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**Images of two 17th-century Dutch women:
from 17th century ideal to 19th-century myth**

In 1855 the Dutch author Everardus Potgieter, one of the prominent literary men of his time, made his sister Sophie a present of a beautiful set of jewellery, manufactured after his own design by the goldsmith van Kempen. Each of the pieces of this golden finery was decorated with the portrait of a historical Dutch woman. The bracelet and the drop earrings displayed the images of highborn ladies like Amalia van Solms, wife of stadholder Frederic Henry, and the first countess of Holland, Jacoba van Beieren, while in the other pieces 17th century women of non-noble birth were represented. Sophie's chaste bosom was to be adorned by the image of Maria van Reigersberch (in the pendant of the necklace) and by that of Maria van Utrecht (in the brooch), each of them the wife of a famous 17th-century Dutch statesman, respectively of Hugo Grotius and of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. The cuff links held the portraits of two poetesses: Anna and Maria Tesselschade, daughters of the Amsterdam merchant-poet Roemer Visscher.¹

Potgieter probably hoped that his sister would emulate in particular those commoner women of the Golden Age. After all, he had already devoted many years of his literary profession to his loftiest ambition: to inspire his sluggish fellow-countrymen with the strength of mind of their energetic ancestors of the Golden Age, who once had made the Dutch Republic great.²

In Potgieter's time, in the middle of the 19th century, the feminine part of the Dutch nation had already for some time been encouraged to take example from especially Maria van Reigersberch,

wife of Hugo Grotius, and from the youngest daughter of Roemer Visscher, Maria Tesselschade. Their exemplary role had been established not only by historians who studied the glorious past, but by representations of that past in literature and the visual arts as well. The 19th-century fame of both women, however different, went back to the praise that was bestowed on them in their own time. On the basis of these data I intend to demonstrate how 17th-century poets helped to lay the foundations for the 19th-century hero worship of eminent forebears.

**Maria van Reigersberch in the 17th
century: the sources for the legend**

Maria van Reigersberch was the wife of the scholar, statesman and internationally famous jurist Hugo Grotius, the once infant prodigy who had been described as 'the oracle of Delft', with reference to his birthplace. During the 12 Years' Truce with Spain, Grotius had been the right-hand man of the Great Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who came into serious conflict with stadholder Maurits in affairs of religion and politics. In 1618, after the coup d'état of Maurits and the fall of Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius had been dragged down in the political upheaval and had been imprisoned for life in the fortress of Loevestein, which served as a state prison. His wife Maria not only joined him in that gloomy place, but she also devised a clever plan to have him relea-

sed. The exciting story of Grotius' escape in a book-chest, taken across the river Maas to the town of Gorinchem under the care of Maria's servant-girl, must have been a favorite topic among the well-informed members of the Dutch republican party, after Grotius had taken refuge in Paris. But it was thanks to the poet Joost van den Vondel, a great admirer of Grotius, that Maria van Reigersberch was raised to the embodiment of feminine intelligence and conjugal fidelity. In 1632 he devoted a poem to the courageous behaviour of this woman. "The deliverance of Hugo Grotius" (Huigh de Groots verlossing) contains often quoted lines like the following:

A woman laughs at all those who try to oppress her
And she lets them grate their teeth.
One woman is too terrible for a thousand men.
O eternal honour of Reigersberch:
In the coming centuries people will tell
How you have outwitted hatred,
After the long years that you,
Like that other Maria near the cross,
Had given comfort to your husband,
Who was regarded as a murderer.

(Een vrouw belacht al die haar persen
En laat hen op de tanden knarsen.
Eén vrouw is duizend mannen t' erg.
O eeuwige eer van Reigersberg:
De volgende eeuwen zullen spreken
Hoe gij de haat hebt uitgestreken,
Nadat ge, op 't droef gevangenhuis,
Gelijk Marye neffens 't kruis
Uw' bruijom, onder moordenaren
Gerekend, troostte hele jaren.³)

In this poem Vondel found more arguments for his statement about the superiority of women in this respect by comparing Maria's resourceful marital love with the loyal attitude of the biblical Michol, the wife of the future king David, and that of one of the daughters of the mythological king Danaus.

Grotius himself, who used to write poetry in Latin, also devoted a Dutch poem to the compassion of his brave spouse who stayed behind in Loevestein

and had to endure the wrath of the governor before she was allowed by the States of Holland to follow her husband into exile.

Vondel's poem, first published in 1644, was reprinted in all editions of his poetry; the one by Grotius also became known already during Maria's lifetime because it was published in an important anthology of Dutch poetry.⁴ But it was not until 1727 that the full story was described in detail in the great biography of Grotius by Caspar Brandt and Adriaan van Cattenburgh, based on handed-down verbal communications and letters of the protagonists themselves, now also including information about the important role of the servant-girl Elsje van Houweningen.⁵ Vondel's poem was of course also included, just like the portrait of Maria after a 17th century painting (made in 1640), that was to be reproduced quite often.

This biography also gave attention to Maria's firm stand immediately after Grotius' arrest: her refusal to ask stadholder Maurits for mercy for her husband, and her exhortation to Grotius not to plead guilty either. She shared this dignified defence of the honor of her husband with Maria van Utrecht, the wife of van Oldenbarnevelt, who therefore was deemed worthy by Potgieter to adorn Sophie's bosom.

In the biography of Grotius there is also a reference to the three tableaux and accompanying verses in a stained glass window that had been installed in 1627 in the house of Abraham Daetselaer, where Grotius had taken refuge after his escape in the book chest. (This window is now in the Gorinchem museum). In one of the tableaux can be seen the classical figure of Titus Iunius, once also hidden from his adversaries in a chest by his wife Tanusia: looking exactly like Grotius he

peeped out from under the lid, under the eyes of his wife.

Maria Tesselschade Roemer Visscher in the 17th century: the creation of a myth

It was in fact her attitude during just one period of her life that made Maria van Reigersberch the heroic wife par excellence already in her own time, provided with virtues like feminine courage, cleverness and loyalty. Maria Tesselschade, the daughter of the Amsterdam merchant poet Roemer Visscher, however, born in 1594 and thus her junior by 4½ years, was during her whole adult life praised for her all-round artistic talents, her lively charm and wit and feminine wisdom by several well-known poets.⁶ Thanks to an all-round education, given by their liberal, learned and well-to-do father, Tesselschade and her older sister Anna mastered the artistic techniques of drawing, the engraving of glass and ingenious embroidery, as well as those of making music and writing poetry. Both girls learned to speak and write French and Italian, but Tesselschade played more instruments than her sister, like the lute, harpsichord and the viola da gamba, and she apparently had a good singing voice.

In itself such a variety of accomplishments was probably not so exceptional during a time when educated members of the upper middle class regarded the amateur practising of many arts — by men and women — as the creative self-expression of harmonious human beings endowed with an aesthetic sense. It was again by the work of poets that these two were immortalized. The mythologization started with poems for Anna, who for her unique combination of artistic gifts, knowledge and virtue was honored by the then famous poet and classicist Daniel Heinsius, as well as by Jacob Cats and Joost van den Vondel. Vondel must have met both girls already in their youth in the Amsterdam home of their father, a house that was also visited by other prominent

Amsterdam poets like Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft. It was Hooft who introduced the diplomat Constantijn Huygens, from The Hague, into this literary circle. After her rather late marriage in 1624 Anna withdrew from the arts. Tesselschade married the retired naval officer Allard Crombalch, but she had also found in Hooft a literary friend and guide for life. As a regular guest at Muiden Castle she also remained in contact with Hooft's friends for the rest of her life. After the death of her husband, when she was 40 years old, she found a new admirer in Hooft's friend Barlaeus, the learned neo-Latin poet, while at the same time her contact with Huygens became more intense.

Tesselschade's own poetry was only partly accessible, insofar as it was printed in anthologies. But as her literary friends did not hesitate to publish their poems for and on her in the editions of their work, she figured in public as the personal friend and bright Muse of these great authors already in the 17th century. So her contemporaries could be informed of the infatuation of the young poet and painter Bredero, who had died young, for the lovely but unapproachable young Tesselschade; one could know the light-hearted poetry by Hooft, Huygens and Vondel, written on the occasion of her marriage, and quite a few poems by Huygens. He wrote about the death of her husband and daughter, and after her conversion to the Catholic faith he tried in vain to bring her back to Protestantism by means of sometimes highly critical poems. It was also Huygens who wrote a poem on her death in 1649, in which he warned his readers that nobody should dare use words "to take the measure of her invaluable qualities" (*Laat niemand zich vermeten / Haar onwaardelijkheid in woorden uit te meten*), since there were no

adequate words to describe the sun (Al wat men van de zon kan zeggen gaat haar af).⁷ Meanwhile only Latin scholars were able to read Barlaeus' exalted poems on his admirable Muse, poems which he published when Tesselschade was still alive, namely in a special part of his collected Latin poems (1646), entitled "Tessalica." But especially Vondel's dedication of his translation of Sophocles' *Elektra* to Tesselschade (1639) must have made quite an impression. In this text the prince of the Dutch poets rendered homage to the "wise and intelligent" (wijze en vernuftige) woman, who could understand his translation problems, because she herself was working on the translation of Tasso's famous Italian epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (The liberated Jerusalem). Vondel praised Tesselschade's literary qualities in poetic words referring to "the sweet dew of subtle pieces of cleverness and spirited flowers" (de lieflijke dauw van aardige spitsvondigheden en geestige bloemen) with which she refreshed "the Dutch Parnassus".⁸

In the biography of Hooft by Geeraerd Brandt (1677), Tesselschade received special attention as the "intelligent and virtuous poetess" (de schrandere en zedige dichteres) who had helped to turn Muiden Castle into a "Mountain of the Muses," full of mirth.⁹ But her role in the social gatherings of Hooft's friends was yet to be established by the first publication of Hooft's letters by Balthasar Huydecoper, in 1738. This edition was to become an often quoted source of information for several later generations, just as the biography of Grotius, dating from about the same time, was to be used for the heroic facts of the life of Maria van Reigersberch.

Maria van Reigersberch in the 18th century: political and national images

The 18th-century biography of Grotius activated the memory of the great statesman, who just like Oldenbarnevelt (and other adversaries and victims of the Orange policy) had long been venerated by

those Dutch regents who were opposed to the power of the stadholder. When in the thirties of the century playwrights started again to take their subjects from Dutch history, the story of Grotius and his wife (including their faithful maid Elsje) was dramatized as well, in several plays by Frederik Duim.¹⁰

But in the last quarter of the 18th century, the "People of Loevestein" were to become an important issue in a political conflict between the so-called Patriots and the adherents of the Oranges. The Patriots were republicans, who regarded themselves as the just defenders of the "True Dutch freedom," which meant freedom of the autonomous cities and provinces against the political power of the stadholder. Their political conflict with the Orangists had already started in the ideological centre of the aristocratic Patriots around the Amsterdam professor Petrus Burmannus; another member of this group was the militant woman author Betje Wolff. Already in the sixties Burmannus used to give dinners in his house to commemorate the 17th-century patriotic fighters against tyranny, including the solemn commemoration of the escape of "Saint Hugo" from Loevestein and the birthday of Grotius' wife.¹¹ In 1773 the members of the enlightened Patriot society *Concordia et Libertate* listened, some of them perhaps overcome by emotion, to a lecture by the Amsterdam merchant Jacob Ploos van Amstel, who told how during a (possibly imaginary) pilgrimage to Loevestein he had not been able to swallow his tears at the thought of Grotius' suffering in that "true temple of conjugal love."¹²

The canonisation of the heroic fighters for republican freedom in these aristocratic Patriot circles went hand in hand with a more general uneasiness with the economic,

intellectual, artistic and above all moral decline of the nation. This uneasiness expressed itself in the idolization of all those 17th-century men and women who had to be examples for the recovery of national virtues like love of country, courage, reasonable religiousness, constancy, diligence and perseverance. Their lives were described in books, notably a lexicon in ten volumes in which a place was also reserved for some poets and a single poetess (of the 18th century; Tesselschade had still to be rediscovered). Grotius and his Maria of course also figured in this lexicon, just like the 17th-century learned woman Anna Maria van Schuurman. That unmarried lady had once been praised for her knowledge and artistic accomplishments in poems by Cats and Huygens, but now she was rather condemned as a bluestocking, and accused of zealotry because of her conversion, late in life, to a religious sect.¹³

Creative artists also played an important role in reviving the illustrious past. The Patriots would for instance decorate their homes with bisque busts of the old republican heroes (among them Maria van Reigersberch), but also with those of several naval heroes like Michiel de Ruyter and one of the legendary woman Kenau Simons Hasselaar, who had led three hundred women of Haarlem to keep the Spanish besiegers off the town walls by means of stones and pitch. These busts were fabricated around 1784 in the china factory of Loosdrecht.¹⁴

And what would be more inspiring for the Dutch nation than the images of patriotic subjects from the glorious past, "supported by the magic of poetry"? These are the words of the Patriot poet Jan Nomsz in his preface to a 1785 volume with letters in verse, made up by him but supposedly written by well-known historical figures.¹⁵ Nomsz presented Maria van Reigersberch as writing to her husband who had just been arrested. Here she was still the proud lioness who strongly advised her husband to keep his honor, just as she had refused to beg for mercy on his behalf.¹⁶ The

fictional letter belonged to the old literary genre of the heroine letter that became quite popular again in the literary associations that were founded towards the end of the 18th century. So it comes as no surprise that later in the same year the Leyden society "Art is the product of love" (Kunst wordt door liefde verkregen) actually held a literary competition, inviting the members to write a letter from Maria van Reigersberch to her husband after he had escaped from prison.¹⁷

Meanwhile the French occupation of the Dutch Republic stimulated a strong national feeling of solidarity without political discord. From now on Maria would be praised not as a lioness, but as a loyal and tender wife. The Loevestein story made its way into several paintings like the one by H.W. Beekkerk (who died in 1796), in which one sees the famous couple depicted as in a marriage portrait: the wife standing, the man sitting... in a chest.¹⁸

The story continued to be the subject of various literary genres and schoolbooks: first of a schoolbook and a play by the Haarlem bookseller and hack writer Adriaan Loosjes,¹⁹ and of an epic poem by the blind poetess Petronella Moens.²⁰ Loosjes must have loved his subject, for in 1794 he even wrote a voluminous novel about a long part of the life of Grotius and Maria, from their marriage up to and including the successful escape. He already had to admit, however, that he had difficulty combining Maria's courage with her tenderness that he wanted to emphasize as well.²¹ As Loosjes wanted to inspire the entire future generation, both rich and poor, with good Dutch virtues, he also seized the opportunity to present Maria's servant-girl Elsje van Houweningen as an example for the more humble classes of society. In 1794, during the annual prize-giving ceremony for the

Lutheran orphans of Haarlem, he eloquently addressed these young children in their capacity of future servants whose loyalty was to be put to a test as well, in times of emergency and illness of their masters and mistresses.²² In the next year the children of the Haarlem poor heard Loosjes speak about the manservant of Van Oldenbarnevelt, strongly attached to his unlucky master until his death.²³

Some years later, still during the French occupation, in 1807, H.A. Spandaw devoted one of the four cantos of his long poem *De vrouwen* (Women) to womens moral courage. Among the Dutch examples he recalled first the valiant Kenau Simons Hasselaar and the principled wife of Oldenbarnevelt, then the "Spouse of Hugo Grotius, whose praise is sung so often and so beautifully" (Ga van Huig de Groot, zo vaak, zo schoon bezongen). To give you some impression of his lofty style I quote:

As long as the Batavian honors the glory of the
Batavians,
The oracle of his time, the great Grotius,
The name of Reigersberch will be honored as highly as
his name.
Nothing exceeds his greatness, nothing her proud
virtue.
The coat of plaster of our age will never extinguish the
glow
Of the pure love and unfailing loyalty
That made you immortal, o invaluable woman!

(Zo lang de Batavier de roem der Batavieren
t Orakel van zijn tijd, de grote Groot vereert,
Wordt Reigerbergens naam om strijd met hem vereerd.
Niets gaat zijn grootheid, niets haar fiere deugd te
boven.
t Blanketsel onzer eeuw zal nooit de gloed verdoven
Van altijd zuivre liefde en onbezweken trouw,
Die u vereeuwigd heeft, o onwaardeerbare vrouw!)²⁴

But Spandaw also gave a great deal of prominence to Marias servant-girl Elsje van Houweningen, whose courage and loyalty he wanted to commemorate besides the virtues of Maria, who

had wrongly received all the honors.

Maria Tesselschade in the 19th century: images of an ideal woman

Unlike the fame of Maria van Reigersberch, the memory of Tesselschade was not revived until the end of the 18th century, when people also became interested in 17th-century literature as an outstanding reservoir of norms and values. In 1770 that same Jacob Ploos van Amstel who shed tears in the Loevestein temple of marital loyalty, had an engraving made after a fine portrait of an unknown girl by Goltzius that was part of his art collection. This engraving he then published as a portrait of Tesselschade: a mistaken identification that persisted until the 1950s.²⁵

Not until 1808 were Anna and Tesselschade really rediscovered. In that year, Jacob Scheltema published his influential semi-invented biography of both women. He dedicated his book especially "To the Dutch women" of his time, who in this case were not to be incited to patriotic strength and zeal, but to the cultivation of real feminine virtues like chastity, piety, modesty and domesticity, that were to be so favored in the 19th century.²⁶ At the same time the image of Maria van Reigersberch was retouched with desirable new virtues in wives and mothers, whose true heroism had to express itself in self-control, humble servitude to the husband, self-sacrifice, care and mediation in affairs of the family.²⁷ Scheltema stressed that the daughters of Roemer Visscher had never become *savantes*, "outside the circle of their destiny," because "both of them followed their lofty mission to be wives and mothers."²⁸ Nevertheless Scheltema also admired the spirited and imaginative qualities that Tesselschade especially had displayed in

the circle of Hoofts friends. Scheltema now projected onto this group the new ideals of solidarity and reconciliation that were stimulated by the French occupation. In this way, he laid the foundation of a persistent myth in word and image of the so-called Muiderkring (the Muiden circle), in which Tesselschade was to be represented as the charming centre of a cultivated group of 17th-century poets and scholars around Hooft as well as Vondel, who regularly came together to discuss poetry and to play music, and who were all each others best friends. This image does not correspond with reality, for Vondel was never present at Hoofts more festive gatherings.

The myth of Muiden and the admiration for Tesselschade was to be spread by many 19th-century poets, novelists, playwrights and painters, who generally drew much more inspiration from Tesselschade and her literary friends than from the stout-hearted Maria van Reigersberch.²⁹ Already before the publication of Scheltemas biography, a late 18th-century woman poet had sung the praise of the artistic, virtuous and charming Tesselschade in the "Almanac for women by women" (*Almanak voor vrouwen door vrouwen*) of 1798.³⁰ And after Scheltemas book the already-mentioned Adriaan Loosjes abandoned his heroine Maria van Reigersberch for her. In the then popular form of a medieval ballad he first described how "The Dutch muse" (*De Hollandse zanggodin*) revived as a heroine of Tasso, met her future husband.³¹ Some years later he gave an important role to Tesselschade in his four-volume novel *The life of Hillegonda Buisman*, in which the woman protagonist meets a whole group of 17th-century celebrities and is introduced into the world of art and literature by the wise lady Tesselschade.³²

After all this praise the poet Spandaw revised his poem *De vrouwen*. In the third canto, devoted to artistic women, he had sung the praises of some women poets, but only of a few from the 18th century. For this he had incurred the indignation of

Scheltema. Now, in the second edition of 1819, he devoted some lines to Anna Roemer Visscher, and added pages full of bombastic praise of Tesselschade, now for the first time fully represented as the singing and lively-speaking centre of the festive gatherings in that sublime temple of the arts, the castle of Muiden. The new ideal of reconciliation and harmony in a new state in which Holland and Belgium were united under an Orange king, reflected itself in Spandaws evocation of a scene in which a rummer, engraved by Tesselschade and filled with wine, is passed round in "the famous choir of poets" (*t roemrijk dichterkoor*). All those present first drink to Tesselschade, "the beautiful queen of the national feast" (*de schone koningin van t vaderlandse feest*), and go on to pledge to Frederic Henry, Dutch freedom, naval triumphs and commerce, to freedom of conscience and the "cream of the Dutch poets" (*Hollands puikpoëten*).³³ It is the 19th-century image of a 17th-century harmonious circle of eminent men of Dutch letters, unani-mously proud of the political and moral greatness of their own flourishing nation in which the differences between republicans and Orangists were accomodated. This harmony was allegedly inspired by the Muse Maria Tesselschade. This ideal image — in fact the image of a self-made myth — was to raise the hope of a national revival in the 19th century, especially in the field of culture.

In the second half of the 19th century the cult of Tesselschade was to manifest itself in several new ways. As a Catholic convert she would first become the godlike image of grace, piety and goodness, invented by the leader of the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church, Alberdingk Thijm, who ardently hoped to meet her in heaven.³⁴ During the Eighties movement, however, in which the individual expression of individual

emotions was admired so much, Tesselschade was described for instance by the young Jacques Perk as the object of Brederos' passionate love.³⁵

Before that time, in 1847, the two 17th-century women who together were endowed with about all the qualities that a 19th-century woman ideally could possess, were brought together in one painting by the historical painter Louis Moritz, who painted a feast in the circle of Muiden, comparable to the poetic image written by Spandaw. Moritz populated his painting not only with poets, but with scholars and several ladies as well. During a festive dinner in the hall of the castle of Muiden, Tesselschade offers a rummer (undoubtedly engraved by herself) to the guest of honor Maria van Reigersberch. Hooft raises his glass, while Vondel, the learned professor Vossius and probably Huygens are benevolently looking on, among other celebrities who were partly fashioned after existing portraits.³⁶

It is the image of a dream, but we can be sure that Potgieter would have loved to take part in that dream, with his sister Sophie sitting at his side.

Postscript

Until the fifties of the 20th century generations of Dutch schoolchildren became familiar with the Muiden Circle by means of one of the well-known school plates by Isings, "The Muiden Circle during a summer afternoon in 1632." The literary and the musical aspects are both well represented, with Tesselschade at the centre: Hooft reading from his *Historiën*, Vondel listening, Huygens, Barlaeus and Jacob Cats as musicians. Cats, a 17th century literary celebrity who never in his life had been Hooft's guest, is now included as well, just like Tesselschade's husband.

Here we see the myth of 17th-century Dutch harmonious culture carried to extremes. This mythical image may have lost its power of persuasion, but it confirms the importance of a

relationship with the past for the definition of one's own identity.

NOTES

¹ Reinier Baarsen e.a. "De lelijke tijd." *Pronkstukken van Nederlandse interieurkunst 1835-1895*. [Catalogue of the exhibition] Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 1996, nr. 86 (p. 208).

² On the glorification of the Dutch Golden Age in the late 18th and 19th centuries, cf. N.C.F. van Sas, "Nationaliteit in de schaduw van de Gouden Eeuw. Nationale cultuur en vaderlands verleden 1780-1914." In: *De Gouden Eeuw in perspectief. Het beeld van de Nederlandse zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in later tijd*. Ed. F.Grijzenhout and H. van Veen. Nijmegen 1992, p. 86-106.

³ In: Vondel. *Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijk proza*. Ed. Albert Verwey, Mieke Smits-Veldt and Marijke Spies. Amsterdam 1986, p. 784.

⁴ Hugo de Groot. "Aen sijn Huisvrouw M. Reygersberch, over sijn verlossingh uyt deeuwige gevangenis." In: *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten*. Amsterdam 1651, p. 103-105.

⁵ Caspar Brandt. *Historie van het leven des Heeren Huig de Groot [...]. En vervolgt tot zyn doot door Adriaan van Cattenburgh*. Dordrecht-Amsterdam 1727.

⁶ For the following data on Maria Tesselschade cf. Mieke B. Smits-Veldt. *Maria Tesselschade. Leven met talent en vriendschap*. Zutphen 1994. (References: p. 113-117).

⁷ Constantijn Huygens. "Grafscrift van Ioff. Tesselschade Visscher." In: idem. *De gedichten*. Ed. J.A. Worp. IV. Groningen 1894, p. 154. (The spelling of the quotation has been adapted).

⁸ Vondel. *Volledige gedichten etc.*, p. 206.

⁹ G.Brandt. "T Leeven van [...] Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft." In: G.Brandt & R: Anslo. *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, deez vermarde man*. Ed. W.Hellinga and P.Tuynman. Amsterdam 1969.

¹⁰ Frederik Duim. *De vlugt van Huig deGroot uit het slot te Loevestein*. Blyspel. Amsterdam 1742 (reprinted in 1746 and 1760). In the same year 1742 Duim also published a dramatic trilogy about the fate

of Grotius after his escape, in 1745 followed by a tragedy on the trial of Van Oldenbarnevelt, Hogerbeets and Grotius.

¹¹ F. Grijzenhout. *Feesten voor het vaderland. Patriotse en Bataafse feesten 1780-1806*. Zwolle 1989, p. 27-29.

¹² N.C.F. van Sas. "Gedenck aan Loevesteyn." In: *Waar de blanke top der duinen en andere vaderlandse herinneringen*. Ed. N.C.F. van Sas. Amsterdam etc. 1995, p. 70-80.

¹³ [S. Stijl e.a.]. *Levensbeschrijving van eenige voorname meest Nederlandsche mannen en vrouwen*. 10 vols. Amsterdam etc., 1774-1778; Anna Maria van Schuurman in vol. 1, Grotius and his wife in vol. 2.

¹⁴ F. Grijzenhout, N.C.F. van Sas. *Voor vaderland en vrijheid. Revolutie in Nederland 1780-1787*. [Catalogue of the exhibition] Centraal Museum Utrecht sept.-okt. 1987. Utrecht 1987, p. 40-41. The china factory that had been started in Oud-Loosdrecht by the Reverend Johannes de Mol, was after his death (1782) transferred to Ouder-Amstel. We know busts of Kenau Simonsdr. Hasselaar, of Oldenbarnevelt and Maria van Utrecht, of Hugo Grotius and Maria van Reigersberch, of Michiel de Ruyter and Maarten Harpertsz Tromp, the brothers De Witt, Arnold Zoutman, Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol and Hendrik Hooft Danielsz.

¹⁵ J. Nomsz. *Vaderlandsche brieven*. Amsterdam 1785; I, fol. *4r.

¹⁶ J. Nomsz. "Maria van Reigersbergen aan haar gemaal, Hugo de Groot; in zyn gevangenis te s Gravenhage." In: idem, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, II, p. 18-27.

¹⁷ Cf. J.J. Kloek e.a. "Literaire genootschappen 1748-1800." In: *Documentatieblad werkgroep achttiende eeuw* 15 (1983), p. 73. On 13 October 1784, D. Bleecker had already recited fictional letters from Grotius to his wife and vice versa for the audience of the Amsterdam society *Felix Meritis* (M. van Hattum. *Lezingen en verhandelingen in "Concordia et libertate" (1769-1806) en "Felix Meritis" (dep. Letterk.) (1779-1808, 1810-1832, 1865-1873)*. Amstelveen 1983.

¹⁸ Cf. the illustration in Van Sas, "Gedenck aan Loevesteyn," p. 72.

¹⁹ A. Loosjes. *Historie van Huig de Groot (een schoolboek)*. Amsterdam 1784 (2nd ed. 1800), and *Vlucht van Huig de Groot. Burger-spel* (1785).

²⁰ [Petronella Moens]. *Hugo de Groot, in seven zangen*.

Amsterdam 1790.

²¹ A. Loosjes. *Huig de Groot en Maria van Reigersbergen*. Haarlem 1794.

²² A. Loosjes. *T Gedrag van Elsje van Houwening, dienstmaagd van Huig de Groot, geschetst in een aanspraak [...]*. Haarlem 1794.

²³ A. Loosjes. *t Gedrag van Jan Francken, dienstknecht van J. van Oldenbarnevelt, geschetst in een aanspraak*. Haarlem 1795.

²⁴ H.A. Spandaw. *De vrouwen, in vier zangen*. 2d ed. Groningen 1819, p. 47-50.

²⁵ The drawing is undated but probably goes back to 1605 or some years later. There is, however, no evidence for any identification with Tesselschade. Cf. H. van de Waal. *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding 1500-1800*. The Hague 1952; I, p. 241; II, p. 114-116.

²⁶ Jac. Scheltema. *Anna en Maria Tesselschade, dochters van Roemer Visscher*. Amsterdam 1808.

²⁷ Cf. for instance: Jeronimo de Vries. *Hugo de Groot en Maria van Reigersbergen* Amsterdam 1827..

²⁸ Scheltema, p. 63-64: "beide bleven Vrouwen, en traden nimmer als zoogenoemde *Sçavantes*, buiten den kring harer bestemming; beide voldeden ook aan de hooge roeping tot Echtgenooten en Moeders." Cf. also Evert M. Wiskerke. *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780 en 1813*. Hilversum 1995, p. 328.

²⁹ Cf. Mieke Smits-Veldt, *Maria Tesselschade*, p. 7-12 and references on p. 117.

³⁰ C[ornelia] A[nna] N[ozeman]. "Aen de nagedachtenis van Anna Tesselschade Roemer Visscher" [sic, for Maria]. In: *Almanak voor vrouwen door vrouwen*. Amsterdam 1798, p. 67-69.

³¹ Adr. Loosjes. *Mengeldichten* I. Haarlem 1813, p. 57-68.

³² A. Loosjes. *Het leven van Hillegonda Buisman. Eene Hollandsche familiegeschiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*. Haarlem 1814.

³³ Spandaw. *De vrouwen*, p. 63-68.

³⁴ Several studies on Maria Tesselschade in: J.A.

Alberdingk Thijm. *Werken*. Ed. J.F.M. Sterck. Amsterdam-Gravenhage, vols. 9 (1908, p. 21-33, 93-107), 10 (1909, p. 247-315) and 14 (1909, p. 227-272). Cf. Lodewijk van Deyssel. *De wereld van mijn vader*. Ed. Harry G.M. Prick. Amsterdam-Brussels 1986, p. 216.

³⁵ Jacques Perk. *Historische romantische schetsen*. In: Betsy Perk. *Jacques Perk, geschetst voor t jong Nederland*

der XXe eeuw [...]. Amsterdam-Hilversum 1902, esp. "Even op t Muiderslot," p. 218-222. This romance still figures in two novels from the 1940s: A.M. de Jong, *De volle vaandrig* (1947) and Ro van Oven, *Tesseltje* (1939, 2d ed. 1948).

³⁶ This painting by Moritz is now part of the collection of The Muiderslot, Muiden.