hooghe, *William III Triumphant*, c. 1672 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.044.

Fig. 3.5. *Equestrian Portrait of William on the Occasion of his Visit to Amsterdam*, 1672. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1944-1434.

Fig. 3.6. Romeyn de Hooghe after Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Louis XIV on Horseback*, detail of *Entry of Louis XIV into Dunkirk*, c. 1668 (fig. 2.4). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1911-554.

Fig. 3.7. Romeyn de Hooghe (ascr.), *Mutilation of the Bodies of the de Witt Brothers*, 1672. Drawing. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-T-00-333.

Fig. 3.8. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Lynching of the de Witt Brothers*, 1672 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.136.

Fig. 3.9. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Lynching of the de Witt Brothers*, 1672 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.176.
Fig. 3.10. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Miraculous Mirror of the de Witt Brothers*, 1675. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.116.

Fig. 3.11. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Miraculous Orange Mirror*, 1675. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.266.

Fig. 3.12. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Mirror of the French Tyranny Committed against the Villages of Holland*, 1673 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.183.

Fig. 3.13. Romeyn de Hooghe, *French Cruelties in Bodegraven and Zwammerdam*, 1673. Illustration to Abraham de Wicquefort, *Avis fidelle aux veritables hollandois* (1673), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.198.

Fig. 3.14. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Siege of Naarden*, 1673. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.177.

Fig. 3.15. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Siege of Grave*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.305.

Fig. 3.16. Romeyn de Hooghe, *William III Declines the Office of Duke of Gelderland*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.433.

Fig. 3.17. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Battle of Seneffe*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.303.

Fig. 3.18. Romeyn de Hooghe, *William III at the Battle of St Denis*, 1678. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1885-A-9006.

Fig. 3.19. Romeyn de Hooghe (attr.), *Death of the Eternal Edict*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.293.

Fig. 3.20. Romeyn de Hooghe (attr.), *Anticurius of Loevesteyn*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.152.

Fig. 3.21. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Failed Popish War*, 1674 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-67.711.

Fig. 3.22. Romeyn de Hooghe (attr.), *The Two Naval Battles off Schoonevelt*, 1673 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.275.

Fig. 3.23. Romeyn de Hooghe, * Allegory on the Events of 1680*. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.446.

Fig. 3.24. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to *Schouburgh der Nederlandse veranderingen* (1674). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.284.

Fig. 3.25. Romeyn de Hooghe, *War and Tyranny Ravaging the Netherlands*, Plate 4 in *Schouburgh der Nederlandse veranderingen* (1674). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.159.

Fig. 3.26. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Allegory on the Peace of Nijmegen*, 1678 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.445.

Fig. 4.1. Anon., Frontispiece to *Het Wonderlijk leeven van ’t Boulonnois Hondtje* (1681). National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague, 1771 G 52.
Fig. 4.2. Romeyn de Hooghe (attr.), *Pomp and Circumstance of the Mandarins*, in Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye* (1670). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM KF 61 3979.

Fig. 4.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, Illustration in Baldassare Castiglione, *Den volmaakten hooveling* (1675). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM OK 61 2511.

Fig. 5.1. Anon., *Romeyn de Hooghe Expelled from Amsterdam*, c. 1690. Drawing, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 890147.

Fig. 5.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Map of Haarlem*, 1688–1689 (detail of fig. 5.5). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, 51001152 o1.

Fig. 5.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Nieuwe Gracht*, 1688 (detail of fig. 5.5). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1895-A-18786.

Fig. 5.4. Anon., *Nieuwe Gracht 13, Haarlem*, 1930. Photograph, Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, 54999903-1 42.

Fig. 5.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Map of Haarlem*, 1688–1689. Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, 51001152 o1.

Fig. 6.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Siege of Vienna*, 1683. Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, 105270.

Fig. 6.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Capture of the Grand Standard and Defeat of the Ottomans*, 1683. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.141.

Fig. 6.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Capture of Buda by the Imperial and Allied Forces*, 1686. Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, 53009907 o1.

Fig. 6.4. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Victory of Duke Charles V of Lorraine and Margrave Louis William of Baden-Baden over the Ottomans at Nagyharsány*, 1687. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1907-4579.

Fig. 6.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Glorification of John III of Poland*, 1685. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, KG 06593.

Fig. 6.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Allegory on the victories of Emperor Leopold I over the Ottomans*, 1686–1687. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1930-231.

Fig. 6.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Ascension of Spanish Soldiers Slain in the Battles against the Ottomans*, 1687. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.330.

Fig. 6.8. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Map of Luxembourg Besieged by the French*, 1684. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.324.

Fig. 6.9. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Repression of the Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 1686. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.182.

Fig. 6.10. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Departure of the Invasion Fleet of William III*, 1688 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.447.
Fig. 6.11. Romeyn de Hooghe after Hekhuisen, *Departure and Arrival of the Invasion Fleet of William III*, 1688. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-67.719.

Fig. 6.12. Romeyn de Hooghe after Hekhuisen, *Coronation Ceremonies of William and Mary in Westminster*, 1688 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.454.


Fig. 6.15. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Allegory of William III's English Enterprise*, 1688. Mezzotint, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.623.

Fig. 7.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Fair Constance Dragooned by Harlequin Déodat*, 1688. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.346.

Fig. 7.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Europe Alarmed for the Son of a Miller*, 1688 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.348.

Fig. 7.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Harlequin on the Hippogryph on the Loyalist Crusade*, 1688 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.344.

Fig. 7.4. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Arlequin Furious and Pantagion Triumphant*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.342.

Fig. 7.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Arlequin Déodat and Pamirge Hypochondriacs*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.185.

Fig. 7.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Feast of the Three Kings at the Invalides*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.350.

Fig. 7.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Epiphany of the New Antichrist*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.347.

Fig. 7.8. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Tumbling Monarchs*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.352.

Fig. 7.9. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Panurge Seconded by Arlequin Déodat on the Irish Crusade*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.353.

Fig. 7.10. Anon. after Romeyn de Hooghe, *Harlequin on the Hippogryph*, 1688. Mezzotint, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-68.287.

Fig. 7.11. Christian Wermuth, Silver medal with (obverse) Father Petre mounted on a lobster, holding the Prince of Wales, and (reverse) armorial shield bearing a windmill with Jesuit’s cap, rosary, and lobster, 1688. British Museum, London, G3.EM.338.

Fig. 8.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Fable of the Cows, the Herdsman, and the Wolf*, 1690. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.423.
Fig. 8.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *New Tune of the Triple Crusade of Knights and Grandees Descended from Shop Signs*, 1690. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.184.

Fig. 8.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Mardi Gras de Cocq à l’Âne or the French Calendar*, 1690 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.189.

Fig. 8.4. Anon. (circle of Romeyn de Hooghe), *Bigwig and the Privilege Seeker*, 1690 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1885-A-8725.

Fig. 8.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to Anon., *Postwagen-praetjen, tussen een Hagenaer, Amsterdammer beneficiant, schipper en Frans koopman* (1690) (Kn. 13499). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1878-A-1270.

Fig. 8.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The French Blue Shin*, 1690 (detail). Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, o36919.

Fig. 9.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, Frontispiece to Govert Bidoo, *Brieven der gemartelde apostelen* (1675). Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM O 63 1010.

Fig. 9.2. Bernard Picart after Romeyn de Hooghe, *Satire on the Schouwburg Controversy*, 1716. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.417.

Fig. 9.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Discussion on Mt Parnassus*, in Traiano Boccalini, *Pietra del paragone politico* (1671), p. 58. Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM Mini 72.

Fig. 11.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Pantagruel Agonizing*, 1689 (detail). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1937-2140.

Fig. 11.2. Anonymous letter to Joan Huydecoper, 1690. Het Utrechts Archief, 67 (Familie Huydecoper), no. 33.


Fig. 12.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Attack on Dunkirk*, 1695. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, KG 06526.

Fig. 12.3. Romeyn de Hooghe after Anon., *Queen Mary II on her Deathbed*, 1695. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-67.728.

Fig. 13.1. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The God of the River IJssel*, 1686. Drawing, Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, o11314.

Fig. 13.2. Romeyn de Hooghe, *River Gods at the Cascades behind Het Loo Palace*, c. 1695 (detail of fig. 13.3). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-102.033.

Fig. 13.3. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Views of Het Loo Palace*, c. 1695. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-102.033.

Fig. 13.4. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Triumphal Arch on the Market in The Hague*, 1691. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.301.

Fig. 13.5. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Triumphal Arch on Plaats in The Hague*, 1691. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.299.
Fig. 13.6. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Triumphal Arch on Buitenhof*, 1691. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.294.

Fig. 13.7. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Fireworks on Hofvijver*, 1691. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.302.

Fig. 13.8. Romeyn de Hooghe (attr.), *Allegory of Coinage*, undated. Oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-833.

Fig. 13.9. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The City of Alkmaar Swears Allegiance to the Maiden of Holland*, 1694. Oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, 21032.

Fig. 13.10. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Splendour and the Eminent Respect for the Office of Burgomaster*, 1707. Oil on canvas, Gemeente Enkhuizen, photograph Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, 96765.

Fig. 13.11. Romeyn de Hooghe, Design for *The Splendour and the Eminent Respect for the Office of Burgomaster*, 1707. Drawing, West-Fries Archief, Hoorn, 7140 008.

Fig. 13.12. Romeyn de Hooghe, Design for a glass window in the north gable of the Oosterkerk in Hoorn, 1703. Drawing, Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, 359 004609 G.

Fig. 13.13. Anon., Representation of a medal with (obverse) portraits of the de Witt brothers and (reverse) an allegory of their murder, 1672–1677. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-82.250.

Fig. 13.14. Romeyn de Hooghe, Title page to *Aesopus in Europa* (1701). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-037-1.

Fig. 13.15. Taco Jelgersma after Romeyn de Hooghe, *Portrait of Romeyn de Hooghe*, 18th century. Pen in black, brush in water colour, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-T-00-911.


Fig. 13.17. Cornelis van Noorde after Taco Jelgersma, *Portrait of Romeyn de Hooghe*, 18th century. Woodcut, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-30.216.

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 doorlughtige heeren gebroeders Cornelis de Witt en Johan de Witt* (1705). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1960-345.

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.

Acknowledgements

Two institutions and many individuals have munificently contributed to the completion of this work. The first institution is the interdisciplinary Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, based at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam. Numerous conversations over a number of years with colleagues versed in the History of Art, Literature, Religion, Philosophy, and the History of the Printed Book have helped me clarify my thoughts and hone my argument. The other one is the unsurpassed Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, where during the spring of 2014 I enjoyed time, facilities, and intellectual companionship to work on this book without having to meet any conditions. Jonathan Israel and Annette Munt were charming hosts, lavishing friendship as well as intellectual and other food. Anna de Haas generously put her own files on Romeyn de Hooghe at my disposal, continued to send me all *Hoogheana* she stumbled across, and finally read and commented upon the entire manuscript. Ilja Veldman and Huigen Leeflang also read the manuscript and aided me liberally with their deep knowledge of the early modern print world. I am grateful for the kind help in the form of comments, criticism, ideas, references, practical assistance, and more from Gerlinde de Beer, Judith Belinfante, Phil Benedict, Marten Jan Bok, Clara Brinkgreve, Tony Claydon, Monique Copper, Joseph B. Dallett, Paul Dijstelberge, Maartje van Gelder, Lia van Gemert, Michiel van Groesen, Meredith Hale, Erik Hinterding, Geert Janssen, Elmer Kolfin, Katarzyna Kuras, Charles-Edouard Levillain, Clé Lesger, Guido Marnef, Jeanine Otten, Maarten van de Poll, Judith Pollmann, Ben Schmidt, Eric Jan Sluyter, Jo Spaans, the late Ab van der Steur, Taco Tichelaar, Jaap van der Veen, Arnoud Visser, Arthur der Weduwen, and Marieke de Winkel. Vivien Collingwood corrected and superbly improved my English text. Inge van der Bijl, Chantal Nicolaes, and their colleagues made working with Amsterdam University Press a pleasure. Finally, my wife Tine, in her own incomparable way, encouraged me to pursue my quest for the elusive Mr de Hooghe.
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 Hoooghe' 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

Willem
m.
Thaenkin N.N.

Olivier (d. c. 1600)
m.
N.N.

Jan I (c. 1540-1601)
m.
(1) Paschina van Ryckeghem
(2) Janneken 's Hooghen

Jan II (c. 1569-1624)
m.
Sara Stevens

Romeyn I (c. 1571-1625)
see Table 2

Louis
(d. before 1624)
unmarried

Lucretia (d. 1635)
m.
Pieter Willemz Pos(t)

Maria
m.
N.N. Telink or van Lingen

Jan III (1605/06-1674)
m.
(1) Geertruid Ambrosius
(2) Marritje Daniels
(3) Grietje Hendrickx
(4) Judith Jans

2 children,
Anna and Klaes
Telink or van Lingen

Jan V (b. 1634)
m. Judick Levyn

Jan V (b. 1634)
12 children
Saertien (1669-1690)
d. unmarried

d. young

Pieter (c. 1616-1681)
m.
Martijntje van der Hulst

Romeyn II (1620-1664)
m.
Susanna Gerrits

Louis I (1624-1664)
m.
(1) Lijsbet Forré
(2) Annetje van den Vroonhoff

Paulus (b. 1666)
Genealogical Table 2

Willem m. Thaenkin N.N.

Olivier (d. c. 1600)
m. N.N.

Jan I (c. 1540-1601)
m. (1) Paschina van Ryckeghem
(2) Janneken 's Hooghen

Jan II (c. 1569-1624)
see Table 1

Romeyn I (c. 1571-1625)
m. (1) Susanna Felix
(2) Judith Bischop

Romeyn III (1605-1669)
m. Levina van Halewijn

Judith (1606-1641)
m. Philip Serrurier

Joannes IV (1608-1682)
m. Anna van der Does

Paulus (1611-1674)
m. (1) Helena le Maire
(2) Maria Recht

Josina (1649-1684)
m. Jacob ten Grootenhuijs

Johannes (1650-1731)
unmarried

Romelyn V (1655-1704)
unmarried

2 children, both named Romeyn d. young

2 children, Romeyn and Judith Serrurier

Jan VI (1634-1657)
unmarried

Judith (1637)
d. young

Franck (1640-1665)
unmarried

Romeyn VI (1642-1674/75)
m. Geertruid Kits

2 children, Jan and Anna

Pelgrom ten Grootenhuijs (b. 1673)
d. unmarried
Nicasius (1612-1648) m. Elizabeth Paedts

Anna (1643-1717) m. Ludolf Backhuysen

Joannes Backhuysen (b. 1683) m. Christina Sibilla Moll

Nicasius (1648-1661) unmarried

Gerard Romeyn Backhuysen (1685) d. young

Daniel (1614-1657) unmarried

Romeyn VII (1638-1710) m. Suzanna van Crackouw

4 children, Maria, Maximiliaan, Paulus, Isabelle, d. young

Maria (1616) d. young

Esther (1617-1646) unmarried

Joannes IV (1608-1682) m. Anna van der Does

Daniel (1614-1657) unmarried

Maria (1616) d. young

Esther (1617-1646) unmarried

Romeyn III (1605-1669) m. Levina van Halewijn

Judith (1606-1641) m. Philip Serrurier

Joannes IV (1608-1682) m. Anna van der Does

Paulus (1611-1674) m. (1) Helena le Maire (2) Maria Recht

Nicasius (1612-1648) m. Elizabeth Paedts

Antoni (c. 1641-1672) unmarried

Maria (1616) d. young

Esther (1617-1646) unmarried

Willem m. Thaenkin N.N.

Olivier (d. c. 1600) m. N.N.

Jan I (c. 1540-1601) m. (1) Paschina van Ryckeghem (2) Janneken 's Hooghen

Romeyn I (c. 1571-1625) m. (1) Susanna Felix (2) Judith Bischop

Jan II (c. 1569-1624) see Table 1

Daniel (1614-1657) unmarried

Maria (1616) d. young

Esther (1617-1646) unmarried
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>born</td>
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<tr>
<td>bapt.</td>
<td>baptized</td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>died</td>
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<td>fl.</td>
<td>flourished</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUA</td>
<td>Het Utrechts Archief</td>
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<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meulman</td>
<td>Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman, ed. by J.K. van der Wulp. 3 vols., Amsterdam: Erven H. van Munster &amp; zoon, 1866-1868.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Nationaal Archief, The Hague</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHA</td>
<td>Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.p.</td>
<td>no place</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUL, PWA</td>
<td>Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Archive</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>New Style (Gregorian Calendar)</td>
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<td>O.S.</td>
<td>Old Style (Julian Calendar)</td>
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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. Only recently did historians pronounce a more positive verdict. Otto Benesch, for example, regarded Romeyn de Hooghe as

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‘the most brilliant Dutch illustrator and one of the most important etchers ever’. 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. 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. 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. More recently, excellent biographical essays by Jeanine Otten and Anna de Haas have appeared, based on original research. William Harry Wilson’s dissertation on de Hooghe’s art unfortunately remains unpublished. 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. 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. As they are incomplete and

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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, ‘Hiëroglyphen’, and Spaans, ‘Art’.
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.


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. v: Jaren 100 tot 1702. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1863–1870 (henceforth cited as FMH).
de Hooghe’ in 1690.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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’.

\textsuperscript{15} Kn. 13534–13553.
\textsuperscript{16} Harms, *Pamfletten*, p. 175; Kn. 13428–13552.
\textsuperscript{17} Kn. 13551, *Nyd*.
\textsuperscript{18} HUA 67, inv. no. 97.