

The Banishment of Beverland: Sex, Scripture, and Scholarship
in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic



Karen Eline Hollewand
St. Anne's College
University of Oxford

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Abstracts

Short abstract

Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716) was banished from Holland in 1679. Why did this humanist scholar get into so much trouble in the most tolerant part of Europe in the seventeenth century? In an attempt to answer this question, this thesis places Beverland's writings on sex, sin, Scripture, and scholarship in their historical context for the first time.

Beverland argued that lust was the original sin and highlighted the importance of sex in human nature, ancient history, and his own society. His works were characterized by his erudite Latin, satirical style, and disregard for traditional genres and hierarchies in early modern scholarship.

Dutch theologians disliked his theology and exegesis, and hated his use of erudition to mock their learning, morality, and authority. Beverland's humanist colleagues did not support his studies either, because they believed that drawing attention to the sexual side of the classics threatened the basis of the humanist enterprise. When theologians asked for his arrest and humanist professors left him to his fate, Dutch magistrates were happy to convict Beverland because he had insolently accused the political and economic, as well as the religious and intellectual elite of the Dutch Republic, of hypocrisy. By restricting sex to marriage, in compliance with Reformed doctrine, secular authorities upheld a sexual morality that was unattainable, Beverland argued. He proposed honest discussion of the problem of sex and suggested that greater sexual liberty for the male elite might be the solution.

Beverland's crime was to expose the gap between principle and practice in sexual relations in Dutch society, highlighting the hypocrisy of a deeply conflicted elite at a precarious time. His intervention came at the moment when the uneasy balance struck between Reformed orthodoxy, humanist scholarship, economic prosperity, and patrician politics, which had characterized the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic, was disintegrating, with unsettling consequences for all concerned. Placing Beverland's fate in this context of change provides a fresh perspective on the intellectual environment of the Republic in the last decades of the seventeenth century.

Long abstract

In 1679 humanist Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716) was banished from Holland. At the time of his banishment, Beverland was establishing himself as an ambitious scholar of the classics at the University of Leiden. The Dutch Republic, which was enjoying a Golden Age due to its prosperous economy, boasted a favourable environment for scholarship in the seventeenth century. The small Republic was renowned in Europe for its tolerance of radical scholarship and philosophy — the refuge of unorthodox thinkers like Descartes and Bayle, the place of publication of the works of Spinoza, Gassendi, and Hobbes. One of the roots of this fabled tolerance was the broadminded, non-dogmatic, urbane humanism of figures like Erasmus and Grotius. So why then was this young, talented, and well-connected humanist scholar exiled from Holland?

The literature on Beverland to date falls into two categories. On the one hand, specialized studies on Beverland and his writings have accumulated for a century. The scholarship of classicist Rudolf de Smet in particular has provided in-depth analyses of Beverland's Latinity and his classical studies. On the other hand, we find Beverland's name mentioned more or less in passing within a range of broad historical narratives published during the last twenty years, typically devoted to the early or 'radical' enlightenment in the late-seventeenth-century Dutch Republic or to the history of sexuality in the early modern period. Historians like Jonathan Israel and Inger Leemans have concluded that Beverland was a Spinozist and erudite libertine. This thesis contends that Beverland remains poorly understood due to an obvious gap between these two literatures: specialist studies of Beverland's works have failed to place them in their historical context, while studies of the historical context have failed to engage closely with Beverland's works. This thesis proposes to fill this void by positioning Beverland, his ideas, and works in the intellectual, social, and religious context of the Dutch Republic in the latter seventeenth century.

How did Beverland manage to get himself into so much trouble? To answer this question, this thesis draws on the full range of his writings. At its centre are Beverland's early works: *De Peccato Originali*, *De Stolatae Virginitatis lure*, and his unpublished 'De Prostibulis Veterum'. To place these works within their social and intellectual context, we turn to his numerous surviving letters: the epistles he exchanged with leading humanists such as Nicolaas Heinsius, Jacobus Gronovius, Isaac Vossius, and Johann Georg Graevius, as well as the letters he edited for publication: the 'Epistolae Tullianae' and 'Epistolae Familiares'. Lastly, his other writings are examined, from his personal notes and to his bizarre correspondence with the fictional Signior Perin Del Vago. Valuable insights into his story are also drawn from sources related to the reception of his work, including poems written in his honour and the records of his trial.

Since Beverland's personality partly explains why he got exiled, we must start by discussing the man behind the scholar. The first thirty years of his life are the topic of the Prologue (1650-1680): after describing his childhood, his life as a student, and the publication of his first works, we turn to the events of the court case. On the instigation of a group of Dutch theologians, the States of Holland ordered Beverland's arrest in October 1679. The court of the University of Leiden, where he was enrolled as a student at the time, conducted his trial. The court found him guilty of publishing blasphemous and perverse writings and banished Beverland not only from the university, but also from the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland.

Even a passing familiarity with Beverland's writings will reveal that the ruling of the university court was directly related to the distinct thematic focus of his early works. Although many thinkers advanced a wide variety of radical philosophies and theologies in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, Beverland was unique in his single-minded attention to the problem of sexual lust. In his sexual studies he identified lust as the original sin. Claiming that Adam and Eve had engaged in sexual relations while still in the Garden of Eden, he argued further that after their Fall, sexual desire had become the dominant feature of human nature. In relation to his argument on sex and sin and the fact that the records of his trial show unmistakably that his prosecution was driven primarily by conservative theologians of the Reformed Church, it is hardly surprising that modern scholars have concluded that Beverland was banished for his religious views. Before leaping to this seemingly straightforward conclusion, however, Chapter 1 of the thesis examines how radical and original his theology actually was. Positioning his religious ideas within the history of Christian theological discussion of the relationship between sex and sin, this chapter shows that Beverland's outlook was much less shocking, as an abstract theological doctrine, than is often claimed: most of the elements of his theological position had a long and sometimes distinguished history.

The same can be said about Beverland's biblical criticism, which is the subject of Chapter 2. In his chapters on the Bible he did not break new ground but adopted the conclusions on the corruption of preserved biblical texts reached by more radical critics in the seventeenth century. Beverland discussed the authorship of Moses, the role of Ezra, and the many textual errors in the Sacred Text and based his argument on sex and sin on the premises of conclusions presented by other biblical scholars. Yet he remained more conservative than his most radical contemporaries in his criticism of Scripture, since he continued to uphold the religious and moral authority of the Bible. This is why the Spinozist label, which he has often received, is deceiving: it was fundamental to Beverland's argument that the Bible still conveyed a perceptible account of the true story of human origins and therefore he stressed that the divine truth of the document could be rediscovered via detailed philological studies of the preserved texts. It is thus difficult to conclude that it was

theological or exegetical radicalism which made Beverland a martyr for humanist scholarship or freedom of thought.

Chapter 1 and 2 of the thesis conclude that although the majority of Dutch theologians was offended by his works, Beverland's theology and exegesis as such did not procure for him his virtually unique status as a humanist exile. A comparison to preacher Balthasar Bekker sharpens up the point. In the early 1690s, Bekker's *Betoverde Wereld* caused outrage in and outside the Dutch Republic. Adopting Spinoza's approach to the Bible, Bekker denied the supernatural power of the Devil; yet the punishment for his radical views was permanent suspension from the Dutch Reformed Church, not banishment from Holland. It was not so much the content but the tone of Beverland's early works that upset Dutch theologians. His disregard for this powerful group in Dutch society incited their resentment, as he attacked their ignorance, hypocrisy, and immorality.

In search of a more adequate explanation, Chapter 3 turns to Beverland's classical scholarship. This may seem an unlikely place to look for the radical edge of his works; after all his scholarship was characteristic of the late-Renaissance tradition of high scholarly humanism. Beverland's erudite style was designed to be understood only by the most learned readers and his correspondence documents his familiar contact with the leading Dutch humanists of his age, to whom he turned for personal as well as professional support. The history of these contacts is nevertheless highly revealing of his downfall. Although his humanist colleagues seem perfectly happy to discuss the sexual antics depicted in classical writings with him in private, when Beverland revealed he was planning to publish on the subject, they openly criticized his writings, warned him against printing them, and pleaded with him not complete his *magnum opus*. Crucially, when his theological enemies closed in, the leading learned men failed to come to his aid.

Why did Beverland's humanist mentors abandon him? Chapter 3 explains this paradoxical outcome with reference to a contradiction at the very heart of Christian humanism. As every reader of the classics knew full well, ancient Greek and Roman writers openly discussed, explicitly described, and clearly relished a wide range of sexual practices regarded as utterly abhorrent by Christian writers from antiquity onward. Yet the tradition of Christian humanism descending from Erasmus was predicated on the notion that these same classics, and the ancient culture they elevated, were a fit subject for elite education, a model of ethical behaviour and civilized culture. The cultural ascendancy of humanism, which was being undermined by the new philosophies emerging at this time, depended on a willingness on the part of successive generations of humanists to expunge from their editions and commentaries innumerable passages, which were irreconcilable with Christian sexual mores.

Here we reach the heart of Beverland's transgression: he concentrated precisely on those passages from which his more responsible colleagues sought to hide. Ironically, Beverland may have imagined that this move was destined to vault him into the scholarly pantheon: out-humanizing the humanists by restoring corrupted texts to their original integrity and exploring precisely those aspects of classical culture which others had deliberately avoided. But in doing so, he was threatening the basis of the (now vulnerable) cultural ascendancy of humanism. Far from rushing to his defence, his humanist friends, who had begged Beverland to abandon a course which could ruin them all, were content to leave him to his fate. Once again, the contrast with Balthasar Bekker is instructive: while the renegade preacher could count on a great number of supporters to defend him against his orthodox critics, Beverland was abandoned by the very friends whom he fondly imagined his work would most impress. Although his exegesis of Scripture was not radical, the implications of his study of the classics undoubtedly were, and threatened to undermine the cultural status of humanism itself.

Even this analysis, however, does not quite get us to the heart of the story. Why did he continue to pursue this subject so resolutely, despite the warnings of his most respected friends that he could damage the intellectual enterprise he loved most? As Chapter 4 reminds us, modern scholars have sought to provide a simple answer to this question: Beverland was obsessed with sex, a libertine in heart and soul, and far in advance of the acceptable practices of his day. Regarding the first point, the evidence is undeniable: Beverland's letters and writings portray a man who loved brothels as much as books, and his library and collection of art contained many obscene publications and prints, from which he planned to gather erotic images for publication in his 'De Prostibulis Veterum'. Yet his letters show that he shared these erotic interests with his humanist friends; and broader studies have revealed how many of his contemporaries also enjoyed these different pastimes. If Beverland's personal interest in sex was not unusual, then it alone cannot explain why he pursued his studies in the face of adversity or why he was punished so severely for doing so.

It was his determination to expose the truth about sex that explains his persistence. By highlighting the importance of sex in the Bible, the classics, and ancient history, Beverland wanted to address the problem of lust in his own contemporary society. His main argument coloured the content and style of his works: he mingled the pagan and the sacred, theology and pornography, erotic imagery and explicit descriptions with citations from the Bible and esteemed classical works of literature to highlight the importance of sex in all genres, all periods, and all people. And in doing so, he implicated all sections of society in his critique, including those who had the authority to punish him most severely.

The magistrates of the town of Leiden might accuse him of perverting young people with his studies, Beverland knew from first-hand experience that the sons of the patricians needed no encouragement from him to visit brothels or seduce their maids. It was, after all, the secular authorities of the Dutch Republic who condoned prostitution, premarital relations, and the publication of pornographic writings. Magistrates either engaged in, or were at the very least aware of, the sexual sins that characterized daily life in Dutch towns, and their own behaviour illustrated his thesis about the ungovernable power of lust. In his early works, Chapter 4 shows, Beverland proposed a radical solution to the problem of lust and the gap between exalted doctrine and depraved morality in seventeenth-century Dutch society: greater sexual liberty for the educated male elite. In relation to this idea, he for instance commented on the benefits of legalizing prostitution, which would provide an outlet for lustful men while keeping honourable women safe.

In his early works, Beverland accused the theologians of the Reformed Church, his intellectual peers, and the secular authorities of hypocrisy, of turning a blind eye to the truth about sex. His insolent studies, in which humanist scholarship gave birth to enlightened ideas, proved to be too radical to be tolerated, even in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The Epilogue turns to Beverland's life-long exile (1680-1716): he moved to England in the spring of 1680 and, despite the pardon he received from King William III and the publication of a grand apologetic work, he never returned home.

Beverland's crime was his exclusive focus on sexual lust and his exposure, in his promotion of honesty and sexual liberty, of the hypocrisy of the Dutch elite, religious and intellectual, social, political, and economic. This challenge was the more unsettling because it was made at a moment of more general instability. During the Golden Age of the Republic, trade, commerce, and profit had undermined Calvinist doctrine, as magistrates and merchants both favoured the market before upholding Christian morality. By 1679 however, the Dutch Republic's unbridled growth was slowing down, with grand political, cultural, social, and intellectual consequences. By uncovering the ubiquity of sexual sins in Christian civilization and Dutch life, Beverland's audacious works hit a raw nerve. So Dutch theologians accused him of atheism and reported Beverland to the States, humanist scholars did not come to his defence and abandoned him, and the magistrates of the town of Leiden arrested, tried, and banished him without difficulty. By positioning Beverland's extraordinary scholarship in the context of the Dutch Republic in the late-seventeenth century, this thesis examines how his sexual studies challenged the intellectual, ecclesiastical, and political elite and thus provides a new window upon the Dutch Republic in the last decades of its Golden Age.

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Voor Titi en Sie

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Abbreviations and translations

Abbreviations of works and correspondence of Beverland

DPO 1678	<i>Peccatum Originale</i> of 1678
DPO 1679	<i>De Peccato Originali</i> of 1679
DSVI	<i>De Stolatae Virginitatis lure</i> of 1679
DPV	‘De Prostibulis Veterum’
DFC	<i>De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio</i> of 1697

Letters are referenced as follows: *Collection and number of letter in collection, last name of recipient, date (day/month/year)*. If one of these elements is unknown or not assigned, only the other elements are mentioned. In the letter collections addressed to one person (EG, EH, EV), the addressee is only stated if deviant from the main recipient of the collection. For the letters in the EG collection, two numbers are often given: *number in manuscript/number in thesis by Wauters*. For more on Beverland’s correspondence, see the Bibliography.

ET	Epistolae Tullianae	All transcriptions taken from articles by R. de Smet* (‘Epistolae Tullianae. Brieven van Hadriaan Beverland’)
EF	Epistolae Familiares	Transcriptions of 12 letters taken from article by R. de Smet (‘H. Beverlandi Epistolae XII’)*
EG	Letters to Jacobus Gronovius	Transcriptions of Latin letters taken from thesis of T. Wauters~
EH	Letters to Nicolaas Heinsius	Transcriptions of Latin letters taken from thesis of T. Wauters~
EV	Letters to Isaac Vossius	

* See for full references to these articles the Introduction and Bibliography.

~ For the full reference see *Secondary Works* below

Abbreviations for secondary works

De Smet, Hadrianus	R. de Smet, <i>Hadrianus Beverlandus (1650-1716): non unus e multis peccator: studie over het leven en werk van Hadriaan Beverland, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren</i> , 50, no. 126 (Brussels, 1988).
Wauters, ‘Correspondentie’	T. Wauters, ‘De onuitgegeven Latijnse correspondentie van Hadriaan Beverland met Nicolaas Heinsius en Jacobus Gronovius in de universiteitsbibliotheken van Leiden en München’ (Vrije Universiteit Brussel Master Thesis, 2000).
BENLW	P. Ford, J. Bloemendal, and C. Fantazzi (eds.), <i>Brill’s Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World</i> (Leiden, 2014).

BNP

H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and M. Landfester (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world*, transl. C.F. Salazar, and F.G. Gentry (Leiden, 2002).

LCL

Loeb Classical Library

Note on translations

The translations from Latin to English and Dutch to English in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise stated in the footnotes. A number of translations were based on the Latin to Dutch translations of others: I am in the debt of Jelte Wiersma, who translated *De Peccato Originali* of 1679, and Tim Wauters, who provided me with his Dutch translations of the Latin letters of Beverland to Jacobus Gronovius and Nicolaas Heinsius in the EG and EH collections. I would like to thank both Jelte and Tim, as well as Floris Verhaart, Rudolf de Smet, and Ida Toth, who have all supported me in getting the Latin translations right. All errors and omissions that remain are, of course, my own.

Introduction

He could not quite remember when things had started to change. The people, the city, the light. It all looked different. Had they been there from the start, eyeing his luggage, their friendships feigned?

Certain sly men have attempted, by forging a wicked and criminal plot, to overwhelm me with the most terrible crime and, if they had been able to, to kill me. ... I could have died overwhelmed by their secret plot. Because friends, whom I thought I had won over with compliance, presents, and luncheons, have allowed themselves to be bribed with mortal gold as soon as the wine jars were exhausted, and have forsaken me. You have no idea what kind of men live in this noble land.¹

Not much was left now. His books were gone, his art sold, his new writings stranded in Leiden and Leipzig. Yet they wanted everything he had.

Surely, if the lords of the States knew all the things I have endured, they would have given me 2000 pounds for defending the Dutch and promote me in my fatherland (since out of 2000 pounds I only have 300 remaining. I was forced to sell my library, my engravings, my coin collection, my shells. If I had not done this, they would have stolen everything, or they would have had me hanged due to a fabricated crime or, as a mere favour, they would have cut my throat). ...I can find no friend at all, (who is) willing to testify that I am dishonoured in such a wicked way. This is how people live in this country, which is severed from Europe. If I was in the Netherlands right now, I would kiss the ground as if it was a girl.²

¹ 'Homines ingeniose, nequam nefaria inita conspiratione, conabantur me atrocissimo crimine opprimere et, si potuissent, e medio tollere... quin clandestinis involutus insidiis perissem. Nam amici, quos obsequiis, donis et prandiis mihi conc[i]lIASse putaram, cadis siccatis siverunt se letali auro corrumpi, meque deseruere. Nescis quales homines inhabitant nobilesolum.' In: EG 18/8, 25/05/1699.

² 'Profecto si Domini Ordines scirent quae passus fui (siquidem ex 2000 Lib[ris] tantum 300 Lib[ras] habeo residuas. Debui vendere bibl[iothecam], imagines, numismata, conchilia. Alioquin furto fuissent ablata vel ego ficto crimine suspensus vel precario iugulatus), ob defendendos Batavos mihi 2000 Libr[arum] darent et promoverent in patria[m]. ...ego nullum invenire possum amicum, qui velit testari in iudicio me tam sceleste traduci. Sic vivitur in hac regione quae ab Europa disiuncta est. Si in Batavia essem, tellurem oscularer ut puellam.' In: EG 31/18, after 1700.

Nowhere was safe. Streets, taverns, libraries. "All scholars have a most deep respect for your worth and learning, but all invidious and malicious blades plot rashly against you."³ No rest for the weary. Or the persecuted. He speaks his mind and they revile his name. They offered to pay for the encyclopaedia of his younger years, but he turned them down. Now they want him hanged, so that they can buy it off the sheriff instead. They know how to entice him: "They advance moneys to Gentlemen to keep you company, and to debauch with you, and to put all their romances upon your score... They put many whores upon you, who offer nothing but their bobbies; and if you go on, they will accuse you of high-treason."⁴ Even in the countryside, they chase him.

Then a Miss Mally came... and showed me her red shoes, lifts her skirts and shows her red stockings... If I would have extended my hand, she would have pretended that I had raped her... meanwhile she opens different corks, and puts white powders in my drink. [And now] I am constantly tortured by the stone or podraga. Workmen from the lowest classes follow me, and wherever I eat or drink they give powder to the bar maids to fuse in my drink. I can stand it no longer.⁵

Hadriaan Beverland, the classical scholar who composed both sides of this conversation, was living in London in the early 1700s. He had resided in Windsor with his good friend Isaac Vossius in the 1680s, had corresponded with Oxford scholars like Thomas Creech,

³ In: *A hue and cry after the bulls of Bashan* (around 1702), p. 11. See: 'Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence' in the Bibliography.

⁴ In: *Epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem de Tribus Impostoribus*, 1705 or later, pp. 10, 12. See: 'Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence' in the Bibliography.

⁵ 'Dan comt een Mis Mally... en thoont mij haer roode Schoene, licht haer rocken op en thoont haer roode cousens. ... Indien ick mijn hand hadde uijtgestreckt, sij soude gepretendeert gehad hebben dat ick haer verkracht had gehad. ... onderwijle sij opent diversche corken, een doet wit powders in mijn drinck. Ick ben altoos met de steen of het Podagra gequelt. De Cerdones [workmen of the lower classes] volgen mij, en waer ick eet of drunk geven Powders aen de Tapsters om in mijn Drink te laten smelten. Ick can het niet langer verdragen.' In: 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', LMU, 1710-15, 213v-214v. By stating that he was tortured 'by the stone' and by 'Podraga', Beverland referred to kidney stones and gout. For more references to his state of mind in this period, see for instance: EF 29, Bayle, after 1700; EF 30, Perizonius, 25/09/1702; EG 18/8, 25/5/1699; EG 26/14, after 1702; EG 33/20, 28/08/1694.

and had exchanged notes and manuscripts with Richard Bentley, the Master of Trinity College in Cambridge and the most famous English classical scholar of his day. His circle of English friends also included Hans Sloane, doctor, collector, and president of the Royal Society, for whom Beverland bought and sold books and handled other secretarial affairs. Today we can find him among his scholarly colleagues in Oxford: Beverland's portrait, painted by Godfrey Kneller, is on permanent display in the Bodleian, one of the most prestigious libraries in the world.

Twenty years earlier, in 1679, Beverland had established himself as an ambitious and talented young scholar, carving out a place for himself amongst the renowned group of classicists at the thriving University of Leiden. As a lad, he had been bullied by his classmates in Latin School, because he had outperformed them all. When he began his studies at the University of Franeker in 1669, Beverland was 'a spark upon the academy', who surpassed his peers not only in erudition and Latin skills but also in wealth, as he spend his inheritance on lavish clothes and countless books.⁶ During his studies at different Dutch universities in the 1670s, he became closely acquainted with leading humanist scholars of the day, Nicolaas Heinsius, Jacobus Gronovius, Isaac Vossius, and Johann Georg Graevius, who all read and commented on his first works. Yet in December 1679, disaster struck: Beverland was convicted by the university court in Leiden for publishing blasphemous, heterodox, and perverse books. He was expelled from the university, his writings were banned, and he was banished from the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland. In disgrace, he moved to England in the spring of 1680.

⁶ In: 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', BOD, 1700-1702, 16r. See: 'Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence' in the Bibliography.

Three decades later, he was wandering the streets of London, muttering to himself about enemies hiding in the shadows and conspirators waiting to ambush him in every tavern.

What had gone wrong? Why did his life and career take such a drastic turn for the worse? The Dutch Republic was renowned for its tolerance, its regard for humanist scholarship, its great tradition of textual criticism. The Frenchman Descartes, the Englishman Hobbes, and the unorthodox Jewish philosopher Spinoza had all published their most radical works in Holland in the decades preceding Beverland's arrest without many difficulties. Why then was this young, talented, and well-connected humanist exiled from Leiden? What caused his arrest, trial, and conviction? Why did his scholarly career end almost before it began, with his life destroyed? How did Hadriaan Beverland get himself into so much trouble?

Studies on Beverland

One can find Beverland and the story of his exile in Dutch, English, French, and German encyclopaedias, biographical dictionaries, and library catalogues printed from the early eighteenth century onwards. These publications usually provide a short outline of his life and works, mention his grand collection of books and art, and comment on his banishment, repeating the same facts, recounting similar stories, and at times commenting on newly found sources or testimonies.⁷

⁷ For an overview of these works, see: E.J. Dingwall, *Very peculiar people, portrait studies in the queer, the abnormal and the uncanny* (London, 1962), pp. 170-77; R. de Smet, *Hadrianus Beverlandus (1650-1716): non unus e multis peccator: studie over het leven en werk van Hadriaan Beverland, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren*, 50, no. 126 (Brussels, 1988), pp. 9-14. The most important are: P. de La Rue (*Geletterd Zeeland* (Middelburg, 1734, 1741), pp. 10-18); J.A. de Chalmot (*Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (8 volumes, Amsterdam, 1798-1801), volume 3, pp. 43-4); F. Nagtglas (*Levensberichten van Zeeuwen* (2 volumes, Middelburg, 1890-1893), volume 1, pp. 36-8).

It was not until the early twentieth century that Beverland was studied more closely. The first works after 1900 concentrating on his scholarship were written by a number of curious individuals. Beverland's *De Stolatae Virginitatis lure* was published in Paris in 1905 as *The Law concerning Draped Virginity* by Francis David Byrne, who had been commissioned to translate the work, together with Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, by Charles Carrington.⁸ While next to nothing is known about Byrne, Carrington was an infamous figure: one of the leading publishers of erotica in Europe at the time, specializing in flagellation. It is likely that Beverland's work, although also of interest due to its sexual content, was one of the allegedly classical works of literature Carrington printed to cover up his other pornographic publications. Like the anonymous work titled *Raped on the Railway: a True Story of a Lady who was first ravished and then flagellated on the Scotch Express* in 1894, which was published exclusively for the 'Cosmopolitan Bibliophile Society', of the translation of Beverland's work on lust and the female nature only 500 copies were printed, for 'private circulation amongst students of philology and anthropology and adult collectors of literary curiosities only'. Byrne produced an ample translation of the text, which was accompanied by a short introduction and notes, but he was not familiar with Beverland or his historical context. That he discovered in Beverland's Preface a reference to Marquis de Sade, who wrote his pornographic works no less than one hundred years after Beverland's writings were published, says enough.⁹

The next person to focus on Beverland was Antonelli Gerbi, an Italian scholar of history, philosophy, and the classics, who published his *Il Peccato Di Adamo ed Eva, Storia*

⁸ F.D. Byrne, *The law concerning draped virginity: an academical study* (Paris, 1905).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. viii, x.

della ipotesi di Beverland in 1933.¹⁰ Despite its promising title, Gerbi barely touched upon Beverland and his works. He used the hypothesis of Beverland's *De Peccato Originali*, his argument on sexual lust and original sin, to explore the views of other scholars, theologians, writers, and philosophers on the topic, from Saint Augustine to nineteenth-century French Poet Charles Baudelaire.

A study written by an anthropologist almost thirty years later did focus exclusively on Beverland. Eric John Dingwall, who specialized in sexology and psychology, devoted a chapter to him in the 1962 edition of his book *Very Peculiar People: portrait studies in the queer, the abnormal and the uncanny*.¹¹ Dingwall was an assistant keeper of the British Museum, where he cared in particular for their collection of erotica, and the first scholar to concentrate on a great number of Beverland's writings, from his *Peccatum Originale* of 1678 to his *Although my Innocency is shelter'd with a bulwark of virtues* of 1709. Calling him "one of the oddest scholars who ever added glosses to a classical text"¹², Dingwall analysed Beverland's psychological state of mind, commented on his obsession for sex in the classics, his persecution fantasies, and paranoia, but most invaluable for later researchers were his thoroughly researched biography and bibliography.

In the 1970s the content of Beverland's works was studied more closely. In 1971 T.J. Meijer published a short article on the letters Beverland sent from student prison to friends and family in 1679, positioning him in the context of the University of Leiden at this time.¹³ A more significant contribution was made three years later: in 1974, a Dutch article titled 'Het Spinozistisch erotisme van Adriaan Beverland' ('The Spinozist eroticism

¹⁰ A. Gerbi, *Il Peccato di Adamo ed Eva, Storia della ipotesi di Beverland* (Milan, 1933).

¹¹ Dingwall, *Very peculiar people*, pp. 145-77.

¹² Ibid., p. 146.

¹³ T.J. Meijer, 'Brieven uit de studentenkerker', *Jaarboekje voor de geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken*, 63 (1971), pp. 43-64.

of Adriaan Beverland') was published by philosopher Willem Elias in a journal focused on 'the study of the enlightenment'.¹⁴ Elias' article offered a close reading of *De Peccato Originali* and connected different lines of thought and methods of reasoning in Beverland's most famous work to ancient and early modern philosophical views and traditions. Discussing his sexual argument, his criticism of the Bible, and his use of (ancient) philosophies, in relation to for instance the contemporary works of Spinoza, Elias' analysis set a high standard for his successors and his article attempted to position Beverland in the context of the early enlightenment for the first time.

Elias passed Beverland's baton to a colleague at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. The publication of Rudolf de Smet's thesis on Beverland's 'De Prostibulis Veterum' in 1984¹⁵ marked the beginning of more than two decades of scholarship and the first of many publications that classicist De Smet conducted on Beverland. In his thesis, De Smet transcribed Beverland's master thesis and added countless notes to the Latin text. The introduction was published separately as *Hadrianus Beverlandus (1650-1716): non unus e multis peccator: studie over het leven en werk van Hadriaan Beverland*, which remains the standard work on Beverland to date. In the studies that followed, De Smet transcribed some of Beverland's letters, commented on his other writings and biographical documents (for instance *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio*), and analysed Beverland's texts from the point of view of a scholar of classical and Neo-Latin literature.¹⁶ In the early 2000s, De Smet's student Tim Wauters supported his research: they published an article

¹⁴ W. Elias, 'Het Spinozistisch erotisme van Adriaan Beverland', *Tijdschrift voor de studie van de verlichting*, 2, no. 1 (1974), pp. 283-320.

¹⁵ R. de Smet, '*Hadriani Barlandi (Hadriaan Beverland) 'De prostibulis veterum': een kritische uitgave met inleiding en commentaar van het handschrift BPL 1994* (PhD Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 3 volumes, Brussels, 1984).

¹⁶ For a full overview of De Smet's works, see the Bibliography.

on Beverland's testaments together and Wauters constructed excellent Dutch translations of a number of Beverland's Latin letters in his master thesis.¹⁷

In addition to these specialist studies, Beverland's name has popped up in a broad range of historical writings in the last two decades. Used as an example in different contexts, he has featured for instance in works on the censorship of books, in studies on the history of the University of Leiden, and in publications on little-known Dutch freethinkers.¹⁸ In two particular areas of historical study, however, Beverland has turned up most often and most prominently.

First, we find Beverland in studies on the Dutch and European enlightenment in its 'early' or 'radical' form in the last decades of the seventeenth century. In this flourishing field of research,¹⁹ he is presented in discussions of Dutch scholarship in this period and particularly in relation to Spinozist heterodoxy. For example Wiep van Bunge has mentioned Beverland in different studies of the early enlightenment, Cartesianism,

¹⁷ T. Wauters, 'De onuitgegeven Latijnse correspondentie van Hadriaan Beverland met Nicolaas Heinsius en Iacobus Gronovius in de universiteitsbibliotheken van Leiden en München' (Vrije Universiteit Brussel Master Thesis, 2000).

¹⁸ See for instance: Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht. de omstreden Nederlandse publieke ruimte 1660-1760', M. Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam, 2011) pp. 45-58; W. Otterspeer, *De vesting van de macht. De Leidse universiteit, 1673-1775. Groepsportret met Dame Volume II* (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 95-107; G. Komrij, 'Adriaan Beverland, vrijdenker, 1650-1716. Niet zomaar een zondaar', F. Dam (ed.), *Onbekende vaderlanders. Over Minder Bekende Helden & Schurken In De Nederlandse Geschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 48-51.

¹⁹ After the publication of M.C. Jacob on the subject in 1981 (*The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London, 1981)) many scholars have paid attention to the development, influence, and characteristics of an early enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, taking place between approximately 1670 and 1730. Important scholars in the field are: J.I. Israel, W. van Bunge (for their publications see footnotes 20, 21, and 22 below), W.W. Mijnhardt, and M. Mulsow. For more on the history and historiography of the radical or early enlightenment, see for instance: M.C. Jacob, 'The Radical Enlightenment and Freemasonry: where we are now?', *Philosophica. How Radical can Enlightenment be?*, 88, no. 1 (2013), pp. 13-29; S. Ducheyne, and W. van Moet, Introduction', *Philosophica. The Radical Enlightenment: the Big Picture and its Details*, 89, no. 1 (2014), pp. 5-11.

and Spinozism, published between 2001 and 2012.²⁰ Van Bunge has defined Beverland as a Spinozist, stating that *De Peccato Originali* 'clearly revealed traces of Spinozism' and connecting his views, writings, and exile to the fate of other radical writers and works.²¹ At the same time as Van Bunge, Jonathan Israel, in his *Radical Enlightenment* of 2001 and *Enlightenment Contested* of 2006,²² has discussed Beverland as one of the late-seventeenth-century Dutch scholars whose writings built upon Spinoza's philosophy. Arguing that Holland should be considered as 'the land *par excellence* of dissident and heterodox philosophy' in this period, Israel portrayed Beverland as a member of a small circle of professional and amateur *érudits*, to which also Adriaen Koerbagh, Lodewijk Meijer, and, of course, Spinoza belonged.²³ In relation to his newfound place in the history of the early enlightenment, Beverland's biblical scholarship has also been acknowledged in recent years. For instance, Piet Steenbakkers has observed, in an article on Spinoza's critique of the Bible, that the connection between biblical criticism and a theory of nature in Beverland's works was unique in the seventeenth century.²⁴

In their discussions of Beverland, both Van Bunge and Israel have also commented on his sexual argument. Van Bunge called him a pornographer, who published a libertine

²⁰ See in particular: W. van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza: an essay on philosophy in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic*, Brill's studies in intellectual history, 103 (Leiden, 2001); idem, *The Early enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1750*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 120 (Leiden, 2003); idem, *Spinoza past and present: essays on Spinoza, Spinozism, and Spinoza scholarship*, Brill's studies in intellectual history, 103 (Leiden, 2012); idem, 'Spinoza and the Netherlands', *Philosophia Osaka*, 7 (2012), pp. 1-12.

²¹ See: Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 158-9; idem, *Spinoza past and present*, pp. 135, 155-6, 206-207; idem, 'Spinoza and the Netherlands', pp. 6-7.

²² In particular: J.I. Israel, *Radical enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001); idem, *Enlightenment contested: philosophy, modernity, and the emancipation of man, 1670-1752* (Oxford, 2006).

²³ In: Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 63, 83-96, 103, 116, 131, 153, 186, 206, 311, 432, 435, 451, 633-4, 654; idem, *Enlightenment contested*, p. 33-4, 43, 165, 183, 377-8, 580-6, 607, 665.

²⁴ P. Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', R. Bod, J. Maat, J. Weststeijn (eds.), *The making of the humanities, Part 1. Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010), p. 313.

reading of Spinoza,²⁵ and Israel stated that Beverland was one of the first scholars of the enlightenment, followed by eighteenth-century thinkers like Jean-Frédéric Bernard, Alberto Radicati, and the Marquis d'Argens, who proposed and promoted the radical idea that all people should enjoy sexual freedom, postulating an 'erotic revolution'.²⁶ With his sexual scholarship in mind, it is not surprising that, in addition to enlightenment historiography, Beverland has cropped up in the early modern history of sexuality. Faramerz Dabhoiwala, in his book on the first sexual revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, called Beverland one of the most extreme exponents of sexual freedom in Europe.²⁷ And Inger Leemans, in her studies on seventeenth-century Dutch pornography, concluded that Beverland's views were inspired by pornographic works, adding that his texts might in turn have influenced the writers of late-seventeenth-century erotica.²⁸

Although Beverland has been studied by many people and from several perspectives for over a century, the basic questions surrounding his banishment remain unanswered. Specialist studies on his life and writings, first and foremost the astounding scholarship of Rudolf de Smet, form the solid foundation of this thesis. Yet Dingwall, Elias, De Smet, and Wauters did not study Beverland's early writings in relation to one another, nor have their works positioned his exile in its historical context. The most thorough studies of Beverland and his works have been undertaken by a classicist scholar, who was mostly interested in, and best equipped to study, Beverland's erudite Latinity and use of ancient

²⁵ See the works mentioned in footnotes 20 and 21.

²⁶ Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 581-6; idem, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 87-8, 94.

²⁷ F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex. A history of the first sexual revolution* (London, 2012), p. 139.

²⁸ I. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670-1700* (Nijmegen, 2002), pp. 250-56.

sources. De Smet, and also Elias, Dingwall and Wauters, only discussed the basic facts of Beverland's trial, without positioning his life, works, and troubles in their contemporary intellectual and social context.

In a similar fashion, historical studies that have more recently paid attention to Beverland's story have one thing in common. Expert historians, who have situated him as a case study in their broader studies of the early enlightenment, the intellectual environment of the Dutch Republic, and seventeenth-century ideas on sexual liberty, have all based their conclusions on secondary sources. Israel's argument was mainly founded on eighteenth-century French editions of Beverland's work on original sin and the works of De Smet and Elias. Likewise, Van Bunge, Leemans, and other historians did not study Beverland's writings but based their assessments of his ideas and works on the studies of De Smet, Elias, Dingwall, and Meijer.

Why have both endeavours not been combined before? The study of Beverland's writings confronts the researcher with several different challenges. His many works, letters, and notes are scattered around European archives. Once archival detective work has reassembled them, Beverland's Latin and his style of writing make his documents extremely difficult to read, strewn as they are with long sentences, complicated syntax, vague metaphors, rare words, obscure references, and curious examples. In deciphering these writings, a classicist scholar had to lead the way. The meticulous scholarship of De Smet, who transcribed and clarified parts of Beverland's oeuvre in a multitude of publications since 1984, has prepared his scholarship for historians to take a closer look. For this work, the skills of an expert Latinist and classical scholar were indispensable, but a very different skillset is needed to put these events in their broader historical context.

In studies on the development of scholarship in the Dutch Republic and its relationship to the origins of enlightenment ideas published in the last fifteen years, attention has been focused on tracing the importance of Spinoza's influence, Koerbagh's works, and Bekker's ideas. It is now time to approach Beverland in his own right, rather than merely regarding him as a character in the history of someone else's influence. Filling a crucial gap in existing scholarship, this thesis discusses the riddle at the heart of the tragic life of this exceptional scholar: why did Beverland get into so much trouble after the publication of his first works in Leiden in the late-1670s? Since the answer to this question could be partly psychological, Beverland's personal history and the events surrounding his banishment will be discussed in the Prologue and Epilogue. Yet the core of this thesis will explain his exile from a historical point of view. In the chapters that follow, Beverland's published works, correspondence, and manuscripts, of which many were prepared for historical study by the scholarship of classicists De Smet and Wauters, will be closely examined, and his ideas are positioned in the historical context of their formation: the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century.

The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic

Beverland was born in 1650, in the midst of the Dutch Golden Age.²⁹ The seventeenth century owes its golden label in Dutch history first and foremost to the prosperity of the Dutch economy in this period. From the late-sixteenth century onwards, the young Republic underwent an unparalleled period of economic growth: by the first decades of

²⁹ Modern scholarship on the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century is enormous. Good introductions are given in: M. Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century: the Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2005); W. Frijhoff, and M. Spies (eds.), *1650, hard-won unity, Dutch culture in a European perspective*, 1 (Assen, Basingstoke, 2004); J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness and fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995, 1998); A.T. van Deursen, 'The Dutch Republic, 1588-1780', J.C.H. Blom, and E. Lamberts (eds.), *History of the Low Countries* (New York, 1999, 2006), pp. 143-220.

the seventeenth century the small state became renowned for its world trade, booming industries, and great wealth. The success of the Dutch market economy was based, among other factors, on the growth of the Dutch population, which expanded explosively in especially the last decades of the sixteenth century. This was mainly due to the large number of immigrants that arrived from the Spanish Southern Netherlands and Germany, who invested their knowledge and capital in the Dutch market. Together with its integrated transportation network, the urbanized landscape of the Republic formed the solid basis of its efficient economic structure. As the economic growth of the Republic reached new highs in the seventeenth century, cities like Amsterdam grew exponentially and the commercial success of especially the province of Holland attracted people from all over Europe.³⁰

Also politically, the Republic was exceptional in Europe at this time. After it shook off Spanish rule in the second half of the sixteenth century, in the midst of a Europe characterized by political and religious discord and diversity, the Dutch Republic established itself as a liberal state. As M. Prak has explained in his work on the Dutch Republic, secular government in the Republic after 1579 came to be based on a compromise between two contradictory principles: unity and autonomy, the central authority of the States General versus the sovereignty of the seven provincial States.³¹ Representatives of the provincial States gathered in the 'Staten Generaal' (the States General), a confederacy of states that became the highest official authority in the Republic after 1588. The States General was however only a representative body of the

³⁰ In addition to the introductory works in footnote 29, see on the Dutch economy in this period: J. De Vries, and A.M. van der Woude, *The first modern economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997); J.L. van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's economy: Merchant Capitalism and Labour Market* (Manchester, 1993).

³¹ Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 167.

highest power(s) of the Republic, since the seven provinces kept their sovereignty. The provinces all had one vote in the States General, but in practice the vote of Holland, the most powerful province, carried most weight, which made the States of Holland the most important decision-making body of the Dutch Republic. Within the seven provinces the situation was similar: the Provincial States did not have sovereign authority in their territories and were in constant competition with strong local powers, especially the town governments, which had never surrendered their autonomous rights. And then there was the complicating office of Stadholder, who no longer functioned as a placeholder for the Spanish King but who could be, and was in times of crisis, appointed as head of foreign affairs and the army by the different provinces separately and/or by the States General.

Due to its confederate structure and the strength of local powers, the Dutch political system as a whole was based on compromise and consensus. The different secular authorities that ruled the Republic might have disagreed on many issues, all were in favour of creating conditions that would sustain the success of the commercial economy. Their tolerant attitude, which was renowned in seventeenth-century Europe, was not so much based on liberal ideology or the absence of laws but was a result of the common aims of and the delicate balance struck between national, provincial, and local powers and interests.³²

³² For more on the Dutch political system, see in addition to the works in footnote 29: J.L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century: the politics of particularism* (Oxford, 1994); T.H.P.M., Thomassen, *Instrumenten Van De Macht: De Staten-Generaal En Hun Archieven 1576-1796* (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 62-71, 78-96, 108-132, 236; B.J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and libertines. Confession and community in Utrecht 1578-1620* (PhD Thesis University of Harvard, Oxford, 1989, 1995), pp. 2-4, 28-31; P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 173-201.

The Dutch Republic boasted high rates of literacy, partly due to its extensive network of Dutch and Latin schools. By 1650 the booming economic market and influx of immigrants had created an innovative cultural and intellectual climate: art was in high demand, there existed a lively pamphlet culture, and the economic progress fed interest in for instance news papers and technological manuals. Supported by the relative freedom of publishing, printers and publishing houses enjoyed a golden era and also the art market profited from the economic successes, as the domestic and international market broadened.³³

A century earlier, the Republic had already established itself as a centre of humanist learning. From the time of Desiderius Erasmus, the study of ancient texts flourished in the works of Hadrianus Junius, Justus Lipsius, and Josephus Justus Scaliger. The development of humanist scholarship was encouraged by the founding of universities, starting with the University of Leiden in 1575. By the early seventeenth century, the Dutch school of textual criticism, characterized by the work of scholars like Hugo Grotius, Gerardus Joannes Vossius, and Daniël Heinsius, was renowned in Europe for producing high-quality philological, historical, and chronological studies of pagan as well as sacred texts. Encouraged by humanist scholarship and the Reformation, the critical study of Scripture rapidly advanced in the Dutch Republic, as scholars closely studied errors and inconsistencies in the biblical texts.

Due to these different intellectual developments, the seventeenth-century Republic fostered some of the best universities in Europe, where not only humanist

³³ A selection of studies, in addition to the works in footnote 29: A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania: money, honor, and knowledge in the Dutch golden age* (Chicago, 2007); idem, *Impolite learning: conduct and community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven, 1995); Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht'; 1-21; D. Freedberg, J. de Vries, *Art in history, history in art: studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture* (Chicago, 1991); M. North, *Art and commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (London, 1997).

scholarship but also Reformed Protestant thought, natural philosophy, and the mathematical sciences flourished. Not only Dutch thinkers, like Hugo Grotius, Christiaan Huygens, and Anthoni van Leeuwenhoek, but also foreign scholars, like René Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, and Pierre Bayle lived, worked, or published their works in the Republic in this period.³⁴ This favourable environment for scholarship encouraged the development and publication of some of the most influential philosophical ideas and writings of the period, and it gave birth to a radical strand of thinking in the second half of the seventeenth century. The writings of Baruch Spinoza and the works of Dutch thinkers like Lodewijk Meyer, Adriaen Koerbagh, and Balthasar Bekker sparked European controversy in the last decades of the Dutch Golden Age.³⁵ After 1650, different types of scholars roamed the halls of Dutch universities: a humanist elite, scholars like Nicolaas Heinsius who attempted to revive the glory days of classical scholarship, a new generation of thinkers, who, like Descartes, exchanged ancient sources for the study of (human) nature via rationalist and empirical methods, and theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church, torn apart by internal strife and external challenges to their authority.

In matters of religion, the Republic was an anomaly in Europe. During the tumultuous sixteenth century the Reformation had taken a strong hold in the Habsburg Netherlands and the political Dutch Revolt was closely connected to religious standpoints. After the Union of Utrecht of 1579, the Protestant Dutch Reformed Church became the 'public church' but not the state church of the Republic. The Reformed

³⁴ For more on these subjects, see in addition to the works in footnote 29: Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 28-34, 372-404. For more on (Dutch) humanism, see Chapter 3 (pages 147-8).

³⁵ A selection of works on these ideas and thinkers: Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*; Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, especially pp. 28-34, 372-404; idem, *Radical enlightenment*, especially pp. 25-9, 301-27, 477-85, 550-75; Van Bunge, *The Early enlightenment*; idem, 'Spinoza and the Netherlands'; M. Wielema, *The march of the libertines: Spinozists and the Dutch Reformed Church (1660-1750)* (PhD Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Hilversum, 2004).

Church was an important force in Dutch society and the only Church allowed to engage in public worship, yet it was not given the full support of the secular authorities, the majority of the Dutch population were not members, and the Reformed community was characterized by internal disputes, since moderate and orthodox factions remained in constant discussion about doctrine and discipline throughout the seventeenth century. As a result, debates between secular and religious authorities on secular policy, church organisation, and the power of the Church in Dutch society occurred frequently. Despite its internal quarrels and external challenges, the Dutch Reformed Church and its clergy were an important force to be reckoned with, also in the academic context. Due to the standing and influence of the theological faculty in Dutch universities, the new philosophies that emerged in the course of the seventeenth century incited heavy debates.³⁶ The fierce attack of orthodox Dutch theologians on philosophers, radical thinkers, and other 'dissenters' was partly inspired by the 'Nadere Reformatie', the Further Reformation. Arguing that the Church had lost control over its members and Dutch society as a whole, the Further Reformation movement aimed to extend the knowledge of the ideology of the Reformation and called on Reformed people to lead more pious life.³⁷

³⁶ See in addition to the works in footnote 29: G. Groenhuis, *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen, 1977), pp. 13-37, 75-88; A.T. Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen: kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Olde[n]barnevelt* (Assen, 1974), pp. 5-7, 193-217; Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 2-4, 28-48, 72-4; A. Duke, 'The ambivalent face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618', A.C. Duke, (ed.), *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, London, 1990), pp. 269-93; Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, pp. 173-201; J. Spaans, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse kerkgeschiedenis en interdisciplinariteit', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 14 (1998), pp. 206-214; J.A. Van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality: Voetius and Descartes on God, Nature, and Change*, *Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 66 (Leiden, 1995).

³⁷ Scholars have debated the influence of the 'Nadere Reformatie' in the seventeenth century, For an approach to the Further Reformation from a contemporary Calvinist point of view see: T. Brienens (ed.), *De Nadere reformatie: beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers* (The Hague, 1986); L.F. Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie Van Het Gezin: De visie van Petrus Wittewrongel op de Christelijke huishouding* (Dordrecht, 1984); F.A. van Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie in Utrecht Ten Tijde Van Voetius:*

By the time Beverland was ready to publish his first works in the late-1670s, small yet durable shifts forebode the end of the Golden Age. In the 'Rampjaar' of 1672, the year of disaster, French armies had penetrated far into the province of Holland, as the Republic found itself at war with England, France, and some German states at the same time. It turned out to be a turning point: the foundations of the Golden Republic gradually started to crumble in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The economy stopped expanding and the dominant position of the Dutch in world trade was threatened. Important colonial possessions like Brazil and the New Netherlands were lost and the mercantilist policies of England and France had a detrimental effect on trade and industries. The interconnectedness of its international and national markets, which had been crucial in the explosive growth of the Dutch economy in the late-sixteenth century, now became its greatest weakness. The Dutch population stopped growing, urbanization halted, and prices dropped.³⁸

The stagnation of the economy coincided with important political changes: due to the threat of invasion and the wars with many of the Republic's European and colonial neighbours, William III was elected Stadholder in 1672. His appointment heightened tensions between supporters of the federal system of government, the Republican party, and supporters of the Stadholder and a more monarchical system of government, the

Sporen in De Gereformeerde Kerkeradsacta (Rotterdam, 1989). See for a more critical stance on the Further Reformation: Spaans, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse kerkgeschiedenis', pp. 206-14, and also: J. Spaans, *Graphic satire and religious change: the Dutch Republic, 1676-1707, Brill's series in church history*, 53, *Religious history and culture series*, 5 (Leiden, 2011); W. Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemisz. Een Hollands weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf 1607-1647* (Nijmegen, 1995).

³⁸ See: M.C. Jacob, and W.W. Mijnhardt, *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution* (Ithaca, 1992); J.J. Kloek, W.W. Mijnhardt, *1800. Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague, 2001); M. Feingold, 'Reversal of fortunes: the displacement of cultural hegemony from the Netherlands to England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', D. Hoak, and M. Feingold (eds.), *The world of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 234-62.

Orangists. The divide between these two political parties had characterized (national) politics in the Dutch Republic from its very beginning, but the election of William III and his departure for England in 1688, as he became King of England after the Glorious Revolution, upset the balance of powers and in the end gave rise to a political eclipse.³⁹

Tensions within the Dutch Reformed Church were also palpable in this period, as orthodox and liberal factions fiercely debated how to deal with the emergence of new heresies, novel philosophies, and biblical criticism that challenged the position of the clergy and theologians in Dutch society as a whole and in the academic context in particular. Orthodox theologians felt threatened by and lashed out at the radically new ideas that questioned the foundation of their doctrine, which were not only voiced by radical outsiders but even by clergymen of the Reformed Church.⁴⁰ Dutch theologians were well aware that the intellectual context was gradually transforming. New philosophies of science, knowledge, and truth slowly destabilized traditions of scholarship: developments in especially biblical criticism and (natural) philosophy gave birth to radically new methods and perspectives that challenged age-old hierarchies in and approaches to scholarship. In the Dutch Republic, due to its high standard of textual criticism, the Calvinist doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the impact of novel philosophies of knowledge, discussions about the Bible between orthodox, moderate, and radical thinkers greatly influenced academic life.⁴¹ The hegemony of humanist

³⁹ See the works in footnote 38, as well as: L. Panhuysen, *Rampjaar 1672: hoe de republiek aan de ondergang ontsnapte* (Amsterdam, 2009); M. Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos: populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam, 2010).

⁴⁰ See the works in footnote 36, and: J. van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord in the United Provinces: religious toleration and the public in the eighteenth-century Netherlands*, *Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 111 (Leiden, 2003); Goldgar, *Impolite learning*.

⁴¹ A small selection of works on this topic: Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 26-137; H. van Ruler, 'The Shipwreck of Belief and Eternal bliss: philosophy and religion in later Dutch Cartesianism', Van Bunge, *The early Enlightenment*, pp. 109-36; Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', pp. 313-25;

scholarship in the realm of learning, stemming from the days of Lipsius and Scaliger, had been greatly affected by theological strife, especially during the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-19, had been challenged by the philosophies of thinkers like Descartes, and was now battling with the influence of the radical ideas of Spinoza. A new generation of scholars, who exchanged textual criticism for rationalism and empiricism, was slowly gaining ground.

The young Beverland, immersed in his books, may not have been aware of it, but his attempt to launch his career as a brilliant classicist, controversial scholar, and public intellectual took place at a moment in which the equipoise of forces which had characterised the Dutch Republic for a century was rapidly becoming unbalanced.

Sin, Scripture, Scholarship, Sex

If Europe's most radical thinkers could publish their most notorious books in Holland without the fear of prosecution in the seventeenth century, what was in the works of the young Beverland to provoke his exile? Who did his works offend so vehemently? What was so scandalous to have incited the normally lenient university court to give such a harsh punishment to a first offender? To answer these questions, we will turn to three historical settings in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, linked to three social groups that played crucial roles in Beverland's story.

In his first, most (in)famous work, Beverland discussed original sin and the Book of Genesis. Not long after its publication, Dutch theologians discussed *De Peccato Originali* and fervently denounced Beverland's arguments. In Chapter 1 and 2 we will

R.H. Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship', D. Garrett (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Spinoza* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 383-407; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 157-328.

therefore discuss his writings from a religious perspective: what did Beverland's theology, his argument on original sin, entail and what did he have to say about the text of the Bible? Why did the theologians and ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, the ecclesiastical elite of the Dutch Republic, feel so strongly about Beverland's ideas?

To answer these questions, this thesis will concentrate first and foremost on the three works Beverland published, or planned to publish, in the period leading up to his trial. The *De Peccato Originali* was published in Leiden in three different versions: anonymously in 1678 as the *Peccatum Originale κατ' ἐξοχήν sic nuncupatum* and twice under Beverland's own name in 1679, with the titles *De Peccato Originali κατ' ἐξοχήν sic nuncupato dissertatio* and the *Poma Amoris*. Although the title page of his second work, *De Stolatae Virginitatis lure*, stated that it was published in Leiden in 1680, it was printed in the summer of 1679. This study was actually the first that Beverland ever completed, since he composed at least a rough draft of it during his studies in Oxford in 1672. The third work he was completing in this period formed the foundation of his published writings: his three-volume master thesis 'De Prostibulis Veterum'.⁴² In his published writings and main thesis Beverland concentrated on original sin, the female nature, and ancient history in relation to his main subject: sex.

To examine their content and significance in relation to his struggles, we must position these works in the traditions that gave rise to them: the philological study of sacred and pagan texts. In his early works, Beverland argued that lust was the original sin, based on his textual criticism of the Scripture. In relation to his ideas on religion, there was no question for Beverland who was behind his banishment: the orthodox theologians

⁴² For more on these three works, see the Bibliography.

of the Dutch Reformed Church. Were Dutch theologians indeed to blame? How radical were Beverland's ideas on sin and Scripture? Did his philological study of the Sacred Text determine his relationship with Dutch theologians and cause his troubles?

With his work on sex and sin Beverland positioned himself in theological and exegetical discussions, yet above all he was a classical scholar. He might have presented the Bible as the primary text upon which he based his argument on the importance of sexual lust, his actual field of expertise were the classics and his sexual scholarship rested upon his extended philological studies of Greek and Roman sources. A university court banished Beverland and therefore we turn, in Chapter 3, to his classical scholarship, his intellectual environment, and his relations with the scholarly elite of the Dutch Republic. What did his studies of the classics entail exactly? How did he position himself in the field of classical scholarship? How did other humanists react to his studies of the sexual?

To discuss Beverland's humanist scholarship in relation to his troubles, in addition to his three early works a second category of primary sources is of crucial importance: Beverland's correspondence. In total 326 letters sent to more than forty correspondents have been preserved,⁴³ of which 160 turned out to be most relevant for the question at hand. Among these were two sets of letters prepared for publication by Beverland himself: the 'Epistolae Tullianae', 42 letters sent between 1678 and 1685,⁴⁴ and the 'Epistolae Familiares', 30 letters written between approximately 1679 and 1702 of which a selection of twelve letters was published in the eighteenth century as the *Epistolae XII*.⁴⁵

⁴³ For a complete overview of his correspondence see the Bibliography.

⁴⁴ A selection of these was discussed by Meijer and De Smet has published the full collection in Dutch transcription, accompanied by notes and summaries. See: Meijer, 'Brieven'; R. de Smet, 'Epistolae Tullianae. Brieven van Hadriaan Beverland', *De Gulden Passer*, 64, 65, 68 (1986, 1987, 1990), pp. 83-124, 70-101, 139-67.

⁴⁵ De Smet has dedicated a French article to these twelve letters, including transcriptions, notes, and summaries. See: R. de Smet, 'Hadriani Beverlandi Epistolae XII. Edition critique et commentaire', R. De

Also of great importance were separate letters exchanged between Beverland and Nicolaas Heinsius, Jacobus Gronovius, Isaac Vossius, and Johann Georg Graevius, which were preserved in different archives around Europe.⁴⁶ Beverland's correspondence offers close insight into his early life and studies, into the composition of his works, and into the period before, during, and after his trial. Since his relationships with friends and foes were often a topic of discussion, his letters are particularly interesting in relation to learned sociability in the humanist Republic of Letters.

He studied the text of the Bible, concentrated on original sin, and discussed ancient history and classical literature, but what ultimately defined Beverland's works, what tied his different studies together, was his single-minded attention to the subject of sex. He concentrated on sex and sin, sex in Scripture, sex and the classics, sex in human nature, and sex in his contemporary society, exploring lust in all its ungovernable power. In Chapter 4 we focus on the sexual element of his works in relation to his broader historical context. Did he comment on the place of sexuality in his contemporary society? Can his studies be regarded as obscene or pornographic? And what did the social and economic elite of the Dutch Republic think of his works?

In the discussion of his sexual argument, we turn, in addition to his main works and correspondence, to a third set of documents that offers insight into the broader context of his problems. Firstly there are the reactions to and discussions of Beverland's views on sexuality, which have been recorded in documents relating to his trial (preserved in the archive of the university court, notes of meetings of the States of

Smet, H. Mellaerts, and C. Saerens (eds.), *Studia Varia Bruxellensia ad Orbem Graeco-Latinum Pertinentia* (5 volumes, Leuven, 1987-2011), volume 2, pp. 29-56.

⁴⁶ The Latin letters of this selection sent to Gronovius and Heinsius were translated in: Wauters, 'Correspondentie'.

Holland, and of the synods of the Dutch Reformed Church) and contemporary publications written in response to his works (for instance written by poet David van Hoogstraten and theologian Leonard van Rijssen). Secondly, Beverland's own complex relationship with the sexual presented itself in his later writings. Among these are printed works, for instance his excuse-work published in London in 1697 and 1698 (*De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio*), documents relating to his collection of books and art ('*Bibliotheca*', *Patrimonii sui reliquiae*), and curious later publications, for example his *Although my innocence is sheltered by a bulwark of virtues*. Also preserved and studied were many unpublished writings and personal notes, for instance the 'Crepundia Lugdunensia' and his testaments composed in 1703 and 1704.⁴⁷ Can these documents tell us if Beverland was an exceptional libertine, who justified his own sexual pleasure by formulating an argument on lust? Did he get into trouble because of his views on theology, his criticism of the Bible, or his approach to classical literature? Or was it his sexual subject, his composition and compilation of obscene texts or his perspective on sexual liberty, that sealed his fate?

Within this last set of documents, we find letters that Beverland wrote to himself during the last decades of his life, part of the so-called Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence. By the early-1700s, he was losing his mind; haunted by paranoid thoughts about sex, his enemies, his scholarship. To understand how Hadriaan Beverland, a confident, young, and ambitious Dutch scholar, turned into such an emotional mess, we have to start at the beginning of his story.

⁴⁷ See for more on all of these works the Bibliography.

Prologue. Banishment (1650-1680)

Who was Hadriaan Beverland, the young, talented, and outspoken student who was exiled in 1679? Biographies of Beverland have been printed in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and England since the early eighteenth century⁴⁸ and also modern scholars, like Dingwall and De Smet, have looked into his personal history.⁴⁹ Their findings formed the foundation of this Prologue and the Epilogue at the end of this thesis, which outline Beverland's life before, during, and after his trial.⁵⁰

Early life and student years

Hadriaan Beverland was born between 20 September and 14 December 1650 in Middelburg, the capital town of Zeeland, a southern province of the Dutch Republic.⁵¹ His

⁴⁸ We find Beverland for instance in: P. Dahlmann, *Schauplatz der masquirten und demasquirten Gelehrten* (Leipzig, 1710), pp. 383-6; J.P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres: avec un catalogue raisonné de leurs ouvrages* (43 volumes, Paris, 1729-45), volume 14, pp. 340-46; J.C. Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit: oder, Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Schwarzkünstler, Goldmacher, Teufelsbanner, Zeichen- und Liniendeuter, Schwärmer, Wahrsager, und anderer philosophischer Unholden* (7 volumes, Leipzig, 1785-9), volume 1, pp. 20-46; Chalmot, *Biografisch woordenboek*, volume 3, pp. 43-8; A. Chalmers, *The General Biographical Dictionary* (32 volumes, London, 1812), volume 5, pp. 201-202; A.J. Van der Aa, K.J.R. van Harderwijk, G.D.J. Schotel, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, (21 volumes, Haarlem, 1852-78), volume 2, pp. 491-498; Nagtglas, *Levensberichten*, volume 1, pp. 36-8. For an overview of these publications on Beverland, see: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 9-14; Dingwall, *Very peculiar people*, pp. 169-72.

⁴⁹ See: Dingwall, *Very peculiar people*; De Smet, *Hadrianus*; R. de Smet, 'Traces of Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716) in the Zeeuws documentatiecentrum at Middelburg, 1692-1715', *Lias: sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 19, no. 1 (1992), pp. 73-91; R. de Smet, and T. Wauters, 'Two last wills of Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716): a comparative study', *Lias: sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 36, no. 1 (2009), pp. 17-28.

⁵⁰ Other studies formed the starting point for the biographical research for the Prologue and Epilogue. All facts discussed have been studied anew or for the first time to reconstruct Beverland's life-story.

⁵¹ F. Nagtglas concluded in the nineteenth century that no mention of Beverland's birth or baptism had been preserved (see: *Levensberichten*, volume 1, p. 36). It is impossible to verify his conclusion today as a large portion of the Middelburg archive was destroyed during the Second World War. Therefore the date of Beverland's birth and the identity of his parents has been established with the use of other documents. Beverland stated that he was 22 years old when he registered at the University of Leiden on 20 September 1673 (*Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* (The Hague, 1875) p. 585), he wrote in his testament of January 1704 that he was 53 years old ('Testament 1704' in the Bibliography; De Smet, Wauters, 'Two last wills'); and in an anonymous eighteenth-century biography of Beverland it was stated that Beverland died in London on 16 December 1716, aged 66 years (in: 'Anonymous biography of Beverland', see Bibliography), a date confirmed by the date of his burial (18 December 1716, see: P. Boyd, *London Burials Index, 1538-1872* (London, 1934)). I agree with De Smet that Beverland's age stated in the

parents were Johannes Beverland (?-1654) and Catarina van Deijnse (?-1665)⁵² and he had two brothers: Johannes (1638?-1695) and Christoffel (1646?-1676).⁵³ Not much is known about Hadriaan's parents. Johannes Beverland worked in the military village of Lillo, a small fortress town situated on the southern border of Zeeland close to the city of Antwerp. He died in March 1654 when Hadriaan was only 3 years old.⁵⁴

Only a couple of months after his father's death, in September 1654, Hadriaan's mother Catarina married Bernard de Gomme (1620-85), an important military engineer for the English army who was born in Zeeland but lived most of his life in England. He met Catarina and her sons when he returned to the Netherlands after the death of King Charles I in 1649. The couple had a daughter together and moved to England around

trial records, namely 27 years old, should be disregarded, as he claimed to be younger during his trial to be judged more favourably (see: footnote 130 below; De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 16-17).

⁵² Other spellings of their names are Johannes Beverlant, or Beverlander, and Catarina van Deijnsen, or Deynse. The genealogy of Beverland's parents was studied by De Smet and Wauters ('Two last wills', pp. 17-28), assisted by W.A van Rijn (*Genealogie van het geslacht van Deinse* (Rotterdam, 1954)) and P. van Deynse. Their conclusions were confirmed by a number of notary documents drafted for Beverland and his family in Utrecht between 1675 and 1695. These can be found in the notarial archive of the city of Utrecht, in entries under *Beverland*, *Beverlandt* and *Beverlant* (at: <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/archiefbank/indexen/personen>). The research done by P. van Deynse suggest that Johannes and Catherina got married in Middelburg on 10 September 1636, (see: <http://gw.geneanet.org/pvdeynse?lang=en;pz=patrick+andre+irma;nz=van+deynse;ocz=0;p=catharina;n=van+deynse>). Beverland's many references to Middelburg affirm that he was born in this city (in ET 33, Rechstood, 12/1679 for instance, as well as other letters), like his brother Jan (see: W.M.C. Regt, 'Predikanten van de Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk en Hervormde Kerk in Zeeland, 1572-1938', in the Bibliography).

⁵³ Beverland's older brother Johannes, or Jan, was a preacher in the Reformed Church of Zeeland (in the 'Waterlandkerkje' in Waterland-Oudeman, between 1675-87) and a minister for Dutch community of Great Yarmouth in England (before 1675 and 1687-95), as is stated in Regt, 'Predikanten van de Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk, 1572-1938'. Beverland corresponded with his brother during his trial and also after his move to England. Christoffel studied in Franeker and received his doctoral degree in medicine from the University of Utrecht in December 1669, where he lived together with his wife and daughter Catharina and worked as a doctor. A fourth brother, born in 1643 and named Jacob, was christened in Biervliet, on 12 July 1643 (see: 'Christening Jacob Beverland 12 July 1643', in Bibliography). As there is no mention of him in any other documents, we may assume he died at a young age.

⁵⁴ Records in the Zeeuws Archief show that Johannes was in charge of import and export duties at the military fort of Lillo and that he died in April 1654, as he was replaced as in May 1654 (see: 'Replacement Johannes Beverlandt as collector of taxes in Lillo May 1654, see Bibliography). Other documents discovered in the Zeeuws Archief show that Johannes Beverland had to pay taxes in Lillo between 1652 and 1654, which he paid himself in 1652 and which were paid by his widow for 1653-4, confirming his position and death (see 'Taxes Johannes Beverlandt', in Bibliography).

1660, after the Restoration of King Charles II.⁵⁵ Hadriaan and his brothers stayed in Middelburg to finish their education and lived in different households.⁵⁶ One of the few things he recounted about his childhood in later life was that he was struck by illness for four years. Hadriaan stated little about the character of his sickness, only that he was cured by a 'miraculous touch of God' in Breda in 1660.⁵⁷

In the summer of 1663 Hadriaan was registered at the Latin School of Middelburg.⁵⁸ The enrolment of *Adrianus Beverlandt* brings us to the discussion of his name. It was not unusual in the seventeenth century to spell a name in various ways. While in the Dutch Republic he was most often referred to as *Hadriaan*, *Adriaan* or *Adriaen Beverlant*, *Beverlandt* or *Beverland*, Beverland himself often Latinized his name to Hadrianus Beverlandus and he signed most of his letters with *H*, *HD*, *HB*, or *HaD Beverland*. In this thesis the name Hadriaan Beverland has therefore been chosen, in relation to the Latin name that is printed on most of his works. It is likely that Hadriaan was named after his mother's father, Adriaen van Deynse.⁵⁹ His surname Beverland could very well have referred to *Beveland*, the name of one of the peninsulas of Zeeland, the province in which he was born.

⁵⁵ This daughter, Catharina de Gomme, was mentioned in a mandate written by a notary for Beverland's brother Christoffel, concerning the transfer of a share in the East India Company in Middelburg in 1675, in connection to the inheritance of their mother. *Catharina de Gomme* is named as Christoffel's sister ('Transfer of share East India Company Christoffel Beverland 12 June 1675', see Bibliography). This conclusion was confirmed by the works of Saunders on De Gomme, who stated that De Gomme's daughter Katherine was born in Lillo. For more on Bernard de Gomme see: C. Storrs, 'Fortress Builder. Bernard de Gomme, Charles II's Military Engineer', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 11, no. 1 (2007), pp.119-20; A. Saunders, *Fortress builder: Bernard de Gomme, Charles II's military engineer* (Exeter, 2004). It seems that Catharina died before De Gomme: in his will of 1685 only her husband, John Piches, and granddaughter Katherine were mentioned (see: 'Will of Bernard de Gomme 27 Nov 1685', in the Bibliography).

⁵⁶ Beverland lived for instance with the family of Pieter Coorne (see page 43 and footnote 60) and in the house of Nicolaus Arnoldi (see page 43 and footnote 64).

⁵⁷ Beverland stated in his *De Peccato Originali* that he was cured after following the advice of De Gomme. Breda is the city where the English court resided after the death of Charles I in 1649 and as De Gomme was an engineer in the English royal army, it is very likely that he lived or at least spent much time in this city.

⁵⁸ See: J.G. Vogler, *De leerlingen van het Middelburgsch Gymnasium* (Middelburg, 1906), p. 22.

⁵⁹ For more on the Van Deynse, Van Deinse, or van Deijnse family see: Van Rijn, *Genealogie*.

During his school years, since his mother and stepfather had moved to England, Beverland lodged with other families. He lived for instance with Pieter Coorne (1627-76), who he described in later life as the “minster of the gospel at Middelburg, who dictated to me every day at his table rules to my religion an[d] morals.”⁶⁰ When his mother died in 1665, he was placed under the custody of guardians.⁶¹ He remained close to his stepfather however, who supported him during his trial and after his move to England.⁶²

Beverland graduated from Latin School when he was 18 and left Zeeland soon afterward.⁶³ He commenced his academic studies at the University of Franeker in July 1669, as a student of ‘philosophiae et litterarum’ (‘philosophy and letters’) under the guidance of Nicolaas Arnoldi (1618-80).⁶⁴ He studied at several universities in the Dutch

⁶⁰ ‘Notes for the Perin del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, 16r (see the Bibliography). Pieter or Petrus Coorne was preacher in Ossensisse, Biervliet, Zierikzee and Middelburg between 1651 and his death in 1676. It is likely that Beverland indeed received a firm religious upbringing in the house of preacher Coorne, whose sons Tobias and Cornelis both became preachers in Zeeland. Beverland later corresponded with Tobias Coorne, whom he called his cousin (see for instance: ET 12, Coorne, 10/1679; ET 13, Coorne, 1679; 16; EG 21, Coorne, 26/06/1700). For more on the Coorne family see: Regt, ‘Naamlijst der Predikanten van Zeeland, 1565-1938’, volume 1, pp. 71, 91-2, 276, 406, 516; P.J. Blok, and P.C. Molhuysen (red.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (10 volumes, Leiden, 1911-1937), volume 4, pp. 451-2; Van der Aa. *Biographisch woordenboek*, Volume 3, p. 694.

⁶¹ ‘See: ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, 16r. Written around 1700, in these notes Beverland described his youth and although certain statements in this document must be doubted, due to his mental state at the time, most facts he stated about his younger life are confirmed by other sources. See for more the Bibliography.

⁶² He dedicated his *De Peccato Originali* of 1679 to De Gomme, in which he thanked him for adopting the role of father. Their good relationship is confirmed by the fact that Beverland lived close to De Gomme in London for a number of years (see: EG 8/5, 12/11/1685; EG 40/4, around 1688) and that he was the second person mentioned in De Gomme’s will, receiving more money than for instance De Gomme’s granddaughter (he inherited 2000 pounds). See: ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, 2r; *Although my innocency*, p. 6; ‘De Gomme’s Will’ mentioned in footnote 55).

⁶³ Vogler, *De leerlingen*, p. 22.

⁶⁴ Beverland stated in his ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, that his ‘actions were then guided by dr. Nicolaus Arnoldi Theology Professor a severer instructor in whoos house I lodged...’. Nicolaas Arnoldi was a strict Dutch Reformed preacher, who had been a professor of Theology at the University of Franeker since 1651. Beverland registered there on 7 July 1669 (see: S.J. Fockema Andreae, and T.J. Meijer, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis, 1: Naamlijst der studenten* (Franeker, 1968), p. 205). For more on Arnoldi see: D. Nauta et al. (red.), *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* (6 volumes, Kampen, 1978-2006), volume 3, pp. 38-9. In Franeker Beverland also studied under Nicolas Blanckaert(s) (Blancardus, 1624-1703), who featured in his correspondence (see for example: ET 11, Blancardus, 07/07/1679; EF 15, Berkel; EF 25, Gronovius, after 1691; EF 30, Perizonius, 25/9/1702; EG 42, Huber, 16/02/1695). It is probable that because Blancardus, who was a teacher at the *Athenaeum Illustre* in Middelburg when Beverland lived there, was appointed as a professor of Greek in

Republic in the next decade, starting his scholarly career in the faculty of 'artes'. While the prestige of the faculty of arts decreased during the seventeenth century, studying languages (primarily Latin) and philosophy (which at this time included the natural sciences and mathematics as well as logic, ethics, and history) was still considered the first step of academic education.⁶⁵ In line with Dutch tradition, since students in the Republic resided in rented rooms outside the campus, Beverland lived in private accommodation during his academic studies in different Dutch cities.⁶⁶

"In the year 1672, when the Bishop of Munster drove us from the University, I came to London to Sir Bernard de Gomme... who never conduct[ed] me to court but send me immediately to Oxford."⁶⁷ Beverland spent a year at the University of Oxford in 1672, a move that was partly inspired by the threat of war. In the 'year of disaster', the Dutch Republic was at war with France, England, and the dioceses of the bishops of Munster and Cologne.⁶⁸ His stay in Oxford was however primarily motivated by his desire, with the encouragement of his stepfather, to study in the Bodleian Library. According to the Bodleian librarian Anthony Wood, he registered himself as 'Dominus Zelandiae' (Lord of

Franecker in 1669, Beverland started his academic studies in this city in the same year. For more on Blanckaert: Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 4, pp. 153-6.

⁶⁵ For more on universities in Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century: H. de Ridder-Symoens, and W.H. Rüegg (eds.), *A history of the university in Europe* (2 volumes, Cambridge, 1992, 1996), *Volume 2: Universities in early modern Europe (1500-1800)*; Otterspeer, *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid. De Leidse universiteit, 1575-1672. Groepsportret met Dame Volume I* (Amsterdam, 2000); Otterspeer, *De vesting van de macht*; M. Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1575-181: 'Een volk op zyn Siams gekleet eenige mylen van Den Haag woonende'* (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, Amsterdam, 2011).

⁶⁶ His correspondence from this period shows that Beverland lodged at different houses in Leiden, The Hague, and Utrecht. See for instance: 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', BOD, 1700-1702, 16r; EH, 1, 02/11/1678; EH, 2, 15/10/1678; EH, 3, 08/07/1679). For more on this tradition, see works in footnote 65.

⁶⁷ 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', BOD, 1700-1702, 17r.

⁶⁸ War was declared by England in March 1672, by France in April, and by the dioceses of Munster and Cologne in May. The threat of full invasion invoked panic and William III was elected as Stadholder and was put in charge of the army and foreign politics. In the summer, the French invaded part of the east and advanced toward Holland, but with the support of Spain, Prussia, and the Holy Roman Empire, the Republic was saved in the last months of 1672. For more on this: Panhuysen, *Rampjaar 1672*; Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos*; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 796-807.

Zeeland),⁶⁹ but Beverland has always asserted that this entry was not a reflection of his arrogance but was made due to a mistake by the librarian: “being surprist with the garb of my gallant clothes [he] writ under my name *Dominus Zelandiae*.”⁷⁰ During his student years, Beverland spent lots of money on fancy clothing and on extending his collection of books, art, and ancient artefacts. In 1709 he stated that of the 2240 pounds he received from his parents’ inheritance in 1675, all but 800 pounds, which he brought with him to England in 1680, had been “spent and lost in Holland in 4 years...”⁷¹.

Beverland met many of the friends that would be important to him for the rest of his life when he was a student passing through the Dutch universities. He was surrounded by the so-called *Initiati*, a group of close friends that consisted of students and scholars who were, or would become, term professors in law, theology, and the classics.⁷² Jacob de Goyer belonged to this close circle, a lawyer from Utrecht who corresponded with Beverland until his death in the late-1680s.⁷³ Humanist Nicolaas Heinsius (1621-81) was also one of Beverland’s close friends⁷⁴ as was scholar Isaac Vossius (1618-89), who shared his interest in radical subjects and took care of him when he moved to England.⁷⁵ Also

⁶⁹ In: A. Wood, ‘1672, Creations’, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1632-95, London, 1913). This was first recorded in the 1674-edition: *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (including *Fasti Oxonienses*).

⁷⁰ ‘Being then admitted to the publyck library I writ my name in the album after the library kieber inquired *From what Country I was?* I replied *from Zeeland*. He being surprist with the garb of my galland clothes, writ under my name *Dominus Zelandiae*.’ In: ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, 17r-v. This justification was repeated by Beverland in his correspondence (see EG, 25/13, 10/12/1708) and in: *Although my Innocency*, p. 4. The mistakes in English are part of Beverland’s text.

⁷¹ *Although my innocency*, 1709, p. 6. For more comments on his lavish spending during his younger years, see: ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, BOD, 1700-1702, 16v-17r.

⁷² Beverland often used this term when speaking about his close friends, referring not only to their closeness but also to them sharing certain secrets (they knew his true argument on sexuality).

⁷³ For more on De Goyer see: M. Kubo, ‘Jacobus Goyer (1651–89) at the Dawn of Homeric Scholarship’, *Nippon Gakushuin Kiyo, Japan Academy*, 61, no. 2 (2007), pp. 45–64; M. Kubo, *Jacobi Goyeri Annotationes in Homerum (Aldo 1517): transcription with bibliographical notes and Index Fontium* (Tokyo, 2006).

⁷⁴ For more on Heinsius: F.F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden* (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, Delft, 1949); A.H. Kan, ‘Nicolaas Heinsius in Italië (1646-48)’, *Onze Eeuw*, 14, no. 3 (1914), p. 57–74.

⁷⁵ For more on Vossius: H. Nellen, and D. Imhoff, ‘Isaac Vossius’ ‘Isaac Vossius’, J. Bloemendal, and C. Heesakkers (eds.), *Bio-bibliografie van Nederlandse Humanisten* (The Hague, 2009); F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius*

Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716), professor in law, Latin and Greek at the University of Leiden, was also a good friend of Beverland⁷⁶ and classical scholar Johann Georg Graevius (1632-1703) was a member of the *Initiati* as well.⁷⁷

After his return from Oxford, Beverland continued his studies in Leiden, Franeker, and Utrecht and he was awarded a doctorate in law by Utrecht in March 1677.⁷⁸ During his student years, he was preoccupied by a very different subject however.

First publications

“[When] down first covered my cheeks, I was always studying the cause of the original sin... After I had dwelled a long time in darkness, I finally descended to our origin, [and] the submerged truth emerged in light.”⁷⁹ Not the law but classical literature occupied most of Beverland’s time at university. In his studies of ancient texts, he concentrated on one topic in particular: sex. From his early twenties onwards,⁸⁰ he focused on compiling a grand work on the topic, which would be titled ‘*De Prostibulis Veterum*’⁸¹ (‘On the

and his circle: his life until his farewell to Queen Christian of Sweden 1615-1655, Trans. C. van Heertum (Groningen, 2000); H.G.M. Jorink, and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius, between science and scholarship, Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 214 (Leiden, 2012).

⁷⁶ For more on Gronovius: Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 1, pp. 986-9.

⁷⁷ For more on Graevius: E. Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 152-78; Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 4, pp. 669-70.

⁷⁸ See: W.N. De Rieu (ed.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* (The Hague, 1875), p. 585; Fockema Andreae, Meijer, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis*, pp. 203, 205; J.L. Beijers, and J. van Boekhoven (ed.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae* (Utrecht, 1886), p. 71; F. Ketner, *Album Promotorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae* (Utrecht, 1936), p. 33. One plea made by Beverland as a lawyer has been preserved: *Pleydoy gedaen* (see Bibliography).

⁷⁹ ‘Quo tempore prima mihi lanugo vestiebat genas, saepe peccati originalis fontem sollicite cum animo meo ruspabar... Cum iam diu in tenebris versatus essem tandemque ad incunabula nostra descenderem demersa veritas emersit in lucem.’ In: ET 1, Huber, 21/04/1679.

⁸⁰ ‘Nam cum H.B. erat adolescens xx annos cum hoc inchoaret opus teste J.L. van Balen, advocato Hagiensi...’, in: ‘Goyeri Paralipomena’, 42r (see the Bibliography).

⁸¹ This work originally consisted of three books. An unfinished copy of the first book was handed in to the University of Leiden on 20 March 1680 as part of his punishment (see below) was studied by De Smet (*Hadriani Barlandi (Hadriaan Beverland) 'De prostibulis veterum'*). Other copies of the first, second, and third book were not preserved but their contents were described in ‘Goyeri Paralipomena’ (see the Bibliography). See also: R. de Smet, ‘The realm of Venus. "Hadriani Barlandi" [H. Beverland] "De Prostibulis Veterum". MS Leiden BPL 1994’, *Quaerendo*, 17, no. 1 (1987), pp. 45-58.

prostitution of the classics', the DPV). What might have started as a private project gradually turned into to a serious endeavour and by 1677 Beverland contemplated the publication of his ideas.⁸² In 1678 he offered a first glimpse of the conclusions of his studies in *Peccatum Originale (Original Sin)*,⁸³ in which he argued that sexual lust was the original sin. He explained that Adam and Eve had engaged in sexual intercourse in the Garden of Eden and had been punished by God: due to their sin, sexual desire had become a universal and dominant characteristic of human nature after the Fall.

In his correspondence Beverland assured that his first publication was printed in small numbers only, to be read by no one but trusted friends.⁸⁴ The number of copies that has been preserved in archives across Europe however, as well as his own references to the criticism he received from a large circle of people, suggests that many more copies were printed and distributed. Even among the wider public his first work became well-known. We find Beverland in the notebook of a student from the University of Utrecht, who wrote: "From Beverland: The tree in paradise was Adam's dick, a phallus extending from his groin, for God did not want human beings to propagate through carnal copulation - since he knew very well that all evils come from sexual intercourse..."⁸⁵. And

⁸² See for instance: EH 1, 11/02/1678; EH 15/10/1678.

⁸³ See the Table 1 below (page 60) and the Bibliography for more details.

⁸⁴ In his letters Beverland underlined often that the DPO was to be read only by friends (ET 5, Graevius; EH 4, 1679; EH 5, 1679). He criticized Graevius for giving his copy to persons less kindly disposed to him, as Beverland had heard rumours that Graevius had send the work to Rome and that it was read by the pope himself (see: ET 5, Graevius, 1679). Beverland probably emphasized that it was originally his intention to keep the book among friends because he tried to stay out of trouble and convince his critics that he did not mean to propagate his views publicly. We can detect this same traditional excuse for publication in his argument that he only published the 1678 edition because his close friends urged him to do so, stating that the work was therefore published prematurely and finished in a hurry. See: ET 2, Molenaer, 28/04/1679; ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679; ET 4, Graevius, 1679; ET 5, Graevius, 1679; ET 8, Vossius, 1679; ET 10, Heinsius, 1679; ET 14, Heinsius, 15/10/1679; ET 21, Goyer, 11/1679; EH 5, 05/08/1679.

⁸⁵ 'ex beverland, arbor in paradiso erat mentula Adami porrectus ab inguine palus, nam Deus nolebat homines propagare per copulam carnalem, bene gnarus ex coitu omnia mala provenire...', in: Utrecht University Library, ms 1284. See: P. Steenbakkers, J. Touber, and J.M.M. van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook (1678–79) on Spinoza, Beverland, Politics, the Bible and Sex: Utrecht UL, ms. 1284', *Lias: sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 39 (2011), pp. 225-365.

in 1679, his argument was summarized in a long poem published anonymously: the *Lof-Digt ter eeren van Mr. Adriaan Beverlant* (*Poem of Praise in honour of Mr. Adriaan Beverlant*) gave an overview of Beverland's views and defended him against his critics.⁸⁶

Trial and banishment

Beverland could use all the support he could get: he had acquired quite a large group of critics by the summer of 1679. While he was called 'the most learned young man' in a poem written by Ernst Baders in 1678,⁸⁷ in two other popular verses Beverland and his works were described more critically. Poet David van Hoogstraten wrote:

Op Beverlant

Hoe rijk waert gij verzien van hemelglans en stralen
Die als een meidau op u neder quamen dalen;
Zoo hy niet, spelende met u geleerd verstand,
Had met den voet geschopt de gaven van Gods hand.
Wat is geleertheid, van Godsvruchtigheid versteken?
Een kostelyck vertrek, om slangen op te queken.

To Beverlant

How rich you were endowed,
with heavenly radiance and beams
That descended upon you, like the dew of May;
If only you had not, playing with your wise intellect,
kicked against the gifts of God's hand.
What is erudition, without piety?
A splendid base, to breed snakes on.⁸⁸

Beverland's friend Johannes Le Fer designed an inscription for his grave, which betrayed the same critical view of his ideas: "Here lays the Lord of Beverland, caught by a higher Hand. Because he made our best Mother, out to be a filthy Whore."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ De Smet has argued that it was written by Johan van Baelen, or Jan van Balen, a lawyer in The Hague who assisted Beverland during his trial. He based this conclusion mainly on the initials on the front of the work (J.V.B). See: *Lof-Digt ter eeren van Mr. Adriaan Beverlant* (in Bibliography) and De Smet, *Hadrianus*, 42-3.

⁸⁷ E. Baders, 'Doctissimo Iuveni Hadriano Beverlando Quaestiones logicas acriter defendenti', E. Baders, *Camaenae Juveniles* (Leeuwarden, 1678), p. 188.

⁸⁸ D. Van Hoogstraten, 'Op Beverlant', *Gedichten* (Amsterdam, 1697), p. 281.

⁸⁹ 'Hier leid de Heer van Beverland. Gevangen door een hoger Hand. Omdat hij onse beste Moer. Gemaect heeft tot een voule Hoer.' In: Johannes Le Fer, in: F.G. Freytag, *Analecta litteraria de libris rarioribus* (Leipzig, 1750), p. 95. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 41-2.

To silence the criticism he had received, from members of the Dutch Reformed Church in particular, Beverland decided to edit his DPO and asked for advice from his scholarly friends.⁹⁰ He was frustrated that most of his critics either judged the contents of the work without properly reading it, basing their conclusions on hearsay, or, when they had actually studied the work, their criticism showed that they were too ignorant to understand his argument. With a second version he intended to underline the validity of his theory on sex and sin.⁹¹ In a letter written to Heinsius on 8 July 1679, Beverland stated that he trusted Dutch theologians to leave him alone, after he had “silenced many with flattery and swore to them that I would not publish my ‘De Prostibulis Veterum’.”⁹² He did worry however that the University of Leiden might act against him and he asked Heinsius to write to his contacts there.⁹³

Beverland was right to worry, since the first steps towards his trial were taken at this time. During a provincial synod in Gouda in July 1679 his works were discussed by members of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁹⁴ Statesman Gaspar Fagel, at this time Grand Pensionary of the States of Holland,⁹⁵ reported to the Synod that Beverland had published

⁹⁰ He asked Heinsius, Gronovius, Graevius, Vossius, Blanckaerts, and Coorne, for their criticism on the content and style of his manuscripts and enquired after additional material that he could use. See for instance: ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679; ET 4, Graevius, 1679; ET 5, Graevius, 1679; ET 8, Vossius, 1679; ET 11, Blacardus, 07/07/1679; ET 12, Coorne, 10/1679; EH 1, 11/02/1678; EH 2, 15/10/1678; EG 1/1, 1676.

⁹¹ In the Preface of the DPO Beverland explained that his choice to publish a second version was inspired by the false rumours that had been spread about his ideas and the DPV. He published a second edition to persuade intelligent people (see: DPO, Letter De Goyer; EH 7, 07/10/1679 and other letters written in 1679). Beverland was at this time was also working on an ‘Apologia’, a defence against his critics. He was uncertain whether or not to publish the work and in the end he probably decided against it, since the work has not been preserved (see the Bibliography).

⁹² ‘Postquam multorum os palpamento obliveram sacramentoque me iis devinxeram de non edendis libris *De Prostib[ulis] Veter[um]...*’, in: EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

⁹³ See: EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

⁹⁴ This provincial gathering in South-Holland, held between 11 and 21 July 1679, was the first of three Church meetings where Beverland’s works were discussed. His name was also mentioned during synods in Rotterdam in 1680 and in Woerden in 1684. See: W.P.C. Knuttel (ed.), *Acta der particuliere synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621-1700* (6 volumes, The Hague, 1908-16), volume 5, pp. 283, 321-2, 495.

⁹⁵ The States of Holland was the most important provincial assembly in the Dutch Republic and therefore the pensionary of this council was the most influential Dutch statesman. In the Dutch Republic the united

a ‘filthy and defamatory’ treatise.⁹⁶ He was also mentioned in relation to a scandalous book printed by Johannes De La Casa, which referred to Beverland’s alleged involvement in the publication of a work titled *Rime di diversi autori* (*Verses by different authors*) in 1678.⁹⁷ Giovanni Della Casa (1503-56) was one of poets featuring in this collection of verses. He was a writer, diplomat, and clergyman infamous during and after his lifetime for his verses on sodomy, generally referred to as the *In Laudem Sodomiae*.⁹⁸ Beverland’s supposed republication of Della Casa’s work, which was actually a collection of verses by different authors, was denounced by the Synod in relation to his work on original sin.⁹⁹

Although he was well aware of the risks, at the end of the summer Beverland published a second edition of his work on original sin: “Everything that seemed too harsh and rustic in the first publication I have erased and reworked, even to the extent that I have written new material...”¹⁰⁰. Named *De Peccato Originali* (*On Original sin*, DPO),¹⁰¹

provinces were governed by their own ‘States’, which assembled in the States General. For more on this subject, see the Introduction and: Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 166-85; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 276-306; Frijhoff, Spies, 1650, pp. 70-135; Price, *Holland*. See also: H.H. Rowen, *John de Witt: Statesman of the “True Freedom”* (Cambridge, 1986). For more on Fagel: E. Edwards, ‘An Unknown Statesman? Gaspar Fagel in the Service of William III and the Dutch Republic’, in: *History*, 87, no. 287 (2002), pp. 353–71.

⁹⁶ It is stated in the notes of the Synod, under the heading ‘Impertinent publications’, that: ‘bij den heere raetpensionaris Fagel, als afsonderlijken alleen, op het goetvonden van de heer Fagel, bij de regeeringe van Rotterdam; maecken oock bekend dat uytgekomen is een vuyl en lasterlijck tractaet, gemaect van eenen Adrianus Beverlandt, geintituleert de ‘Peccato Original’...’, in: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, p. 283.

⁹⁷ The notes continue: ‘oock dat gedrukt is het schandeboek van Johannes de la Casa, biscop van Benevento.’, in: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, p. 283.

⁹⁸ The work has also been called *De Laudibus Sodomiae* or *Laus Pedestriae*. It never existed however, as was already established in 1688 by G. Menage and supported by Bayle in his *Dictionnary*. Della Casa did write about sodomy in his *Capitolo Il Forno* (1538) and these verses damaged his reputation. The publication mentioned here featured verses from G. Mauro, G.F. Bini, F.M. Molza and G. Della Casa, who wrote bernesque poetry: entertaining and comical, often sexual and satirical. The editor compiled different verses from these poets, translating them from Italian to Latin. For more on the work see the Bibliography. For Della Casa, see: A. Quondam, *Giovanni Della Casa: un seminario per il centenario* (Rome, 2006).

⁹⁹ While the work was published anonymously, I agree with De Smet’s hypothesis that Beverland was indeed involved with the print and translation of this work, as the preface is written in typical Beverland-style. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 35-9.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Quaecunque in prima nimis acre et rustice videbantur typis mandata, ea litura expunxi, ita tamen ut nova debuerim perarare, si iustus saltem libellus manibus teri posset.’, in: EH 5, 18/07/1679. Heinsius was just one of Beverland’s friends who warned him about the consequences (see also: EH 6a, 10/09/1679; EH 3a, 08/07/1679, and ET 16, Coorne, 11/1679). See: Chapter 3 (pages 200-210).

¹⁰¹ See the Table 1 below (page 60) and the Bibliography for more details.

the publication had great consequences: concluding that Beverland's 'filthy' study would cause more trouble, deputies from the Synods of North- and South-Holland sent a request to the States of Holland, informing the secular government of the province of Holland of the 'horrible and offensive' book.¹⁰² On 12 September 1679 the States drew up a resolution, describing the DPO's profane 'misuse' of biblical passages and its dangerous character, which encouraged lascivious behaviour, and referring also to Beverland's involvement in the publication of Della Casa's work.¹⁰³ The States approved the request of the deputies of the Synods, in which they had asked to prohibit and repress Beverland's publications to conserve God, his Word, and the Dutch Reformed religion, and to protect young people in Dutch society from Beverland's work. The States concluded that the University of Leiden, where Beverland was enrolled as a student at the time, and in particular those gentlemen commissioned in matters of the 'Sacred Theology', should consider the case and advise them on the appropriate course of action.¹⁰⁴

In the autumn of 1679 Beverland was aware of the great stir his works had caused. His good friend Heinsius had told him: "The second edition of your treatise has again incited commotion and has opened wounds, which in a sense were already closed, [and] not at the right time, something which I have feared. But the die is cast."¹⁰⁵ Yet his letters

¹⁰² For more on the States of Holland, see footnote 95.

¹⁰³ In: 'Resoluties van de Staten van Holland', see Bibliography.

¹⁰⁴ 'Is ter Vergaderinge gelesen de Requeste vande respectieve Gedeputeerden vande Zuydt ende Noordt-Hollandtsche Synoden, houdende, dat over eenigen tydt was uytgekomen ende tot twee diversche reysen gedruckt seecker gruwelyck ende schandelyck boeck geintutileert, Adriani Beverlandii Tractatus de peccato originali... waer door niet alleen vele plaetsen van de Heilige Schriftuyre Godtlooselyck, ende op een prophane wyse wierden verdraeyt ende misbruyckt, maer de Christelycke Jeught alle dertelheyt ende onkuysheiydt ingeboesemt, ende tot allerley schandelyckheden verlockt... Dat den voornoemden Auteur in 't voorschreeve syn schandelyck boeck noch beloofde in 't licht sullen laten uytgaen een ander, niet min schandelyck Tractaet, *de prostibulis veterum*... Waer op gedelibereert zynde; is goetd-gevonden ende verstaen, dat de voorschreve Request gestelt sal werden in handen van de Heeren van Leyden...', in: *Resolutie van de Staten van Holland*, folio 851.

¹⁰⁵ 'Altera scripti tui editio ne novos excitaret fluctus et vulnus iam quoddammodo obductum rescinderet parum tempestive metuebam. Sed iam iacta est alea.' In: EH 6b, Heinsius to Beverland, 12/09/1679.

show that he was already contemplating the next step: the publication of a third edition of the DPO. On 26 October 1679 Beverland was returning home from The Hague, where the Lord of Odijk had hired him as his son's private tutor.¹⁰⁶ It was late at night and he was probably drunk when, upon his arrival in Leiden, he was "cornered by an angry group of dodgy and untrustworthy types and surrounded by the [city] guard."¹⁰⁷ He was arrested and would spend the next five weeks in prison.¹⁰⁸

On 2 November 1679 Beverland wrote in a letter to Heinsius that he was "impatient for the moment of my release... [but] healthy and in good spirits..."¹⁰⁹. This attitude characterised his first weeks in prison. While his friends and family were worried about his fate, he was hopeful and determined to fight the accusations:¹¹⁰ "[I have] great solace because of an honest conscience. [I experience only] trivial suffering from this sacrifice... Even if my friends accuse me of imprudence, I prefer to be incautious than to be insane."¹¹¹ Waiting for his trial to start, he corresponded with friends, joked with his cellmates, and read the works of Catullus.¹¹² He even managed to have a third edition of

¹⁰⁶ Following Heinsius' advice, Beverland tried and succeeded to get hired to teach the son of Professor Theodoor De Rijcke (1640-1690), who taught Rhetoric and History at the University of Leiden (see: EH 6a, 10/09/1679; EH 8, 08/10/1679; EH 9, 20/11/1679).

¹⁰⁷ 'Eo ipso die, quo fidelem meam operam non despexit nobilissimus Toparcha, domi redux, inter horas primi soporis invid[i]osa sordidatorum et perfidorum mole vallatus, cinctus custodia, destinatus perveni ad ferricrepinas studiosorum insulas. Delicatae sollicitudinis ingenuitati diurnae amicorum fautorumque congratulationes obstitere, ita ut prae strepitu caducorum schyphorum mutuo vix debito satisfacere potuerim.' In: EH 11, 20/11/1679.

¹⁰⁸ Beverland described his arrest in a letter to Heinsius, written three weeks later. He was arrested by the guard, commissioned by the university court, and was taken to the 'studentenkamer', the prison of the university court. For his account: EH 11/9, 20/11/1679. He would be in prison until his release in December.

¹⁰⁹ 'Prospiciebam in grandes quandoque vindictas prorepturam hanc illatam, ut volunt, iniuriam... Scribebam in Musarum nosocomio sanus vegetusque corpore et animo.' In: ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679.

¹¹⁰ For the warnings of friends, see: ET 17, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 19, Jan Beverland, 11/1679; ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679; ET 24, Goyer, 11/1679. For Beverland's optimism during the first weeks in prison, see: ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 19, Jan Beverland, 11/1679.

¹¹¹ 'magnum tamen solacium ex optima conscientia. Levis dolor ex illa iactura... Tametsi me imprudentiae insimulent amici. Malo tamen imprudens quam vecors esse.', in: ET 18, Munck, 11/1679.

¹¹² See: ET 17, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 20, Jan Beverland, 11/1679.

his work on sex and sin printed, titled *Poma Amoris (The Fruits of Love)*.¹¹³ Taking the questions of his interrogators and the information he received into account, he speculated about the case against him. He was certain that the prosecutors wanted to accuse him of atheism,¹¹⁴ that they would try to get him to confess by offering him wine,¹¹⁵ and that he would face either death at the gallows, removal from the University, exile in England, or a lifelong sentence.¹¹⁶

The States of Holland had asked the University of Leiden to look into the matter and therefore Beverland's arrest and trial were handled by the university court of the University of Leiden. One of the privileges of students of the universities in the Dutch Republic was that, when in trouble with the law, they were tried before a special court. In Leiden this court was titled the 'Academische Vierschaar'.¹¹⁷ The university court was beneficial for the University, as it could act swiftly and decisively with troublemakers, safeguarding the reputation of the university. For students and their parents, a conviction from the university court was preferable to trial at a different court of law, as the Vierschaar was known for its leniency. Thus the sons of the elite were protected from harsh punishments that would damage their reputations and might jeopardize their

¹¹³ That he printed the work from prison was asserted in ET 17, Goyer, 11/1679. For more on this work see Table 1 below (page 60) and the Bibliography.

¹¹⁴ See: ET 15, Heinsius, 2/11/1679.

¹¹⁵ See: ET 24, Goyer, 11/1679. See also ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679; ET 22, Goyer, 11/1679.

¹¹⁶ See: ET 24, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679; ET 22, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 25, Fer, 06/11/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 27, Vossius, 12/1679; ET 28, Deynse, 12/1679; ET 19, Jan Beverland, 11/1679; ET 22, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679; EH 11, 20/11/1679.

¹¹⁷ In the Leiden University Court (the 'Academische Vierschaar') members of the Senate of the University of Leiden as well as members of the city government were represented. It was made up of the Rector Magnificus and four assessors, who changed every two years, and discussed cases with the four mayors of the city as well as two additional members of the city council. The court met every two weeks. For more on the Vierschaar: Otterspeer, *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid*, pp. 123-36; Otterspeer, *De vesting van de macht*, pp. 161-78; Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 43-8, 404-10; Meijer, 'Brieven', pp. 43-64.

future careers.¹¹⁸ That he was put in the university prison and that a *Promotor Academiae* was appointed to research his case demonstrate, however, that Beverland was in more serious trouble than most students tried before this court.¹¹⁹

The prosecutor in charge was Johan van Vesanevelt.¹²⁰ Beverland disliked Vesanevelt with a passion: he described him as *Vesanus (the insane)*.¹²¹ He featured in Beverland's early works and letters as the conservative and strict 'Cato', "a man with a forehead full of bumps and the nose of a rhino..."¹²², which could refer to Vesanevelt's actual physical appearance but is most likely a reference to symbolic bumps formed on his forehead, due to all the bile in his head, and wrinkled nose, since Vesanevelt turned up his nose at Beverland in disdain.¹²³

Prosecutor Vesanevelt was in charge of Beverland's arrest and submitted a request to the university court about his case, which was discussed by the Vierschaar on 11 November 1679.¹²⁴ In the request Vesanevelt pleaded for Beverland's conviction,

¹¹⁸ Most students were tried before the Vierschaar for small crimes. While the court could give the death penalty, harsh punishments were exceptional. See the works in: footnote 117.

¹¹⁹ In most university cities in the Dutch Republic the 'schout' (bailiff) was the commander of the police but also functioned as a public prosecutor. In Leiden the bailiff was also in charge of the court cases of the 'vierschaar', in the role of investigator and prosecutor. See the works in footnote 117.

¹²⁰ In the documents of his trial Johan van Vesanevelt is mentioned as the promotor of the University and prosecuted Beverland on behalf of the States of Holland and the 'Vierschaar'. See: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar' in the Bibliography. This Johan Dircksz. van Vesanevelt (1637-93) was a member of the magistrate of the town of Leiden (1669-93). See: R.G.H., Sluijter, *Repertorium van ambtsdragers en ambtenaren 1588-1795* (The Hague, 2002-2006).

¹²¹ In: EH 12/10, 11/2/1680.

¹²² 'si lucis diurnae favorem largiri velit Cato noster, tuberosissimae frontis, nasique rinocerotici homo...', in: DPV, book I, Preface, line 5-6.

¹²³ Vesanevelt featured in his letters (EH 9, 20/11/1679; EH 10, 11/02/1680; ET 30, Fer, 04/12/1679) but Beverland also referred to the 'person with the nose of a rhino', whom he described as 'Cato' as well, referring to someone who denounced his works because of their obscene and supposedly godless content in for instance: DPV, book I, Preface, line 5; DPO, chapter XI, p. 53; DPO, chapter XII, p. 61; DPO, chapter XVIII, pp. 110-11. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 46-7, 100-103.

¹²⁴ Beverland's conviction is described in the documents of the Vierschaar, ("Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar", see the Bibliography). The papers in the file seem mixed up and although the pages have folio numbers and some parts of the text mention dates, the order of proceedings is confusing. After comparing the different pages and letters, I have come to the conclusion that Vesanevelt notified the court of the case on 5 November but did not made his plea until 11 November.

commenting on the godless, profane, and perverse propositions in his works, in which the Bible was not respected and wrongly interpreted and which presented filthy and obscene statements.¹²⁵ The court should punish this student, by making him retract his views and ask for forgiveness. The DPO should be ripped apart and burnt in front of his eyes and, lastly, Beverland should be either imprisoned, banished, or punished with a fine.¹²⁶ In Vesanevelt's plea not only the DPO and DPV were mentioned, but also a work titled *De Stolatae Virginitatis lure* (*On the law on draped virginity*, DSVI).¹²⁷ Beverland had composed this study on the lust of women during his time in Oxford, and printed it only weeks after the second publication of the DPO. The work informed readers in a satirical style about the dangers of lustful women and advised men on how to manage their daughters, wives, and mistresses.¹²⁸

Beverland made his first appearance before the court during a private hearing on 15 November. He responded to Vesanevelt's accusations by asking the judges to treat him in a fatherly manner and not punish him too harshly, if there was any evidence of sacrilege, blasphemy, heterodoxy, or obscenity found in his works.¹²⁹ He attempted to use his 'young' age to his advantage: "The only option left for me is the innocence of

Then Beverland was questioned on 15 November and on the same day the court decided on the case. On 4 December Beverland accepted the conviction and punishment, on 20 March 1680 he handed in the DPV.

¹²⁵ The plea is too long to quote in full, but it stated for instance that the DPO contained: 'seer goddeloose en gans abominabele heterodoxie... dat wijders hij gedetineerde tot praetext van sijne perverse stellingen signiet hadde ontsien de opgemelte Heiligeschrijfture te mishandelen, valselyk te interpreteren als mede der selver goddelijke auctoriteijt onfeijlbare waarheijt ende seekere klaare vastgestelde dogmata in ipsissimis fundamentis soodanig teluxeren dat die van haaren luijster ende respect gedepoulieert, als een profane historie...'. See: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115r-v.

¹²⁶ 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115v, 116r.

¹²⁷ See Table 1 below (page 60) and the Bibliography for more details.

¹²⁸ The DSVI was sent to Heinsius in early October 1679 and mentioned twice during his trial as a published work in early November ('Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115r-v). As it is not mentioned by the Synod of Gouda in July nor by the States during their meeting in September 1679, it must have been published sometime between early September and early November 1679.

¹²⁹ In: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 116b.

youth. If I cannot incite pity with this, the prospects are bad.”¹³⁰ In the majority of cases before the university court, a matter was dealt with swiftly and Beverland’s case was no exception.¹³¹ On the same day, after the Vierschaar heard his confession, they convicted Beverland of writing godless, profane, and perverse works. In addition to a series of minor punishments, Beverland had to retract his heterodox and erroneous statements on the Bible, and had to ask God, and the people he offended with his perverse work, for forgiveness. The DPO was censured, he had to hand in the DPV manuscript, and to promise not to publish any more scandalous works. He was expelled from the University of Leiden and was banished from Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland. If he returned to these provinces without special permission, he would meet with corporal punishment.¹³²

But the trial did not end here. Beverland seems to have been determined to fight the accusations of atheism and he requested the court to indicate the faults in his works:

so that the convict could answer to them, and defend himself. About which after deliberation, it has been approved and it has been pointed out to him that people must hear this in the public court and that there he would be asked to answer to the demand and conclusion of the Promotor in such a way as to either defend himself or to [ask for] some commiseration....¹³³

¹³⁰ ‘Sola haec nostra aetas innocentiae esset patrociniū. Quod si haec mea innocentia eorum expugnare non possit misericordiam, submitta eorum vigori.’ In: ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679. In the documents of his trial it was stated that Beverland was 27 years old (‘Documents concerning Beverland’s trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 115r, 116v) while at the time of the trial was or was approaching the age of 29. Beverland lied about his age to the court because he thought he would be judged more favourably at a younger age. See also: ET 5, Graevius, 1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 16-17.

¹³¹ For more on the university court, see the works in footnote 117.

¹³² See: ‘Documents concerning Beverland’s trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 116v.

¹³³ ‘Dat oock specifice hem mogen werden over aengewesen de fauten, en mistellinghen die in sijne tractaten werden bevonden, op dat hij gedetineerde daer op soude mogen antwoorden, en sich defenderen. Waer over na deliberatie goedgevonden en hem aengewesen is dat men dit aldaer in openbare verschare soude moeten aenhoren, en dat hij aldaer op den eijsch en conclusie vanden heer promotor soudon hebben te antwoorden sodanich als hij tot sijne defensie ofte tot eenighe commiseratie sal oordelen te commen strecken.’ In: ‘Documents concerning Beverland’s trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 116b.

In the university court, the accused had the option to appeal after the judges had made their decision.¹³⁴ It seems that Beverland, anticipating that the court would convict him in compliance with Vesanevelt's argument, not only asked the judges to give him a mild punishment, but also requested the opportunity to appeal their decision. In a letter to De Goyer, he confirmed that "A deferral [of the trial] was permitted by agreement."¹³⁵ Thus Beverland remained in prison and the trial continued. To his friend Heinsius he wrote that after Vesanevelt had made his threats, Beverland had no choice but to fire his lawyer Jan van Baelen, because the man had been too intimidated. He had now taken up his own defence, with the support of lawyer Laurentius Gronovius, the brother of his friend.¹³⁶ He did not trust the court to give him a fair trial, since they attempted to revenge his DPO before even discussing the work. Luckily, some professors of the University of Leiden had spoken up and suggested that the court would indicate the allegedly heterodox statements 'with black charcoal'.¹³⁷ On 21 November he would be summoned by the Faculty of Theology "to explain the things they have indicated with black [charcoal]. Afterwards [the faculty] will assess [the DPO]."¹³⁸

When writing in late November, Beverland slowly began to realize that it would be difficult to avoid conviction and punishment. "Even Hercules could not fight against so many ranks in tortoise formation..."¹³⁹, he wrote, "with my manly courage I could not appease the wild beasts."¹⁴⁰ Did his questioners finally hit a nerve, convincing him of the

¹³⁴ For more on the university court, see the works in footnote 117.

¹³⁵ 'Comperendinatio ex compacto concessa.' In: ET 17, De Goyer, 11/1679.

¹³⁶ See: ET 22, 11/1679; EH 11/9, 20/11/1679.

¹³⁷ See: EH 11/9, 20/11/1679.

¹³⁸ 'Crastino die Facultas Theologica mentem meam viva voce enodatam ad atratam revocabit expendetque trutinam.' In: EH 11, 20/11/1679.

¹³⁹ 'Ne Hercules quidem contra tot iunctas umbone phalanges!' In: EH 9, 07/10/1679.

¹⁴⁰ 'mascula audacia lenire non potui feros.' In: ET 22, De Goyer, 11/1679

gravity of the case, the anger of his enemies, and the offence of his works? His friends and family were greatly worried about his fate. "I rejoice every time I recognize your handwriting my brother", Beverland wrote to Jan, "Yet your anxiety about me grieves me. You must refuse to listen to rumours."¹⁴¹ De Goyer was just as anxious about the verdict and Heinsius had already advised Beverland in September to alter or destroy the DPO.¹⁴² If Beverland would not accept his banishment and was convicted again, he might be sent to the mad house, be imprisoned for life, or even be put to death. Either the fears of his friends and family for his fate finally hit home and Beverland accepted his sentence before his appeal, or on the second day of the trial his case took a turn for the worse and he was forced to give in.¹⁴³ We may never know. The court documents only present us with a written statement from Beverland, signed on 4 December 1679, in which he promised to never again write or publish anything against the Bible or decent virtues, that he would hand over the DPV manuscript, and that he accepted all the other punishments of the Vierschaar.¹⁴⁴ He was released from prison the same day.¹⁴⁵

After his release, Beverland declared that he was not troubled at all and he was actually "glad about the fame of my name now at last."¹⁴⁶ He left Leiden and travelled to Utrecht. Situated outside the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, he was allowed to stay in this city without violating the terms of his punishment. It was his

¹⁴¹ 'Exulto quoties tuam manum video mi frater. Quamquam nonnihil cordolium mihi moverit tuus de me angor.' In: ET 19, Jan Beverland, 11/1679.

¹⁴² See: ET 17, Goyer, 11/1679; EH 8/6, 12/09/1679.

¹⁴³ That there was a second day of trial is suggested by the Pardon signed by William III in 1693, since it revokes the sentence finalized on 25 November 1679. This would not explain however why there are no records of this day in the trial documents, nor why Beverland was in prison until 4 December. It could be that the date of 15/11/1679 was mistakenly copied as 25/11/1679 on the Pardon. For more on this Pardon see the Epilogue (pages 287-8) and 'Pardon William III' in the Bibliography.

¹⁴⁴ 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 116c. Records of a second day of trial or (the outcome of) an appeal are absent in the trial documents.

¹⁴⁵ See: ET 30, Fer, 04/12/1679.

¹⁴⁶ 'Gaudeo nunc demum celebritate nominis.' In: ET 33, Rechstood, 12/1679.

intention to get back to his studies straight away, but instead he spent more time drinking with his friends.¹⁴⁷ Francois Halma (1653-1722), bookseller and printer in Utrecht at the time, stated that Beverland “with his immersed skill in debauchery, in the company of unruly youth, and in taverns, threw his weight around in a peculiar way...”¹⁴⁸. Beverland blamed his enemies for his conduct: they tempted him go out drinking and visit brothels, in order to catch him committing a crime.¹⁴⁹ His letters show us, however, that he did not refrain from provoking those who disagreed with him. Beverland wrote to his brother Jan that when a group of Voetians, followers of the orthodox theologian Gisbertus Voetius, had asked him what he would write next, he had told them that he was preparing a commentary on the sixth book of Moses.¹⁵⁰

Whether due to his own behaviour or the gossip of his critics, Utrecht became increasingly dangerous for Beverland. If he had been arrested in Utrecht, a town in which at this time the magistrate was profoundly influenced by an orthodox group of Dutch theologians,¹⁵¹ he might never have been set free again. At exactly this time, theologian Leonard van Rijssen published a critique of Beverland’s DPO.¹⁵² While Beverland did not

¹⁴⁷ In his letters he invited friends to celebrate his release. See for instance: ET 31, Goyer, 12/1679; ET 34, Uchtman, 12/1679; ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680.

¹⁴⁸ ‘met zijne ingezoge kundigheid van ontucht, in gezelschappen van onbandige jongelingen, en herbergen, wonderlijk den baas speelde...’, in: F. Halma, *Toneel der Vereenighde Nederlanden en onderhoorige landschappen* (Leeuwarden, 1725), p. 135.

¹⁴⁹ See: ET 34, Uchtman, 12/1679; ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680.

¹⁵⁰ In: ET 32, Jan Beverland, 12/1679. Beverland added that the theologians, not understanding that he was joking, ran to ‘the judges’ to tell them about his plan.

¹⁵¹ In Utrecht many conflicts between theologians took place in this period, with the followers of the greatly orthodox theologian Voetius being most influential. It is likely that, if Beverland had been arrested by the town government, this group of theologians would have made sure he received more severe punishment than exile (life-long imprisonment for instance). See: Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, p. 332; Kaplan, *Calvinists*. Beverland also referred to this in his letters written at the time (ET 32, Jan Beverland, 12/1679; ET 34, Uchtman, 12/1679; ET 35, Matteus, 01/03/1680; ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680; ET 37, Gelder, 03/1680)..

¹⁵² L. van Rijssen, *Iusta Detestatio Leonardi Ryssenii* (Gorinchem 1680). See for more on Van Rijssen: Chapter 1 (pages 100-102).

seem to care too much about it,¹⁵³ Van Rijssen's work put the spotlight on his DPO yet again, at a time when his situation in Utrecht was becoming precarious. In March 1680, as part of his sentence, Beverland handed over the manuscript of the first book of the DPV¹⁵⁴ to the authorities of the University of Leiden and in the same month he travelled across the Channel. Although he had now left the Dutch Republic, the tumult around his person and works would take much longer to die down.¹⁵⁵

Table 1. Overview of Beverland's early works*

Title	Description	Subject	Publication
'De Prostibulis Veterum' ('On the prostitution of the classics'), DPV	Master thesis in three books.	The early history of the universal dominance of sexual lust, focused on human behaviour and cultural expressions.	Never, only an unfinished copy of the first book is preserved in manuscript.
<i>De Peccato Originali</i> (<i>On original sin</i>), DPO	Extension of the 2 nd chapter of the first book of the DPV.	The definition of the original sin as sexual lust, based on historical and philological criticism of the Bible.	1678 <i>Peccatum Originale</i> 1679 <i>De Peccato Originali</i> 1679 <i>Poma Amoris</i>
<i>De Stolatae Virginitatis lure</i> (<i>On the law of draped virginity</i>), DSVI	Collection of ideas on women as discussed in the DPV.	Description of sexual lust of women, focusing for instance on virginity, rape, and prostitution.	1679 (although title page states 1680).
* For more details on these works, see the Bibliography.			

¹⁵³ He stated this in letters, adding that he would react to the work when the time was right. See: ET 37, Gelder, 03/1680; ET 38, Godin, 03/1680; ET 39, Goyer, 03/1680.

¹⁵⁴ The style and the structure of the text of the first book of the DPV demonstrate that the work was not finished when handed over to the University authorities in 1680 and this was underlined by Beverland himself (in: ET 30, Fer, 04/12/1679) and by the 'Goyeri Paralipomena'. In this last document we find summaries of the three books of the DPV. 22 chapters of the first book were summarized, while the preserved manuscript consists of 14 chapters, thus confirming that this first book was unfinished.

¹⁵⁵ Partly because after his departure, a work was published in his defence: *Vox Clamantis in deserto*. Beverland always denied that he wrote the work. (see: EG 31/18, 1700; ET 40, Jan Beverland, 1680; Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence). In his notes we find no references to the treatise, yet he was accused of its composition for the rest of his life, as the work was dedicated to him and attacked many of the theologians who had challenged him, including Van Rijssen.

Chapter 1. Sin

In the summer of 1679, Beverland's first work was discussed by clergy and theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church during a synod in Gouda. When the meeting turned to 'licentious publications', the DPO was not the only book on the list. Frans Kuyper's *Arcana Atheismi* was also discussed by the assembly, followed by *Institutio Christiana*, written by Johannes Becius.¹⁵⁶ Kuyper and Becius needed no introduction in the synod: both men had been ministers of the Reformed Church before they had joined the Dutch Collegiants. The doctrine of this religious sect, which had its origins in the heated debates that characterized the Synod of Dordrecht of 1618-19, was based on a universal view of Christianity and promoted tolerance: all who believed in the Bible as inspired by God were admitted and discussions about faith and Scripture were encouraged. Spinozism, Cartesianism, and Socinianism were freely debated in these circles.¹⁵⁷

The Dutch Reformed Church, and especially its orthodox party, was in constant battle with members of the Collegiant group and loudly disputed their heterodox standpoints. The Gouda synod condemned the works of Kuyper and Becius since both were greatly influenced by 'heretical' philosophies and 'godless' theologies. The *Arcana Atheismi* and other publications by Kuyper had already been discussed and denounced in 1676 and 1678 and also Becius had been in trouble with the synod before: his *Apologia modesta et christiana* had been placed on their blacklist in 1668.¹⁵⁸ Kuyper (1629-91) had

¹⁵⁶ See: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, p. 283. The works referred to were: F. Kuyper (Franciscus Cuperus), *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxe refutata* (Rotterdam, 1676); J. Becius, *Institutio Christiana* (Amsterdam, 1678). Becius was mistakenly referred to as Petrus.

¹⁵⁷ For more on the Collegiants, see: W. van Bunge, *Johannes Bredenburg (1643-1691): een Rotterdamse collegiant in de ban van Spinoza*. Erasmus University Rotterdam (PhD Thesis, University of Rotterdam, Rotterdam, 1990); A.C. Fix, *Prophecy and reason: the Dutch Collegiants in the early enlightenment* (PhD Thesis, University of Indiana, Princeton, 1991); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 187-9, 342-62, 388-9.

¹⁵⁸ For Kuyper, see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, pp. 148, 236; for Becius, see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 4, p. 453.

left the Church due to his deviant ideas on baptism, joined the Collegiants, and founded publishing houses in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which printed some of the most influential Socinian publications in the 1660s and 1670s. He had many enemies among theologians of the Reformed Church but also in his own Collegiant circle, especially during the so-called Bredenburg disputes. He was discussed again by the synod of South-Holland in 1684 and 1686, his *Arcana Atheismi* was banned by the Church and the States of Holland, and the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, a work he edited and published, was outlawed by the States of Holland as well, yet Kuyper was not banished for publishing his unorthodox writings.¹⁵⁹ In the 1660s the Reformed Church in Middelburg, where Becius (1636-after 1690) was born, had attempted for four years to reconcile with him and temper his radical standpoints. In the end he left Middelburg and was formally banned from Zeeland. Becius would reside in Amsterdam and Rotterdam for the rest of his life and published other works on Socinianism without getting into much trouble.¹⁶⁰

The author of the third work discussed during the meeting in Gouda in 1679 faced a much more troublesome future. Three months after the synod, Beverland was arrested and he was exiled from Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland in December 1679. Beverland himself had no doubt about who was responsible for his harsh punishment: orthodox theologians of the Reformed Church. Likewise, modern studies on Beverland have emphasized the important, if not crucial, role that this powerful group in Dutch

¹⁵⁹ During the Bredenburg disputes of the 1670s, discussion about Spinozist ideas turned into heated debates between those in favor (Kuyper) and against (Johannes Bredenburg) Spinoza. For more on Kuyper and these disputes, see: Van Bunge, *Johannes Bredenburg*, pp. 192-238; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 343-58. For other mentions of Kuyper by the synod, see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, pp. 495, 582.

¹⁶⁰ For more on Becius, see the works in footnote 157, and: H. Visser, 'Johannes Becius', J.P. de Bie, and J. Loosjes, (red.), *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland* (6 volumes, Utrecht, 1907-1949), volume 1, pp. 365-9. For further mention by the synod: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 6, p. 452.

society played in his court case, concluding that his theological views led to his conviction.¹⁶¹ Can his theology indeed explain why he was exiled from Holland? Were his ideas so much more heterodox than other works printed in this period? In what way did Beverland's ideas on theology and Christian doctrine influence his troubles?

In his DPO Beverland reinterpreted the original sin, which formed the foundation of his ideas on sexual lust. To determine if it was indeed his theology that determined his fate, we must turn to the root of his main argument.

1.1 The Fall of Adam and Eve

Beverland was one of many seventeenth-century scholars who focused on original sin and the Fall in relation to the origins of humankind. Augustinian doctrine was generally adopted as a starting point, namely that due to the Fall from Paradise all knowledge that divine human nature had possessed had been lost, to which many scholars added their own views on the causes and consequences of the Fall. Orthodox Protestant scholars underlined the completely corrupt state of human nature, while Cartesians held that despite the detrimental influence of original sin it was still possible to acquire perfect knowledge. The different responses inspired contrasting proposals for the advancement of knowledge: the damage done was assessed in numerous different ways and ideas on remedies and their effectiveness varied accordingly.¹⁶²

Beverland constructed his argument in three stages, following the traditional order of the Book of Genesis: first he discussed the creation of the universe and

¹⁶¹ See: Smet, *Hadrianus*, 31-49; Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 1-2, 21; Elias, 'Het Spinozistisch erotisme', p. 289; Meijer, 'Brieven', pp. 50-61; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 88.

¹⁶² For more on this, see: P. Harrison, 'Original Sin and the Problem of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63, no. 2 (2002), pp. 239-59; idem, *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science* (Cambridge, 2007).

humankind, then he concentrated on the sin of Adam and Eve, and lastly he focused on the punishment of the first humans after their transgression.

Before the Fall: the creation of humankind

Beverland introduced his main argument by examining the creation of the earth and humankind as envisioned by pagan and Christian scholars. Underlining his adherence to traditional Christian doctrine, in the introductory chapters of his DPO he aimed to convince his readers of the conventionality of his ideas. He argued that God had created the universe, bringing order to chaos and creating heaven and earth, the angels, and earthly creatures.¹⁶³ He rejected the pagan views of Aristotle and Pliny, who considered the world itself a divine power ('numen'), and of Zarathrustra (Zoroaster) and Apollonius of Tyana, who upheld the great importance of astrology when explaining the creation of the earth.¹⁶⁴ Beverland focused in particular on the arguments of 'covert Atheists', contesting the ideas of freethinker Julius Caesar Vaninus, who cherished the 'devilish sacraments of the Ideas' and who had claimed that the sun was the God of the heavens.¹⁶⁵ He also denounced the arguments of Spinoza, who "did not worship [any other] God than the fixed order of nature, that is the cohesion of natural phenomena determined by

¹⁶³ The bibliography of traditional interpretations of the creation of the world and humankind, as depicted in the Book of Genesis and discussed extensively in Christian theology, is enormous. Good starting points are: the articles on 'The Book of Genesis' and 'Creation', B.M. Metzger, and M.D. Coogan (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York, Oxford, 1993), at *Oxford Biblical Studies Online*; E.M. Meyers, and J. Rogerson, 'The world of the Hebrew Bible', B. Chilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, second edition (Cambridge, 2007), at *Cambridge Companions Online*; J. Blenkinsopp, 'The Pentateuch', J. Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1998), at *Cambridge Companions Online*; the articles on 'Schöpfer/Schöpfung' and 'Erbsünde', in the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online* (Berlin, 2010); M. Saebø, *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (Göttingen, 1996-2013); K. Schmidt, and C. Riedweg (eds.), *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise and Its Reception History, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2*, 34 (Tübingen, 2008); T. Wiley, *Original sin: origins, developments, contemporary meaning* (New York, 2002).

¹⁶⁴ DPO 1679, chapter I, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., chapter I, pp. 3-5. Vaninus (Lucilio Vanini 1585-1619) was an Italian physician and philosopher, who was executed for blasphemy and atheism in 1619. See: F.P. Raimondi, *Giulio Cesare Vanini dal tardo Rinascimento al libertinismo erudit* (Galatina, 2003).

fate.”¹⁶⁶ Not the sun, nor the stars, nor nature itself, but God had created everything and determined all things.

After discussing the creation in general terms, Beverland concentrated on the character of the angels. All that God created was good, thus all angels were in the beginning created as good creatures. At a certain moment, however, a group of angels had decided to abandon God: they left their positions in heaven and, due to their error, were henceforth ‘captivated in eternal darkness’.¹⁶⁷ Beverland suggested that the first humans were somehow related to these fallen angels, but remained vague on the subject, affirming in a later passage that full knowledge of the angels and their recklessness was, and should remain, confined to the mind of God.¹⁶⁸ Again he underlined his adherence to traditional Christian doctrine on the topic, referring to the views of early Christian writers, like Eusebius, Tertullian, and Augustine, and contemporary thinkers, like the sixteenth-century physician Franciscus Valesius. He repudiated other theories on the relation between angels and humans, contesting for example that angels had descended from the heavens to sleep with the daughters of humankind just before the Flood, with the birth of Giants, Demons, or Cyclopes as a result.¹⁶⁹ By focusing on the supposed seduction of the angels by the daughters of men, Beverland turned to the creation of humankind. God formed Adam and Eve from the better mud, in his own

¹⁶⁶ ‘nullum Deum praeter fixum illum naturae ordinem, sive rerum naturalium fatalem concatenationem, venerabatur...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter I, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷ DPO 1679, chapter II, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., chapters II and III, pp. 7, 9.

¹⁶⁹ Beverland concluded that this erroneous view was based on the misinterpretation of the phrase ‘sons of men’ in Genesis 6:4, in: DPO 1679. chapters I-V, pp. 6-16. For more on this passage and the interpretations of angels, see: P.J. Harland, *The value of human life: a study of the story of the Flood (Genesis 6-9)* (Leiden, 1996); F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne; oder, Engel vor der Sintflut? Versuch eines Neuverständnisses von Genesis 6, 2-4 unter Berücksichtigung der religionsvergleichenden und exegetischen Methode* (Vienna, 1966); article on ‘Engel’, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*.

likeness, the most divine of the animals.¹⁷⁰ Once more he contested alternative accounts, rejecting the existence of the Pre-Adamites for example.¹⁷¹

Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden

“On the third day the creator of the world had, in the area of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Assyria... [constructed] the most lavish garden... To this Paradise... the creator of the universe had guided the first humans.”¹⁷² In the central part of his DPO and the second chapter of his DPV, Beverland introduced the core of his argument on sexuality.¹⁷³ While following the traditional structure of the Scriptural account, his version of what happened when Adam and Eve were placed in the Garden of Eden differed greatly from the authoritative interpretation.

Recounting the events in great detail, Beverland described how God had created the Garden of Eden for the first two immortal members of humankind. In this Paradise Adam and Eve were allowed to do everything they wanted, yet sexual intercourse, inspired by desire, was forbidden to them. Shortly after their creation, the devil entered Paradise in the body of a snake and approached Eve. He encouraged her to disobey God and explained that, if she submitted to the sexual lust in her body, her eyes would be opened and she would become equal to God. With his sly words, the devil seduced Eve

¹⁷⁰ For more on this aspect of the creation, see: the articles on ‘The Book of Genesis’, ‘Creation’, and ‘Fall’, *Oxford Companion to the Bible*; Meyers, Rogerson, ‘The world of the Hebrew Bible’, 58-62; Blenkinsopp, ‘The Pentateuch’; the article on ‘Schöpfer/Schöpfung’, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*.

¹⁷¹ DPO 1679, chapter V, pp. 16-22. For more on the Pre-Adamites, see: R.H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): his life, work and influence*, *Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 1 (Leiden, 1987); D.N. Livingstone, ‘Preadamites: The History of an Idea from Heresy to Orthodoxy’, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 40, no. 1 (1987), pp. 41-66.

¹⁷² ‘Naturae auctor in finibus Mesopotamiae Armeniae & Assyriae... Hortum... delicatissimum die tertio plantaverat ad Orientem... In hunc Paradisum... hominum primos duxerat Universi creator.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter VI, p. 23.

¹⁷³ For more on the story of Adam and Eve, the Book of Genesis, and its authority, see the secondary works in footnotes 163 and 170.

and she was overcome by desire: "Upon hearing these words, she was moved by fury... she was wanton, intrusive, and demanding, and frolicked like cattle released from the stable..."¹⁷⁴. Then Eve spotted Adam:

the young girl with devouring eyes, to whose side the lethal weapon clung, fixed her eyes on the stiff, exceedingly desirable wood, suitable to and desired by her private parts, and while she approached her husband with a mischievous face and invaded her husband's neck with an embrace, overloading him with kisses, which he did not resist, with her piercing bite tormenting now his legs now his arms, with sinful hand and soothing words, which possessed fingers, she solicited his most innocent part, *She laughed and by pulling with sinful hand his manly parts, the stolen love gave them pleasure, 'husband', she said, 'use the gift that nature has given: I am not so strict to condemn the fire that I feel'*.¹⁷⁵

Beverland continued the story by describing Adam and Eve's sexual relations: "So she gave to her man her body, due to the sacred hunger of the womb, whence he was also easily unleashed in lust and brought the unripe and wild grape to passion..."¹⁷⁶. After the deed, Adam was immediately ashamed of himself and the first humans covered up their genitalia. Because of their disobedience, both were banished from Paradise.

Although he followed the original text of Genesis, Beverland changed the tale into one dominated by sex. In Genesis 2, God told Adam not to eat from the 'tree of knowledge of good and evil'. The traditional explanation, which was established and

¹⁷⁴ 'Hisce auditis rabie, incendente vasaria... catullit, poscit, appellat, atque emissariorum stabulo pecudum instar lasciviens...', in: DPO 1679, chapter VI, p. 29. See also: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 237-50.

¹⁷⁵ 'Donec devorantibus oculis virguncula, cujus lateri haerebat lethalis arundo, arborem tentam, summopere desiderabilem, sexui suo aptam gratamque contemplata, protervaque fronte maritum petens, ejusque cervicem amplexu invadens, & non repugnanti oscula fingens, ferratoque morsu nunc crus nunc lacertos vexans, manuque improba & blandis, digitos habentibus, dictis innocentissimam sollicitans partem, *Risit & immunda tractando virilia palma, His quoque furta placent, conjux ait, utere donis, Quae natura dedit: nec sum tam tetrica, quales Sensi ignes, damnem.*' In: DPO 1679, chapter VI, pp. 29-30. See also: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 237-50. Quotation from J. Barclay, *Euphormionis [Lusinini] Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1629), volume 5, p. 442.

¹⁷⁶ 'Sic sacra vulvae rigidae fame corpus viro dedit, qui et facile in libidinem solvitur et immitis uvae tulit cupidinem...', in: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 249-50.

restated throughout the medieval and early modern period, was that Adam and Eve ate the fruits of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and disobeyed God out of pride, which was therefore the original sin. After the Fall, Adam and Eve were punished by God: they were expelled from Paradise and became mortal.¹⁷⁷ Beverland added an additional sentence however, arguing that God had also punished Adam, Eve, and all of their descendants by making the urge of lust dominant in their natures:

it must be admitted, that the parent of the human race had left this natural and eternal fire to us... conquered through the temptress Eve and polluted by this heat of lust, defiled by this nettle in the womb, and [in the case of men the hot lust was] driven by lust from infancy.¹⁷⁸

In the discussion of his main argument, Beverland combined his own depiction with references to the works of others. Not just Genesis 1 to 3 but also contemporary and classical writers were cited: he included a quotation from the *Satyricon Euphormionis*, first published by John Barclay (1581-1621) in 1605,¹⁷⁹ and used the words of the Roman poet Virgil when describing Eve's lust: "*Her mind weakened, she raves, and, on fire, runs wild through the garden...*"¹⁸⁰.

After the Fall: the punishment of lust

After having sex, Adam and Eve were banished from Paradise. They were condemned to work on earth, to survive as mortal beings, and, most importantly for Beverland's

¹⁷⁷ For more on traditional interpretation(s) of Adam and Eve, the Fall, and original sin, see the works in footnote 163, as well as: T. Mettinger, *The Eden Narrative: A Literary and Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 2–3* (Winona Lake, 2007); A. LaCocque, *The Trial of Innocence: Adam, Eve, and the Yahwist* (Eugene, 2006).

¹⁷⁸ 'Ita tamen, ut fateare necesse sit generis humani parentem... per gannitricem Evam victum & tentiginis aestro pollutum, hunc ignem nobis, in utero urtica inquinatis, & satyrione ab infantia percitis, naturalem & ingenitum reliquisse.' In: DPO 1679, chapter X, p. 49.

¹⁷⁹ For more on the Neo-Latin writer Barclay and his *Satyricon*, see: P. Turner, *Euphormio's Satyricon* (London, 1954).

¹⁸⁰ 'Saevit inops animi, totumque incensa per hortum baccatur.' In: DPO 1679, chapter VI, p. 29. This is a quotation from: Virgil, *Aeneid*, book IV, line 300-301, with the original word *urbem* replaced by *hortum* however. Translated from: H.R. Fairclough, G.P. Goold, *LCL*, 63 (Cambridge MA, 1916).

argument, the sexual lust that was the cause of their sin had become a dominant feature of their natures as an extra punishment.¹⁸¹ Before the Fall the first humans were honourable and righteous, but after their digression their natures became characterized by sexual lust and ambition. Man's 'flesh' had caused the Fall, leading to nothing but adultery, prostitution, impurity, and debauchery.¹⁸²

Beverland argued that the sexual connotation of the sin of Adam and Eve could be directly deduced from the text of the Bible. He focused for instance on what happened after Adam and Eve had sex.¹⁸³ "Having regained his senses... he covered the batted member with fig leaves... [and] soon thereafter God covered the bodies of the first humans..."¹⁸⁴. Why would their naked bodies, and their genitalia, be covered, be hidden from sight out of shame, if these parts of the body were not directly involved in the grave sin that had just been committed? "And therefore that body part, which he had extended and excited against the order, is called *shameful*, after they regretted that what was accomplished red with shame..."¹⁸⁵. All humans, all descendants of Adam and Eve, would ever after associate nakedness in general, and of the genitalia in particular, directly with sin, sex, and shame. "Adam and Eve *were naked and ashamed* says the honourable Text. This shame has grown from this scandalous lust alone, that shame and lust which first came to us after the first sin."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ See: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 405-14.

¹⁸² In: DPO 1679, chapter III, p. 11.

¹⁸³ For more on this part of Genesis and its interpretation, see: the article on the 'Fall', *Oxford Companion to the Bible*; the article on 'Erbsünde', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*; Wiley, *Original sin*; D.M. Carr, *The Erotic Word: Sexuality, Spirituality, and the Bible* (Oxford, 2003); LaCocque, *The Trial of Innocence*.

¹⁸⁴ 'Mentis compos... siculneis foliis agonizantem deinde involvit carnem... mox Deus pelliceis tunicis vestivit corpora...' In: DPO 1679, chapter VI, pp. 31-2. See also DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 256-68.

¹⁸⁵ 'Unde & illa pars, quae contra mandatum porrexit ac arrexit, postquam rubore suffusos anteactae patrationis poeniteret, *pudendum* dicitur...' in: DPO 1679, chapter XIV, p. 72.

¹⁸⁶ 'Adam et Eva erant *nudi et erubescabant* ait textus ingenuus. Hic pudor nascitur ex sola hac voluptatis turpitudine, qui pudor et voluptas primum nos post peccatum incessit.' In: DPV, book I, chapter 2, lines 356-8.

Beverland continued his argument by showing that there was also a close relation between the specific punishments given to Adam and Eve and their sinful behaviour. Following the text in Genesis, he pointed to the increased influence of lust in human nature as well as the sinfulness of sexual intercourse emphasized by the circumcision of the penis.¹⁸⁷ He stated that God “imposed circumcision on [men], so that the part, which had sinned, and through which the original sin was being transferred, became marked by the agreement and thus took away the foreskins of our hearts, that is to say, in order for us to avert that wicked lust.”¹⁸⁸ Women were punished by the pain of childbirth, the eventual outcome of their desire: “Thus God said: I will enlarge your pains in labour by increasing [them], and from the insemination until the birth I will increase your pain by aversion to food, by flaws, fatigue, and pains.”¹⁸⁹ He added in his DPV that this was “a harsh accompanying punishment for the sin, which corresponds to the sin itself, following with swift pace those who had sinned.”¹⁹⁰

Thus sexual intercourse between Adam and Eve was the cause of the universal corruption of human nature, as “Love is sweet bitterness...”¹⁹¹. Before the Fall, human nature was perfect. God created humankind in his own image to rule all other creatures, which were infected by sexual lust to ensure their procreation. Humankind was different:

¹⁸⁷ See also DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 256-396, 430-33, 470-75. For more on (interpretations of) the Bible's statements on sex, circumcision, and labour pains, see: the article on 'Sex' and 'Circumcision', *Oxford Companion to the Bible*; Carr, *The Erotic Word*; W.J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and creation : an Old Testament covenant theology* (Milton Keynes, 2013); J. Cohen, “Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It”: *The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text* (Ithaca, London, 1989); LaCocque, *The Trial of Innocence*.

¹⁸⁸ ‘iniunxit circumcisionem, ut illa pars, quae peccaverat, et per quod transfunditur peccatum originale, esset in foederis signum, et ut sic praepudia cordium nostrorum auferremus, id est, a verruncaremus pravam illam concupiscentiam.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 430-34.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Dicit autem Deus: augendo augebo aerumnas tuas & conceptus patrusque tuos, & angustiam a conceptu usque ad partum multiplicabo, fastidio cibi, deliquiis, lassitudine ac doloribus.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XV, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ ‘peccati saeva satellites poena scelestos celeri pede secuta peccato respondet.’ In: DPV 1679, book I, chapter II, lines 404-405.

¹⁹¹ ‘Dulcis amarities amor est...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XV, p. 75.

the first man and woman were not guided by evil desire and knew only honourable behaviour.¹⁹² “These oldest mortals [were] not yet driven by any low passion... [they were] adorned with simplicity, maintained justice and righteousness without laws, then the honourable was pursued of their own accord...”¹⁹³. This was all changed by the Fall, Beverland argued: due to their seduction by the devil, humankind also became infested with sexual lust:

These things having been examined, every well-hung man will suspect that this Lust is very old and that not even that long ago this desire to have intercourse was implanted in mortals, [a desire] burning stronger than all emotions and states of the soul, by which the mind together with the body is disturbed and tortured.¹⁹⁴

The nature that was pure had become corrupted: “Seduced from their path by the devilish Sammael... they started to pursue ambition and lust instead of modesty and humility...”¹⁹⁵. The honourable, divine, and pure nature of the human race became irrevocably corrupted after the banishment from Paradise: “this wound cannot be healed, as it has settled itself deep within; yes, it is even considered a general feature of humankind... and against the will of God [man] visits prostitutes and abandons himself with ardent dedication to adultery, made mad due to an unavoidable bewitchment.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² For the honourable nature of humankind before the Fall and the corruption of human nature after, see: the articles on ‘Creation’, ‘Fall’, ‘Flesh and Spirit’, *Oxford Companion to the Bible*; Meyers, Rogerson, ‘The world of the Hebrew Bible’, 58-62; the articles on ‘Schöpfer/Schöpfung’ and ‘Erbsünde’, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*; LaCocque, *The Trial of Innocence*; E.W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1986); Wiley, *Original sin*.

¹⁹³ ‘Vetustissimi hi mortalium nulla adhuc mala libidine... ornati simplicitate, jus fasque sine lege colebant; cum honesta suo pte ingenio peterentur...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter V, p. 21.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Hisce praelibatis, vetussum esse Amorem, nec iam pridem mortalibus coeundi hanc cupidinem, quae omnibus affectibus atque motibus, quibus animus cum corpore perturbatur et excruciat, flagrantior est, insitantes, quisque bene vasatus subodorabit.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 539-43.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Ast è vestigio per Sammaelem Daemoniacum... pro modestia & pudore ambitionem & libidinem concepere...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter V, p. 21.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Nullo aedepol dictamno sanabile hoc vulnus, utpote nodosum medullas funditus incrustans: Quin & universale nunc cernitur generis humani... & à Deo scortantis ac declinantis adulterium furiosa aemulatione, atque inevitabili fascino dementatum.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 50.

Of all descendants of Adam and Eve, only the second Adam, Jesus Christ, was exempt from original sin. Beverland honoured the Virgin Mary in his early works, with great respect for her chastity and that of her husband Joseph. “It is a sacrilege, by my faith, to doubt the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary...”¹⁹⁷, he wrote in his DSVI, describing Joseph as a ‘just, merciful, mild, gentle, and sincere man’ who never, before or after his wedding to Mary, ascended ‘the bed of that most chaste young mother’.¹⁹⁸ Due to his divine origins, as well as the purity of his earthly parents, Jesus Christ was free from all sexual lust, Beverland concluded. Citing Augustine, he stated that all were stained by the original sin, all except Christ who did not know sin:

Because the Saviour was received from a virgin and the Holy Spirit, maintained and carried without any itch [of lust]. ... Hence Augustine [said] *Free from this bond of mortal concupiscence was Christ born without a male, of a virgin conceiving by the Holy Ghost.*¹⁹⁹

1.2 Ideas on sex and sin

Beverland was of course not the first person to discuss the Fall in the seventeenth century, nor was he the first to discuss sexual lust in relation to the original sin. Many ancient, medieval, and early modern thinkers discussed the balance of good and evil in the world and in human nature in particular, in connection to ideas on Christian morality, mortal human nature, and the often assumed conflict between the body, ruled by

¹⁹⁷ ‘Sacrilegium, per fidem! est dubitare de perenni Virginis Mariae...’, in: DSVI, chapter VIII, p. 91. For Beverland’s reverence for the Virgin Mary, see also: DPO 1679, chapter XV and XVI, pp. 84, 89-90; DSVI, chapter VIII and chapter IX, pp. 87-91, 132-4.

¹⁹⁸ See: DSVI, chapter VIII, p. 87-8.

¹⁹⁹ ‘omnes, inquam, excepto Christo... qui non novit peccatum. Fuit enim Sospitator conceptus ex virgine & Spiritu Sancto, sine ullo pruritu fatus atque gestus... hinc Augustinus *Praeter hoc vinculum concupiscentiae* (scil. coeundi) *natus est Christus sine masculino, ex virgine concipiente per Spiritum S.*’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XII, p. 58-9. Citation from: Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, psalm 51, part 10, line 30. In the margins of this passage Beverland also referred to Augustine’s *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* (book I, chapter 12 on Jesus’ parents) and Timothy 1:15. For more on Jesus and original sin in theological history, see the works in footnote 163, as well as articles on ‘Sin, and ‘Jesus’, *Oxford Companion to the Bible*; articles on ‘Maria/Marienfrömmigkeit’ and ‘Jesus Christus’, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*.

passions, and the soul, ruled by the intellect. In Beverland's argument we can detect many elements of the different perspectives on original sin and sex that were voiced before his time. A brief overview of the history of Christian ideas on sex and sin is provided below, to contextualize Beverland's ideas on the subject.

Early Christian views

Pagan philosophies on sex and sin were based on a dualist view of the universe and humanity. Dualistic thought divided the world into two opposing forces, the soul, the spiritual, man's higher nature, versus the body, the material, man's lower nature, and argued that the soul was imprisoned in the body.²⁰⁰ Most scholars agree that the dualist concept became fixed in Greek philosophy through the ancient religion of Orpheus. In Orphism it was believed that humans were partly divine and partly material, partly good and partly evil, and its insistence on the separation from worldly concerns, and from sexual passions in particular, greatly influenced Greek philosophy and religion.²⁰¹

It was in turn the influence of Platonism and Neo-Platonism, which emerged in the first centuries CE, that placed dualistic ideas firmly in the longer tradition of Western philosophy. According to Plato (ca 428-347 BCE), all humans had the power to rise above their material nature, as long as they remained focused on reason and the salvation of the soul. Although he also asserted that to live without sex was unnatural, Plato argued

²⁰⁰ For more on the dualist strand in (ancient) philosophy, in addition to the works mentioned in footnote 163, see: J. Jope, 'Platonic and Roman Influence on Stoic and Epicurean Sexual Ethics', T.K. Hubbard (ed.), *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World: Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities* (Somerset, 2013), pp. 418-30; P.W.M. Fontaine, *The light and the dark: a cultural history of dualism* (11 volumes, Amsterdam, 1986-1996).

²⁰¹ See for more on Orphism: R.G. Edmonds III, *Redefining ancient Orphism: a study in Greek religion* (New York, Cambridge, 2013); W. Burkert, 'Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans', B.F. Meyer, and E.P. Sanders (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, Volume 3: Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World* (London, 1982), pp. 1-22; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, Princeton, 1935, 1993).

that people should renounce bodily desires: sexual intercourse represented the assertion of the bodily needs over the spiritual and procreation continued the imprisonment of future souls.²⁰² Sexuality played an important role in Greek and Roman religion and was celebrated in literature and art,²⁰³ yet most ancient philosophers shared this adverse attitude to lust.²⁰⁴ The philosophy of the Greek Stoics, which emerged in the third century BCE, resembled that of Plato. While for the Stoics there was nothing inherently wrong with desire, which was after all necessary for reproduction, immoderation in sexual activity was to be avoided. These Greek philosophies were very influential in Roman times and sexual relations were therefore an important area of government concern.²⁰⁵

Early Jewish religion did not fully renounce sexual relations, as they were part of God's divine creation. Sex could be a source of moral impurity, but husband and wife were obliged to have sexual intercourse, even outside the context of procreation. In later Judaism some groups did attack this view and advocated abstinence instead. For instance the Essenes rejected marriage and sexual relations, arguing that the divine human soul could only be saved if people stayed completely free from the bond of the flesh.²⁰⁶

²⁰² For more on Plato's take on sexuality and its place in Platonism and Neo-Platonism, see: Jope, 'Platonic and Roman Influence', pp. 417-18; J.R. Lucas, *Plato's philosophy of sex* (Oxford, 1990); H. Lorenz, *The brute within: appetitive desire in Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 9-113; M.C. Nussbaum, J. Sihvola, *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago, London, 2002, 2013); K.L. Gaca, *The making of fornication: eros, ethics, and political reform in Greek philosophy, Hellenistic culture and society*, 40 (Berkeley, 2003); T.K. Hubbard, and M. Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, pp. 164-83; Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality*, pp. 1-26.

²⁰³ This positive side of ancient views on sex will be discussed in Chapter 3 (pages 160-64).

²⁰⁴ For more on sex and ancient philosophy, see: Nussbaum, Sihvola, *The Sleep of Reason*; Gaca, *The making of fornication*; A.J. Blanshard, *Sex: vice and love from antiquity to modernity* (Chichester, 2010, 2015), pp. 30-47; P. Brown, *The body and society: men, women, and sexual renunciation in early Christianity* (New York, 1988); Hubbard, Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation'; M.E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality in the early modern world: regulating desire, reforming practice* (London, 2000, 2010), pp. 24-6. For more on place of sexuality in ancient religion, culture and literature, see Chapter 3 (page 158-64).

²⁰⁵ See for sexuality and Stoicism (in addition to the works in footnote 202): M. Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 22-56.

²⁰⁶ For more on views on sexuality in the early Jewish faith, see: M.R. D'Angelo, 'Sexuality in Jewish Writings from 200 BCE to 200 CE', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, pp. 534-48; Wiesner-Hanks,

Jesus said little about the subject of sex, except approving marriage and opposing adultery. More representative of the early Christian outlook on sex and sin were the views of Saint Paul (ca 5-67 CE), whose ideas were of great importance for medieval Christian doctrine. Like most early Christians, Paul expected Christ to return very soon and thus he regarded sex as an unimportant earthly concern. Virginal life was best, but if people could not exercise self-control they should marry, because those who had sex outside of marriage were unworthy of heaven.²⁰⁷ While sex and original sin were not directly connected in his theology, Paul did define the pleasure of the flesh as the most important threat to a pious life and described his own battle against sexual temptation:

I am of the flesh, sold into slavery under sin. I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate... I delight in the law of God in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. Wretched man that I am!²⁰⁸

Early Christian ideas on sex and sin were greatly influenced by Jewish doctrine as well as classical philosophies. An important philosopher who combined Greek philosophy and Jewish theology was Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE-50 CE), who conceived of sex in dualistic terms. Focusing on Genesis 1, 2 and 3, Philo explained that the dualistic nature

Christianity and sexuality, pp. 20-24; W. Loader, *Making sense of sex: attitudes towards sexuality in early Jewish and Christian literature* (Grand Rapids, 2013); M. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton, 2001); G. Vermes, and M. Goodman (eds.), *The Essenes according to the classical sources* (Sheffield, 1989).

²⁰⁷ For more on Paul and his views on sex and sin, see: K.L. Gaca, 'Early Christian Sexuality', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, pp. 549-64; Brown, *The body*, especially pp. 3-64; Gaca, *The making of fornication*, especially 119-58; Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality*, pp. 20-24; A. Jacobs, *Original sin: a cultural history* (London, 2008), pp. ix-xviii, 23-36; M. Shuster, 'Christian Theology: Sin and the Fall', S. Westerholm (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Paul* (Hoboken, 2011), pp. 546-59.

²⁰⁸ In: *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, chapter 7, lines 14-24, transl. M.D. Coogan, 'The Letter of Paul to the Romans', M.D. Coogan, M.Z. Bretler, C.A. Newsom, and P. Perkins (eds.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford, 2007), at *Oxford Biblical Studies Online*. For more on Paul's life and struggle with lust, see: J.A. Harrill, *Paul the Apostle. His Life and Legacy in Roman Context* (Cambridge, 2012), especially pp. 106-112; B.H. Dunning, *Specters of Paul: Sexual Difference in Early Christian Thought* (Philadelphia, 2011); D.R. MacDonald, *The Legend of the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia, 1983).

of humankind as a result of the seduction of reason (Adam) by pleasure (Eve) in the Garden of Eden. Eve tempted Adam: humankind turned away from direct knowledge of God towards the pleasure of the flesh, which consequently became dominant in all of human nature. Philo concluded that sexual intercourse could only be justified in the context of procreation.²⁰⁹

Origen of Alexandria (185-254), an important follower of Philo, explained the universal sinfulness of humankind by arguing that in the beginning a number of free rational souls, created by God, had turned away from the divine and now had to live a material life as their punishment. The story of Adam and Eve symbolized the Fall of these pre-cosmic souls. After the Fall Adam had become a slave to the passions and therefore “Every soul, before reaching virtue, is covered with the pollution of vice.”²¹⁰ Philo and Origen were by no means mainstream Christian thinkers, yet their theories show how classical, Jewish, and early Christian views were combined in this period. Their philosophies, based on allegorical interpretations of the story of Adam, Eve, and the Fall also in many ways resemble Beverland’s theory on sexuality and original sin.

²⁰⁹ For more on Philo and his ideas, see: Gaca, *The making of fornication*, especially pp. 190-218; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian doctrines* (London, 1958, 2013), pp. 8-13, 70-73; R.M. Berchmann, *From Philo to Origen: middle Platonism in transition* (Chico California, 1984), pp. 9-11, 24-7; H. Chadwick, ‘Philo and the beginning of Christian thought’, A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967, 1970), pp. 137-57; V.L. Bullough, and B. Bullough, *Sin, sickness, and sanity: a history of sexual attitudes* (New York, 1977), pp. 1-40. For more on early Christian ideas on sex, see Chapter 3 (pages 160-66).

²¹⁰ In: Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, chapter 19, part 1, pp. 87, 272. The translation was taken from: J. Laporte, ‘Models from Philo in Origen’s Teaching on Original Sin’, *Laval théologique et philosophique*, 4, no. 2 (1988), pp. 191-203. For more on Origen, see: Brown, *The body*, pp. 160-77; H. Crouzel, *Origen* (Edinburgh, 1989, 1998); P.W. Marten, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford, 2012); B.P. Blosser, *Become Like the Angels: Origen's Doctrine of the Soul* (Washington, 2012).

Medieval and early modern ideas

After the establishment of Christianity, with the Bible as its Sacred Text, in the first centuries the story of creation in Genesis became the foundation of most religious and philosophical ideas about the formation of human nature. The story of the Fall of humankind described in the Old Testament was interpreted literally, with the original sin of Adam and Eve described as disobedience stemming from pride, yet sex and original sin also became associated, as sexual desire was seen as (one of) the most important of sins. In medieval Christianity many different approaches to sex and sin existed however. Christian communities remained divided even after the Council of Nicaea of the early fourth century, when important decisions were made on the doctrine of the Catholic Church. In different Christian sects, often described under the general heading of Gnosticism and denounced by the Catholic Church as heretical, there existed an enormous range of ideas and practices, from strict celibacy to complete freedom, since early converts combined the teachings of Jesus and Paul, Jewish writings, Greek and Roman philosophy, non-Christian mystic religions, and other religious traditions.²¹¹

One of the most important 'heresies' was Manicheanism, which developed in the fourth century and experienced a revival in Medieval France within Catharism or Albigensianism in the later Middle Ages. Based on the teachings of the prophet Mani (216-77), Manichean beliefs were similar to those of Philo and Origen: it was argued that Adam (wisdom) was seduced by pleasure (Eve) in Paradise, which had caused the Fall.

²¹¹ For more on sexuality and Christianity in the Middle Ages, see: J.A. Brundage, 'Sex and Canon Law', V.L. Bullough, and J.A. Brundage (eds.), *Handbook of medieval sexuality* (New York, London, 1996), pp. 33-50; J.A. Brundage, *Law, sex, and Christian society in medieval Europe* (Chicago, London, 1987, 1990); Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality*, pp. 26-9; M.A. O'Neill, 'Creation and Anthropology', J.J. Buckley, F.C. Bauerschmidt, and T. Pomplun (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Catholicism* (Malden MA, Oxford, 2007), pp. 282-96; R.M. Karras, *Sexuality in medieval Europe: doing unto others* (New York, London, 2005, 2012).

Catharism was based on the Book of John, a supposedly private revelation given by Christ to his favourite disciple that had emerged in the twelfth century. Both Manicheans and Cathars believed the souls of divine angels had fallen from heaven and were imprisoned in human bodies. To achieve salvation, people should renounce the material world via purification rituals and by leading an austere life, characterized by perpetual virginity. This life was only possible, however, for the spiritual elite. Those who could not live this way were discouraged from marrying or procreating but should have loose sexual relations, since non-marital bonds were more easily broken when people reached the highest stage. Due to its great popularity in the later Middle Ages, Catharism was referred to by the Catholic Church as the Great Heresy and became subject to the Albigensian crusade in the early thirteenth century.²¹²

The most important figure in the history of Christian ideas on original sin, sexual lust, and their close interrelation was Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430), whose teachings dominated medieval Christian thought as well as Catholic and Protestant doctrines after the Reformation.²¹³ Before his conversion to Christianity, Augustine was a follower of the Manichean faith and later described himself as a slave to carnal desire in his younger years.²¹⁴ His views on sex and original sin were influenced by Manichaeism, classical philosophical teachings, and Saint Paul. Augustine argued that celibacy was the

²¹² See: W. Birks, and R.A. Gilbert, *The treasure of Montsegur: a study of the Cathar Heresy and the nature of the Cathar secret* (Wellingborough, 1987), pp. 55-90; M. Barber, *The Cathars. Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2000, 2013).

²¹³ The bibliography of studies on Augustine and his theology is extensive. Up to date overviews of his life and thought and interpretations of his theology are given in: M. Vessey, and S. Reid (eds.), *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World: A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester West Sussex, Malden MA, 2012); E. Stump, and N. Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (New York, Cambridge, 2001) at *Cambridge Companions Online*.

²¹⁴ See: J.P. Mahler, 'Saint Augustine and the Manichaeic cosmogony', *Augustinian Studies*, X (1979) 91-104; S. Blackburn, *Lust: the seven deadly sins* (New York, Oxford, 2004), pp. 49-64; Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality*, pp. 29-32; Jacobs, *Original sin*, pp. 23-36.

preferred state and only accepted sexual intercourse in the context of marriage and procreation. On Manichean grounds, Augustine reasoned that sexual desire was the result of human sinfulness and disobedience to God. Before the Fall, human nature was perfect: the body was inferior to the mind and therefore carnal desires could be controlled by the rational will. After the Fall, the involuntary and rebellious nature of sexual desire became the symbol of the fallen state of humankind.

Augustine characterized humans as enslaved by desires: original sin was transmitted to all people via human semen and the body as well as the mind were inclined to sin. While human beings still had access to reason and free will, the physical infirmities derived from original sin made it difficult to exercise the full potential of their soul. Augustine did not define original sin as sexual lust: he held that pride was the impulse behind the disobedience and Fall of Adam and Eve. His argumentation however came very close, since he stated that sexual desire was the most violent and widespread of the inclinations that made people turn away from God and he often cursed the sin of lust, which even a chaste man (like himself) had to fight every day.²¹⁵ Before the Fall, Adam could control his penis, but original sin made him fall victim to shameful involuntary erections, thus re-enacting his disobedience to God.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ For Augustine's ideas on sex and sin, see: J.C. Cavadini, 'Feeling Right: Augustine on the Passions and Sexual Desire', *Augustinian Studies*, 36 (2005), pp. 195-217; D. Hunter, 'Augustinian Pessimism? A New Look at Augustine's Teaching on Sex, Marriage, and Celibacy', *Augustinian studies*, 25 (1994), pp. 153-77; E.A. Clark, *St. Augustine on marriage and sexuality* (Washington, 1996); J. Couenhoven, 'St. Augustine's doctrine of Original Sin', *Augustinian Studies*, 36, no. 2 (2005), pp. 359-96; W.E. Mann, 'Augustine on evil and original sin', E. Stump, and N. Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (New York, Cambridge, 2001) at *Cambridge Companions Online*, pp. 40-48; Jacobs, *Original sin*, pp. ix-xviii, 23-36; Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and sexuality*, pp. 29-32; Blackburn, *Lust*, pp. 49-64; Bullough, Bullough, *Sin*, pp. 1-24.

²¹⁶ Augustine discusses this in for instance in: *The City of God against the Pagans*, book XIV, chapters XVI-XXI (see: ed. P. Levine (Cambridge MA, 1966) *LCL*, 414). For more on this topic see the works in footnote 215, as well as: T. Nisula, *Augustine and the Functions of Concupiscence, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 116 (Leiden 2012), in particular pp. 59-135.

One of the few scholars who actually defined sexual lust as original sin was Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535). Agrippa was a professor, physician, legal advisor, ambassador, and soldier, but he was mostly known in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries for his studies in occult philosophy. His works were widely read, frequently reprinted, and often denounced as dangerous and heretical.²¹⁷ Agrippa's thinking was characterized by his close study of the biblical text, rejection of scholastic theology, and Neo-Platonism. As a humanist theologian, he focused on biblical exegesis and aimed to bring about a reform in theology. He believed that the crisis of the Christian Church during his lifetime was partly due to the ineptitude of scholastic theologians, who were incompetent in their biblical exegesis, arrogantly asserted their own views, and did not partake in honest debate.²¹⁸ Alongside the Bible, Neo-Platonic writings, like the *Pymander* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, often featured in his works. In the *Pymander* dualist visions were described, in which humankind as well as the world were composed of matter and light: people could either choose the path of the spirit or the way of the body. The passions of the body were only accepted as long as they remained submissive to the spirit: sexual lust should never dominate the mind.²¹⁹ Adopting Neo-

²¹⁷ Agrippa published a large work on magic and occult arts, *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (3 volumes, Paris, 1531, Cologne, 1533), and a work on human learning: *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum atque artium declamatio inactiva* (Cologne, 1527). For more on Agrippa see: E.N. Zalta, 'Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim', 'Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim', E.N. Zalta (ed.), at *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online* (Stanford, 2012); M. van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa, the humanist theologian and his declamations* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 1-49; C.G. Nauert, *Agrippa and the crisis of Renaissance thought, Illinois studies in the social sciences*, 55 (Urbana IL, 1965), pp. 1-7; J. Flood, 'Rhetorical play in Cornelius Agrippa: the 'Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex'', K.E. Olsen, J.R. Veenstra, and A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Airy Nothings : Imagining the Otherworld of Faerie from the Middle Ages to the Age of Reason: essays in honour of Alasdair A. MacDonald* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 25-40; C.I. Leirich, *The Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy, Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 119 (Leiden, Boston, 2003).

²¹⁸ Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, pp. 1-14, 50-115, 263-8.

²¹⁹ See: F. Ebeling, *The secret history of Hermes Trismegistus: hermeticism from ancient to modern times* (Itaca, 2007), pp. vii-xiii, 1-36; C. Gilly, and C. van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700: l'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto / Magic, alchemy and science, 15th-18th centuries: the influence of Hermes Trismegistus* (Florence, 2002).

Platonist ideas and combining them with his Christian faith, Agrippa believed in a strict division between the imperfect world that could be approached via the senses and reason, and the perfect world people could come to understand by putting their faith in God. He argued that theology was not a purely intellectual endeavour, but should be focused on teaching people how to live a pious life.²²⁰

Agrippa's work on original sin, *De Originale Peccato (On Original Sin)*, was written in the years 1518-9 and published as part of his collected treatises in 1529 and 1532.²²¹ With his declamation²²² Agrippa aimed to make a contribution to the many diverging opinions on original sin in the history of Christian theology. He concentrated on reinterpreting the story of Genesis 1, 2, and 3 and concluded that sexual lust was the original sin. Explaining the symbolical meaning of the words used in the text, Agrippa argued that Adam was the embodiment of faith, Eve personified reason, the serpent represented the inclination towards the sensual, and the tree symbolized (the contemplation of) God's knowledge, with wisdom and chastity as its fruits. Agrippa explored traditional theological ideas on the fallen nature of humankind, focusing on other parts of the Old Testament and the New Testament, to emphasize that chastity was the most important virtue. Originally marriage was spiritual and only consummated by the word and spirit of God, he argued, but the sacrament had become carnal and was therefore consummated in sexual intercourse after the Fall. Even though the Holy

²²⁰ Zalta, 'Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim'; Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, pp. 1-14, 50-115, 263-8; Nauert, *Agrippa*, pp. 185-8, 202-203, 279-80, 298-9.

²²¹ C. Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus, Expostulatio, De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum, De sacramento matrimonii, Dehortatio gentilis theologiae, De originali peccato, Regimen adversus pestilentiam* (Antwerp 1529, 1532).

²²² Some contemporaries and modern scholars have argued that Agrippa composed this work as a rhetorical exercise. Van der Poel has however convincingly shown that Agrippa's declamations were serious theological treatises, dealing with issues of faith and morality. For more on this subject see: Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, pp. 1-14, 50-115, 153-84, 263-8; Flood, 'Rhetorical play'.

Sacrament had become tainted, Agrippa concluded in his treatise that marriage was the best way to deal with the inborn sin of sexual desire.²²³

Between the publication of Agrippa's declamation in 1529 and the printing of Beverland's DPO in 1678 and 1679, sex, the Fall, and original sin were regularly discussed in theological writings printed in Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish circles. During the National Synod of Dordrecht of 1618-19 in the Dutch Republic, for instance, the interpretation of the Fall and original sin were discussed by Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants as they struggled with the right interpretation of predestination, which caused heated debates.²²⁴ Also in the Catholic Church the implication of original sin was a topic of debate in the seventeenth century. A good example is the Jansenist controversy in France, which evolved around the correct interpretation of Augustine's teachings. In 1638, the Bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansen, published a large treatise on the theology of Augustine, condemning the worldliness of the church and arguing that the Catholic Church had lost sight of the saint's most important insight, namely that all people were dependent on God's grace. The Jansenists lost their battle institutionally, with Jansen's book censured by the Holy Office of the Catholic Church in 1641, but their views remained popular.²²⁵ Also in the Jewish community of Amsterdam a heated debate erupted in 1635

²²³ In: Agrippa, *De Originali Peccato*. See also: Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, 225-45; Nauert, *Agrippa*, pp. 185-8. For more on Agrippa's ideas on original sin, see the comparison with Beverland's argument below.

²²⁴ For more on the debates between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants and the question of predestination, see: A. Goudriaan, and F.A. van Lieburg, *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619)*, *Brill's series in church history*, 49 (Leiden, 2010, 2011); G. Voogt, 'Remonstrant-Counter-Remonstrant Debates: Crafting a Principled Defense of Toleration after the Synod of Dordrecht (1619-1650)', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89, no. 4 (2009), pp. 489-524.

²²⁵ See: Jacobs, *Original sin*, pp. 37-66, 97-126; A. Sedgwick, *Jansenism in seventeenth-century France: voices from the wilderness* (Charlottesville, 1977); W.R Owens, *Reception, appropriation, recollection: Bunyan's Pilgrim's progress* (Oxford, 2007); W. Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic resistance to authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (London, 2000).

in relation to ideas on the fallen state of human nature. Arguing against the authority of the Kabbalah, Rabbi Morteira stated that only righteous Jews would be saved by God, while the wicked souls of other Jews would be punished eternally. The supporters of the Kabbalah, under leadership of Rabbi Ababa, argued that all Jews would be saved, as wicked Jews would be sent back to the world until they learned righteousness. After years of local and international discussion, the case was eventually dropped.²²⁶

Original sin and its relation to sex was not only an important topic of discussion in confessional contexts. Philosopher Michel Montaigne (1533-92), influenced by classical as well as the traditional Christian views, argued that sexual lust was a natural and necessary emotion, but it carried with it the risk of madness, stating that “en l'amour, ce n'est qu'un desir forcené”²²⁷. Therefore in marriage, which Montaigne believed should be more like friendship, sexual desires should be controlled or they would take over body and mind: “Entre lesquels ceux qui jugent qu'il n'en y a point de plus violens que ceux que l'amour engendre, ont cela pour leur opinion, qu'ils tiennent au corps et à l'ame, et que tout l'homme en est possédé: en maniere que la santé mesme en depend...”²²⁸.

Also in medical writings published in this period, classical teachings, biblical passages, occult interests, and novel scientific ideas were combined to discuss the relation between sin, sex, and human nature.²²⁹ In the writings of two doctors, both inspired by the argument of Agrippa, original sin was defined as sexual lust.

²²⁶ See: A. Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 107-109; M. Saperstein, ‘Saul Levi Morteira’s treatise on the immortality of the soul’, *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 25, no. 2 (1991), pp. 131-48; M. Saperstein, “Your voice like a ram’s horn”: themes and texts in traditional Jewish preaching, *Monographs of the Hebrew Union College*, 18 (Cincinnati, 1996), pp. 118-25; Jacobs, *Original sin*, pp. 37-66, 97-126.

²²⁷ M. Montaigne, *Les Essais* (Paris, 1570-92), book 1, chapter 28.

²²⁸ Montaigne, *Les Essais*, book 2, chapter 33.

²²⁹ See: J. Jordan, “‘That ere with Age, His Strength is Utterly Decay’d’: Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern England”, K. Fisher, and S. Toulalan (eds.), *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 27-48; D.J. Noordam, ‘Volmaakt geluk? Vier eeuwen huwelijken gezin in

Physician Robert Fludd (1574-1637) combined his focus on medicine with an interest in alchemy and the occult. In his three-volume *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* (published in Oppenheim in 1617) on life, death, and the resurrection, Fludd combined large images of the cosmos with Neoplatonist, metaphysical, scientific, and medical arguments.²³⁰ He argued that both the macro- and the micro cosmos, the world and humankind, were characterized by divine as well as mortal elements. To one day return to their godly origins, he asserted, people should focus on the divine and rational parts of their natures. Fludd explained that the Fall of Man was caused by Adam and Eve eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which represented the bodily desires to which they succumbed.²³¹ Eve had been created to be Adam's chaste companion, who "would not stain his appetite for the spiritual with a desire for the carnal."²³² But tested by the snake, Eve ate from 'the tree of the body' and "tempted Adam, who was eventually deceived and she offered to him the forbidden fruit, whereupon the wretched man has eaten it."²³³ Fludd concluded that desire was the original sin that caused the Fall: "Therefore it was so, that because Adam wasted his divine grace with his disobedience and having gone from innocent to guilty at this time, he was expelled from Paradise due to his desire."²³⁴

Nederland', H.M. Dupuis et al., *Een kind onder het hart. Volkskunde, volksgeloof, gezin, seksualiteit en moraal vroeger en nu* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 128-48; E.D. Baumann, *Johan van Beverwijck in leven en werken geschetst* (PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam, Dordrecht, 1910) pp. 196-7; J. van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheit', from: *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicynen als chirurgie* (Amsterdam, 1660).

²²⁹ Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheit', p. 2.

²³⁰ R. Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus in libros tres distributus* (Oppenheim 1617). For more on Fludd see: W.H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the end of the renaissance* (London, 1988), pp. 97-116; W.H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd: essential readings* (London, 1992); J. Godwin, *Robert Fludd: hermetic philosopher and surveyor of two worlds* (London, 1979).

²³¹ Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus*, book 1, chapter 12, p. 46.

²³² 'non ut carnali concupiscentia appetitum ejus spiritualem inficeret.' In: Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus*, book 1, chapter 12, p. 48.

²³³ 'tentavit Eva Adamum, quem tandem decepit, & pomum prohibitum ei obtulit, de quo ipse miser comedit.' In: Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus*, book 1, chapter 12, p. 48.

²³⁴ 'Hinc igitur erat, quòd inobedientiâ sua perdidit Adam gratiam divinam & de innocente jam nocens factus, ex Paradiso voluptatis expelleretur.' In: Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus*, book 1, chapter 12, p. 49.

Fludd's argument on original sin was fundamental to his ideas on medicine; he argued that original sin, the sexual lust of the body, was the cause of all diseases.²³⁵

Similarly, the medical doctor Jan Baptist van Helmont (1577-1644) defined original sin as sexual lust. Van Helmont was as interested in medicine as he was fascinated by science and alchemy. In his most famous works the *Ortus Medicinae vel Opera et Opuscula Omnia* and *Dageraad, ofte Nieuwe Opkomst van de Geneeskunst* (published posthumously in Amsterdam in 1648 and 1659), he combined his ideas on medicine with scientific, theological, and occult views.²³⁶ Like Fludd, Van Helmont argued that Eve was created to be a social companion to Adam, not his wife, since sexual relations had been prohibited by God in Paradise. Eating from the tree bestowed sexual awareness upon both however: "when [Adam] had eaten the apple, his eyes were opened immediately, and full of lust he started to greatly desire the nude maiden and he had sexual intercourse with her..."²³⁷. Humankind would henceforth be begotten by carnal relations, while God had originally intended to create offspring by spiritual union, since Eve "would be the mother of all humanity... to be conceiving of [God's] offspring, certainly not from a carnal relationship, or from the custom of beasts, and not from carnal knowledge, but from God..."²³⁸ Adam corrupted the innocent maiden and thus "not due to the weakness of the flesh but the sin of the flesh, has the mortal burden come upon us..."²³⁹

²³⁵ See: Fludd, *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus*; Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the end of the renaissance*, pp. 97-105.

²³⁶ For more on Van Helmont and his views, see: G.D. Hedesan, *An Alchemical Quest for Universal Knowledge: The 'Christian Philosophy' of Jan Baptist Van Helmont (1579-1644)* (London, 2016).

²³⁷ 'Manso autem pomo, statim aperti sunt oculi eorum, cepitque Adam libidinese concupiscere nudam virginem, eamque stupravit...', in: J.B. van Helmont, *Ortus medicinae* (Amsterdam, 1652), p. 527.

²³⁸ 'destinaveritque ut esset totius humanitatis futura mater... suas conceptura proles, non quidem ex copula carnali, ac brutorum more, neque ex concupiscentia carnis aut voluntate viri, sed ex Deo...', in: Van Helmont, *Ortus medicinae*, p. 515.

²³⁹ 'Dus dat niet om de swackheydt des vleeschs, maer om de sonde des vleesch, alle sterffelijcke swaerigheydt ons overgekomen is...', in: J.B. van Helmont, *Dageraad* (Rotterdam, Amsterdam, 1660, 1978), chapter 2, p. 276. See for this argument also chapter 7, p. 51 of the same work.

Beverland in context

In Beverland's studies, one can recognize many elements from the history of Christian ideas on sex and sin. His account of the Fall of Adam and Eve was based on the traditional Christian account of these events as depicted in the Bible. He recognized this himself, stating in his DPO that: "of the highest priests of the Old Church some bishops and Presbyters seem to support my notion..."²⁴⁰. Defining sex as the source of all corruption in human nature, he referred for instance to Paul, who had indicated that: "in his limbs there existed a *law of sin*. Even though he boasted somewhere else that he was not stirred at all by these incentives, meanwhile [Paul], at the time when he was called Saul, was polluted by the corrupt desires of the flesh from head to toe..."²⁴¹. And therefore Paul: "defamed with clear words the impudence of the flesh with the name *sin*..."²⁴²

Beverland confessed however that he was 'not sure at all' if the Church Fathers had thoroughly studied the relation between sex and sin.²⁴³ He therefore proposed to also "see if we can find among the heathens... something good, that is useful."²⁴⁴ Consequently, he cited, adopted, and rejected the views of classical, medieval, and early modern writers on the subject. In his discussion of original sin, we encounter the words of Ezra and Augustine as well as concise outlines of the ideas of the Cathars, Manicheans, and Priscillianists on sex and marriage.²⁴⁵ Beverland discussed the creation of the world

²⁴⁰ 'Inter Antistites Ecclesiae Primitivae Episcopi atque Presbyteri quidam opinioni meae favere videntur...', in: DPO 1679, Letter to De Goyer.

²⁴¹ 'in membris suis inesse νόμον νόμον ἀμαρτίας. Licet alibi gloriatur se hisce stimulis haud agitari, interim tamen ut ante pravis carnis desideriis cum Saulus vocabatur à capite ad calcem pollutus erat...', in: DPO 1679, chapter IV, p. 15.

²⁴² 'Carnis adversus Spiritum lascivientis petulantiam *peccati* nomine expresse infamat Apostolus.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XII, pp. 60-61.

²⁴³ 'Inter Antistites Ecclesiae Primitivae Episcopi atque Presbyteri quidam opinioni meae favere videntur: haud tamen scio num recte & penitus enucleaverint...', in: DPO 1679, Letter to De Goyer.

²⁴⁴ 'Videamus num ab haereticis... bona quaedam in usum nostrum vindicare possimus.' In: DPO 1679, chapter IX, p. 44.

²⁴⁵ DPO 1679, chapter IX, pp. 46-7.

according to the Bible but also adhered to pagan philosophical accounts. “The fertile Venus was... more advanced in age than Jupiter himself”²⁴⁶, he stated in his DPV, referring to the writings of Plato and the Greek poet Hesiod, an important source for the ancient philosophy of Orpheus.²⁴⁷ “After the chaos, she inspired a change in ancient nature: she placed lust in animals to preserve their species, so that from two animals by procreation a third could be created.”²⁴⁸ His discussion of sex and sin was inspired by many works, writers, and philosophies. When arguing that all descendants of Adam had acquired the corrupt features of human nature, he not only referred to Augustine, “*equity would not allow Adam to beget better offspring than himself*,”²⁴⁹ but also to the Dutch poet Johan de Brune de Oude (1588-1658), “*from pinewood, no oak chippings could arise*,”²⁵⁰ and added a quotation from classical writer Terence: “*because he’s similar in character, you’ll easily be able to prove that he’s your son; he’s exactly similar to you. He has every single one of your vices. And besides, no woman could bear such a son but you*.”²⁵¹ Following their lead, he concluded that “this inborn shame originated only from the disgraceful pleasure, which descended upon us after the first sin.”²⁵²

Numerous early Christian, medieval, and early modern views on original sin were represented in Beverland’s work, but two thinkers inspired him above all: Saint

²⁴⁶ ‘Almam enim Venerem... ipso love aetate provectiorem esse...’, in: DPV, book I, chapter I, lines 9-10.

²⁴⁷ For more on Plato, Hesiod, and Orphism, see: A.L. Ford, ‘Plato’s two Hesiods’, G.R. Boys-Stones, J. Haubold (eds.), *Plato and Hesiod* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 135-57; S. Scully, *Hesiod’s Theogony: from Near Eastern creation myths to Paradise lost* (New York, Oxford, 2015); Edmonds, *Redefining ancient Orphism*.

²⁴⁸ ‘Nam post Chaos, sui conservandi cupidinem brutis, priscae naturae conciliatricem, ut ex duobus tertium propagando.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter I, lines 13-14. This passage also represents the influence of Orphism on Beverland’s first chapters.

²⁴⁹ Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, book 3, chapter 20, Part 55; as cited in: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 51. The translation comes from the edition by R.P. Russell (Washington 2004).

²⁵⁰ ‘van vuyren hout, en konnen geen eijken spaenderen komen’, in: J. de Brune de Oude, *Banket-werk van goede gedachten* (Middelburg, 1657, 1658). Cited in: DPO, chapter XI, p. 52.

²⁵¹ Terence, *Heauton Timoroumenos*, part 131, lines 1019-1022, as cited in: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 52. Translation from: J. Barsby, *LCL*, 22, (Cambridge MA, 2001).

²⁵² ‘qui pudor & voluptas primum nos post peccatum invasit.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIV, p. 72.

Augustine, whose doctrine was not only the cornerstone of the medieval Christian tradition but also the post-Reformation Protestant authority on sin and sexuality, and Agrippa von Nettesheim, whose sixteenth-century treatise on sex and sin directly inspired Beverland's DPO.

The similarities between Augustine and Beverland's arguments are straightforward and it is therefore no surprise to find the saint on many pages of Beverland's early works.²⁵³

Thus Adam, himself sinful, had produced sinful offspring, not in the image of God, which he had squandered, but after that of himself. *In fact as it would not be just, if he begot better children than he himself was*, said Augustine. Who could make something clean from something dirty? What is begotten in flesh, is flesh.²⁵⁴

In his doctrine, Augustine emphasized the great influence of sexual lust in human nature and asserted the dominance of this evil desire in the fallen nature of humankind. Unlike Thomas Aquinas, who focused not only on sinful but also on the virtuous features found in people, Augustine presented a pessimistic view of humankind, daily tortured by sin, and depicted desire as the most violent temptation.²⁵⁵ His negative view of sexuality was emphasized in the sixteenth century, with Protestant reformers using Augustine's

²⁵³ We find references to and quotations of Augustine in the DPO, DSVI, and DPV. See for instance: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 54; chapter XII, p. 59; chapter XV, p. 78; DPV, book I, chapters IV, VII, IX, and XI.

²⁵⁴ 'Adam itaque corruptus corruptam gignit prolem, non ad imaginem Dei, quam decoxerat, sed suam. *Ut enim meliores gigneret, quam ipse esset, non erat aequitatis, ait Augustinus.* Quis daret mundum de immundo! Quod genitum est ex carne, caro est.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 51. Quotation from: Augustine *De libero arbitrio*, book 3, chapter 20, line 9.

²⁵⁵ For more on Augustine on sin and sex, see the works mentioned in footnote 215. For a comparison of the views of Augustine and Aquinas, see: P. Weithman, 'Augustine and Aquinas on Original Sin and the Function of Political Authority', *Journal of the history of philosophy*, 30, no. 3 (1992), pp. 353-76.; M. Johnson, 'Augustine and Aquinas on Original Sin: doctrine, authority, pedagogy', M. Dauphinais, B. David, and M. Levering (eds.), *Aquinas the Augustinian* (Washington, 2007), pp. 145-58.

perspective as a patristic point of reference.²⁵⁶ We can recognize the same ideas in Beverland's works: the dominance of sexual lust, its involuntary influence on body and mind, the corruption of human nature after the Fall, and also the connection of the shame to the site of the original sin: the genitals. He frequently cited Augustine to show the similarity of their views, thereby adding authority to his argument.

Let us listen to a proposition of Marcus Tullius in the writings of Augustine. *Man was brought into the light by nature with a naked body, fragile and weak, his soul much troubled, humbled by fears, soft in labours, prone to lust, in him the divine fire is buried as well as [the divine] character and morals.*²⁵⁷

In the ninth chapter of his DPO, Beverland stated that: "About two days ago I learned that Cornelius Agrippa, whom Wierius and Ab. Corput celebrate with an Iliad of statements, adheres to our opinion of this year."²⁵⁸ He only referred to Agrippa a couple of times in his early works and never fully explained Agrippa's argument nor mentioned the title of Agrippa's work on original sin.²⁵⁹ Comparing his theory on sex and sin to Agrippa's ideas, however, it is clear that Beverland was directly inspired by him. Even

²⁵⁶ For more on this, see: A.S.Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500-1620*, Oxford studies in historical theology (New York, Oxford, 2011); A. Goudriaan, "Augustine Asleep' or 'Augustine Awake'? Jacobus Arminius's Reception of Augustine", T.W. van Leeuwen, *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)*, Brill's series in church history, 39 (Leiden, 2009), pp. 51-72.

²⁵⁷ 'Audiamus Marci Tulli effatum apud Augustinum. *Homo a natura in lucem editur corpore nudo, fragili atque infirmo, animo anxio ad molestias, humili ad timores, debili ad labores, proclivi ad libidines, in quo divinus obrutus est ignis, & ingenium & mores.*' In: DPO 1679, chapter XV, p. 78. The quotation is an adaptation of a passage from: Augustine, *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*, book 4, chapter 12, part 60.

²⁵⁸ 'Opinioni nostrae hornae ante biduum suffragantem fere comperi Cor. Agrippam, quem elogiorum Iliade celebrant Wierius ac Ab. Corput.' In: DPO 1679, chapter IX, p. 42. Wierius refers to Dutch physician Ioannes Wierius (Johannes Wier or Weyer, 1515-88), a follower of Agrippa, and Ab. Corput refers to Abraham van den Corput (1599-1670) a Dutch reformed theologian and preacher, who in his work *Het leven en dood van den seer beroemden D. Philippus Melancthon* (Amsterdam, 1662) referred to Agrippa as renowned (p. 24).

²⁵⁹ See: DPV, book I, chapter XIII, lines 5592-9.

though Agrippa did not focus exclusively on lust but turned to the sacrament of marriage to explore his argument, the two scholars presented almost identical theories.²⁶⁰

Agrippa and Beverland based their findings on the same method: they concentrated on the hidden meanings of words used in Genesis 1, 2, and 3. Agrippa argued that the tree of life represented divine knowledge, while the tree of knowledge of good and evil represented carnal desire or the knowledge of earthly things. The first tree was placed in the upper part of the Garden of Eden, the latter tree was positioned in the centre of paradise, signifying the same placement of these 'trees' on the human body: the mind and the genitals. "[Agrippa] claims that the tree of life should be seen as the female genitalia, by the use of which sexual intercourse is celebrated..."²⁶¹, Beverland explained in his DPO, adding that Agrippa described the snake as "*the male sexual organ* of carnal desire."²⁶² Beverland and Agrippa might have disagreed on the exact symbolic meanings of the words, but their philological approach and conclusions were strikingly similar, as was their use of supporting evidence. Both scholars emphasized the association of shame with the naked body (and especially the genitals), the physical distress of women during the loss of their virginity, labour, and menstruation, and the relation of the sexual sin to the circumcision of the male member.²⁶³

Positioning Beverland's ideas in the context of the history of ideas on sex and sin, it becomes clear that his theory did not present an original or greatly radical argument. He established his views by adopting or rejecting the writings and philosophies of other

²⁶⁰ For more on Agrippa and his argument on original sin, see above.

²⁶¹ 'Arborem vitae asserit locos muliebres, quorum usu congressus Venereus celebratur...', in: DPO 1679, chapter IX, pp. 42-3.

²⁶² 'imo ipsum carnalis consupiscentiae *genitale viri membrum*.' In: DPO 1679, chapter IX, p. 43.

²⁶³ Agrippa, *De Originali Peccato*; DPO 1679, chapters XIV, XV, and XVI.

thinkers, creating a colourful mix of pagan and Christian, ancient and modern, theological and philosophical, obscure and commonplace ideas. Not only Augustine, but especially the work of Agrippa shaped Beverland's argument. Despite his indebtedness to Agrippa's treatise however, the differences between both works are apparent and significant because the broader views of Beverland and Agrippa on religion and theology were radically different. Agrippa was a critical scholar, but his critique was viewed, at least by himself, as coming from a pious and well-meaning insider.²⁶⁴ Agrippa stressed that he was merely bringing a novel viewpoint to the table, on a matter about which Catholic faith was undecided, and that he was looking for honest debate, not denouncing opposing views or fully asserting his own opinion. Despite his troubles with the Church, Agrippa's criticism was more moderate than Beverland's and his perspectives were firmly aligned with Catholic doctrine. Composing his works 150 years later, after the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and after witnessing countless confrontations between factions within the Dutch Reformed Church, Beverland's criticism was more outspoken. The physicians Fludd and Van Helmont were also inspired by Agrippa's treatise but adopted his views to formulate their own, relatively orthodox, ideas on medicine and theology. Beverland on the other hand focused exclusively on the relation between sin and sexuality, used his argument to criticize the perspectives of the Christian Church, and condemned not only contemporary theology but also its representatives.

1.3 Beverland and the Dutch theologians

In a letter written in 1679 to his cousin Tobias Coorne, Beverland discussed his argument on original sin. "[Theologians] assert that the first sin was disobedience. But they must

²⁶⁴ Agrippa, *De Originali Peccato*, pp. 10-11.

certainly admit that this disobedience consisted of an actual transgression. Moreover the first desire was necessary, so that the ancestors would bring forth descendants.”²⁶⁵ He added that this most important sin had yet to be studied amply by Protestant theologians, who had much to discover in Catholic sources and should simply embrace “the faith as handed down up to the fifth century.”²⁶⁶ His brother Jan and ‘cousin’ Tobias were both preachers of the Church in Zeeland,²⁶⁷ but this did not stop Beverland from writing directly against the Reformed clergy. To understand Beverland’s argument and the way in which his works caused offence, we must turn from his theology, his ideas on original sin, to his views on Christian doctrine, the Dutch Reformed Church, and sexual morality. In his letters and works, he challenged contemporary ‘men of the Church’ and criticized their interpretation of the Fall, definition of the original sin, and approach to sexuality.

In his criticism of orthodox theology and uncritical theologians, Beverland rarely used specific terms. He referred to ‘church’, ‘priests’, or ‘theologians’ and spoke in a general manner of ‘religious’, ‘sacred’, or ‘Christian’ ideas and practices.²⁶⁸ It was his intention to criticize a broad phenomenon: he was of the opinion that all Christian Churches based their doctrines on faulty interpretations of the Bible. Yet he also seems to have adopted this general view because it was the safest way to present this criticism. To challenge radical thinkers like Baruch Spinoza or Lucilio Vanini was a safe endeavour,

²⁶⁵ ‘Dicitis primum peccatum fuisse inobedientiam. At inobedientiam illam in actuali constitisse transgressionem fateamini necesse est. Primum autem concupitum oportet ut in posteris inseverint maiores.’ In: ET 12, Coorne, 10/1679.

²⁶⁶ ‘Cum ego fidem ad saec[ulum] quantum simpliciter traditam toto corde amplector.’ In: ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679.

²⁶⁷ No actual family relation between Tobias Coorne and Beverland could be traced. Beverland might have thought of Tobias as a family member however, since he lived with the Coorne family when he was young. For more on Coorne and Beverland’s brother Jan (see the Prologue, pages 41-3).

²⁶⁸ Beverland used in particular the following Latin words: for priests, bishops and other clergymen: *sanctos, antistes, sacerdotes, apostatas, amanuenses Sancti Spiritus, Episcopos, presbyteris aliosque sacris initiatos*. For the church and its members: *Ecclesiae, Christianorum*. For religion: *religio(nis), Sacra industria*. For the theologians: *Theologi, Theologiae* or *Theologos*.

but Beverland was well aware that arguing against powerful Dutch theologians, let alone against a whole strand of orthodox Christian theology, was much more dangerous.²⁶⁹

His letters and works present, however, that Beverland directed his criticism first and foremost against the clergy and theologians affiliated with the Dutch Reformed Church. After the first version of his DPO had been met with much disapproval, Beverland confronted the, in his view, inferior members of this Church who had misjudged his work. He seemed to have aimed in particular at those close to him and those who, in his opinion, should know better: the theology professors of the University of Leiden.²⁷⁰

Ignorance and hypocrisy

In his argument on original sin Beverland challenged Dutch theologians. The text of the Bible itself, especially if studied together with other sources, offered the erudite scholar the only correct interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve, namely that sexual lust was the original sin:

In the Holy Scripture ‘flesh’ refers to that body part, which the people of a stronger conviction will not even allow themselves to consider in their minds, [but] young people as well as outsiders, whom the Church only greets from their doorstep, are only too well aware of this...²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ He often used unspecific terms in his published DPO and DSVI, but also in his writings prepared for print, for instance in the DPV and the majority of his letters prepared for publication (ET and EF).

²⁷⁰ Contrary to his letters prepared for publication (ET and EF), in his more private letters, sent to for instance Gronovius, Heinsius, and other friends, Beverland did at times single out certain individuals. He explained more than once in these letters that he only attacked the inferior theologians for their views and general stupidity. He for instance referred to Melchior Leydecker, a professor of theology in Leiden who had allegedly asked the senate of the University of Leiden to burn the DPO, and mentioned preacher Petrus Georgii Hollebeek, who had denounced Beverland from the pulpit (See: ET 12, Coorne, 10/1679). At other times he singled out learned members of the Dutch Reformed Church that he did respect, for instance professor of theology Herman Witsius (see ET 12, Coorne, 10/1679; ET 38, Goyer, 03/1680).

²⁷¹ ‘Denique *carnem* in Sacro Codice pro parte illa, quam ne ad cogitationem quidem admittere severioris notae homines solent, sumi haud ignorant praetextati nec prophani, qui modo à limine salutaverint aedes sacras...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter IV, p. 16.

Since he was of the opinion that salvation depended to large extent on a better understanding of original sin,²⁷² Beverland urged theologians to conduct their own investigation into the matter. When his brother Jan disclosed to him that theologians in Zeeland were appalled by his argument on the sinfulness of sexual intercourse in marriage, he responded by emphasizing that he in turn was dismayed to observe that:

[ministers] would prefer to forsake wealth than to fulfil the vow of abstinence. Because if priests had not been urged on by pursuing marriage or had not been enticed by the anticipation of acquiring the richest maidens they would never have instituted or promoted the Reformation. Truly I do not envy them for their wives, but I wish that theologians... would live with more self-control and would not fight with the common crowd.²⁷³

If theologians did not condemn his argument on the basis of ignorance, Beverland argued, hypocrisy inspired their refusal to acknowledge the truth of his theory on sex and sin. He attacked the hypocritical stance of the Christian clergy and Dutch theologians in many of his early writings, emphasizing that most theologians were well aware of the important place of sex in human nature and the Bible yet intentionally chose to ignore, conceal, or deny its significance.

The views of the Reformed Church on sexuality resembled the general outlook of Christian churches and early modern states in Europe at this time: all sex outside marriage was deemed dishonourable, sinful, and criminal.²⁷⁴ Beverland criticized this standpoint as he held that most clergymen, despite their loud denunciation of all things sexual, were actually closely acquainted with the sin of lust. "If [theologians] would examine the whole

²⁷² See: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 505-36.

²⁷³ 'potius deserere maluerint divitias quam continentiae vota persolvere. Nam nisi sacerdotes nuptiarum aucupio fuissent instigati et ditissimarum virginum potiundi spe inescati nunquam instituissent aut promovissent reformationem. Non equidem iis invideo coniuges, sed vellem viverent temperantiores nec... cum proletariis certarent Theologi.' In: ET 20, Jan Beverland, 11/1679.

²⁷⁴ For a more on the ideas on sexuality in the seventeenth century, see Chapter 4 (pages 221-31).

thing themselves and weigh their conscience, [as] they say that they do use it, they would see that not just on one occasion they have gathered the forbidden delights themselves in the bridal bed.”²⁷⁵ Like every other man and woman, in all times and places, the clergy was corrupted by lust: “Traces of the destruction of the flesh and of the first decay of morality also take hold of the [natures of the] elected, because they are also born from flesh and have members [made] of flesh and are tortured by the impetus [of the members].”²⁷⁶ Beverland presented numerous historical examples of men of the Church struggling with their sexual urges, for “who does not know the confessors and martyrs, who had conquered torments, yet have been conquered by this lust...”²⁷⁷. Even Saint Paul had advised that “girls would appear in the temple with covered heads, so that they would not entice the bishops, the presbyters, and other sacred initiates in their zeal of prayer and vows.”²⁷⁸

By denying or hiding the importance of sexual lust in the biblical text and human nature, Beverland argued, the Christian church promoted an unrealistic view of sexuality. It was wrong to promote chastity as an attainable goal or to restrict sexual acts to marriage, because “When the true progeny of God and his pure offspring were unable to preserve their chastity, how could we, wretched little men, conceived by the incentive of the flesh, and stung by a most complicated mark, escape so many great perils?”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ ‘Si se totos excuterent et conscientiam, ut loquuntur, examinarent, viderent se non semel pudico in lecto inconcessa legisse gaudia.’ In: ET 20, Jan Beverland, 11/1679

²⁷⁶ ‘Scintillae carnis corruptae primaeque labis pullulant etiamnum in electis sunt enim & σαρκικοί, habentque membra carnea adeoque eorum titillatione etiamque vexantur.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter IV, pp. 14-15.

²⁷⁷ ‘nam quis nescit confessores ac martyres, qui tormenta vicerant, hac libidine tamen victos fuisse...’ In: DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 868-9.

²⁷⁸ ‘tecto vertice prodeant puellae in templa, ne pellicerent à precationum votorumque zelo Episcopos, presbyteros, aliosque Sacris initiatos.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter IV, pp. 12-13.

²⁷⁹ ‘Cum vera Dei progenies, sobolesque sincera non potuerit se castam servare, qui miselli nos homunciones, stimulo carnis concepti, & nodoso aculeo pisti, possimus tot Scyllas atque Carybdes

Not so much the content of his work on original sin but in its style and tone Beverland confronted the theologians of the Reformed Church. In his redefinition of the original sin, he highlighted their many shortcomings and went out of his way to provoke them. In line with his flamboyant and unique style of writing and disregard for rhetorical conventions,²⁸⁰ Beverland did not present his theological argument in a customary design. He used his satirical style of writing to publicly mock theologians. By describing leading clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church as beggars, he emphasized their sexual lust, intellectual poverty, greed, ambition, and insincerity and asserted that he could not care less about their opinions.²⁸¹ *"A contest with one's equal is hazardous, with a superior mad, with an inferior degrading,* and indeed it must be suffered and endured. Whatever you say to these Lucians, you will waste your lamp and effort."²⁸²

Beverland also openly portrayed his disregard for the authority of the Reformed Church in religious matters and its standing in Dutch society by connecting his argument on the ignorance and hypocrisy of theologians to larger issues within the Church, which had experienced internal strife for decades. He observed in his DPO: "Nowhere does the wretched religious zeal play a more cunning game with us, than in such a variety of clever people."²⁸³ The establishment of the Reformed Church as the 'public church' of the Dutch Republic after the Union of Utrecht of 1579 had been a problematic affair: it was not

effugere.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 53. *Scyllas* and *Carybdes* refer to a dangerous rock on the Italian coast and a whirlpool on the coast of Sicily, with the passage between the two considered very dangerous.

²⁸⁰ This characteristic of his writings will be further discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁸¹ See for his opinions for instance: ET 9, Arnoldus, 1679; ET 11, Blancardus, 07/07/1679; ET 13, Coorne, 10/1679; ET 28, Deynse, 12/1679; EH 9, 20/11/1679.

²⁸² *'Cum pare contendere anceps est, cum superiore furiosum, cum inferiore sordidum, adeoque perferendum & obdurandum. Quicquid hisce Lucanicis dixeris, oleum & operam perdes.'* In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, p. 152 [162]. The quotation comes from: Seneca the Younger, *De Ira*, book 2, chapter 34, line 1; and with the last words Beverland referred to: Plautus, *Poenulus*, part 332. He continued to devalue their criticism in the pages that followed (DPO 1679, chapter XX, pp. 162-6)

²⁸³ *'Nulla in re improba Sacraque rerum industria dexterius lusit, quam in tanta ingeniorum varietate.'* In: DPO 1679, Letter De Goyer.

given the full support of the secular authorities and the majority of the Dutch population were not members.²⁸⁴ In addition, internal disputes never subsided, at times causing great upheaval in religious as well as political and academic circles. Hotly debated by the orthodox Calvinist party and the moderate liberal faction in the seventeenth century were, for instance, the relationship between the Church and the States, the influence of the Reformed Church upon wider society, and toleration towards other confessions and religions. There were also numerous doctrinal disputes, focusing most famously on predestination and the Sabbath. The rift between Gomarus and Arminius, between the 1590s and 1620, and the battle between Cocceius and Voetius, which emerged in the 1650s but would influence church, politics, and society until the mid-eighteenth century, brought internal doctrinal disagreements into the wider public sphere, with Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants as well as Voetians and Cocceians dividing not only the Dutch Reformed Church but also the States and Dutch society as a whole.²⁸⁵

Beverland criticized these clashes between liberal and orthodox high-ranking members of the Dutch Reformed Church. While they should be concentrating on critically studying the Bible and formulating proper religious doctrine, Dutch theologians were focused instead on increasing their personal power and wealth and were busy fighting amongst themselves.²⁸⁶ As a student of the universities of Leiden and Utrecht, where

²⁸⁴ See the Introduction, and: Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, pp. 13-33, 193-217; Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 2-4, 72-4; Duke, *Reformation and revolt*, pp. 269-93; Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, pp. 173-201; R.B. Evenhuis, *Ook Dat Was Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1965, 1978) 98-112; Groenhuis, *De predikanten*, pp. 13-37, 75-88; Spaans, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse kerkgeschiedenis', pp. 206-14.

²⁸⁵ For more on the doctrinal disputes and internal strife within the Dutch Reformed Church in this period, see: Van Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 9-18; Groenhuis, *De predikanten*, pp. 13-37, 75-88; Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, pp. 193-217, 228-9; Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 2-4, 73-4, Duke, *Reformation and revolt*, pp. 269-93.

²⁸⁶ What started as an internal disagreement over the Sabbath within the theology faculty of the University of Leiden developed into a long and heated debate between strict Calvinists, followers of G. Voetius (1689-1676) a professor of theology at the University of Utrecht, and liberal members of the Dutch Reformed Church, followers of J. Cocceius (1603-69) a professor of theology at the University of Leiden. The debates

these disputes had divided Reformed, academic, and political circles, Beverland had had a front-row seat to the different debates taking place. Many Dutch theologians might present themselves as holy, he argued, they kept their true nature hidden.²⁸⁷ As a group, theologians had lost his respect and their strife had incited him to speak his mind and publish his own ideas on religion. “They say that with my most wanton book I have caused offence to the theologians. But with their grievances, they have produced more serious scandals themselves however.”²⁸⁸

From criticism to exile

Writing to his friend De Goyer in the Preface of his DPO, Beverland stated: “You might protest that I am too audacious... As though, like a brute, I had wanted to study those things, which the Holy Ghost desired to remain in the hands of God.”²⁸⁹ Despite the warnings of his friends and colleagues,²⁹⁰ Beverland challenged Dutch theologians openly and he soon experienced their counter-attack, since “that wretched species of small-minded men which sells itself to the divine spirit for their inspiration, condemns the content [of my book]...”²⁹¹. After suffering harsh criticism on the first version of his DPO,

focused on the themes of Grace, salvation, and the covenant, but also on broader issues, for instance on the position of the Reformed Church in Dutch society and its relationship with secular authorities. For more on this subject see the works mentioned in footnotes 284 and 285. Beverland referred to their strife in the DPO (for instance in chapter XX, p. 165) and in different letters, for instance: ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679.

²⁸⁷ Beverland did sympathize with Cocceius. A professor in Leiden and liberal theologian, Cocceius was an expert in Near Eastern languages and philology, focused in his work on the Bible, and was tolerant towards novel intellectual strands, like Cartesianism. Beverland rejected both parties however, as he stated in for instance: ET 18, Munck, 11/1679.

²⁸⁸ ‘Dicunt me lascivissima fabella scandalum praeuisse theologis. Querelis scandala sibi ipsis faciunt graviora.’ In: ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679

²⁸⁹ ‘Quiritaris forsitan me nimis audacem... Quasi ea quae penes Deum manere voluit Spiritus Sanctus, petulanter perscrutatus essem.’ In: DPO 1679, Letter De Goyer.

²⁹⁰ For the warnings of friends, see for instance: DPO 1679, Letter De Goyer; ET 11, Blancardus, 07/07/1679; ET 14, Heinsius, 15/10/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 23, Deynse, 11/1679; EH 5, 18/07/1679.

²⁹¹ ‘Istud homuncionum genus quod se divino spiritu afflatum vendidat, damnat materiam...’, in: ET 4, Graevius, 1679.

Beverland claimed that, with the second edition, he attempted to win them over and make them understand the validity of his argument.²⁹² Even if his intention to convince Dutch theologians was sincere, he only managed to persuade some, because “I have noticed that many of them are so feeble-minded that they have not understood my clarification at all...”²⁹³. He concluded that many preachers publicly spoke against his work and called him an atheist because they were incapable of refuting his views with any real arguments.²⁹⁴ Even though not many things escaped the notice of those 'frugal worshippers of God', he stated in his DPO, they "tear me to pieces with their insults. Because with obscene words I have execrated their lascivious wickedness (oh fools! Certain words are unavoidable, and Roman simplicity is accustomed and destined to call a boat a boat and a mattock a mattock).”²⁹⁵ In the ‘Pia Meditatio’ of his DPO he asked God to free him from the priestly hate of these ‘theologasters’ and expressed the hope that his eloquence and honesty would one day expose their hypocrisy.²⁹⁶

How did the theologians respond to Beverland’s argument and accusations? To get an idea of the reception of his works by theologians and clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church, we will briefly look at two representative documents. In the spring of 1679, Beverland received a letter from theologian David Knibbe (1639-1701), a well-respected preacher known for his sermons and theological treatises. Knibbe was born in Middelburg and educated at the same school as Beverland and his brothers. It is therefore

²⁹² See his comments on this in his correspondence of 1679, especially in: EH 3a, 08/07/1679 and EH 7, 15/19/1679.

²⁹³ Sed, quod miror, multos adeo stupidos inveni ut neypú equidem vel sensus vel verborum intellexerint...’, in: EH 7, 15/19/1679.

²⁹⁴ See: ET 9, Arnoldi, 1679.

²⁹⁵ ‘meque conviciis dilacerant, quod praetextatis (O stipites! Sunt verba *necessitatis* scapham scapham, ligonem ligonem Romana simplicitas vocare solet & debet) salaces eorum nequitias execratus fuerim dictis.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, pp. 151-2 [161-2].

²⁹⁶ See: DPO 1679, Pia Meditatio, N6r.

not unlikely that Beverland and Knibbe were acquainted long before they both resided in Leiden in the late-1670s.²⁹⁷ This would explain the fatherly tone of Knibbe's letter, which seems to have been a final attempt by the preacher to stop Beverland from continuing his studies on sex and sin. Knibbe was an orthodox theologian who rejected the learned study of the Bible if this had no serious or directly practical application²⁹⁸ and therefore he wrote to Beverland: "All preachers and [even] those who have but a very small bit of piety in their heart must condemn your treatise as deeply harmful and scandalous."²⁹⁹ The letter does not go into much detail but states that Knibbe's colleagues had taken great offence to the work and suggests that even in Beverland's own University of Leiden theologians were plotting against him and his book. Knibbe therefore advised Beverland to direct his talents towards more pious themes: "God has entrusted you with a good talent, use it as a rightful Christian to benefit God's Church and the prosperity of the Republic..."³⁰⁰. He suggested that Beverland should henceforth focus on public and private law, to show his 'true repentance'. Should he do so, Knibbe assured him, matters would soon calm down and no one would act against him.³⁰¹

After Beverland's conviction, a different theologian reacted to his works on sex and sin. Leonardus Rijssenius, or Leonard van Rijssen (1636-1716), was a Dutch Reformed pastor, who had studied at the University of Utrecht under the orthodox theologian

²⁹⁷ Beverland's brother Jan studied at the Latin School of Middelburg from 1651 onwards, while Knibbe registered there in 1653. For more on David Knibbe, see: J. van Eijnatten, and F. van Lieburg, *Nederlandse Religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2005, 2006), p. 218; J.P. Bie, J. Loosjes, (red.), *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland* (6 volumes, The Hague, 1919-49) volume 5, pp. 55-8.

²⁹⁸ David Knibbe published a great number of works on different theological subjects, for instance *Korte Begrip* (published 24 times between 1682 and 1772). For more on Knibbe see footnote 297.

²⁹⁹ 'Alle de predicanten en die maer een graentje godsalicheyt in't hert overhebben moeten u tractaet seer schadelyck en schandelyck keuren.' In: EH 3b, Knibbe to Beverland, 07/1679.

³⁰⁰ 'God heeft u een goed talent toevertrouwt, leght het als een rechtschapen Christen aen tot nut van Godts kerck en welstant vande Republyck...', in: EH 3b, Knibbe to Beverland, 07/1679.

³⁰¹ See: EH 3b, Knibbe to Beverland, 07/1679; EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

Voetius. He was an aggressive advocate of the Voetian cause and waged polemics against anyone he considered an opponent of the orthodox and strict interpretation of Reformed doctrine. Beverland was just one of the many foes who featured in Van Rijssen's polemics, which he wrote against Remonstrants, Catholics, Socinians, Cartesians, and Cocceians. His refutation of the DPO, which was published in 1680, shows that he was well acquainted with Beverland's subject: Van Rijssen had focused in other treatises on the orthodox Calvinist doctrines of predestination, providence, and the creation of humankind.³⁰² In his *Iusta Detestatio Sceleratissimi Libelli Adriani Beverlandi, Icti. De Peccato Originali* (Justified Renunciation of the most sinful book of Adrianus Beverlandus, On Original Sin), Van Rijssen focused in great detail on Beverland's language and style, correcting his Latin, ridiculing certain descriptions, and questioning his use of references. In his discussion of Beverland's account of the wanton Eve, for example, Van Rijssen noted that the word *emissariorum* was not conjugated correctly, he disapproved of the use of the word *oscula* to describe Eve's wild kisses, and he critically observed that the description of Eve's attack on Adam's body made it seem like she was some sort of dog.³⁰³

After commenting on Beverland's flawed style, Van Rijssen turned to the argument of the DPO, observing that it was complex and confused: "All the things the scoundrel pursues not only without any attention to grace, but also without any order or line of reasoning. He chatters on about many books from his boiled-up mind and blown-

³⁰² Van Rijssen wrote a great number of works on different theological subjects, which were usually directed against a work or person and structured in the same style as the polemic against Beverland (listing as many errors as he could). His polemical attitude did not make him popular: even his own party, the Voetians, got fed up with his numerous attacks in the mid-1680s. For more on Van Rijssen see: J.W. White, and J.M. Beack, "'On Justification' by Leonardus Rijssenius", *Melanesian Journal of Theology*, 16 (2005), pp. 115-31.; Van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek*, volume 3, pp. 626-627; Nauta, *Biografisch Lexicon*, volume 1, pp. 443-4; Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, p. 1190.

³⁰³ L. van Rijssen, *Iusta Detestatio Sceleratissimi Libelli Adriani Beverlandi, Icti. De Peccato Originali* (Gorinchem 1680) 12-13, commenting on: DPO 1679, chapter IV, pp. 12-13.

up cheeks and he is inflated with his reading of the poets.”³⁰⁴ Point by point, Van Rijssen used biblical citations to show that Beverland had made many mistakes in his interpretation of Scripture. Discussing no less than 600 errors, Van Rijssen defended the orthodox position of the Reformed Church and concluded that Beverland’s definition of the original sin was completely illicit. “I think that I demonstrated sufficiently, how you must rightfully judge this most famous man to be an atheist, the most important and lascivious enemy of all religion, honour and modesty, the scandal of Christianity, the plague of the State. It is better to bury him in eternal ignorance and in an obscure prison, than to permit him to corrupt young people with his wanton publications.”³⁰⁵ Despite Beverland’s banishment, Van Rijssen felt that a refutation was called for, not only because the DPO was still popular amongst young men but also because the rebellious Beverland refused to be ashamed of his horrible crime.³⁰⁶

Dutch clergymen and theologians were greatly insulted by Beverland’s insolence, since he had public condemned their doctrine, erudition, and authority. He had even dared to question their chastity. They considered this bold, young scholar a grave danger: he published obscene and blasphemous treatises and polluted the youth with his ideas on sex. Not only was it questionable for a layman to write on matters of doctrine, but they were also appalled by the audacious style and challenging tone of this harmful and

³⁰⁴ ‘Quae omnia nebulo, non modo sine ulla decori observatione, sed & sine ullo ordine, & rationum agmine persequitur. Tantum ebullienti animo, atque inflatis buccis, literas crepat, & Poetarum lectione turgit.’ In: Van Rijssen, *Iusta Detestatio*, pp. 16-17.

³⁰⁵ ‘Satis tamen me demonstrasse existimo, quanto jure Vir. Cl. hominem atheum censueris, omnis religionis, omnis honestatis, omnisque modestiae, & gravitatis libidinosum hostem, Christianismi scandalum, Reip. pestem.’ In: Van Rijssen, *Iusta Detestatio*, p. 56.

³⁰⁶ Van Rijssen, *Iusta Detestatio*, Preface.

ungodly 'obscene and defamatory treatise'.³⁰⁷ Beverland was not intimidated by their criticism. When he published the second edition of his DPO in 1679, he added a short sentence to the last chapter of the work: "About the Pharisaic frown of those dressed-up beggars I care less than an elephant is bothered by the murmur of flies."³⁰⁸ When his cousin Bernard van Deynse informed him that the Dutch Reformed Church in his home-town Middelburg had excommunicated him, he wrote back that he did not care to hear what those stupid and plebeian preachers, 'milkers of goats', thought or decided about him. He considered it an honour that 'those dealers in nonsense' branded him an atheist.³⁰⁹ Beverland only responded to the work of Van Rijssen in private, as he wrote to a friend that he could easily refute the work of this worthless theologian and told him: "If you see Van Rijssen, you tell him that I would rather fight with his sisters than with him. Because they love the well-known sword."³¹⁰

He may have brushed their critiques aside, but only a couple of months later Beverland was exiled. The letter of Knibbe and the work of Van Rijssen underlined that Dutch theologians and clergymen took great offence at Beverland's views on original sin and his dedication to publishing his obscene ideas on the subject of sex. It is likely that not just the DPO but also his critique of theologians in general, and of the orthodox Voetian party in particular, played an important part in his arrest and conviction. In

³⁰⁷ As noted during meetings of the South-Holland Synod and in the court case. See: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115r-v, 116r-v, 116a-d; Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, pp. 283, 312-22. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 31-49. See also the Prologue (pages 49-58).

³⁰⁸ 'Pharisaicum palliatorum mendicabulorum supercilium non pluris facio, quam muscarum murmur elephas.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, p. 156.

³⁰⁹ In: ET 28, Deynse, 12/1679.

³¹⁰ 'Si Ryssenium videris, dicas me non cum ipso, sed eius digladiatorum sororibus. Amant enim illae ferrum.' In: ET 38, Godin, 03/1680. This sexual insult, as Beverland insinuates that he did not mind having sexual relations with Van Rijssen's sisters, who he states love the act, is representative of his style of writing (for more on this see Chapter 3). See also the comments he makes about Van Rijssen and his work in for instance ET 37, Gelder, 03/1680; ET 39, Goyer, 03/1680.

addition, his published works and correspondence show that Beverland was not afraid of the clergy and theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church and the audacious tone of his writings suggest that he intentionally challenged this powerful group in Dutch society. The University of Leiden had become increasingly Voetian in the 1670s: F. Spanheim, a hard-line Calvinist and supporter of Voetius, was Rector in 1673-74 and appointed again in 1680, and certain moderate Cocceian doctrines had been banned in 1676.³¹¹ Beverland himself concluded that: "I do not make fun of all theologians, nor do I mock all Cocceians or Voetians, but among them I only cannot endure the evil beasts. But now the good ones are forced to be bad too, and all of them spew out their lungs against me."³¹² During his time in student prison, he became convinced that the majority of the Dutch theologians was not only ignorant, arrogant, and shallow but had also been actively plotting against him for some time. He referred to them as pigs, villains, and devils.³¹³ Although he wanted to react to Van Rijssen's refutation and to further expose the hypocrisy of the clergy, in the spring of 1680 he decided that it would be best to keep silent for the time being.³¹⁴

Beverland's refutation of Dutch theologians and their battles concurred with the publication of other radical works. Writers like Koerbagh, Meijer, and Spinoza argued against theological conflict and criticized the Church for not instructing the people but

³¹¹ For more on this, see: Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 34-64; W.T.M. Frijhoff, 'Hoger onderwijs als inzet van stedelijke naijver in de vroegmoderne tijd', P.B.M. Blaas, J. van Herwaarden, *Stedelijke naijver: de betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in die geschiedenis: enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (The Hague, 1986), pp. 82-127; A.C. Duker, *School-gezag en eigen-onderzoek. Historisch-kritische studie van den strijd tusschen Voetius en Descartes* (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, Leiden, 1861).

³¹² 'Nec theologos omnes irrideo, neque omnes Cocceianos aut Voetianos, sed inter illos tantum ferre nequeo bestias malas. Atqui et boni quoque coguntur esse mali, pulmonemque exasperant in me.' In: ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679.

³¹³ See: ET 27, Vossius, 12/1679; ET 15, Heinsius, 02/11/1679; EG 5, 27/07/1685.

³¹⁴ He discussed this with friends in for instance ET 37, Gelder, 03/1680; ET 38, Godin, 03/1680; EH 10, 11/02/1680.

merely encouraging pointless discussions. In contemporary heresies and philosophies, from Socinianism to Spinozism, the Dutch Reformed Church was attacked for its ignorance of the Bible, blatant hypocrisy, and political ambition.³¹⁵ Many unorthodox writers condemned the ignorance of theologians, concerning Church doctrine and the interpretation of Scripture, and accused them of deceiving the public. Beverland's animosity toward the Dutch theologians was likewise fed by the many disputes between theological factions within the Dutch Reformed Church in the seventeenth century and formed an important incentive for his broader criticism of the Christian religion, Church, and clergy with regards to their ideas on sexuality. With his attack on the ignorance and hypocrisy of the Dutch Reformed Church he also positioned himself in an age-old tradition of anti-clericalism. Disapproval of the vices of the Catholic clergy was a traditional feature of religious critiques, before, during and after the Reformation and especially the sexual misbehaviour of the clergy was often commented upon. The image of the hypocritical and perverted priest, with the Church of Rome as the Whore of Babylon, can be discovered not only in Reformation polemics but also in many pornographic writings published in the sixteenth century. To traditional insults, Beverland added a further accusation: also married men of the Church were stained by sexual lust. It did not matter if they slept with prostitutes or their own wives, he argued; no Catholic or Protestant clergyman could avoid the most wretched sin of all when engaging in sexual intercourse.

³¹⁵ For more on these and other (radical) thinkers and their difficult relationships with Dutch theologians, see: Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 95-114; Wielema, *The march*, pp. 11-17, 78-87; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 918-31; E.G.E. van der Wall, 'The religion context of the early Enlightenment: moral religion and society', Van Bunge, *The early enlightenment*, pp. 39-57; E.G.E. van der Wall, and L.H.M. Wessels (red.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding: religie en verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (Nijmegen, 2008), especially pp. 8-108; Van Ruler, *The crisis of causality*; A.X. Douglas, *Spinoza & Dutch cartesianism. Philosophy and theology* (Oxford, 2015). See also Chapter 4 (pages 263-4).

Conclusion

It is not surprising that Beverland himself, as well as modern scholars, have blamed theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church for his banishment: he attacked them and they instigated his arrest, trial, and exile. Yet we cannot simply blame Beverland's theology as such for his problems with Dutch theologians. His ideas on original sin must have raised eyebrows in 1679, but his argument can be positioned in a long tradition of thought on the relation between sex and sin, from authorities like Paul and Augustine to less-mainstream thinkers like Agrippa, Fludd, and Van Helmont. His reinterpretation of the original sin was not conventional, yet his theory on sin and sex cannot have greatly offended his contemporaries. What insulted Dutch theologians was the defiant tone of his work, not Beverland's theological views as such.

During the previously-discussed synod in Gouda in 1679, the assembly also talked about Petrus van Balen (1643-90). Like Becius and Kuyper, Van Balen was once a minister of the Reformed Church, yet he had suddenly disappeared in 1678. On his return a year later he claimed that melancholy had been the reason of his absence, yet in the years that followed the synod accused him of cultivating not only Catholic sympathies but also Spinozist ideas. Van Balen had indeed joined a circle of heterodox thinkers and published a work on Spinozism in Dutch in 1684.³¹⁶ The works of Becius, Kuyper, and Van Balen were just as, if not more, radical in their content as Beverland's work, yet these three ex-ministers were never arrested, tried, or exiled. The aftermath of their radical writings, as well as the untroubled publication of many other heterodox works in the Dutch Republic

³¹⁶ For more on Van Balen, see: W.N.A. Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza, 1650-1700: presentatie van een emanciperende generatie* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 187-204; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 313-14, 379; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, pp. 33, 43. He is mentioned constantly during synod meetings in this period (see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5).

that challenged Christian doctrine in this period and were likewise discussed during the synods of the Dutch Reformed Church,³¹⁷ underlines that Beverland's theological viewpoints could hardly be the sole cause of his troubles.

Beverland offended theologians by attacking their erudition, accusing them of hypocrisy, and ridiculing their ideas and authority. Was this the whole story? Or did other religious elements of his writings also play a role? Beverland's theological views on original sin and the challenge he extended to 'ignorant' Dutch theologians were based on his criticism of the Bible. What did his exegesis entail exactly? Could it be that it was not Beverland's theology but that, in addition to the audacious tone of his works, his biblical criticism caused his condemnation?

³¹⁷ In the *acta* of the meetings of the Synods of South-Holland we for instance also find Pontiaan van Hattem (1641-1706), a minister who was deposed due to his ideas on Spinoza and who started his own religious sect (see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 6, pp. 264, 304-5, 391-2, 429-30) and Antonie van Dale(n) (1638-1708), a doctor, Mennonite, and (classical) scholar who was accused of atheism because he spoke against popular superstition in his works (see: Knuttel, *Acta*, volume 5, pp. 398-9, 435, 480, 522, 558). Both men were discussed multiple times and their works were strongly condemned, yet both were never arrested and could continue to promote and publish their radical ideas.

Chapter 2. Scripture

In his DPO Beverland not only concentrated on theology; he also criticized the Bible. In his philological exegesis he reinterpreted biblical passages and examined the history of the Holy Scripture. To his conclusion that theologians had misinterpreted the original sin and its relation to desire, due to their ignorance and hypocrisy, he added that their lack of knowledge of the biblical texts had corrupted their judgment. Could it be that not his theology but his criticism of the Bible provoked Beverland's initial troubles with Dutch theologians? What role did his argument on the Bible play in his trial and his conviction?

2.1 The Bible in the seventeenth century

Biblical criticism

Beverland was one of many intellectuals who analysed the text of the Bible in the seventeenth century. The modern term 'biblical criticism' designates a large and intricate spectrum of scholars and scholarship in this period. The books of the Bible had been scrutinized since the establishment of Christianity in the first centuries, but the study of Scripture took a new turn in the late-fifteenth century, since biblical scholarship was invigorated by the onset of humanism. Alongside their study of classical texts, humanist scholars started studying the biblical manuscripts in their original language, with the aim of establishing a critical edition and better interpretation of the Scripture. The development of textual criticism gained even greater momentum during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, which inspired both theologians and scholars to read the Sacred Text from novel perspectives. With 'sola scriptura' as a guiding principle in Protestant theology and the Catholic emphasis on the necessity of the patristic tradition, theologians from both sides underlined the textual basis of their interpretations of the

Word of God. At the same time humanist scholars composed detailed critiques of the Bible, analysing the text by focusing on its philology, chronology, and the historical context of its composition and conservation. Consequently, by 1600, the Holy Scripture was examined in a variety of ways: the most important text in Christendom was printed in different editions and translations, discussed in numerous commentaries, and closely examined, with studies characterized by confessional points of departure, diverse sources and methods, and an array of theological and scholarly contexts.³¹⁸

By the seventeenth century humanist scholarship had firmly established the linguistic and historical study of the Bible and its critical approach developed into different directions. Even though more and more problems with the text were exposed, the majority of scholars upheld the sacred status of Scripture, despite the issue of its flaws and inconsistencies. Discrepancies were 'harmonized' or 'accommodated', as critics concluded that the faults in the Bible did not affect the significance or authority of the Sacred Text itself. One group of scholars however, which was small but growing by 1650, started challenging the Bible as a fundamental and self-evident source of knowledge and underlined the importance of reason in the place of revealed religion. If the original text

³¹⁸ There are many modern studies on this subject. For good introductions and bibliographies, see: E. Rummel, 'Introduction', E. Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, *Brill's companions to the Christian tradition*, 9 (Leiden, 2008), pp. 1-14; H. Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung* (4 volumes, Munich, 1990-2001), *Volume 3: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* pp. 5-64; M. Sæbø, 'Introduction', M. Sæbø, M. Fishbone, and J.L. Ska (eds.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: the history of its interpretation. Volume. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 1-37; A. Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', J. Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, *Cambridge companions to literature* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 100-117; R.A. Muller, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', D.K. McKim (ed.), *Dictionary of major biblical interpreters* (Nottingham, 2007), pp. 22-44. See also: P.T. van Rooden, *Theology, biblical scholarship, and rabbinical studies in the seventeenth century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648), Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 1-12; A. Grafton, *Defenders of the text. The traditions of scholarship in an age of science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge MA, 1991), pp. 204-13; J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983); R. Stauffer, *Interprètes de la Bible: Études sur les réformateurs du XVI^e siècle, Théologie historique*, 57 (Paris, 1980).

was inconsistent, ambiguous, and corrupt, how could any critical scholar uphold its authority and sacred status? Influenced by the development of empiricist, rationalist, and other philosophies of science, truth, and its acquisition, biblical scholarship was shaken to the core by the conclusions of these radical critics in the mid-seventeenth century.³¹⁹

In the Dutch Republic, debates about the Bible greatly influenced not only theological and academic circles but Dutch society, culture, and politics in a broader sense. The impact of biblical criticism was partly due to the high standing of humanist scholarship. From the age of Erasmus onwards, a solid and significant tradition of textual criticism had developed thanks to the scholarship of for instance Josephus Justus Scaliger, Hugo Grotius, and Daniël Heinsius and the prosperous growth of Latin schools and universities, like the University of Leiden. Dutch humanists were at the forefront of the European development of textual criticism. Their biblical scholarship was related to the Calvinist cause, in which the Bible formed the basis of religion, the only source of doctrine and faith, which heightened the prominence of exegesis.³²⁰ In addition, the Old Testament was of particular importance for the young Republic. Fashioning itself as a

³¹⁹ In addition to the works in footnote 318, see: Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Volume 4: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 23-110; H.J.M. Nellen, 'Growing Tension between Church Doctrines and Critical Exegesis of the Old Testament', M. Sæbø, M. Fishbone, and J.L. Ska (eds.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: the history of its interpretation. Volume. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 802-826; H.G.M. Jorink, 'Horrible and Blasphemous': Isaac la Peyrère, Isaac Vossius and the Emergence of Radical Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Republic', J. van der Meer, and S. Mandelbrote (eds.), *Nature and Scripture in the Abrahamic Religions: Up to 1700, Brill's series in church history*, 36 (Leiden 2009), pp. 429-50; Jorink, *Reading*, pp. 30-31; Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', pp. 313-325; C. Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993, 1994); Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 447-56; G. Reedy, *The Bible and reason: Anglicans and scripture in late seventeenth-century England* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 1-6, 9-24.

³²⁰ See: J. IJsewijn, 'Humanism in the Low Countries', A. Rabil (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms and Legacy. Part II: Humanism beyond Italy* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 156-211; C. Heesakkers, 'From Erasmus to Leiden: Hadrianus Junius and his significance for the development of humanism in Holland in the 16th century', D. Van Miert, *The kaleidoscopic scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 38-68; A. Grafton, 'Isaac Vossius, Chronologer', E. Jorink, and D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 43-85; Rooden, *Theology*, pp. 1-12; Jorink, *Reading*, 90-105; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1983, 1993). For more on Dutch humanism, see Chapter 3 (pages 147-8).

second Israel, with the Dutch as the chosen people, themes from the Old Testament were of great importance for the perception of Dutch history and culture, also outside Calvinist circles.³²¹ While Dutch theologians used, supported, and engaged in biblical scholarship, recognizing the importance of establishing an authoritative text, they were also well aware of the dangers that criticism could present, as textual studies advanced and the faults found in the Sacred Text started piling up.

Also novel philosophical developments had a far-reaching and enduring impact in the Dutch Republic. Cartesianism was fiercely attacked, but Descartes' ideas were slowly ascending, earlier than elsewhere in Europe and with great intensity in academic life, high culture, and politics. The great changes in the landscape of philosophical, theological, and scientific research in the course of the seventeenth century were influenced by, and in turn determined, criticism of the Bible: scholars started turning away from the Bible as a source of scientific truths after 1650 and criticized its authority and authenticity.

At the same time, the status of Scripture was defended by theologians and the traditional authorities in Dutch society: the States and the Reformed Church. By its opponents, Cartesianism was seen as a form of concealed atheism, undermining traditional thought and subverting all established religion, philosophy, and science. Thus followers of Voetius (an orthodox Calvinist theologian) attacked doctrines which, in their

³²¹ For more on 'Dutch Israel', see: T. Dunkelgrun, '“Neerlands Israel”: Political Theology, Christian Hebraism, Biblical Antiquarianism, and Historical Myth', L. Cruz, and W. Frijhoff (eds.), *Myth in History, History in Myth* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 201-36; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 128-31; Groenhuis, *De predikanten*, pp. 77-107; G. Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness: The Dutch Republic as the New Israel', A.C. Duke, and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands VII. Church and State since the Reformation* (The Hague, 1981), pp. 118-33;

view, undermined the fundamentals of Christianity and used the orthodox interpretation and status of Scripture to challenge 'heretical' confessions and Cartesian philosophies.³²²

Tensions built up in the second half of the seventeenth century. Orthodox and moderate scholars did not travel beyond the boundaries set by the Reformed Church and influential theologians, but a small group of radical scholars did. Inspired by the works of for instance Thomas Hobbes and Isaac La Peyrère, Dutch thinkers like Baruch Spinoza, Adriaen Koerbagh, and Lodewijk Meijer argued that the Bible was a human and secular text, full of contradictions, frequently obscure, and falsely explained by the majority of theologians. The preserved Bible consisted only of fragments of texts, put together at different times and collected by different persons, and thus the only way to correctly interpret and benefit from the Scripture was via the use of reason, they argued. Many scholars belonging to this radical strand of biblical criticism did not perform their own detailed historical or textual studies of the biblical manuscripts but based their arguments on the biblical criticism of other critics, adopting the conclusions of two centuries of critical biblical scholarship. Not the sacred but the flawed status of Scripture became the basis of their works.³²³

³²² See: Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 26-137; Douglas, *Spinoza and Dutch cartesianism*, pp. 10-35; G. Coppens (ed.), *Spinoza en het Nederlands Cartesianisme* (Leuven, 2004); Spaans, *Graphic satire*, pp. 176-204; Van Ruler, 'The Shipwreck of Belief'; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 583-87, 889-933; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 23-9; Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', 313-25; T. Verbeek, 'From 'Learned Ignorance' to Scepticism: Descartes and Calvinist Orthodoxy', R.H. Popkin, and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and irreligion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 37 (Leiden, 1993), pp. 31-45; Jorink, 'Horrible and Blasphemous'; Jorink, *Reading*, pp. 64-110, 135-77; Van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality*; A.J. Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676): sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre* (PhD Thesis, University of Utrecht, Göttingen, 2007).

³²³ See: Nellen, 'Growing Tension'; J. Touber 'Philology and theology. Commenting the Old Testament in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1700', K. Enenkel, and H. Nellen (eds.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400 -1700), Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 33 (Leuven, 2013), pp. 473-510; N. Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea', N. Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 382-432; Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship'; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 157-328; Wielema, *The march*, pp. 12-17; Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', pp. 313-25; Rooden, *Theology*, pp., 1-12; Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, pp. 42-59, 80-93; Grafton, 'Isaac Vossius, Chronologer', pp. 43-85; Grafton,

Beverland and the Bible

By the time Beverland published his DPO, biblical criticism was a prominent yet dangerous arena of scholarship in the Dutch Republic. He presented a humanist study of the text of the Bible, in which he examined the text and context of the Sacred Text, commenting on the language, composition, and conservation of Scripture.³²⁴ He discussed the Bible in the context of his theory on sin and sex and focused first and foremost on the story of Adam and Eve. While he owned different versions of and commentaries on the Bible,³²⁵ in his exegesis he focused predominantly on the Old Testament and in particular on the Book of Genesis.³²⁶

The most basic element of his critique was that the Bible did not deserve any special treatment. Like all other ancient manuscripts, the biblical texts had to be studied critically, with reference to the historical context of their creation and special attention to their preservation to the present day. Beverland's criticism of Scripture formed the backdrop to his theological views on human nature. He argued that the orthodox interpretation of the Bible was fundamentally flawed, since it was based on the assumption that the biblical text was infallible. Studying the creation of humankind, original sin, and the dominance of lust after the Fall of Adam and Eve, Beverland closely

Defenders of the text, pp. 204-213; Jorink, 'Horrible and Blasphemous'; Jorink, *Reading*, pp. 90-105, 304-305; T.L. Frampton, *Spinoza and the rise of historical criticism of the Bible* (PhD Thesis Erasmus University Rotterdam and Baylor University, New York, 2006).

³²⁴ While Beverland criticized the biblical text, focusing on words and phrases, in his early works, he only concentrated on its historical context in Chapters XVIII and XIX of his DPO of 1679. See part 2.3 below.

³²⁵ There are many different versions recorded in the catalogue of his library, composed in the early 1690s. See: 'Bibliotheca' in the Bibliography; R. de Smet, 'Bibliotheca Hadriani Beverlandi: la bibliothèque d'Hadrien Beverland', R. De Smet, H. Melaerts, and C. Saerens (eds.), *Studia varia Bruxellensia: ad orbem Graeco-Latinum pertinentia* (5 volumes, Leuven, 1987-2011), volume 4, pp. 79-100.

³²⁶ His criticism can be found throughout the DPO, but was discussed in particular in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XIV. In the DPV the subject is briefly discussed in Chapter 2. Of the 172 references to the Bible in the main text of the DPO and the DPV, 53 are made to the Book of Genesis, and of the 550 references in the margins of these works, 87 referred to Genesis.

considered the inconsistencies of the preserved text of the Scripture and therefore, he argued, his understanding of these subjects superseded traditional interpretations.

Beverland's biblical criticism was founded in part on the studies and conclusions of other scholars. Disregarding confessional, temporal, and scholarly differences, he used the ideas of others to establish his argument, comparing and examining the words and arguments of Church fathers and heretics, Catholics and Protestants, theologians, lawyers, and classicists, widely known scholars and more obscure thinkers. In his discussion of the Bible we recognize the views of many critics of the Bible, like Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), Stephanus Curcellaeus (Étienne de Courcelles, 1586-1659), Petrus Cunaeus (Peter van der Kun, 1586-1638), Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), Claude Saumaise (1588-1653), Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), father and son Vossius (Gerardus Joannes Vossius, 1577-1649, Isaac Vossius, 1618-89), and above all Louis Cappel (1585-1658).³²⁷

In his *Critica Sacra* of 1650, Cappel discussed the varieties of errors in the Hebrew edition of the Bible, arguing that this manuscript had been constructed at a later date than traditionally asserted. He emphasized that he did not mean to challenge the authority of the Bible but that it was important, however, to present the truth about the Sacred Text rather than to stay silent to avoid trouble.³²⁸ A man after Beverland's own heart. But what were Beverland's views on the Bible exactly, how did he use the studies

³²⁷ He referred to these scholars throughout his DPO (in particular in Chapter XIX and XX) and the works of most can be found in his library (see 'Bibliotheca'). For his comments on Cappel, see for instance: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, pp. 123-4.

³²⁸ L. Cappel, *Critica sacra* (Paris, 1650). For more on Cappel, see: Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, Volume 4, pp. 73-7; Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible', pp. 419-30; Rooden, *Theology*, pp. 215-29; F. Laplanche, *L'écriture, le sacré et l'histoire: érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle*, *Studies van het Instituut voor Intellectuele Betrekkingen tussen de Westeuropese Landen in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, 12 (Amsterdam, 1986).

of other scholars to establish his own argument on the Scripture, and to what strand of biblical criticism did he belong?

2.2 Philological criticism

“But who is such a stranger to sacred letters, that he does not know that obscene and improper words are expressed by way of euphemism.”³²⁹ In his early works Beverland emphasized the importance of critical and philological examination of the Sacred Text. Every word in Holy Scripture had different meanings, he argued, and by closely studying the Bible their hidden connotation, the divine truth of a passage underneath a euphemism, allegory, or metaphor, could be discovered.³³⁰ This is precisely why he chose to focus on original sin: “The author of Holy Scripture did not deem it worthy to mention this sin, though the writer of the Pentateuch had explained the tree mystically.”³³¹

The philological study of the Bible, clarifying the meaning of the text by focusing on the language, was central to the majority of humanist studies of the Sacred Text in the early modern period. Theologians and scholars agreed that many biblical passages were complicated and that only close and critical study of the text could reveal their true meaning. From Jerome to Agrippa von Nettesheim, many biblical critics concentrated on understanding the deeper, hidden meanings of biblical stories by focusing on the words of the text. Humanist scholars put even more trust in the promise of philological, linguistic, and historical study of the biblical manuscripts, which would eventually lead to the truth about the deeper meaning of certain parts of the texts, about the conservation

³²⁹ ‘Sed quis adeo sacris in literis peregrinus, qui ignoraret praetextata ac nupta verba per ευφημισμὸν exprimi.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 505-506.

³³⁰ He makes this argument throughout his DPO and DPV, see for instance: DPO 1679, chapter IV, pp. 13-16; chapter VII-VIII, pp. 37-42; chapter X, pp. 48-50; chapter XIX and XX.

³³¹ ‘Hujus autem peccati ubique non meminisse dignatur Sacri Codicis auctor, licet arborem mystice explicuerit Pentateuchi scriptor.’ In: DPO 1678, Letter De Goyer.

of the different manuscripts, and about the origins of particular stories, later translations, and newly discovered mistakes.³³²

Beverland's conclusion that Adam and Eve had sexual intercourse with each other, and that this was the original sin, was based on his interpretation of euphemisms used in Genesis 1, 2 and 3. After describing the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, he focused on the trees mentioned in this biblical text. One of these, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, was not a normal tree, but was a symbol for the human genitalia.³³³ "The tree that was forbidden to the first mortals by the Highest Legislator, was not a particular tree or branch bearing fruits..."³³⁴, but "this tree [is] a symbol for the genitalia and the fruit for embracing the coitus..."³³⁵. Sexual euphemisms used in other biblical texts underlined his conclusion; for instance the word 'flesh' often referred to the human private parts³³⁶ and the 'insightful' biblical scholar Ibn Ezra (1089-1164) "explains in a very convincing way that the knowledge of good and bad referred to married life."³³⁷ And "also in Hebrew texts, *to consume* [was used] for *to commit adultery*... We know that the word *to enjoy* is abundantly used for the sexual act, [and] also the word *fruit* for the pleasure itself and for offspring."³³⁸ He added that: "By love and its fruits and taste Moses

³³² See the works mentioned in footnotes 318-23, in particular: Toubert 'Philology'; Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible'; Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship', pp. 385-401. In addition see: J. Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton, 2014, 2015), pp. 33-64; M.D. Coogan, 'Christian Interpretation in the Premodern Era', *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, at *Oxford Biblical Studies Online*; J. Whitman, *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden, Boston, 2000, 2003).

³³³ DPO 1679, chapters VI and VII, pp. 16-33; DPV, book I, chapter II.

³³⁴ 'Arbor itaque à Summo Legislatore primis mortalium interdicta, non fuit proprie frutex aut ramus...', in: DPO 1679, chapter VII, p. 33.

³³⁵ 'Sed arborem symbolice de membro genitali et fructus de venereo amplexu...', in: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 287-8.

³³⁶ DPO 1679, chapter III, pp. 10-11; chapter IV, p. 16.

³³⁷ 'Aben Ezra cognitionem boni & mali nuptiale opus denotare rimabundus probe docet.' In: DPO 1679, chapter IX, p. 45. For more on Ibn Ezra (1089-1164), see: Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible', pp. 392-413; H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 73-4; L. Lancaster, *Deconstructing the Bible: Abraham Ibn Ezra's introduction to the Torah* (London, 2002).

³³⁸ 'Etiam apud Hebraeos, ita comedere pro adulterari... Ut autem frui καταχρηστικώς de Rebus Venereis, ita fructus pro ipsa delectatione et liberis sumi scimus.' In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 521-5.

understood in a hidden and obscure manner the private or manly parts of Adam and female places of Eve, by which the female sex bears her offspring.”³³⁹

After discussing the sexual connotation of the tree and its fruits, Beverland turned to other sexual connotations ‘hidden’ in the Bible. His interest in the sexual connotation of words characterized many of his philological examinations.³⁴⁰ An example is his focus on the meaning of the word *dudaim*, mentioned in Genesis 30:14-16.³⁴¹ “[Concerning the question] what kind of portent *dudaim* was, conflicting opinions are given amongst scholars: to avoid an accusation people rather [state that they] do not know than be clear about it.”³⁴² Beverland was not one to avoid a sexual subject and thus explained that some scholars had defined *dudaim* as an aphrodisiac and others had praised it for its help with infertility.³⁴³ From his own inquiry into the matter he added that among the Egyptians the plant was used in the worship of an obscene God named Peor and that “young women sometimes rubbed it on their clitoris.”³⁴⁴

In his philological studies of words and phrases used in the biblical texts Beverland often showed off his familiarity with the views of other scholars. For instance in his examination of the phrase ‘filios dei’ (‘the sons of God’), occurring in Genesis 6:4³⁴⁵,

³³⁹ [‘Moses] tecte & aenigmatice per amorem ejusque fructus & gustum intelligit verenda sive virilia Adami, & locos Evae per quos sexus foemineus sobolem solet prodere.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter VII, p. 35.

³⁴⁰ In the DPV the Bible was only discussed in reference to Beverland’s argument on the sexual connotation of certain words in the Bible. In the DSVI, Beverland only referred his theory on original sin in relation to the sexual lust in the female nature. While the biblical texts were not specifically discussed in these works, in all of his writings Beverland did often use examples from the books of Bible.

³⁴¹ The word *dudaim* is in many modern versions of the Bible replaced by the word *mandrakes* (*mandragoras*).

³⁴² ‘Quale autem monstrum fuerit *Dudaim*, controvertitur inter eruditos, quod cum sine crimine potius nescitur, quam cum discrimine definitur...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter VIII, p. 39.

³⁴³ DPO 1679, chapter VIII, pp. 39-42.

³⁴⁴ ‘quandoque nymphas atque clitorides iis fricabant.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter VIII, p. 41. This Peor, Baalpeor or Baap Peor, the Lord of Mount Peor, featured as a lascivious God in the Torah and New Testament. See also the image in Chapter 4, page 248.

³⁴⁵ DPO 1679, chapter III and IV, pp. 7-16.

Beverland rejected the views of jurist Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652), classical scholar Tanaquil Faber (1615-72), and theologian Thomas Stapleton (1535-98):

Jacques Godefroy reads διὰ τοὺς ἀγελαίους: 'because of the crowds of young men'. But we rightly detest those who correct the Sacred text, [that is] this man, eminent because of his distinction in law, and illustrious among the masses of those declaiming in a toga, a Papinianus much more learned than his father, as well as Tanaquil Faber. We rightly detest the very insightful smith, but irreproachably a fabricator due to his criteria and decisive artifices, as well as Stapleton. A [textual] critic will not change διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους without sacrilege.³⁴⁶

2.3 Composition and conservation

Based on his philological critique of the Bible, Beverland did not only conclude that sex was the original sin, which explained why human nature was dominated by lust in all times and places. His philological examination of Genesis also showed that the Bible was fundamentally flawed and this observation formed the basis of his criticism of the construction and preservation of the biblical texts. He repudiated the orthodox Christian view that the early modern Bible was inviolable and, attentive to the ideas of other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century critics, argued that the original text of the Bible had been lost. The biblical manuscripts needed to be reinterpreted via close philological study, he concluded, to recover and understand their true and divine meaning.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ 'Jac. Godofredus legit διὰ τοὺς ἀγελαίους: *propter juvenum greges*. Verum Sacrum textum temerario pruritu corrigentes, hunc Togae praeconiis praeeminentem, interque perorantium Togatorum numeros Illustrem, Patre suo longe doctiorem Papinianum, sicut & Tanaquil. Fabrum κριτικώτατον, ἀστ κριτηρις machinisque suis decretoriis mordicus fabrum, & Stapletonum iure detestamur. διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους non absque sacrilegio Criticus mutabit.' In: DPO 1679, chapter IV, p. 13. Beverland plays with the Latin meaning of Tanaquill Faber's (Tanneguy Lefèvre) name here, as Faber means maker (smith) as well as forger.

³⁴⁷ DPO 1679, chapter XVIII and XIX, pp. 100-150. For more on these scholars, see: B. Schmidlin, and A. Dufour (eds.), *Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652) et l'humanisme juridique à Genève: actes du colloque Jacques Godefroy* (Basel, 1991); E. Itti, 'Tanneguy Le Fèvre et les époux Dacier entre mécénat privé et mécénat royal', *Littératures classiques*, 72, no. 2 (2010), pp. 21-47; M.R. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, *Yale publications in religion*, 9 (New Haven, London, 1964).

Beverland's argument on the composition and conservation of the Bible depended on the studies, arguments, and conclusions of other scholars. To correctly interpret the Bible, seventeenth-century biblical critics examined the history of the manuscripts, paying attention to their preservation and the context of their composition. Scholars focused for instance on the role of Ezra and other secondary writers in the construction of the Bible.³⁴⁸ In his DPO, Beverland presented a summary of important conclusions drawn by scholars on the moderate and radical side of the spectrum of biblical criticism, discussing the (re)construction of Scripture and some of the approximately thirty thousand mistakes which could be found in the biblical texts.³⁴⁹ Examples dominated his text, added so that readers could "examine these fugitive and confused [matters]"³⁵⁰ themselves. To outline the manner in which Beverland summarized contemporary conclusions and debates, two examples he presented will be highlighted here. Firstly there is Beverland's discussion of the role of Moses and Ezra in the composition of the Bible, the central element of his argument that the Bible was constructed later than was traditionally asserted. Secondly, we will briefly study some of the textual errors he pointed out in the manuscripts of the Bible, concentrating on one chronologically misplaced phrase in particular.

Moses and Ezra

Beverland introduced his argument on the flawed state of the Bible by asserting that the preserved version of the Pentateuch was not the original text written by Moses.³⁵¹ In the

³⁴⁸ See studies in footnotes 318-23, in particular: Toubert 'Philology'; Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible'; Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship', pp. 385-401; Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, pp. 42-59, 80-93.

³⁴⁹ He summarized their findings in two chapters of his DPO of 1679: chapter XVIII and XIX, pp. 100-150.

³⁵⁰ 'fugitiva & perturbata heic cernere poteris...', in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 120.

³⁵¹ See: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 101-102.

course of time the manuscript of Moses, “due to changes in fate, banishment, and migrations”³⁵², was damaged and lost. Therefore later writers, of which Ezra was the most important, had reconstructed them:

Ezra, together with 125 scholars of law and priests separated the Canonical texts from the Apocrypha, removed from them the errors, complemented the gaps, divided them in chapters, [while] others long after him [further divided them] by periods and commas.³⁵³

After this restoration, the reconstructed Bible was preserved by means of copies, produced by a large number of writers.³⁵⁴

The text of the Bible contained many passages that revealed its reconstruction and the involvement of later writers.³⁵⁵ Philological research had for instance revealed that in the Hebrew text of the Scripture the influence of Eastern languages could be detected, which proved that the majority of the preserved biblical texts had been composed after the time of Moses and even after Ezra.³⁵⁶ Beverland stated that “Around the time of the Babylonian captivity, in the time of Ezra, the Hebrew language changed slightly into Syrian and Chaldean, hence certain tones from those languages have crept into [the texts], due to priests and kings, who described the text frequently or recited the Hebrew Text with a Chaldean interpretation...”³⁵⁷, an idea which he cited from Samuel

³⁵² ‘Cum autem diuturnitas temporis, varii casus, fugae, captivitates, migrationes ortae sint, factum est liberi mutili prodierint.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 102.

³⁵³ ‘Esdra cum 125 jurisperitis & sacerdotibus Canonicos ab Apocryphis separavit, mendis purgavit & lacunas supplevit, per capita dissecuit per periodos & commata alii longe post eum.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 103.

³⁵⁴ See: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 103-18.

³⁵⁵ Beverland gives a great number of examples of these, see: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 108-110.

³⁵⁶ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, pp. 102-103

³⁵⁷ ‘Circa captivitatem Babylonicam Esdrae aetate, lingua Hebraea in Syriacam & Chaldaicam fere mutata fuit, unde quaedam earum linguarum voces per sacerdotes aut reges, saepius codicem describentes, vel textum Hebraeum cum Chaldaica interpretatione, praelegentes irrepserunt...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 102.

Bochart, and added that “According to Hieronymus and Eusebius, Ezra changed the Jewish letters, invented other [letters] and wrote them down with new [letters].”³⁵⁸

Also small additions and alterations were made by later writers. For instance, Genesis 36:31 “recorded the Israelite kings who were unknown at that time...”³⁵⁹ and “Moses could insert the names and matters at his place of refuge, which he knew himself, but those things that happened in a long period of time after him, he could not record or describe...”³⁶⁰. Beverland compared the alterations in the biblical texts to the same kind of errors made in classical writings. Also in Greek and Roman literature certain events, names, and locations revealed the intervention of later writers.³⁶¹

The question of the Mosaic authorship of the Bible and the role of Ezra became a central point of debate between biblical critics in the second half of the seventeenth century. The issue had a long history, since the idea that certain parts of the Pentateuch were not written by Moses dated from the late Middle Ages. The importance of Ezra, the compiler, editor, and corrector of the Scripture, was recognized by most biblical critics, but the issue was taken up anew around 1650, as radical scholars started dismissing Moses’ authorship of the preserved Bible altogether.³⁶²

The examples Beverland used to discuss the roles of Moses and Ezra were adopted from contemporary studies and his brief references suggest that he expected his readers

³⁵⁸ ‘Esdram literas Judaicas commutasse, & alias invenisse, novisque descripsisse volunt Hieronymus & Eusebius.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 102.

³⁵⁹ ‘Denique Gen. XXXVI, 31. mentio sit regum Israëlitarum, quales tum temporis adeo ignoti...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 108.

³⁶⁰ ‘Moses nomina & res potuit fugitivo loco inseruisse, quae ipse scivit; verum ea, quae longo post eum intervallo contigere, non potuit scribere aut describere...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 107.

³⁶¹ See: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, pp. 106-108.

³⁶² See: Malcolm, ‘Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible’; Popkin ‘Spinoza and Bible scholarship’, pp. 385-90; Touber ‘Philology’; S. Nadler, ‘The Bible hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza’, M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation, Part II. From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 827-36; D.W. Rooke, *Zadok’s Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford, 1999), pp. 152-74.

to understand them in relation to his argument.³⁶³ There is for instance Beverland's claim that Moses could not have described his own death, as written in Deuteronomy 34. This example can be traced back to the works of Ibn Ezra in the twelfth century and was often repeated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by scholars as different as Martin Luther and Isaac de la Peyrère. Even the official Dutch translation of the Bible, commissioned by the States General and published for the first time in 1637, commented in the margins that "this Chapter was written after Moses' death."³⁶⁴

A second example Beverland cited to prove the post-Mosaic interference with the Pentateuch was Genesis 14:14. He stated that "In Genesis XIV.14 the place *Dan* has not obtained this name until after the death of Joshua."³⁶⁵ The territory of Dan was named after the people of Dan, who were given this land long after its mention in Genesis. Again Beverland used an example that had been repeated by other biblical critics: from Catholic priest Andreas Masius to Spinoza in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* of 1670.³⁶⁶

Thirdly, there is Beverland's mention of the biblical writer Joshua: "Joshua did not record his own deeds, as is well known to any reader who does not carry his brain in his heel."³⁶⁷ He referred in particular to Joshua 8:35, which stated that Joshua read all of Moses' commandments before the assembly of Israel. With his reference to Joshua, Beverland once more used an example that we also find in the studies of other biblical

³⁶³ See: Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible'; Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship', pp. 385-90; Touber 'Philology'; Nadler, 'The Bible hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza', pp. 827-36.

³⁶⁴ 'Uyt dese woorden blijktt klaerlick, dat dit Capit. nae Mosi doot beschreven is.' In: *Statenvertaling* (Leiden, 1637), at 'Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap'.

³⁶⁵ 'Gen. XIV, 14, Locus *Dan*, non nisi post Josuae mortem hoc nomen obtinuit.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 105.

³⁶⁶ See: A. Masius, *Iosuae imperatoris historia illustrata* (Antwerp, 1574); Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. See for more on these references to Joshua: Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea', pp. 403-26.

³⁶⁷ 'Nam nec Josua sua scripsit ut cuique legenti, qui cerebrum in calcaneo non gerit, sponte patet.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 109.

scholars. Masius for example, who had published an edition of the book of Joshua in 1574³⁶⁸, argued that it was compiled by Ezra with the help of learned men. The example also featured in the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes, who concluded that the early books of the Bible were not written by the people whose names they bore.³⁶⁹ And in Spinoza we find Joshua 8:35 as well: “the Book of Joshua also can be shown not to have been written by Joshua. It is another person who testifies that Joshua’s fame had spread throughout the earth (see 6.27), that he omitted none of the commandments of Moses...”³⁷⁰.

The flaws of the text

Beverland continued his argument on the composition and preservation of the Bible by concentrating in more detail on the textual errors found in the biblical texts, which were made during the reconstruction of the manuscripts by Ezra and also when countless copies were made in the centuries after Ezra.³⁷¹ Not only had the original text of the Scripture been lost, the preserved versions of the Bible were corrupted. The chronology was mixed up, parts of the texts were wrongly translated, and alterations were made, with certain sections omitted while other passages were added at different dates.³⁷² He observed that: “The archivists, scribes, clerks, copyists, and printers, through whose carelessness and weakness much confusion has arisen, have committed so many errors...”³⁷³.

³⁶⁸ Masius, *Iosuae imperatoris historia illustrata*, p. 2. See for more on these references to Joshua: Malcolm, ‘Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible’, pp. 403-26.

³⁶⁹ T. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London, Oxford, 1651, 1909), p. 201.

³⁷⁰ In: Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, chapter VIII, paragraph 7. The translation was taken from: J.I. Israel’s and M. Silverthorne’s edition of the text (Leiden, Cambridge, 2007), p. 125.

³⁷¹ This is asserted throughout his biblical exegesis: DPO 1679, chapters XVIII and XIX, pp. 100-150.

³⁷² See: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, pp. 100-114; chapter XIX, p. 121.

³⁷³ ‘Quot enim errores commiserunt actuarii, Scribae, Amanuenses, librarii, & typographi, quorum incogitantia & infirmitate confusa sunt multa...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 124.

Beverland presented his reader with a long enumeration of short examples of the errors that could be detected in the text of the Bible, skipping from one biblical book or passage to another without explaining them in great depth. He argued for instance that when comparing texts of the Bible: “An astute man will see many corruptions... compare Chapter VII of Nehemiah and Chapter II of Ezra and, when you have collated the places [mentioned], one will discover that there are ten contradictory places which are corrupt...”³⁷⁴. The biblical text had been tainted: “the Holy Scripture was not only corrupted by the recklessness of the correctors, the rashness of the improvers, or the sacrilege of scoundrels and imposters, but was much more mutilated by the blindness and sleepiness of the clerks and printers...”³⁷⁵.

To some biblical books additions were made. For instance Ezra “complemented [the books of] Joshua, Ruth, Kings, and the Paralipomenon on the basis of genealogies, chronicles, and journals of the writers.”³⁷⁶ In other parts of the Bible, however, passages from the original text had been omitted. It was therefore no surprise that scholars debated which texts and books should and should not be included in the biblical canon. Writings like the book of Enoch were not obtained by divine inspiration and therefore “although they seemed to be holy, they were not included in the canon by the Church on

³⁷⁴ ‘Deturpata etiam videbit multa vir perspicax... conferto cap. VII. Nehemiae cum cap. II. Esdrae, quorum locis collatis, invenies decem contrarios in iis calculos in mendo cubare...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 124-5.

³⁷⁵ ‘Sacer Codex non tam correctorum audacia, emendatorumque temerario ausu, nebulonum impostorumque sacrilegio depravatus, quam actuariorum & typographorum βλεψία & oscitantia mutilus sit...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 125.

³⁷⁶ ‘Alibi ex scribarum genealogiis & diariis ac adversariis Josuam, Ruth, Regum, Paralipomenon supplevit’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 103.

the order of God.”³⁷⁷ Other parts of the Bible however had been wrongfully omitted, for instance a large part of the conversation between Eve and the devil. According to:

the conjectures of Clemens Alexander, L. Ramirez in Bochart’s book and of Molinaeus, [the devil] had even more chatter and gossip, a whole bunch of which, surely written by Ezra, cannot be found in the present-day traditional codex, exactly as the very religious interpreters of the clerks of the Holy Spirit concede....³⁷⁸

Most of these omissions were conducted by Jewish scholars, Beverland argued, who had for instance “erased the acts of Jesus [written down] by many authors.”³⁷⁹

In his examples, he often referred to the conclusions of other biblical critics: “[the Jews] had dared to besmear that clear testimony about our Saviour, true according to Josephus (as Scaliger, Casaubonus, Calvisius and S. Petitus have emphasized), a crime that the Church Fathers have never repudiated, so that in their time this dismal mistake was read by everyone in all manuscripts...”³⁸⁰, also mentioning in the context of this discussion the views of Tanaquil Faber, Salmasius, Tertullian, and Augustine.³⁸¹

³⁷⁷ ‘quae licet sacrosancta viderentur, non tamen Dei jussu ab Ecclesia in canonem sunt redacta & recepta.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 111. Beverland discussed the debate and the books, mentioning a great number of words that were also not included in the canon, for instance advice given by Paul, a letter of David to Iobab, and the testimonies of Aratus, Menander, Callimachus and Euripides. He referred to many scholars who had studied these manuscripts and concluded the same, mentioning amongst others Tertullian, Peireskhius, Scaliger, and Thuanus. See: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 111-14.

³⁷⁸ ‘si Clementis Alex. L. Ramirezii apud Bochartum & Molinaei conjecturis locus sit: Saltem sermunculas fabulasque plures, quarum farrago in hodierno Codice classico non legitur, habuit, quam equidem scripsit Esdra, prout religiosissimi Spiritus S. amanuensium concedunt interpretes...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter VI, p. 26.

³⁷⁹ ‘Judaei... in multis auctoribus Christi acta eraserunt.’ in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 126.

³⁸⁰ ‘Luculentum istud de Sospitatore nostro testimonium, Josepho genuinum (inculcantibus Scaligero, Casaubono, Calvisio & S. Petito) illinere ausi fuere, quod facinus Patres apellis nunquam exprobrarunt, ita ut eorum aetate nimis tritum in omnibus M.S. corruscans legebatur ab omnibus...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 126.

³⁸¹ Beverland stated that although Tanaquil Faber (Tanneguy Lefèvre) and Salmasius defended the Jews, other scholars underlined that in the biblical texts, in the testimony of Josephus in particular, passages were altered and omitted, referring also to the ideas and works of Eusebius, Chrysostom Gregorius of Nyssa, Isidor Seville, and Agobardus, Bishop of Lyon. See: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, pp. 126-7.

Many humanists in the seventeenth century focused on the errors of the Scripture. While radical scholars concluded that due to the large number of mistakes the Holy Text as a whole became unreliable, moderate critics merely observed or attempted to solve certain textual problems. An often discussed topic in this context was the originality and relative corruption of the preserved manuscripts, with critics defending one 'original' text while attacking another. The question which text, version, or translation to use, with the Masoretic text favoured by most Protestants and the Vulgate used by the majority of Catholics, was complicated by the discussion of translations of the Bible into ancient languages, like Hebrew, Latin, or Greek, and in the vernacular.³⁸²

Beverland touched upon this subject as well, discussing the Hebrew text in particular, and concluded that "when the handwritten [Hebrew] codex itself has been thrown into disorder by errors, how could the interpretations and translations be good?"³⁸³ He refuted the 'ignorant and arrogant use' of the Hebrew codex by Protestant Dutch theologians, but concluded more generally that "all interpretations [of the Bible] were full of mistakes."³⁸⁴ Discussing in addition the many errors in the Dutch translations of the Bible, he argued that the different manuscripts, translations, and interpretations of the Sacred Text should all be studied from a philological point of view, by honest and erudite scholars, who would focus on the truth: "If I was a Priest or Mystagogue, I could

³⁸² Scholars like Saumaise, Cappel, and Vossius focused on different manuscripts by studying their language, choosing one text over the other. See: Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible'; J.C.H. Lebram, 'Ein Streit um die hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta', T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 21-63; S.G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*, *Studies in the history of Christian thought*, 68 (Leiden, 1996), pp. 219-39; Laplanche, *L'écriture*, pp. 229-39.

³⁸³ 'itaque ipse Autographus Codex mendis turbatus sit, qui ergo interpretationes & versiones probae forent?' In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 131.

³⁸⁴ 'omnesq. interpretationes vitiis squallere.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 150.

offer many things with God, but at present I am a Half-Theologian, a wrestler in the margins. If only [the theologians] themselves would honestly and wisely offer a thoroughly elaborated interpretation. But what an age!”³⁸⁵

Amongst the many textual errors found in the preserved Bible, there was one that Beverland was particularly interested in. He argued that the right order of the biblical texts had been corrupted, for which Ezra was mostly to blame, who had “corrected the text without paying attention to the chronology, so that the first chapters of Genesis seem to be included by chance as afterthoughts to the Pentateuch.”³⁸⁶ He singled out one chronological error more than once: “Verse 28 of the first chapter of Genesis was without a doubt transferred...”³⁸⁷. In his argument on sex, this particular biblical passage was problematic. Genesis 1:28 stated that God blessed Adam and Eve and “said to them, ‘Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it.’”³⁸⁸ If sexual lust was the original sin, with sexual intercourse prohibited to the first humans in Paradise, it made no sense that God would have ordered Adam and Eve to go forth and multiply before the Fall. Had this passage however been misplaced in the reconstruction of the Scripture, its incompatibility with Beverland’s theory would disappear. “The blessing *Increase and multiply*, which could be thrown at us as an excellent and quick weapon, was inserted from a fugitive place due to the thoughtlessness of the following and subsequent

³⁸⁵ ‘Si Hierophanta vel Μυσταγωγος essem, multa ξὺν θεῷ suppeditare possem, ast nunc Hemi-Theologus circa τὰ ἄμβωνα luctator. Utinam ipsi probe docteq̃ interpretationem hanc depexam darent. Verum proh seculum!’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 141. See: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, pp. 131-48.

³⁸⁶ ‘neglecto dierum temporumque ordine, sus deque restauravit, adeo ut prima Geneseos capita, Exodia Pentateucho obiter inserta esse videantur.’ in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 103.

³⁸⁷ ‘Versiculus XXVIII. capitis primi Geneseos proculdubio transpositus est.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 115.

³⁸⁸ It is repeated in Genesis 1:22. For more on this passage, see: Cohen, “*Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it*”.

scribes.”³⁸⁹ So he argued that only by transferring Genesis 1:28 to its proper place, the passage makes sense: after the Fall sex was no longer forbidden, since God made sexual intercourse necessary for procreation and a source of pleasure to all human beings.³⁹⁰ “Because after the Fall... [God] has granted to [Adam and Eve] the use [enjoyment] of the tree and the fruits, and God has praised: *“Increase and multiply!”* and he assigned [to them] two sexual natures so that they would both long for and take pleasure from the union.”³⁹¹ The transfer of this key segment was hardly the sole motivation for Beverland’s discussion of the corrupted status of the Bible, but the correct placement of this statement of God on sex did strengthen his argument on sex and sin.

2.4 A Spinozist?

The authority of the Bible

The small lot of well-dressed young men and clergy of the lowest and higher fortune, as well as the simple slave struggling as it were for hearth and home, is mistaken [to hold] that they possess a Holy Scripture, which is trustworthy throughout, original, and uncorrupted, written by Moses, refined by Ezra, and subjugated and treated by other assistants of the Holy Ghost.³⁹²

Since the preserved text of the Scripture was fundamentally flawed, Beverland concluded that also the interpretation of the Bible by the Christian Church was impaired. The orthodox understanding of Scripture was based on the assumption that the Sacred Text

³⁸⁹ ‘Concludimus itaque benedictionem *Crescite & multiplicamini*, quod palmarium & Achilleum in nos vibrari posset telum, fugitivo loco per incogitantiam Scribarum secundorum vel sequentium esse insertum.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 150.

³⁹⁰ DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 115-17.

³⁹¹ ‘Nam post lapsum... arboris et fructuum usum concessit iis benedixitque Deus: *‘Crescite et multiplicamini!’* et duorum sexuum naturae attribuit ut se invicem appeterent et coniunctione gauderent.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 485-9. He referred in the margin to Genesis 1:28 as well.

³⁹² ‘Fallitur nihilominus gens pusionum vesticeps, & imae altiorisque sortis Clerus, simplexque Davus pro aris & focus quasi contendens, se Codicem sacrum adeo καλὰ πόδα probum, genuinum ac immaculatum, quam scripserit Moses, emolliverit Esdra, subegerint tractaverintque coeteri Spiritus S. amanuenses, possidere.’ in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 121. Davus was a Roman slave name.

still represented the original and unspoiled word of God. Only if the ‘servants of the Church’ accepted the flaws of the biblical texts and critically studied the words of the Bible, Beverland argued, they would understand the divine meaning of the texts, as he had proved in his study and redefinition of original sin. In addition, they could then also defend themselves against radical scholars who attacked the authority of the Bible.³⁹³ Especially the “theologians of a lower rank”³⁹⁴ should take his advice to heart, he proposed, because they completely misunderstood the true meaning of Scripture. He claimed that even though the wisest interpreters of the Bible, the Holy Fathers and the higher clergy, supported his argument, the ignorant theologians of inferior standing did not.³⁹⁵ Beverland knew that this argument might get him into trouble, as “of course the strict Cato of Catoes... will accuse me of blasphemy”³⁹⁶, but he was determined to present his opinion, “not to scold learned men, but so that serious readers [of my work] can benefit from their observation of this fault.”³⁹⁷

Did Beverland, in line with his argument on the corrupt state of the Bible and his denunciation of the orthodox interpretation of the Sacred Text, question the importance and authority of the Scripture? Did he adhere to the most radical strand of biblical criticism of his time, declaring that the preserved Bible was a fully human text, with no special status, only to be understood via the use of philosophy and reason? Despite his harsh criticism of the Bible, in his writings Beverland upheld the traditional Christian position that in the preserved Bible the divine word of God could still be found: “people

³⁹³ DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 120-128.

³⁹⁴ ‘minorum gentium τεόλογων ποῦδες...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter IV, p. 11.

³⁹⁵ DPO 1679, chapter XI, pp. 56-7.

³⁹⁶ ‘Proculdubio... austeri Catones... me sacrilegii reum arguerent...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter VIII, p. 41.

³⁹⁷ ‘non ut viros doctos reprehenderem, sed ut agnito errore studiosi lectores proficerent.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter VIII, p. 42.

must argue against every atheist with the greatest right that the Sacred Text is perfect. ... The [Christian] doctrine, transmitted and documented by the Prophets as well as the Apostles, through the will of God, is wholly inspired by God and truthful.”³⁹⁸ He stated that the original as well as the later authors had been divinely inspired: “Do not call me a ‘sceptic of inspiration’ and be convinced that he dictated his prophecy with the same inspiration [to later writers] as to the prior [writers], following Godly and infallible Spokespersons and Apostles.”³⁹⁹ Despite the corruption of the text, the Christian faith was not in danger, since “These mistakes do not threaten either the authority of the Scripture, nor the trustworthiness of the learned.”⁴⁰⁰ Radical writers like Koerbagh, Hobbes, and Spinoza had described the preserved Bible as a solely human text, and argued that the original Scripture might have been divinely inspired but that the contemporary version held no special authority. Beverland repudiated their views: “Our faith is not shaken by these difficulties, as if the Pentateuch seemed invented by some prophet, as Koerbagh impiously argues with his brother in arms Hobbes and his student Van den Eynde, and also Spinoza who has [already] been noted two or three times.”⁴⁰¹

Beverland and Spinoza

Modern historians have questioned Beverland’s denunciation of radical criticism of the Bible and have aligned his views with those of Spinoza. Baruch Spinoza (1632-77) was one

³⁹⁸ ‘ideo Codicem Sacrum perfectum esse summo jure fateare necesse erit cuique ἀθεολόγω... Adeo ut Doctrina per Prophetas pariter ac Apostolos, mediante Divino numine, tradita & scripta θεόπνουστος integra pariter ac verax sit.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 114.

³⁹⁹ ‘Ne tamen με πιθιμαλομαχον putes, scias hunc prophetiam suam eodem Spiritu Sancto dictitasse, quo antecedentes & sequentes Divi infallibilesque Vates & Apostoli.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 104.

⁴⁰⁰ ‘Quae tamen errata nec scripturae auctoritatem, nec fidem Doctorum labefactant.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 126.

⁴⁰¹ ‘Quibus scrupulis minime fides nostra labefactatur, quasi Pentateuchus multis post Mosen seculis ab aurspice quodam fictus videretur, ut cum Hobbesio suo impie ratiocinatur *Ceurbachii* commilito & Iohannis *vanden Eynde* discipulus, bis terve notatus ille Spinoza.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XVIII, p. 110.

of the most radical and influential biblical critics and philosophers of the Dutch Republic, and arguably Europe, in this period. In his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, published anonymously in Amsterdam in 1670, Spinoza articulated an unorthodox critique of the Bible. Basing his views on the conclusions of critical biblical scholarship in the preceding centuries, especially following the ideas of exegete Ibn Ezra, Spinoza argued that the biblical text was too precarious to be viewed as a timeless source of universal truths. He followed the historical and philological criticism of his predecessors through to a radical conclusion: he described the Bible as a solely human text, which did not depict the history of all humankind but only of the Jewish people in a certain period of time. Moses was not the author of the preserved Scripture, he argued, and therefore the Bible was a human text, a historical document, not the divine key to all knowledge.⁴⁰²

Many before him had questioned how Moses could have described his own death and events after his passing in the Pentateuch, but his authorship in itself was never contested. Spinoza commenced his critique by formulating a strict methodology of biblical criticism: the Bible needed to be studied by focusing only on the language and history of the preserved text, without taking into account external factors like Christian doctrine or older traditions of biblical study. Based on his own critical examination, Spinoza concluded that not Moses but someone long after him had composed and compiled the texts of the preserved first books of the Bible. The Scripture was therefore a fully human text, which should be studied like any other ancient source. With reason as

⁴⁰² Over the last two decades, an enormous amount of studies have focused on the life and ideas of Spinoza. A good introduction is provided in: H. Clark Kee (et al), *The Cambridge companion to Spinoza* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 1-38; Israel, Silverthorne, *Spinoza: Theological-Political Treatise*; Israel, *Radical enlightenment*. For his biblical criticism in particular, see: Popkin 'Spinoza and Bible scholarship', pp. 383-401; Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the history of biblical scholarship', 313-325; Nadler, 'The Bible hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza', 827-836; Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 159-74, 274-301, 447-76.

a guide, expert scholars should closely analyse the text of the Bible and assess its contemporary significance. Spinoza himself suggested that the Bible was still of value in his society due to its formulation of simple, moral principles, which could lead the way to piety and salvation. In his *Ethica* (published posthumously in 1677) he focused in more detail on his practical philosophy, his ideas on the unity of God and nature, and his fight for greater liberty of thought and a more tolerant state, denouncing ecclesiastical power. His radical writings were enormously influential for European science, philosophy, and biblical scholarship, even though he was denounced as an atheist and his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* was banned by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1674.⁴⁰³

In his *Radical Enlightenment*, first published in 2001, Jonathan Israel introduced Beverland by stating that he “proceeded from a specifically Spinozist position”.⁴⁰⁴ Beverland commented on the corrupt status of the text and claimed, Israel argued, that Scripture could “only be properly understood in the light of philosophy.”⁴⁰⁵ He concluded that Beverland, who invoked also Hobbes and Koerbagh in his biblical criticism, was of the opinion that absolute morality did not exist.⁴⁰⁶ Israel’s observations were mainly based on the studies of De Smet and Elias. In his work on Beverland’s DPV, De Smet argued that Beverland did not renounce but subtly attested to the ideas of Spinoza, Hobbes, and Koerbagh by a satirical rejection of their ideas in his DPO. De Smet suspected that Beverland shared the opinion of Spinoza and Hobbes and only upheld the authority of Scripture to structure and market his theory on sexuality. He based this conclusion firstly on the similarities between Spinoza’s pantheism and Beverland’s argument on sex,

⁴⁰³ For more on Spinoza and his biblical criticism, see the works in footnote 402.

⁴⁰⁴ Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, p. 87.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 88-9.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 89, 94.

as both underlined the importance of the unity between body and soul and the unity of God and nature. Secondly, De Smet pointed out that contemporary critiques connected Beverland's views to those of Spinoza. Lastly, he described how Beverland compared passages from the Bible with ancient mythology, desecrating Scripture by combining pagan and sacred sources.⁴⁰⁷

In the last part of De Smet's argument, we can recognize the article by Elias on Beverland: he also commented on Beverland's radical outlook and his use of sources. Despite the fact that he titled his article 'The Spinozist eroticism of Adriaan Beverland',⁴⁰⁸ Elias explained on the first pages that his definition of Beverland as a Spinozist was only based on the unorthodox spirit of both thinkers: they both challenged Dutch theologians, attacked orthodox views on the Bible and (human) nature, and promoted liberty.⁴⁰⁹

Elias was right: there are many similarities between Spinoza and Beverland. Both Dutchmen turned to the Bible, opposed the power of the Christian Church and its theologians, and emphasized the importance of liberty in their own ways.⁴¹⁰ In terms of ideas on sexuality, Spinoza's ideas on self-preservation corresponded to Beverland's argument on sexual lust. In the third part of his *Ethica*, Spinoza explained that all beings have the natural desire to persevere in their existence (*conatus*), an argument which one could compare to Beverland's ideas on the dominant place and unavoidability of desire in the human body and mind.⁴¹¹ Yet these resemblances do not turn Beverland into a Spinozist, nor do they guide us to the core of his scholarship. A look at the contemporary

⁴⁰⁷ De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 122-33.

⁴⁰⁸ Elias, 'Het Spinozistisch erotisme'.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 283-4.

⁴¹⁰ For Beverland's views on liberty, turn to Chapter 4 (pages 266-79).

⁴¹¹ For more on Spinoza's theory on *conatus*, see: S. Nadler, *Spinoza's Ethics: an introduction* (Cambridge, New York, 2006), pp. 194-230; A. Matheron, 'Spinoza et la sexualité', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 4, vol. VIII (1977), pp. 436-57.

reception of Beverland's writings does not change this. During his trial, his writings were described as presenting 'heterodox and aggravating opinions directly going against the content of the Holy Scripture' and 'very godless and very abominable heterodoxy about... texts in God's Sacred Word'.⁴¹² The judges disapproved of his mistreatment of the Bible, interpreting it falsely and subverting the authority of Scripture, but they did not typify Beverland as an atheist or Spinozist. His works were dangerous for a different reason: they could be *used* by the most radical critics. Beverland had turned parts of the Bible into a profane history, it was argued, "to be preyed on, ridiculed, and played with by the blasphemous and heretics."⁴¹³

Do we call Beverland a Spinozist, a radical critic, who compiled the findings of other biblical scholars in order to question and reject the authority and sacred status of Scripture? Did he adopt Spinoza's views to formulate his theory on sex and sin? The answer is no. Defining Beverland merely, or foremost, as a Spinozist thinker does not help us understand his biblical criticism nor the role of Scripture in his writings, let alone his argument on sexuality. Many similarities have been emphasized, due to the fact that some scholars have focused solely on understanding Beverland in the context of Spinoza's hegemony, and because both thinkers shared the same intellectual context, with Beverland printing his DPO only one year after Spinoza's death, one year after the publication of the *Ethica*, and nine years after the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. But as De Smet already argued,⁴¹⁴ the differences between Spinoza's rational pantheism and

⁴¹² It was stated that Beverland composed 'heterodoxe en ergelijke opinien het contentu vande Heiligen Schrifture direct contrarierende' en 'seer goddeloose en gans abominabele heterodoxie omtrent.. texten on God's heijlige woort'. In: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115r-v. For more on his trial see the Prologue (pages 49-58), for the documents see the Bibliography.

⁴¹³ 'ten proije, spot, en spel van blasphematenus and heretiquen', in: 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115v. For the documents of Beverland's trial, see the Bibliography.

⁴¹⁴ De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 129-32.

Beverland's argument on the dominance of sex are significant. One can recognize pantheist ideas in Beverland's writings, but it is just one of the numerous (ancient) philosophies of (human) nature that he used to establish his own views. Above all, Beverland argued that sex ruled all, since even reason was powerless against the force of lust. And it was this argument that guided his use of sources, philosophies, and the works of other critics, whether pagan or Christian, orthodox, moderate, or radical. If we want to understand Beverland, his ideas, and troubles, neither his affinity with Spinoza nor his adoption of the elements of any other philosophy will provide a clear-cut explanation: Beverland used whatever he could get his hands on to fit into his theory on sex. This combining of genres, as also Elias and De Smet have pointed out, was definitely radical, but not in relation to his biblical criticism or Spinoza as such.⁴¹⁵

Turning to Beverland's criticism of the Bible, there are two clear reasons why we should not regard his denunciation of Hobbes, Koerbagh, Spinoza, and other radical biblical critics as satirical. Firstly, the Bible served an important function in Beverland's DPO. The story of the creation of Adam and Eve by God and their Fall in Genesis formed a solid, Christian basis for his argument. And not just Genesis 1, 2, and 3, but also other parts of the Old and New Testament often featured in his writings.⁴¹⁶ In essence, he was a classical scholar, if he secretly did not believe in Scripture's authority, it would have been easier not to comment on the Bible at all. Yet Beverland used the special and sacred status of the Bible to ground his theory of sex and sin and thus upheld its authority, without which the foundation of his ideas would disappear and his conviction that the

⁴¹⁵ For more on his mixing of genres, see Chapters 3 and 4.

⁴¹⁶ Beverland referred 74 times to the Bible in the DPV (plus 487 times in the margins) and mentioned the Bible 126 times in his DPO (plus 333 times in the margins).

true, divine, and particularly the sexual meaning of the Bible could be discovered via close philological study would not make any sense. His choice to extend his perspectives in his DPO of 1679, in which he added two chapters on biblical criticism which were absent from his 1678 edition, must have been influenced by the criticism he received from theologians after the first version. Elaborating on his legitimate reinterpretation of Genesis, based on the assumption that the Bible was flawed, he defended his argument and emphasized the authority of Scripture: "Let us thank the almighty God that the Holy Spirit has not withdrawn from us completely, but has been vigilant, so that these things, which are needed to convince heretics and to obtain our salvation, have been safely restored until now..."⁴¹⁷.

Secondly, Beverland was not a philosopher per se. Israel may have commented on his 'philosophy of life' and relativist indication of morality, but above all Beverland's humanist, philological, and classical scholarship characterized his views, methods, and writings. He never was, nor would characterize himself, an expert of the Bible and he probably did not know Hebrew. Thus he did not voice his own opinion on Ezra's interference with vowels in the biblical texts and left it to the experts. Nor can we detect in his documents any further interest in contemporary philosophy beyond his sexual focus. Despite the attention he paid to medieval and early modern attitudes to sexuality,⁴¹⁸ Beverland was first and foremost a philologist, who studied the language of ancient texts to understand them better. This is the key to understanding his argument on sex and the place of the Bible in his works. He outlined the story of creation and Fall

⁴¹⁷ 'Gratias agamus Deo Opt. Max. quod Spiritus S. non totus recesserit a nobis, sed vigilaverit ut ea, quae faciunt ad convincendos haereticos, nostramque salutem obtinendam, sarta hucusque & tecta refervaverit...', in: DPO 1679, chapter XIX, p. 127-8.

⁴¹⁸ See Chapters 3 and 4.

in Genesis to explain the origins of sex in human nature, to firmly establish his argument before moving on to his true forte: classical and philological scholarship. It is therefore not surprising that he only constructed two chapters on the composition and conservation of the Bible in the second version of the DPO, when fierce criticism of Dutch theologians forced him to back up his reinterpretation of original sin and show that his assessment of the dominance of sexual lust was not only based on classical sources, but on the most Sacred Text of all.

In the catalogue of Beverland's library we find copies of the works of Hobbes and Spinoza⁴¹⁹ and there is no doubt that he was familiar with the works of these scholars. Beverland was educated in the same intellectual milieu, encountered the same fights between Dutch theologians, and was familiar with the rapid developments in biblical scholarship. Nonetheless the label of Spinozist does not encourage a better understanding of his ideas, his works, and their unorthodox character. Beverland criticized the orthodox interpretation of the Bible, but he upheld the authority and sacred status of Scripture and used his biblical critique to draw different conclusions and attacked orthodoxy, theologians, and the Dutch Reformed Church from a different angle.

Conclusion

Beverland used the text of the Bible, and the story of Adam and Eve in particular, to ground his ideas on the origin and place of sexual lust in human nature. The corrupt status of the biblical texts legitimized his reinterpretation of original sin. Both his discussion of Genesis and his historical criticism of the formation and conservation of the Sacred Text

⁴¹⁹ They are recorded on folio 101r of the catalogue of his library, composed in the early 1690s. See: 'Bibliotheca' in the Bibliography and also De Smet, 'Bibliotheca'.

were dependent on the conclusions of well-known biblical critics and his exegesis in the DPO firmly positions his work in the context of the late-seventeenth century. He was one of the radical scholars who discussed the Bible outside the realm of theology in a work that was not primarily focused on religion: he studied the corrupt status of the biblical texts for the advancement of his own argument on sexuality.

Beverland has been called a Spinozist, but neither his own works and letters, nor the opinions of his contemporaries justify this label. Despite his harsh criticism of the text of the Bible, he stressed that the divine truth of Scripture could be rediscovered by detailed studies of the history and especially of the language of the texts. Even though he rejected their most unorthodox conclusions, Beverland did closely align himself with the radical tradition: he discussed Moses' authorship, the role of Ezra, and the many textual errors in the text, building his own argument on the premises of radical biblical research executed by his contemporaries. Thus it may not surprise us that, in combination with his theology of original sin and challenging stance towards the Dutch Reformed Church, his biblical criticism was an important incentive for Dutch theologians to instigate his trial.

All this being said, neither Beverland's views on the Bible, nor his theology of sin, can explain why he was banished from Holland. He was one of many Dutch scholars who challenged theologians and who adopted the core of his theological and exegetical arguments from other critics. The works of Johannes Becius, Frans Kuyper, and Petrus van Balen were banned during the previously-mentioned Gouda synod of 1679, yet these men could continue their lives relatively unscathed. A comparison to two other contemporaries of Beverland sharpens up the point.

Isaac Vossius, a scholar of the classics and the Bible who became one of Beverland's best friends later in life, published a pamphlet titled *Dissertatio de Vera*

Aetate Mundi in 1659. In the dissertation Vossius argued, based on his study of the chronology of the Septuagint in relation to sources produced in the same historical period, that the world was much older than was asserted in Protestant doctrine. Also in his *De Septuaginta Interpretibus*, published two years later, Vossius presented radical conclusions on the text, history, and chronology of Scripture. His works put reason before the Sacred Text and challenged orthodox views as well as scholarly norms, and were therefore denounced by many.⁴²⁰ Vossius became so well-known for his challenges directed towards Dutch theologians and radical perspective on Scripture, that Charles II allegedly stated that Vossius “believes everything as long as it is not in the Bible.”⁴²¹

Thirty years later, Reformed preacher Balthasar Bekker published his *Betoverde Wereld* (*The World Bewitched*). The work caused outrage in and outside the Dutch Republic because it denied the influence of the Devil and argued that demons, spirits, and other supernatural powers could not influence human lives or nature’s laws. The work was seen as a direct attack on the authority and tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church and Bekker was accused of atheism and Spinozism. Despite the strong reaction to the first book published in 1691, however, Bekker proceeded to publish additional volumes in the years that followed.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ For more on Vossius, see: Grafton, ‘Isaac Vossius, Chronologer’, pp. 43-85; Jorink, ‘Horrible and Blasphemous’, pp. 441-5; D.S. Kats, ‘Isaac Vossius and the English Biblical Critics, 1670-1689’, Popkin, Vanderjagt, *Scepticism and irreligion*, pp. 142-84; Jorink, Van Miert, *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)*.

⁴²¹ Jorink, Van Miert, *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)*, p. 4

⁴²² For more on Bekker, see: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 377-405; A.C. Fix, *Fallen angels: Balthasar Bekker, spirit belief, and confessionalism in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic*, *Archives internationales d'histoire des idées*, 165 (Dordrecht, London, 1999); W. van Bunge, ‘Balthasar Bekker's cartesian hermeneutics and the challenge of spinozism’, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 1, no. 1 (1993), pp. 55-79; A. MacMillan, ‘Exorcising demons: Thomas Hobbes and Balthasar Bekker on spirits and religion’, *Philosophica*, 89 (2014), pp. 13-48.

Despite their radical books, despite the condemnation of their works by Dutch theologians, despite their harsh criticism of the Bible, Vossius and Bekker were not banished. Vossius was never arrested, possibly due to the fact that he was an independent, rich scholar, and could count on benefitting from the grand scholarly reputation of his father, Gerardus Joannes Vossius. Bekker did get in trouble, but thanks to his established position in the Dutch Reformed Church at the time of his publication, to conflicts within the Church, to the support he received from members of the regent class in Amsterdam, and to the fame and influence of his work, he was only (albeit permanently) suspended from the Dutch Reformed Church. It is striking that Beverland was so much more severely punished for his radical work than these two contemporary critics. What made him a special case?

While many scholars discussed sex and sin in the seventeenth century, Beverland's study of the subject was exceptional. Agrippa, Fludd, and Van Helmont might have defined lust as the original sin in their works, they only used this theory to introduce quite conventional ideas on marriage, medicine, and alchemy. Beverland's early works, on the other hand, focused exclusively on the subject of sex itself, exploring its importance in history and his contemporary society. Could it be that Beverland's choice to study sex determined his banishment? To discover this, we must turn from his views on religion to his humanist scholarship. We leave his arch-enemies, the theologians, behind and concentrate on his closest friends: the humanists.

Chapter 3. Scholarship

From Beverland's traditional enemies, in this chapter we turn to his classical scholarship. If it was not his theology on original sin, nor his criticism on the Bible that got him into trouble, we must look in a different direction. Was there anything atypical about Beverland's humanist studies, his interests, his style, his learned circle? What about his method and his scholarly focus? Could it be that not Beverland's views on religion, but his take on humanism instigated his troubles?

3.1. The humanist

Social network

Beverland's social network was profoundly humanist in character. He corresponded regularly with friends and family, from his brother Jan Beverland to old friend Jacob de Goyer, but most of his surviving letters were exchanged with humanist colleagues. He communicated with English scholars, like Edward Bernard and Arthur Charlett, French thinkers, for instance Pierre Bayle and Ismael Bouilliau, and, above all, with Dutch classicists, most of whom were affiliated with the University of Leiden. He conversed with Fredericus Spanheim and Alard Uchtman and corresponded regularly with Nicolaas Heinsius, Johann Georg Graevius, Isaac Vossius, and Jacobus Gronovius.⁴²³

Beverland was an active participant in the Republic of Letters, the early modern learned community in which scholars corresponded about different subjects, private as well as professional, based on a shared ethos marked by honesty, reciprocity, friendship, and tolerance. Although the community often proved much less ideal in practice, due to

⁴²³ 110 out of the 326 letters preserved of Beverland were sent to these four friends: 49 letters to Gronovius, 31 to Vossius, 20 to Heinsius, 9 to Graevius. For more on Beverland's correspondence see the Bibliography.

for instance plagiarism and polemics, the Republic of Letters and its principles survived for centuries and functioned as an important intellectual network in which humanists discussed ideas, exchanged works, and criticized each other's writings.⁴²⁴

Beverland often relied on his correspondents to suggest or send material for his scholarly and leisurely reading.⁴²⁵ In his first letter to Gronovius, written in 1676, he quoted classical scholar Isaac Casaubon, "*If you have something, share it with me.*" and therefore "I now request your kindness and ask you eagerly to let me have a look into those Greek epigrams... Look, the drunken winter demands fresh wit."⁴²⁶ When Beverland needed books from Heinsius' library, he suggested to his patron that he would visit the library himself, as "your painful feet prohibit you from ascending the stairs and look for something rare between your many books, therefore my Cleantes advises me to undertake this rough task with my own strength."⁴²⁷

Members of the Republic of Letters often exchanged manuscripts and publications and therefore writings often traded hands. "Several unpublished [authors] can be discovered in the second part of Alexandre Petau's *Supellectilis Antiquariae Portiuncula*," Beverland wrote to Gronovius in 1698, "which I have bought from Vossius and send to De Goyer and which is now in the possession of Graevius, as students have

⁴²⁴ For more on the Republic of Letters, see: A. Grafton, 'A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters', *Republics of Letters*, 1.1 (2008), pp. 1-53; Goldgar, *Impolite learning*; D. van Miert, *Communicating observations in early modern letters (1500-1675): epistolography and epistemology in the age of the scientific revolution* (London 2013).

⁴²⁵ He asked for material in for instance: EH 1, 11/2/1678; EH 2, 15/10/1678; EH 13, 29/06/1681; EG 1/1, 12/12/1678.

⁴²⁶ 'Casaubono in epistolis: 'Mihi communica, si quid habes'. ... Eapropter nunc a beneficentia tua peto tandemque epigrammatum Graecorum... compos ut fiam sedulo intercedo. Postulat ecce novos ebria bruma sales.' EG 1/1, 12/12/1676. Scholar Isaac Casaubon regularly talked about the importance of sharing information, see for instance a letter to J.J. Scaliger sent in 1605, in: P. Botley, and D. van Miert (eds.), *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger* (8 volumes, Genève, 2012), volume 6, pp. 209-11.

⁴²⁷ 'Sed cum carnifices pedes interdicante te per scalas ascendere et inquirere inter tot libros quid rari, ideo ut proprio Marte duram eam provinciam aggrediar admonet meus Cleantes.' In: EH 10, 11/2/1680. Cleantes was a Greek Stoic philosopher.

reported to me, who have seen it in his rooms and hands.”⁴²⁸ Beverland sent and received works to benefit his own studies and functioned also as an intermediary for the exchange of information and writings between other scholars. To his good friend Heinsius he for instance forwarded a request from theologian Le Moyne in 1679: “I visited the most illustrious Lord Le Moyne, who has voluntarily offered [his services] to your refined generosity. Please send him the manuscripts of Scaliger. He will personally receive these notes and commit them to print.”⁴²⁹ Especially in his role as a secretary for Vossius in the 1680s, Beverland often acted as a go-between. Acquaintances often tried to get access to Vossius’ library: “The gentlemen Graevius and De Goyer have [acquired] the Etymol. Mayores Manuscript from the Fathers of Antwerp,” he wrote to Vossius about an unidentified manuscript. Graevius and De Goyer struggled to solve certain problems with the text and therefore “requested that these gaps may be supplemented from Your Honour’s own manuscript. By agreeing to this Your Honour will not only oblige them but also the common good.”⁴³⁰

Beverland trusted his scholarly friends to assist him in improving his own works: “if you have the time for this matter, point out to me [those things] unknown to me, so that I am excited by the same [things] and I will learn from your critical judgment.”⁴³¹ Throughout his life he regularly sent round copies of his unpublished writings to be

⁴²⁸ ‘Complures inediti reperiuntur in parte 2 Alex[andri] Petavii Supell[ex] antiq[uariae] portiuncula..., quam emi a Vossio et misi ad Goyerum et iam Graevius possidet, prout mihi retulerunt studiosi, qui viderunt in eius aedibus et manibus.’ In: EG 29/16, 1698.

⁴²⁹ ‘Adfui clarissimo D[omino] Le Moyne, qui se ultro obtulit humanissimae tuae liberalitati. Mittas sodes m[anu]s[cripta] Scaligeri et ipse notata excipiet typisque mandabit.’ In: EH 6a, 10/09/1679.

⁴³⁰ ‘De Heeren Graevius en de Goyer hebben het Etymol. May. Mss van de Patres van Antwerpen... [ze] versoecken dat deze lacunas uijt U Edele Mss gesuppleert mogen werden, dit doende sal U Edele haer niet alleen maar het gemeijne best verobligeeren.’ In: EV 10n, 1690. See for a similar request, from Vossius to Heinsius; EH 11, 07/1680.

⁴³¹ ‘Itaque, otium si tibi sit in hoc negotio, novitates, mihi etiamnum ignotas, indica ut iis exciter tuaque crisi erudiar.’ In: EH 1, 11/02/1678. See also: EG 1/1, 12/12/1676.

criticized by his friends. He dispatched versions of the DPO around in manuscript, as a handwritten version of the second edition of the DPO preserved in Graevius' personal archive underlines.⁴³² Also the DPV was given to close friends, to provoke their criticism:

In fact, I have decided to deliver the three books of *De Prostibulis Veterum* soon... I would not commit this difficult work to print, if your courtesy and inborn kindness would not promise your favour to my temerity... Because only you, Ilias of the learned, can assist me with my endeavours, [thus] I beg that you may not refuse to help me with them.⁴³³

He asked friends to forward his writings to other scholars as well: "I ask you to also deliver to [Bentley] my *Notes about Juvenal*. I will now send to him my addenda. Please also hand over [to him] my *Notes about Martial and Petronius*."⁴³⁴ Beverland asked for criticism and often offered his own in return. He for instance wrote to Gronovius about his friend's comments on Fabretti in 1684: "I have read your nocturnal studies about that funny Fabretti, by Jupiter, how learned and how laborious!"⁴³⁵

Humanist interests

"I have made selections from the notes of various [commentaries on] Horace to have them printed in quarto format, like the Suetonius [edition] of Graevius and the Juvenal [edition] of Henninius, so that [these notes] may be united with all the notes of

⁴³² The handwritten version of the DPO is preserved in Denmark, as part of the personal collection of J.G. Graevius (see Bibliography). See for discussions about his works also the 'Epistolae Tullianae' (ET 1 to 14).

⁴³³ 'Constitui enim brevi typis mandare libros tres *De Prostibulis Veterum*... arduum hoc negotium stylo haud committerem, nisi temeritati meae veniam promitteret tua humanitas ac innata comitas... Tu autem, eruditorum Ilias, cum solus conatibus nostris opitulari posses, precor ut eorum adiutor esse haud dedigneris.' In: EH 2, 15/10/1678.

⁴³⁴ 'Ceterum rogo, ut ei quoque tradas *Notas meas in Iuvenalem*. Nunc mitto ei addenda. Trade sodes et *Notas in Martialem et Petronium*.' In: EG 26/14, 1702.

⁴³⁵ 'Legi tuas in nugigertalum Fabrettum lucubrationes, doctas Iuppiter! et laboriosas.' In: EG 14/6, 30/01/1684.

Torrentius, Heinsius, Rutgersius, Marcilius, and my own.”⁴³⁶ In his letters Beverland regularly discussed classical scholarship: his own studies or the works of others. After recounting the excellent works preserved in Vossius’ library in the early 1680s, he wrote to Gronovius: “If you wish that as a favour to you I copy or discuss *De expugnatione et oppugnatione urbium* of Philo of Byzantium, of which the late Valois has suggested a fragment to you once, I will gladly obey you.”⁴³⁷ In 1698 he offered his advice again, introducing corrections to his friend’s recently printed work: “Please allow me to suggest to you a few things, so that the Republic of Letters does not suffer damage. I have looked at your *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum*. So that this [work] turns out more excellent, I have decided I must speak to you with this letter [to point out some faults].”⁴³⁸ Beverland could be harsh in his criticism: “As soon as I saw that the *Enchiridium* of Epictetus was [published] together with the *Tactica* of Arrianus, I did not know which unexpected feeling of disgust crept up on me. [Blanckaerts] had better shaven the belly of his maid or tried to shave a man from Caria than protrude something so useless and impromptu.”⁴³⁹ Sometimes he also praised his colleagues however: “[Concerning the theories of Phalaris] Bentley has refuted the scholars of Oxford in an excellent way.”⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁶ ‘Ego exce[r]psi notas variorum in Horatium, ut imprimeretur in 4°, sicut Suetonius Graevii et Iuvenalis Henninii, ut subiungantur integrae notae Torrentii, Heinsii, Rutgersii, Marcilii, Beverlandi.’ In: EG 32/19, 1706.

⁴³⁷ ‘Si vis, ut in tui gratiam describam vel conferam Philonem Byzantium *De expugnatione et oppugnatione urbium*, cuius fragmentum tibi olim suggessit ὁ μακαριστός Valesius, lubens morem geram.’ In: EG 30/17, 1685.

⁴³⁸ ‘Patere ut te paucis admoneam, ne resp[ublica] literaria detrimentum patiatur. Vidi Thesaurum Antiq[uitatum] Graec[arum]. Qui ut perfectior evadat, te hisce literulis compellandum iudicavi.’ In: EG 29/16, 1698.

⁴³⁹ ‘Simulac Epicteti Enchiridium cum Arriani Tacticis iunctum viderem, nescio quam inexpectatum mihi obrepsit taedium. Satius ancillae suae ventrem rasisset vel in Care tendendo periculum fecisset quam tam πονηρόν protrusisset schediasma.’ In: EG 3, 1/11/1684. For his mention of ‘in Care tendendo periculum fecisset’, see: Cicero, *Pro L. Flacco*, chapter 65. People from Caria (Asia Minor) were known in the Roman world for their untrustworthiness and treachery. See: Wauters, ‘Correspondentie’, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁴⁰ ‘Bentlaeus egregie refutavit Oxonienses.’ In: EG 20/10, 15/8/1699.

Beverland's correspondence with fellow humanist scholars was characterized by these learned topics: from academic appointments to newly published books, he discussed all kinds of matters concerned with humanist scholarship. Scholars belonging to the humanist movement, which had its origins in fourteenth-century Italy and extended across Northern Europe in the centuries that followed, first and foremost focused on the rediscovery of the ancients: finding, studying, and writing about classical sources and describing anew the Greek and Roman world. The majority of humanist scholars concentrated on classical manuscripts and reconstructed the language, content, and context of epic poems, tragedies, and philosophical writings. Analysing the same set of ancient works, humanists formed an extended European network of scholarship: corresponding with one another, praising and denouncing each other's commentaries, and debating how to study classical texts in the best way.

In addition to their philological focus, humanists argued that the rediscovery of the classics was of great contemporary importance, not just for the academics closely examining the works or for equipping students for a professional career in law, medicine or theology, but for all people. They believed that the best works within classical literature, studied at school and read by the wider public, could provide early modern society with excellent models of morality. Approached from a Christian point of view, the works of for instance Cicero and Horace could show people how one should behave in all kinds of political, social, and cultural contexts.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ The early modern humanist movement has been discussed in different historical studies and has become the subject of many historiographical debates. For more on the topic, see: A. Mazzocco, *Interpretations of Renaissance humanism* (Leiden, 2006); Kraye, *The Cambridge companion to Renaissance Humanism*; J. IJsewijn, D. Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Leuven 1977, 1990, 1998); Grafton, *Defenders of the text*; C.G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, 1995, 2006).

In the Dutch Republic, the Revolt against Spain, the Reformation, and the establishment of a new state in the second half of the sixteenth century shaped the development of humanism. Building on the exemplary scholarship of Dutch humanists Rudolf Agricola, Desiderius Erasmus, and Hadrianus Junius, education within Latin Schools and the newly established University of Leiden was based on the principles of Christian humanism. Scholars like Janus Dousa, Justus Lipsius, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Gerardus Joannes Vossius focused on the biblical texts and the works of ancient authors for educational and exegetical purposes and with a particular focus on philology in the later-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Dutch school of textual criticism became renowned in Europe: Dutch scholars specialized in classical philology and the close study of the biblical texts. After 1650, the Golden Age of humanism was over: many thinkers turned away from the accumulated ancient texts and developed new empiricist and rationalist approaches to knowledge. Yet humanist methods and ideas continued to have an important impact upon academic practices and remained central to Dutch scholarship. In this later period especially the production of compilations of texts around a certain theme became popular in humanist circles.⁴⁴²

Not just Beverland's correspondence but his interests and studies in general present us with the elements that made early modern humanism such an important intellectual force. His life and writings were characterized by his adoration of classical literature, philological study of ancient texts, and participation in a network of prominent Dutch humanists. The dominance of references to the classics in his studies, his use of the

⁴⁴² For more on Dutch humanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: J. IJsewijn, *Humanism in the Low Countries, Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia*, 40 (Leuven, 2015), especially pp. 391-455; F. Akkerman, A.J. Vanderjagt, A.H. van der Laan, *Northern humanism in European context, 1469-1625: from the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius* (Leiden, 1999); Heesakkers, 'From Erasmus to Leiden', pp. 38-68.

Latin language, his concern with classical philology as well as the Bible, and his cataloguing of all kinds of ancient sources around a single theme make Beverland a typical late proponent of Dutch humanism. In his works he never missed an opportunity to refer to classical thinkers, works, or other ancient sources that were related to the topic he was discussing, with him at times constructing endless enumerations of examples. Also his love for Roman satirical writers and his personal collection of (ancient) manuscripts and artefacts underline his close affiliation with the Dutch humanist tradition.

Beverland's banishment abruptly ended the first part of his scholarly life, but he continued to study the classics after 1680. For instance he used his background in law to write a commentary on the *Institutiones* of Roman emperor Justinian I and during a stay in Oxford he wrote the 'Otia Oxoniensia', a collection of essays.⁴⁴³ He composed commentaries on the works of for instance Martial, Horace, and Lucretius⁴⁴⁴ and he devoted time to Latin philology.⁴⁴⁵ In accordance with humanist tradition, he also collected letters and inscriptions: "With regards to collecting rare inscriptions I am doing very useful work. In addition [I have collected] quite a few handwritten letters of the most learned men in one volume."⁴⁴⁶

To give an idea of the great number of classical references in Beverland's early works, we will briefly focus on the first four chapters of the DPV here, which make up almost half of the only remaining first volume of this work. It presents the core of

⁴⁴³ For Beverland's notes on Justinian see: 'Notae Philologicae Reales', for his essays see for instance his 'Iter in Anglia' (see for all the Bibliography).

⁴⁴⁴ See: 'Notae in Horatium', 'Notes in Iuvenalis', and 'Notes on Lucretius' in the Bibliography.

⁴⁴⁵ He stated for instance in 1708 that he was finishing his alterations to the *Thesaurus* of Faber, which he had been working on for twenty years (EG 24/12, 03/10/1708). For his notes on this work, see: 'Fabri Thesaurus cum notis mss.' in the Bibliography.

⁴⁴⁶ 'In rariores colligendo inscriptiones utilissimam plane navo operam. Nonnullas etiam doctissimorum virorum epistolas m[anu]s[criptas] in unum coadunavi volumen.' In: EH 13, 29/6/1681. For a selection of his inscriptions and engravings see: 'Inscriptiones singulares hactenus ineditae' in the Bibliography.

Beverland's main argument, from his reinterpretation of the story of Adam and Eve to the first stages of his exposition of the great consequences of the Fall of Man for universal human nature, by focusing on Greek, Roman, and early Christian history.⁴⁴⁷ References to Roman writers dominated the work: Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal are cited most frequently.⁴⁴⁸ In Chapter 1 to 4 of the first book of the DPV, 1189 references can be found in total, made to 386 people: scholars, mythical and biblical characters, as well as historically important cultural, political, and religious figures (see Table 2 below). Of the writers that featured prominently, more than 63% lived between 500 BCE and 500 CE.⁴⁴⁹ More than 56% of the total number of references made to other thinkers in the first part of his DPV referred to Roman writers and a staggering 97% of the quotations were taken from works composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE.⁴⁵⁰

Table 2. Writers in first part of the DPV*

Time-period	Writers~	Percentage^	References~	Percentage^	Quotations~	Percentage^
Classical (800 BCE - 500 CE)	109	63%	542	87%	204	98%
Roman (200 BCE - 200 CE)	67	39%	348	56%	201	97%
Medieval (500 - 1500)	15	9%	20	3%	0	0
Early modern (1500 - 1700)	48	28%	61	10%	4	2%
Total	172	100%	623	100%	208	100%

* The first 4 chapters of DPV (first 2015 lines).

~ Total number of writers, references (direct and indirect), and quotations (direct, consisting of multiple words). References to biblical authors or characters are not included in this table.

^ Percentage of total number of writers, references, and quotations

⁴⁴⁷ The first part of the DPV, consisting of the first four chapters and making up almost half of the book, seems closest to having being finished. From chapter 5 onwards the chapters become shorter and seem only to represent first drafts. See: De Smet, *Hadriani Barlandi (Hadriaan Beverland) 'De prostibulis veterum'*.

⁴⁴⁸ Ovid: 189 references in DPV, 80 in book I, chapter 1-4 of which 57 quotations; Martial: 143 references, 23 in chapter 1-4, of which 15 with citations, and Juvenal was referred to 128 times, in chapter 1-4 50 times, of which 46 with quotation. For more on his citations of Martial, see: R. de Smet, 'Citations de Martial dans le "De Prostibulis Veterum" de Beverland', *L'antiquité classique Année*, 56, no. 1 (1987), pp. 219-42.

⁴⁴⁹ The catalogue of Beverland's library suggests that he preferred reading Latin to reading Greek. A catalogue of his library was composed by Beverland himself in the early 1690s (see 'Bibliotheca' in the Bibliography). For a brief overview of the catalogue, library, and its contents see: De Smet, 'Bibliotheca'.

⁴⁵⁰ The origin of the majority of the references and quotations was ascertained by De Smet (*Hadriani Barlandi (Hadriaan Beverland) 'De prostibulis veterum'*).

The numerous classical references added authority to Beverland's argument and demonstrated his erudition. From lengthy quotations to the subtle use of particular words, in almost every sentence he used his great knowledge of ancient writings to reinforce and extend his argument. At times he referred to scholars and their writings directly: quoting a passage from a work or referring to a scholar by mentioning his or her name and sometimes the title of a work in the text or margins. He used these references either traditionally, in relation to the generally accepted sexual meaning of the work, or explained to his reader how the work fit into his argument, by adding an original obscene connotation. A large number of references in his writings were indirect however, with Beverland counting on the reader to understand the relation between a subtle citation and a particular argument. He challenged his readers and encouraged them to discover the hidden sexual connotation of words and passages in other writings. Like other humanists, Beverland did not shy away from reinterpreting the works of others and using their ideas for his own purposes. In his discussion of the (often hidden) meaning of texts and words, he moved away from their traditional readings.⁴⁵¹

Neo-Latin style and satire

In addition to his sources, method, and the content of his works, also Beverland's style of writing reveals how much his studies were influenced by humanism. For humanist scholars the style of their writings, and especially their use of the Latin language, was of great importance. Early modern humanists made a deliberate distinction between Medieval Latin, which they perceived to be inelegant, imprecise, and too much influenced

⁴⁵¹ On other humanists who used the same method in this period, see: L. Jardine, and A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78

by the vernacular, and their own Latin, adopting the pure styles of classical authors as their models for writing.⁴⁵² Also Beverland paid close attention to the style of his writings.⁴⁵³ In the studies of Wauters and De Smet, his style has been examined in excellent detail.⁴⁵⁴ Building on their findings, it can be concluded that Beverland tried to impress his audience with his erudite Latin but also aimed to entertain his reader and never failed to add witty examples. His Latin can be described as characterized by a mix of classical styles: he showed himself a typical Neo-Latin writer when combining for instance the simple and clear style of Cicero and the satirical style of Martial and Ovid.

Beverland's letters often represent his Ciceronian style of writing, with a clear, rhythmic, and balanced diction. Exemplary is a short excerpt from a letter to Graevius:

Displicuit tibi libelli mei stylus; placuit materiam. Istud homuncionum genus, quod se divino spiritu afflatum vendidat, damnat materiam, stylum laudat praeconiisque extollit. O saeculum insipiens! Mirifica res. Homo homini quid praestat?⁴⁵⁵

Very different is his baroque style, consisting of rare words and vague allegories. A passage from a letter written to Heinsius in 1679, in which Beverland described his recent arrest, provides a good example:

Eo ipso die, quo fidelem meam operam non despexit nobilissimus Toparcha, domi redux, inter horas primi soporis invid[i]osa sordidatorum et perfidorum mole vallatus, cinctus custodia, destinatus perveni ad ferricrepinas studiosorum insulas. Delicatae sollicitudinis ingenuitati diurnae amicorum fautorumque congratulationes obstitere, ita ut prae strepitu caducorum

⁴⁵² For more on Neo-Latin, see: IJsewijn, *Sacre, Companion to Neo-Latin studies*; M. Pade, 'From Mediaeval Latin to Neo-Latin', *BENLW*, pp. 5-19; J. Ramming, 'Neo-Latin: Character and Development', *BENLW*, pp. 20-36; K. Jensen, 'The Humanist reform of Latin and Latin teaching', Krayer, *The Cambridge companion to Renaissance Humanism*, pp. 63-81.

⁴⁵³ Especially in his 'Epistolae Tullianae', letters written between 1676 and 1679, see the Bibliography. See also: De Smet, 'Epistolae Tullianae'.

⁴⁵⁴ Wauters, 'Correspondentie'; De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 87-97.

⁴⁵⁵ 'The style of my book displeased you, the content satisfied you. That wretched species of small-minded men which sells itself to the divine spirit for their inspiration, condemns the content, praises the style, and extolls it with high praise. Oh this foolish generation! This extraordinary thing. Why is one man superior to another?' In: ET 4, Graevius, 1679.

schyphorum mutuo vix debito satisfacere potuerim. Levato tandem velo, tristem arundinem minabatur sordido compendio inhians praetor. Tetricus Cato rugato labello narem rhinocerotica minabatur, superciliosae frontis bubulcus districtum vibrabat theta, sed nec coronae turgida verebar ora nec praeiudiciis incrustatos contumeliosaque rusticitate diros timebam. Stertent[i]um oblatratorum aures mascula voce everberabam sine fine mordax.⁴⁵⁶

While the variety in his Latin was part of his personal diction, Beverland did at times adjust his style to particular contexts. Firstly, his style depended on the period. In his younger years he had a great admiration for the baroque and used many uncommon words and complex structures. By the late 1670s however, he came to prefer a clear style: "I love the easiness of Cicero. I changed my style of writing and [now I] practice my style of writing in imitation of his divine clarity."⁴⁵⁷ Beverland discussed this change of style in particular in relation to the editions of his DPO, as he denounced the style of the *Peccatum Originale* after its publication in 1678.⁴⁵⁸ He decided to edit the work, 'cleansing' his writing from stretched sentences, long enumerations, and the frequent subordinate clauses. He wrote to Graevius in 1679: "I am entirely immersed in polishing the unfinished product of my feeble intellect mind and in softening the expressions which had become worse on account of haste... This [first] edition reeks most foully of a goat,

⁴⁵⁶ 'On that day itself, when the most respected Nobleman did not look down upon my faithful service, when returning home in the first hours, which induce sleep, and I had arrived stubbornly at the iron-clanking isles of the studios, I was cornered by an angry group of dodgy and untrustworthy types and surrounded by the [city] guard. The congratulations of friends and admirers stood in the way of the mild candour of the anxiety of the day, so that I could scarcely satisfy the mutual debts because of the loud noise of fleeting cups. When at last the curtain was raised, the prosecutor, who had arrived via a filthy alleyway, was making threatening movements with a sad reed with an open mouth in astonishment. Like a severe Cato with a wrinkled lip he was threatening [me] with his nose of a rhino, like a busy farm labourer with a haughty brow he was brandishing [me] with the theta, but I did not fear the swollen mouths of that circle of men nor did I dread those rude and horrible [men] coated with prejudgments and who lack sophistication. Without end I violently beat with manly and biting tone the ears of those barking and snoring men.' In: EH 9, 20/11/1679. The *theta* is the vote for a death penalty. Wauters rightfully argued that this passage is characteristic of Beverland's early style of writing: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 9-11, 51-9.

⁴⁵⁷ 'Amo Ciceronis facilitatem. Stylum verto atque exerceo in imitanda divina illius perspicuitate.' In: ET 3, Gronovius, 1/6/1679. See also his comments in: ET 7, Heinsius, 1679; EH 13, 29/06/1681.

⁴⁵⁸ As he stated for instance in: ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679; ET 4, Graevius, 1679; EH 5, Heinsius, 09/1679. See also: ET 9-14; EH 3-8; letters to Graevius in RLC (1, 2).

but the second [edition] will breathe a more elegant style..."⁴⁵⁹. Although seemingly determined to change the work, in his DPO of 1679 he still mixed clear sections with many baroque passages. Beverland would never fully abandon his love for composing greatly complex and erudite Latin.⁴⁶⁰

Secondly, he adjusted his style to his subject. "because the subject of my writing is delicate, I should pay a little bit more attention to the issues of the smoothness of style..." he wrote to Gronovius before the second publication of his DPO; "when I uncover the secret of Venus, I should speak in a more sublime manner."⁴⁶¹ He was not planning to change his argument, but did aim to discuss his ideas with more caution. Comparing the first version of the DPO to the second, it is clear that he decided to remove some obscene examples and to express his argument in a more delicate manner.⁴⁶² Exemplary of the alterations he made is a passage from the Preface. In both editions, Beverland briefly discussed the style of his work in a dedicatory letter to De Goyer:

Indeed, I do not deny that excessive diligence is often harmful and for that reason, so that extravagance in my writing does not appear to produce poverty in my reasoning, I will only use the most *necessary* words, so that my argument is not stained by the dregs of wantonness nor the itching of slippery speech. Thus I have mixed severity and elegance, so that the first does not degenerate to sadness, nor the second to offensive humour.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹ 'Iam totus sum in ingenioli abortum lambendo, horridioremque quam ex celeritate contraxerat, emolliendo locutionem. ... Redolet haec editio hircum: secunda Veneres spirabit elegantiores.' In: ET 5, Graevius, 1679. For more on this, see the 'Epistolae Tullianae' and letters to Gronovius, Heinsius, and Graevius (see Bibliography). See also: De Smet, 'Epistolae Tullianae'.

⁴⁶⁰ See: DPV, DSVI, DPO, and compare for instance EG 1/1, 12/12/1676 and EG 30/17, 1685.

⁴⁶¹ 'vero cum scripti mei materia admodum sit delicata, debui in lubricis paulisper musinari... cum ego arcana Veneris revelo, oportebat me sublimiora loqui.' in: ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679.

⁴⁶² The main argument remained the same, as did the topics of most chapters. The editions do differ greatly however, from small changes made to the style, to chapters being added or removed. Overall, it can be concluded that the second edition was less obscene, even though many explicit examples remained. For more on the *Peccatum Originale* of 1678 and *De Peccato Originali* of 1679 see the Bibliography.

⁴⁶³ 'Inficias equidem non eo, nimiam saepe nocere diligentiam, ideo ne literarum intemperantia rationis egestas laborare videatur, verbis *necessitatis* solis utar, nec faece petulantiae sermonisque lubrici pruritu polluaturs ratiocinatio, in qua severitatem comitatemque sic miscui, ut nec illa in tristitiam, nec haec in scurrilitatem degeneret.' In: DPO 1679, Letter De Goyer.

The passage that followed however, in which Beverland explained how the subject and style of his work were closely connected, was deleted from the second edition of the DPO:

I was aiming at such moderation so that the skill [of the work] could lie hidden in its own artistry. ... If the mysteries of Venus are not described with peppered words [and] polished thoroughly with masculine solidity, every flavour of the style will be ruined. Therefore, so that the contrary is frequently prompted, so is the brilliance of my opinion, [which is] just as [the skill] concealed by cauldrons.⁴⁶⁴

Thirdly, Beverland adapted his writing style to the genre and audience of his texts. His letters were sometimes just as complex as his published works, but most of Beverland's epistles were written in a clear Ciceronian style. As he admitted himself in 1679: "I do not strive for this overly pompous style in my letters."⁴⁶⁵ At times he also adjusted the language of his texts to their audience, as becomes clear from his own comments on the style of his early writings.⁴⁶⁶ By comparing his private thoughts, voiced in letters, with his public comments, published in for instance his *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio* of the late 1690s, it becomes clear that Beverland adjusted his style and his own criticism of his style to particular readers. He wrote in the dedication of his DFC: "I condemn the passion of that thoughtless age. I loathe the illicit style and the even more worthless content."⁴⁶⁷ Multiple letters written in the same period show however

⁴⁶⁴ 'Tale temperamentum secutus sum ut ars sua arte latere possit. ...piperatis dictis, mascula soliditate perpolitus, nisi Veneris mysteria describantur, omnis dictionis peribit gratia, ita ut contrarium saepe eliciatur, si sententiarum nitor, velut cortinis veletur.' In: DPO 1678, Letter De Goyer.

⁴⁶⁵ 'In epistolis κακόζηλα non aucupor.' In: ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679.

⁴⁶⁶ Of the 303 letters written by Beverland of which the language is known, 248 letters (82%) were written in Latin. 51 letters (17%) were written in Dutch, 3 letters were written in French, and 1 in English. The letters not written in Latin usually dealt with daily affairs, not with humanist subjects.

⁴⁶⁷ 'Damno calorem improvidae illius aetatis. Detestor adulterinum stylum et nequiores sensum.' In: DFC, *Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correctae*, 1698, Dedication to Edward Bernard, p. A3v. For more on the DFC, see: R. de Smet, 'Hadrian Beverland's *De Fornicatione Cavenda*: an *adhortatio ad pudicitiam* or an *ad impudicitiam*?', I. de Smet, and P. Ford (eds.), *Éros et Priapus: érotisme et obscénité dans la littérature néo-latine, Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 51 (Geneva, 1997), pp. 113-39

that Beverland was still proud of the content as well as the style of his early works. He for instance wrote to Gronovius in 1698 that “In the first book of my *De Prostibulis Veterum* I had written in such an elegant style about Greek festivals.”⁴⁶⁸

When we look at the different styles that influenced Beverland’s writings, satire plays a conspicuous role. Satire was one of the oldest classical genres, popular in both Greek and Roman times, and can be defined as poetry or prose in which an author ridicules, mocks, or ironized other people and their behaviour with the intention to make the audience laugh. Usually the writer takes a self-righteous stance, portraying him- or herself as superior and indignant at the vices of others, and attempts to win the reader’s sympathy by attacking contemporary follies and social problems, in a personal and topical as well as commonplace and abstract manner, balancing painfully truthful comments with a witty style. Under this general heading fall many different types of works, in which satire is applied using different methods, forms, and contexts. Often writers used subversive tactics, since the satirical genre allowed them a relative amount of freedom to talk openly about scandalous subjects.⁴⁶⁹

Satire was not only popular in ancient times, the genre also had a special status in the Neo-Latin world. Like many classical styles it was rediscovered, read, studied, and copied. Erasmus, More, and Lipsius are just three well-known examples of humanists who wrote satire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, composing writings which wittily exposed social vices to ridicule or shame certain persons, groups, or society as a whole.

⁴⁶⁸ ‘Ego tam eleganter scripseram in libr[o] 1 *De Prost[ibulis] Veter[um]* de festis Graeco[rum].’ In: EG 29/16, 1698.

⁴⁶⁹ For more on classical satire, see: R.M. Rosen, *Making mockery: the poetics of ancient satire, Classical culture and society* (Oxford, 2007); K. Freudenburg (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge, 2005); D. Griffin, *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Lexington, 1995).

With Petronius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal as models, early modern satire varied as much as the works of ancient satirists did; from long novels to short epigrams, using humorous ridicule or harsh criticism, and characterized by different stylistic devices, like irony, parody, or exaggeration. Often written by textual critics, humanist satires were usually composed in a pure classical style for an erudite audience that could understand the difficult Latin, numerous allegories, and subtle references to classical literature.⁴⁷⁰

In 1702, Beverland revealed to Gronovius that “There are many important people and gentlemen [here in England], who only reluctantly dine without the wit of Beverland.”⁴⁷¹ Beverland often described himself as a satirical soul, characterised by a love for witticism, satirical humour, and Roman satire.⁴⁷² His personal interest was illustrated by his involvement with the publication of the *Rime di diversi autori*,⁴⁷³ in which he translated Italian ‘bernesque’ verses into Latin, and also his commentaries of for instance Juvenal and Horace, which he composed after 1680.⁴⁷⁴ Although his early works cannot be defined as satires, his style and argument often contained characteristic satirical features, he imitated Petronius, Horace, and Juvenal, cited Greek, Roman, and early modern satire, and used characters from multiple Roman satirical works.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ For more on early modern satire, see: D.A. Porter, in: ‘Neo-Latin Prose Satire’, *BENLW*, pp. 323-34; D. Marsh, ‘Satire’, *BENLW*, pp. 413-24; I.A.R. de Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581–1655, Travaux du Grand Siècle*, 2 (Geneva, 1996).

⁴⁷¹ ‘Complures sunt magnates et gentlemanni, qui prandere vix possunt sine sale Beverlandi.’ In: EG 26/14, 1702.

⁴⁷² Beverland referred to his satirical interests in his letters, see for instance: EG 1/1, 20/11/1676; EH 12, 7/8/1680; EG 26/14, 1702; EG 24/12, 3/10/1708. For more on his satirical character, see also: R. de Smet, ‘Erasmiaanse thematiek in de laat-humanistische epistolografie: de briefwisseling van Hadriaan Beverland (1650-1716)’, J.P. Vandenbranden, *Miscellanea Jean-Pierre Vanden Branden: Erasmus ab Anderlaco* (Brussels, 1995), pp. 125-44.

⁴⁷³ The *Rime di diversi autori* featured poetry from G. Mauro, G.F. Bini, F.M. Molza and G. Della Casa. Due to the satirical style and obscene subject matters of these verses, the work was mentioned during his trial. For more see the Bibliography.

⁴⁷⁴ For commentaries on these scholars see above and the Bibliography.

⁴⁷⁵ Maura is mentioned for instance in the DPV (book I, chapter III, lines 753-6) and DSVI (IX, p. 152); Quartilla in the DPO (Preface and XII, p. 65), DPV (book I, chapter III, lines 651, 1088, 1190), and DSVI (chapter II, p. 14).

Pointing out the carnal vices that originated in the fallen nature of humankind, Beverland did not only explore the consequences of the Fall in the classical period but he also criticized the manner in which his contemporary society dealt with this depravity. An important aim of his early works was to speak the truth about the most important sin of all and to expose the hypocrisy of his contemporaries. He aimed to get his point across by on the one hand writing in a tongue-in-cheek style and entertaining his audience. Yet, on the other hand, he also attacked particular groups, especially those who were in his view most responsible for hiding the truth and adopting a hypocritical stance from a Christian or scholarly point of view.⁴⁷⁶ Even in his DFC, his grand excuse work in which he apologized for his immoral early works, Beverland upheld the importance of speaking the truth about the ugly: "Though it may seem more than sufficient to keep silent about this filth, yet the gravity of the epidemic forces us to seek a remedy."⁴⁷⁷

Thus an important satirical feature of Beverland's writings was their precarious balance between denouncing vice on the one hand while emphasizing its presence and importance on the other. This made his studies as morally suspicious as many other classical and early modern satires. The castigation of immoralities put satire in a special category, because, even though a well-respected genre, by pointing out the flaws of people in power and society as a whole in a provocative style and striking a precarious balance between attacking and highlighting moral vices, an author ran the risk of offending not only those he attacked but also his general audience. And even though we

⁴⁷⁶ Beverland mentioned these groups, generally speaking Dutch theologians and prudish scholars who did not agree with his argument, in many different parts of his works and letters, for instance in the dedication of his DPO (Letter to De Goyer) and in his chapters on biblical criticism (DPO Part IV, p. 11; Part VII, p. 37). For more on this see Chapter 4.

⁴⁷⁷ In: DFC, p. 9. Translation by De Smet, 'Hadrian Beverland's *De Fornicatione Cavenda*', p. 122.

find classical satires in school curricula in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the genre sustained this edge of moral danger in its Neo-Latin form.

One could say that the problematic character of satire was enhanced in the early modern period due to the moral foundation of Renaissance humanism. Promoting the classics as models for all civil life, humanist scholars not only aimed to reform education and classical scholarship but also argued that ancient literature could offer a window into the perfect Greek and Roman world, providing a standard against which the elite should measure their own behaviour as well as their contemporary society. By pointing out the depravities in classical societies, often using obscene language and focusing on vulgar topics, satirical writers presented an unwelcome view of an idealized past, which together with the mockery characteristic of satires could threaten the moral philosophy of humanism. Humanism presented a practical guide to life and presented the classics as offering moral ideals. Vice-focused, coarse, and indecent satires showed a side of the ancients that most humanists could do without. Scholars justified their study of ancient writings by arguing that the classics should be read for the good they could bring to Christian society and thus preferred to focus on writers and works which could be made to fit within the Christian context. Looking at Beverland's studies and concentrating on the critical reception his publications received from his scholarly colleagues, could it be that his works also highlighted an unwanted truth about the ancient world?

3.2. Sex and humanist scholarship

Sex in the classics

In his *De Rerum Natura*, Roman philosopher Titus Lucretius Carus discussed how one should go about conceiving a child. He explained that the sexual position was of great

importance, “for wives are thought generally to conceive better after the manner of wild beasts and quadrupeds, because in that position, breast down and loins up, the seeds can occupy the proper places.”⁴⁷⁸ Women should however withhold from engaging in any erotic movements, he added:

For a woman forbids herself to conceive and fights against it, if in her delight she thrusts against the man’s penis with her buttocks, making undulating movements with all her body limp; for she turns the share clean away from the furrow and makes the seed fail of its place. Whores indulge in such motions for their own purposes, that they may not often conceive and lie pregnant, and at the same time that their intercourse may be more pleasing to men; which our wives evidently have no need for.⁴⁷⁹

Discussing sexual poses from a different point of view, the Roman poet Ovid advised women in his *Ars Amatoria* to favour the position that flattered their bodies:

from your own bodies fix your method; one fashion does not suit all alike. Let her who is fair of face recline upon her back; let those whose backs please them be seen from behind. ... If her thighs be youthful and her breasts without blemish, her lover should stand, and she herself lie slantwise on the couch.⁴⁸⁰

Ovid and Lucretius are just two of the many ancient authors who wrote about sex. “I’ll sodomize you and stuff my penis in your mouth...”⁴⁸¹, the poet Catullus wrote and similarly many epigrams of Martial depicted sexual desire: “Lesbian Philaenis sodomizes boys and, more cruel than a husband’s lust, devours eleven girls per day...”⁴⁸².

⁴⁷⁸ In: Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, book 4, lines 1263-1267, transl. W.H.D. Rouse, M.F. Smith, *LCL*, 181 (Cambridge MA, 1924).

⁴⁷⁹ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, book 4, lines 1267-1277, transl. Rouse, Smith.

⁴⁸⁰ In: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, book III, lines 769-786, transl. J.H. Mozley, G.P. Goold, *LCL*, 232 (Cambridge MA, 1929).

⁴⁸¹ In: Catullus, *Carmina*, poem 16, lines 1-6, transl. F.W. Cornish, G.P. Goold, *LCL*, 6 (Cambridge MA 1913, last revision 1995).

⁴⁸² In: Martial, *Epigrammata*, book VII, epigram 67, line 1, transl. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *LCL*, 94, 95 (Cambridge MA, 1993).

Descriptions and discussions of sexuality featured in all classical genres.⁴⁸³ The Roman natural philosopher Pliny the Elder, for example, discussed sexual customs in his *Naturalis Historia*. “Sexual intercourse was disapproved of by Democritus, as being merely the act whereby one human being springs from another” he stated, but added that “Athletes, however, when sluggish regain by it their activity, and the voice, when it has lost its clearness and become husky, is restored. It cures pain in the loins, dullness of vision, unsoundness of mind, and melancholia.”⁴⁸⁴ Examples of the discussions of sex in the writings of pagan authors could fill many more pages of this thesis. Ancient writings represented Greek and Roman views on the importance of sexuality in society and human nature. From erotic poetry to historical treatises, from elegies to rhetoric, from epic poems to natural philosophy: sex was commonly commented upon without boundaries.

“Men play the part of women, and women that of men, contrary to nature; women are at once wives and husbands: no passage is closed against libidinousness; and their promiscuous lechery is a public institution, and luxury is domesticated. O miserable spectacle! Horrible conduct!”⁴⁸⁵ This is what the early Christian theologian Clement of Alexandria wrote in his *Paedagogus* around 200 CE, singling out ancient sexual mores because they exemplified the wickedness of pagan religion. Clement was horrified by the sexual relations taking place between males, by prostitution, and by the cultivation of the naked body in pagan culture. The accepted place of sexual desire in ancient times, even if Clement exaggerated its immoral consequences, stood in stark contrast to the absolute

⁴⁸³ See in addition to the examples below, for instance: Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, volume 2, book 4.2, parts 68-69; Tacitus, *Annals*, book XV, part XXXVII.

⁴⁸⁴ In: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, book XXVIII, part XVI, transl. H. Rackham, *LCL*, 394 (Cambridge MA, 1952).

⁴⁸⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, book III, chapter III, transl. A. Cleveland Coxe, J. Donaldson, and A. Roberts (eds.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century* (Peabody, 1994), pp. 275-7.

rejection of sex in Christian ideology as it shaped itself in the first centuries. In its fight for survival and later in its struggles to establish a broadly shared ideology, Christian religion strictly opposed itself to everything 'pagan'. Representing moderate Christian ideas in his time, which would prove greatly durable in the long Middle Ages, Clement argued that Christians should only have sex for reproduction, because only this type of sexual relations had received special dispensation from Christ. The condemnation of the sexual mores of the pagans was part of the general attack of early Christian thinkers on ancient religion. Due to their belief in false deities and rejection of the Christian God, pagan society had become morally depraved. It was believed that the sexual immorality of the pagan peoples exemplified their corruptive, wicked, and blasphemous religious beliefs.⁴⁸⁶

The sacrament of marriage played a central role in the Christian denunciation of the pagan world.⁴⁸⁷ Yet marriage had also been important in Greek and Roman societies. As one of the most significant social duties, the legal union between man and woman was often considered crucial for the division of property and the production of offspring. While the sexual lust of women was limited to the realm of matrimony in the vast majority of ancient communities, men enjoyed great sexual freedom. Bachelors, husbands, and widowers were free to have sexual relations with boys, other men, unmarried women, prostitutes, slaves, and servants. Not the marital relation to or the gender of a sexual partner but the adopted role of a man in the sexual act defined its legitimacy and propriety

⁴⁸⁶ See: Gaca, *The making of fornication*, pp. 1-9, 292-302; Brown, *The body*, pp. 29-60; S. Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1996); E. Sawyer, 'Celibate Pleasures: Masculinity, Desire, and Asceticism in Augustine', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 6, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1-29; Hubbard, Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation', pp. 164-83; Gaca, 'Early Christian Sexuality', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, pp. 534-48.

⁴⁸⁷ See works footnote 486, and in addition: J. Evans Grubbs, 'Marriage and family relationships in the late Roman West', P. Rousseau (ed.), *Blackwell companion to late antiquity* (Chichester West Sussex, 2009), pp. 201-219; E.A. Clark, 'The Celibate Bridegroom and His Virginal Brides: Metaphor and Marriage of Jesus in Early Christian Ascetic Exegesis', *Church History*, 77, no. 1 (2008), pp. 1-25.

in Greek and Roman eyes. Males should be the dominant partner and assume the active role: only women and young boys should be the passive, penetrated, and inferior lover.⁴⁸⁸ Christian marriage on the other hand restricted sex to male-female relations and to the realm of marriage for both spouses: Christians should only have sexual relations in the service of their God. Not marriage but virginity was defined as the most sacred way to deal with one's mortal sexual urges and therefore neither love nor pleasure but procreation was the only valid reason for Christians to engage in the ungodly act.⁴⁸⁹

The strictly asexual nature of the Christian God was wholly opposed to the assigned place of sexuality in the polytheistic beliefs of the pagans. Sexual gods and goddesses represented the significant role of sexuality in human nature: Aphrodite, Venus, Eros and Cupid, to name just a few, personified its importance and were worshipped in relation to reproduction and fertility. During festivals, in temples, and in many art forms sexual divinities were venerated and invoked for their spiritual importance. The struggles of pagan gods and goddesses with their sexual urges were openly discussed, with their lustful feelings exhibited as normal and their divine frames representing mortal bodies.⁴⁹⁰ Despite the emphasis on the dangers of sexual lust and the negative position of Platonic, Stoic, and

⁴⁸⁸ For more on Greek and Roman sex and marriage, see: Brown, *The body*, pp. 6-23; S. Dixon, 'From Ceremonial to Sexualities: A Survey of Scholarship on Roman Marriage', B. Rawson (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Chichester West Sussex, 2011), pp. 245-61; A. Carson, 'Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt and Desire', D. Halperin, J. Winkler, F. Zeitlin (eds.), *Before sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 135-70; K.K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010); A. Glacebrook, K. Olsen, 'Greek and Roman marriage', Hubbard, *Blackwell Companion to Greek and Roman sexualities*, pp. 69-80.

⁴⁸⁹ See the works in footnotes 486 and 487.

⁴⁹⁰ For more on the place of sex in ancient religion see: J. Larson, 'Sexuality in Greek and Roman Religion', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman sexualities*, pp. 214-22; P. Borgeaud, *Mother of the Gods: From Cybele to the Virgin Mary*, translation L. Hochroth (Baltimore, London, 2004); A. Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion* (London, New York, 1998); A. Brumfield, 'Aporreta: Verbal and Ritual Obscenity in the Cults of Ancient Women', R. Hägg (ed.), *The role of religion in the Early Greek Polis* (Stockholm, 1996), pp. 67-74; S.L. Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

other influential ancient philosophies, which promoted an austere and chaste lifestyle, sexual relationships were also often celebrated in Greek and Roman literature and culture. Lust was often portrayed in obscene images of sexual deities, naked statues of emperors, and explicit texts, celebrated in private as well as public rituals, events, and places, and admired in different forms of elegant art. The excavations taking place in Pompeii over the last centuries have underlined that sex was everywhere in Roman society: sexual positions, symbols, and scenes were immortalized in statues of Pan and Priapus and portrayed on the walls of private and public rooms, on household objects, and on coins.⁴⁹¹

This distinction between licentious pagans on one side and chaste Christians on the other is a generalization, based on the theoretical ideals of the upper classes and theological polemics of the first centuries, not an all-encompassing survey of ideas on sex, let alone on actual patterns of sexual behaviour, in ancient and early-Christian communities. One can hardly speak of one ancient ideology or one Christian view on sexuality in this period and in contemporary writings the sexual libertinism of pagan people was often as greatly exaggerated as the chaste ideals of Christians were glorified. What can be concluded from this brief comparison of ideas on sexuality, however, is that in the first Christian communities sex came to represent the greatest offence to God and the more liberal sexual customs of the ancients came to be regarded as one of the most distinctive features of the ungodly lives, societies, and beliefs of the pagans. The attack on ancient attitudes as well as the restriction of sex to holy matrimony would prove extremely durable

⁴⁹¹ For more on sex and ancient culture, see: M.B. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman culture* (Oxford, Chichester West Sussex, 2005, 2014); Nussbaum, Sihvola, *The Sleep of Reason*; E. Oliensis, 'Sons and lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry', C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 295-305; A. Lear, 'Ancient pederasty: an introduction', *Blackwell Companion to Greek and Roman sexualities*, pp. 102-128; I.E. Holmberg, 'Sex in Ancient Greek and Roman Epic', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman sexualities*, pp. 314-33; Blanshard, *Sex*, pp. 30-47.

in Christian ideology and would continue to influence the perception of Roman and Greek culture in general, and the reception of ancient texts in particular, for centuries to come.⁴⁹²

By the fourth century, sexual morality had become a central feature of religious writings; an essential component of Christian communities in relation to their understanding of human nature, to attaining salvation, and avoiding the wrath of God.⁴⁹³ In line with this perspective, Christian theologians rejected classical literature, yet ancient writings that represented polytheistic beliefs, pagan philosophies, and Greek and Roman views on sexual morality did not disappear. Many classical works survived and even inspired early protagonists of the Christian Church like Jerome.⁴⁹⁴ Even though all things pagan were regarded to be corrupt and dangerous, ancient texts were referenced and appropriated by many Christian writers. While Augustine defined 'mythical theology' as vulgar and foul, he also advocated the utility of ancient literature.⁴⁹⁵ And even Clement of Alexandria, despite his grand condemnation of the Gentiles, was inspired by pagan philosophy and literature.⁴⁹⁶ Because certain (parts of the) works were deemed useful and virtuous, many

⁴⁹² See: Gaca, *The making of fornication*, pp. 1-9, 292-302; Brown, *The body*, pp. 29-60; Hubbard, Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation', pp. 164-83.

⁴⁹³ See: Gaca, *The making of fornication*, pp. 1-9, 292-302; Brown, *The body*, pp. 29-60; Hubbard, Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation', pp. 164-83; J.E. Salisbury, *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London, 1991); Sawyer, 'Celibate Pleasures: Masculinity, Desire, and Asceticism in Augustine', pp. 1-29; Gaca, 'Early Christian Sexuality', Hubbard, *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, pp. 534-48; W.C. McDermott, 'Saint Jerome and Pagan Greek literature', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 36, no. 4 (1982), pp. 372-82; D. Shanzer, 'Augustine and the Latin Classics', M. Versey, and S. Reid (eds.), *Blackwell companion to Augustine* (Chichester West Sussex, Malden MA, 2012), pp. 161-74.

⁴⁹⁴ Despite his renunciation of pagan literature in his *To Eustochium* (part 30), Jerome studied the works of for instance Virgil, Seneca, Ovid, and Cicero. See: McDermott, 'Saint Jerome and Pagan Greek literature', pp. 372-82; Hubbard, Doerfler, 'From Asceticism to Sexual Renunciation', pp. 173-5.

⁴⁹⁵ Especially in Augustine's *The City of God against the Pagans*, book VI and book XVIII. See: Augustine. *City of God*, volume II: books 4-7, ed. W.M. Green (Cambridge MA, 1963) *LCL*, 412, volume IV: books 16-18.35, ed. P. Levine (Cambridge MA, 1966) *LCL*, 415, volume V: books 18.36-20, ed. W.C. Greene (Cambridge MA, 1960) *LCL*, 416; Shanzer, 'Augustine', pp. 161-74; Gaca, *The making of fornication*, pp. 292-302; Brown, *The body*, pp. 29-60.

⁴⁹⁶ See: M. Irvine, *The making of textual culture: 'grammatica' and literary theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 164; M. Landfester et al., 'Philology', *BNP*; Shanzer, 'Augustine', pp. 161-74.

classical writings were preserved over the centuries and survived the upsurge of Christian religion. By selecting, altering, or reinterpreting the right ancient texts, they could 'Christianised' or 'moralised': Christian virtues were highlighted or, when pagan vices were unavoidable, classical stories were explained as tales of warning or conversion.⁴⁹⁷

The preservation of ancient works was ambiguous: complete denunciation as well as inspired use of their form and content were contemplated, debated, and justified. The works of Ovid, for instance, were often rejected due to their erotic and pornographic content, yet throughout the Middle Ages his popularity slowly increased and his writings were used as a means for teaching the Latin language and style. From the twelfth century onwards, Ovid's verses inspired not only medieval poets, like Dante and Chaucer, but were even used as representing Christian virtues.⁴⁹⁸ In editions of and commentaries on his *Metamorphoses*, the content of Ovid's verses was allegorized and moralized to correspond to the Christian context. In the *Ovid Moralisé*, for example, composed in the early fourteenth century by an anonymous author, almost every aspect of Christian morality was recognized in this famous pagan poem. The same pagan gods and goddesses that were vilified and denounced by early Christian theologians due to their orgies, cruelties, and other devilish acts, were now reconciled with Christian theology, as it was claimed that Greek and Roman mythology anticipated or preconfigured Christian doctrine.⁴⁹⁹ And Ovid

⁴⁹⁷ See: A. Richlin, *The garden of Priapus: sexuality and aggression in Roman humour* (New Haven, New York, Oxford, 1983, 1992), pp. 108-109; R.H.F. Carver, *The Protean Ass: the Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1-29, 216; A. Wallace, *Virgil's Schoolboys: the poetics of pedagogy in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2011), p. 42; P. Mack, J. North, *The Afterlife of Ovid* (London, 2015); A. Moss, *Latin commentaries on Ovid from the Renaissance* (Signal Mountain, 1998).

⁴⁹⁸ Mack, North, *The Afterlife*; Moss, *Latin commentaries*, pp. xiii-xiv; M. Possanza, 'Editing Ovid: immortal works and material texts', P.E. Knox (ed.), *A Companion to Ovid, Blackwell companions to the ancient world* (Chichester West Sussex, 2009, 2013), pp. 315-28; J. Fyler, 'The medieval Ovid', Knox, *A Companion to Ovid*, pp. 411-15.

⁴⁹⁹ C. Lord, 'Three manuscripts of the Ovide moralisé', *The Art Bulletin*, 57, no. 2 (1975), pp. 161-75; R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The scandal of Pasiphae: Narration and Interpretation in the "Ovide moralisé"', *Modern Philology*, 93, no. 3 (1996), pp. 307-26; P.E. Knox, 'Commenting on Ovid', Knox, *A Companion to*

was only one of many ancient writers whose works persisted in manuscript and later in printed form because their content was carefully adapted to the Christian context.⁵⁰⁰

The expurgation of the classics

Ovid, Virgil, and Lucretius made it to the fourteenth century, but due to its pagan character classical literature had lost its dominant status by the year 1400. This all changed with the onset of the Renaissance and the advancement of humanism in the late Middle Ages. Turning against the cultural darkness of medieval scholasticism, humanist scholars started advocating a rebirth of the classical world. Encouraged by the rediscovery of ancient manuscripts and with a special focus on textual criticism, humanists championed the return to the original ancient text and argued that the classics should form the backbone of the educational, moral, and scholarly method of humanist learning.⁵⁰¹

But what about the various elements of these brilliant writings that did not quite fit into the Christian contexts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist scholars? How

Ovid, pp. 329-38; Fyler, 'The Medieval Ovid', pp. 411-15; H. James, 'Ovid in Renaissance Literature', Knox, *A Companion to Ovid*, pp. 423-41; J. Seznec, *The survival of the pagan gods: the mythological tradition and its place in Renaissance humanism* (New York, Princeton, 1953, 1995), pp. 84-105; Mack, North, *The Afterlife*; Moss, *Latin commentaries*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁵⁰⁰ For instance *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, a work that spoke against the Christian belief in many different ways, survived due to the selective method of consecutive readers. Also the writings of Virgil were preserved, mainly due to their continuous use for educational purposes and the Christian interpretation of for instance his fourth Eclogue. See: A. Brown, *The return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge MA, London, 2010), pp. vii-x, 2-24, 54-62, 91-102; A. Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance, I Tatti studies in Italian Renaissance history* (Cambridge MA, London, 2014), pp. 395-416; Y. Haskell, 'Religion and Enlightenment in the Neo-Latin reception of Lucretius', S. Gillespie, and P. Hardie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 185-98; V. Prosperi, 'Lucretius in the Italian Renaissance', Gillespie, Hardie, *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, pp. 214-15; D.J. Butterfield, 'Contempta relinquo: anxiety and expurgation in the publication of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*', S.J. Harrison, and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics: editing out in Greek and Latin* (London, 2012), pp. 95-114; D.J. Butterfield, 'Lucretius in the Early Modern Period', D. Norbrook, S.J. Harrison, and P. Hardie (eds.), *Lucretius and the Early Modern* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 45-69; C. Kallendorf, *Virgil and the myth of Venice: books and reader in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 49-137; D. Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 69-72, 101-130; Knox, 'Commenting on Ovid', pp. 329-38; Wallace, *Virgil's Schoolboys*, pp. 42-8; Oliensis, 'Sons and lovers', pp. 294-310.

⁵⁰¹ For more on the ideals of humanism, see the first part of this Chapter.

did humanist scholars deal with the pagan origins of their classical models? Christian religion had grounded itself firmly in Europe since the downfall of the Roman Empire, with heretical ideas on faith, morality, and sexuality as unwelcome to Christian audiences in the early modern period as in the centuries that preceded. Christian thinkers debated how exactly to use the writings of the ancient world and these discussions influenced academic approaches to classical texts. Some argued that scholars should only be inspired by classical thinkers, while others promoted complete imitation of classical models, despite their paganism.⁵⁰² One group of humanist scholars concluded that, since the classical world was in so many ways superior to early modern society, humanists should adopt all things ancient, including pagan beliefs. This radical side of humanist scholarship was much less influential and widespread, but within certain circles, in particular in Italian academies founded in the fifteenth century, this far-reaching form of humanism was proposed, promoted, and debated.⁵⁰³

Even though different views on the right way to deal with the paganism of the classics developed in this period, if we look at the way in which humanists dealt with the sexual writings of the ancients in particular, it can be concluded that the majority of scholars agreed that pagan obscenities should be adapted or avoided. During the long Middle Ages, editors, authors, and theologians had openly cleansed pagan writings of

⁵⁰² For instance the debate between Erasmus and Scaliger on the imitation of Cicero, see: C. Fantazzi, 'Imitation, emulation, ciceronianism, anti-ciceronianism', *BENLW*, pp. 144-56; L. Carrington, 'Impiety compounded: Scaliger's double-edged critique of Erasmus', *Erasmus Studies*, 22, no. 1 (2002), pp. 57-67; J. Dellaneva, and B.M. Duwick, *Ciceronian controversies, I Tatti Renaissance library*, 26 (Cambridge, 2007).

⁵⁰³ See: K.A.E. Enenkel, 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature (c. 1400-c. 1700)', *BENLW*, pp. 490-501; B. Talvacchia, *Taking positions: on the erotic in Renaissance culture* (Princeton, Chichester West Sussex, 1999), pp. 50-64. For more on these academies, see: M. Deramaix, *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste: idéaux et pratiques, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 441 (Geneva, 2008), pp. 25-74, 111-27, 339-68; E. Cochrane, 'The Renaissance Academies in their Italian and European setting', *The Fairest Flower: The Emergence of Linguistic National Consciousness in Renaissance Europe* (Florence, 1985), pp. 21-39.

non-Christian and obscene material. Because pagan texts were considered secondary to the more important writings within the religious canon, medieval editors had no reason to hide their adaptations. From the fifteenth century onwards, however, with the Greek and Roman world long gone and the rediscovery of the original classical texts forming the foundation of the humanist enterprise, a different strategy with regard to classical paganism was developed, which will be termed ‘the expurgation of the classics’ in this thesis.⁵⁰⁴ Early modern scholars seldom publicly studied or discussed the obscene writings they found during their rediscovery of the classical world. Sexual passages written by Lucretius, Catullus, and Ovid were rarely printed in early modern editions, let alone translated or commented on. The majority of humanists excised, ignored, or toned down the often explicit insights into the classical treatment of sex, even when expressed by well-respected writers. Scholars felt it was necessary to adapt their editions, despite their aim to return to the unspoiled classical texts, and they expurgated their material in many of the same fashions as early Christian and medieval editors had done.

Not only obscene passages but all kinds of pagan characteristics of classical literature were disregarded or reinterpreted by translators, editors, and commentators to make ancient writings appropriate within a Christian framework in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁰⁵ While the Christian perspective could be seen as an impediment to the study of the classics, most humanists agreed that by carefully editing classical works, the ideas of pagan writers could be made applicable to a Christian

⁵⁰⁴ Expurgation is defined here as the act of deliberately removing words, passages, or works because of their sexual, explicit, or obscene content, style, or vocabulary. The term has been adopted from the study of S.J. Harrison, and C. Stray (eds.): *Expurgating the Classics: editing out in Greek and Latin* (London, 2012).

⁵⁰⁵ See: S. Harrison, and C. Stray, ‘Introduction’, Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 1-8; J.H. Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance readers* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 77, 109-45, 156-92, 273; R. Veenman, ‘Martialis en het ‘Bataafse oor’, *Voortgang*, 15 (1995), pp. 15-22.

context, from views on politics and morality to ideas on sex and the body.⁵⁰⁶ Thus Platonism became popular among early modern scholars in its Christianized Neo-Platonic form and Greek philosophies were harmonized to fit the Christian ideology by humanists like Valla and Erasmus.⁵⁰⁷ In the same spirit, obscene metaphors, erotic words, and sexual descriptions were deliberately deleted, explained in a non-sexual manner, or repudiated by translators in their introductions, because these parts of the otherwise impeccable classical texts did not correspond with Christian morality.⁵⁰⁸

This is not to say that the obscene segments of classical writings were ignored across the board. Certain humanists, especially those interested in poetry, singled out the sexual subject, composing erotic poetry and pornographic writings in which the classical past was regularly represented by ancient vocabulary, classical concepts, and Greek and Roman myths, themes, and characters.⁵⁰⁹ In the erotic works of for instance Pietro Aretino, Giovanni Della Casa, and Nicolas Chorier one can find many direct references and indirect allusions to ancient customs and classical writings. It is often overlooked that Chorier's well-known *L'Academie des Dames* (*The School of Women*) started off as a Neo-

⁵⁰⁶ See: J. Bloemendal, H.J.M. Nellen, 'Philology: Editions and Editorial Practices in the Early Modern Period', *BENLW*, pp. 185-206; Enenkel, 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature', pp. 487-501; Harrison, Stray, 'Introduction'; Brown, *The return*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰⁷ See: V. Rees, 'Ficino and Neo-Platonism', *BENLW*, pp. 603-15; J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden, New York, 1991, 1992); J. Kraye, 'Epicureanism and the other Hellenistic philosophies', *BENLW*, pp. 617-29.

⁵⁰⁸ See: Harrison, Stray, 'Introduction'; Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 77, 109-45, 156-92, 273; L.B.T. Houghton, and M. Wyke, *Perceptions of Horace: a Roman poet and his readers* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 256-67; Enenkel, 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature', pp. 487-501.

⁵⁰⁹ For more on this subject, see: P. Findlen, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy', L. Hunt (ed.), *The Invention of pornography: obscenity and the origins of modernity, 1500-1800* (New York, Cambridge MA, 1993, 1996), pp. 49-108; Talvacchia, *Taking positions*, pp. 50-64; Enenkel, 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature', pp. 487-501; Smet, Ford, *Éros et Priapus*, vii-xvi, 1-42, 65-112; D. Orrells, *Sex: antiquity and its legacy* (London, 2015); J.G. Turner, *Schooling sex: libertine literature and erotic education in Italy, France, and England, 1534-1680* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1-30, 165-220.

Latin prose dialogue titled the *Satyra sotadica de arcanis Amoris et Veneris* (A Sotadic Satire on the secrets of Amor and Venus).

Classical literature cannot only be found in a variety of early modern pornography and erotica, a small group of humanist scholars also focused exclusively on this theme, often in the context of Italian literary academies.⁵¹⁰ Exemplary is the *Hermaphroditus* of Antonio Beccadelli, an erotic poem based on classical obscenities composed in 1425. Beccadelli denounced contemporaries who ignored sex in their studies of the ancients: “Why should anything that was permissible to the [Romans]... brand me as morally corrupt?”⁵¹¹ In relation to the specific interest of these scholars, as well as their general focus on pagan writings, humanists were at times attacked from a moralist point of view and denounced as perverts because of their alleged adoration of explicit classical texts. The figure of the depraved humanist scholar, who hid his debauched desires behind the disguise of learning, became a commonplace in this period and it is not unlikely that the expurgation of the classics was encouraged by, if not partly based on, this image.⁵¹²

Although the sexual component of classical literature inspired some scholars, only a small minority of humanists engaged in or endorsed these studies. Most early modern humanist academics renounced the sexual side of their classical models and ignored, altered, or rejected the pagan. Their approach to ancient sexualities was directly linked

⁵¹⁰ See: Findlen, ‘Humanism, Politics and Pornography’; Talvacchia, *Taking positions*, pp. 50-64; Orrells, *Sex*, p. 53; Enenkel, ‘Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature’, pp. 487-501; Smet, Ford, *Éros et Priapus*, pp. 1-42, 65-112, 141-56; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 165-220; D.O. Frantz, *Festum voluptatis: a study of Renaissance erotica* (Columbus, 1989); D. Coppini, ‘The comic and the obscene in the Latin epigrams of the early fifteenth century’, S. de Beer, K.A.E. Enenkel, and D. Rijser (eds.), *The Neo-Latin epigram: a learned and witty genre* (Leuven, 2009), pp. 83-102.

⁵¹¹ Translation from: *Antonio Beccadelli and The Hermaphrodite*, ed. and transl. M. de Cossart (Liverpool, 1984), p. 25. See also: Findlen, ‘Humanism, Politics and Pornography’, pp. 83-7; Enenkel, ‘Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature’, pp. 491-501.

⁵¹² See: Enenkel, ‘Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature’, pp. 488-90; Findlen, ‘Humanism, Politics and Pornography’, pp. 86-93; Frantz, *Festum voluptatis*, pp. 9-42.

to their specific views upon the design and function of the classics as a whole and their own studies in particular. While erotic poetry and pornographic prose was written to entertain and excite, with usually a broad audience in mind, humanist editions of classical literature were published to educate, instruct, and advise the members of the upper classes. Regardless of underlying aims and motives however, it is clear that among humanists the inclusive approach was limited. The small number of scholars who dared to publicly discuss, study, and publish on sexuality in relation to classical scholarship was harshly criticized and attacked by their colleagues, as well as religious and secular authorities, and after the great religious, social, and political turmoil of the sixteenth century, many of their names and studies became obscured.

The removal of obscene passages from classical works by humanist scholars has not received much attention from modern historians. The excision of obscene poems in editions of for instance Martial and Catullus has been noted and historians have commented on the ideas of particular scholars on the topic, but only in a handful of modern studies has the attempt been made to provide a more comprehensive view of the humanist elimination of the pagan and obscene.⁵¹³

A partial explanation for this absence of studies is the great variation in expurgation, which makes it difficult to grasp the subject in its entirety. An obscene word or phrase deemed suitable in a short and witty epigram might be deleted from a more

⁵¹³ For a good general overview of (early) modern expurgation, see the collection of papers in: Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*. Enenkel, in 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature', does not focus on the subject in great detail but does make some general remarks. For works on the specific classical writers see: Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 77, 109-45, 156-92, 273; Houghton, Wyke, *Perceptions of Horace*, pp. 256-67; Brown, *The return*, pp. vii, 2-4, 18-24, 54-62, 91-104; Butterfield, '*Contempta relinquo*', pp. 95-114;; S.J. Harrison, 'Expurgating Horace, 1660-1900', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 115-26.

serious treatise, editions published for the education of young boys were more heavily expurgated than those printed for the entertainment of learned men, and obscenities were more carefully avoided in popular translations than in academic commentaries. One might read the obscene poems of Martial in private, but due to its opposition to contemporary views on sexuality, this was not a proper public endeavour. Scholarly editions usually printed the Latin text in full, only avoiding the sexual in the comments, but translations for the general public and school editions for educational purposes steered clear from obscene passages, mainly to uphold the elevated status of classical writings and humanist studies, which was dependent on the belief that studying the classics contributed to a virtuous society.⁵¹⁴ In addition, while most humanist scholars agreed on the necessity to expurgate obscene passages in early modern editions of the classics, their specific reasons for and methods of expurgation varied. Not only differences in times and places, from fourteenth-century Renaissance Italy to the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century, influenced the reception and adaptation of the classics, but the particular contexts of scholars shaped their editions; personal taste, views on audience, aims, and genre as well as political, social and religious perspectives impacted decisions on censorship. The alteration of classical texts was also influenced by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, national and local Catholic and Protestant governments, and social environments, from the university to the court.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ Harrison, Stray, 'Introduction'; Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 156-92, 273; G. Trimble, 'Catullus and 'comment in English': the tradition of the expurgated commentary before Fordyce', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 143-63; J. Morwood, 'From out the schoolboy's vision': expurgation and the young readers', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 163-9.

⁵¹⁵ See: Harrison, Stray, 'Introduction', pp. 2-4; Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 77, 189-90; Houghton, Wyke, *Perceptions of Horace*, pp. 2-4, 182, 262-3; Enenkel, 'Neo-Latin erotic and pornographic literature', pp. 487-94; Brown, *The return*, pp. 3-5; Butterfield, 'Contempta relinquo', pp. 95-110; Harrison, 'Expurgating Horace', pp. 115-33; J.P. Sullivan, *Martial, the unexpected classic: a literary and historical study* (Cambridge, 1991, 2004), pp. 253-95; G. Nisbet, 'Flower in the wilderness', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 73-94;

Secondly, the continuation of the bowdlerisation of the classics well into twentieth and even the twenty-first century has hindered the construction of historical studies, since some ancient works are still not offered to the modern reader in full. In standard editions of classical works in England, for instance, obscene parts of texts are still deleted or changed. The *Loeb Classical Library*, founded in 1911, aimed (and aims) to make all classical texts accessible to the public, but many of their editions were (and are) heavily expurgated. The text of Apuleius' sexually explicit Roman novel *Metamorphoses* for instance, also known as *The Golden Ass*, was not printed in complete form until 1989.⁵¹⁶ Likewise the 1919 translation of the works of Ausonius is lacking, because translator H.G. Evelyn-White expurgated the *Cento Nuptialis*. This wedding poem relied heavily on the poetry of Virgil and described not only the wedding ceremony but also the consummation of the marriage, the *immunitio*. Evelyn-White justified his choice not to translate the last part of Ausonius' poem by stating that the text was 'shambling and awkward' as well as disgraced by 'crude and brutal coarseness'. He concluded that: "Neither thorough knowledge of Virgil's text, nor the perverse ingenuity displayed in the compilation, can redeem this literary outrage."⁵¹⁷ Despite his subjective denunciation of the *Cento Nuptialis*, Evelyn-White's translation has not been revised since and remains to be offered as the current edition of Ausonius' work in the Loeb Classical Library today.⁵¹⁸

Trimble, 'Catullus'; Morwood, "From out the schoolboy's vision", pp. 163-9; P. Lawton, 'For the gentleman and the scholar: sexual and scatological references in the Loeb Classical Library', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 175-95; Veenman, 'Martialis', pp. 7-37.

⁵¹⁶ The LCL edition of Apuleius was based on a translation by S. Gaselee (*The golden ass: being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius* (London, 1915)). Gaselee's edition was in turn a revision of William Adlington's translation, published in London in 1566. A 1989 revision was published by the LCL with included the full text: *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)*, ed. J. Arthur Hanson (2 volumes, Cambridge MA, 1989, 1996), LCL, nrs. 44 and 453. See: Lawton, 'For the gentleman and the scholar', pp. 176-7.

⁵¹⁷ In: Ausonius, *Volume I: books 1-17*, transl. H.G. Evelyn-White, LCL, 96 (2 volumes, Cambridge MA, 1919), 'Introduction', p. XVI-XVII.

⁵¹⁸ See the edition on the website of the Harvard University press (<http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674991071>) and in the digital LCL, (<http://www.loebclassics.com/>).

Other modern English publishers, among which Oxford University Press (Clarendon Press) and Cambridge University Press (Pitt Press), have likewise consistently avoided the obscene in their editions of the classics.⁵¹⁹ C.J. Fordyce's 1961 commentary on Catullus, for example, deletes 22 'dirty' poems from the original text. The work remains unrevised today and is reprinted by Oxford University Press and accessed by many schools and universities in its online edition.⁵²⁰ Similarly, founder and editor of the Penguin Classics, classical scholar E.V. Rieu, intended to provide access to all ancient texts in paperback form, but he also felt a great responsibility to safeguard the public, in accordance to English law, and to protect the classics, upholding their grand reputation. Thus many Penguin Classics were, and are, expurgated.⁵²¹ Also the BBC struggled with ancient obscenities recently: in 2009 the broadcasting company refused to translate a sexually explicit passage from Catullus, even though it played an significant role in a high profile court case.⁵²²

The absence of a broad historiography on the subject obscures the extent and depth of the early modern expurgation of classical writings from all things sexual and obscene. The majority of humanist scholars shared the aim to make classical writings applicable to their Christian perspectives, but different techniques explain for the most part the great variety between censored editions. There existed no standard theory or method on how to deal with the obscene in ancient works, and therefore scholars, editors, and printers made

⁵¹⁹ Harrison, Stray, 'Introduction'; Morwood, "From out the schoolboy's vision"; Lawton, 'For the gentleman and the scholar'.

⁵²⁰ C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1961).

⁵²¹ See also: R. Crowe, 'How to fillet a Penguin', Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*, pp. 197-212.

⁵²² For the expurgation by the BBC see: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/8375511.stm>, and an article by C. Higgins: 'Catullus still shocks 2,000 years on', published on the website of the Guardian (24-11-2009): <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/charlottehigginsblog/2009/nov/24/catullus-mark-low>.

their own decisions. Generally speaking, there were three methods of expurgation: excision, adaptation, and rejection.

Deselection was a first method: with scholars removing words, passages, and even whole sections of a text and making the deliberate choice to avoid, ignore, and hide sexual passages which formed an intrinsic part of the chosen writings. This most drastic approach ignored the presence of obscenities in the original manuscript(s) altogether and presented the reader with a chaste and Christian edition. A second approach to expurgation was adaptation: editors changed Latin words, adapted translations, or downplayed obscene connotations in commentaries, notes, or interpretations. This partial bowdlerisation was less drastic than the deselection of the obscene, but on the other hand more invasive, time-consuming, and less straightforward to justify. While an editor could argue that a certain sexual poem fell outside his scope of interest, in adapted editions readers were confronted with a particular version of an obscene text and could therefore question the scholar's choices. Rejection was the third method of expurgation, with editors printing the original texts but discussing its obscenities in preliminary texts, notes, or commentary. In these added texts the editor warned the reader about the sexual passages, apologized for their lasciviousness, or strongly rejected the sexual views and language of the writer in question. Often scholars pointed out the triviality of a passage, highlighting other and much grander merits of the work and its author.⁵²³

To display the manner in which early modern humanists modified the classics in their editions, commentaries, and translations, I will briefly focus on three examples. The expurgation of the verses of one classical writer, within a series of classical editions, and

⁵²³ Methods of expurgation have been previously discussed with the use of different terms. For these options of categorization, see the papers in: Harrison, Stray, *Expurgating*.

as performed by a famous humanist scholar will illustrate the different approaches to obscenities in ancient texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Straightforward demonstrations of the systematic expurgation of the sexual can firstly be found in the publications of the *Epodes* of Horace, published in the last decades of the seventeenth century.⁵²⁴ From popular English translations to scholarly commentaries in Latin, obscenities were often deleted, changed, and denounced in printed editions of these verses. Two poems in particular were often expurgated: Epodes 8 and 12. In Epode 8 Horace rudely dismissed a former lover and explicitly described her sexual activities and her body, for instance telling her that “[your] disgusting anus gapes between your shrivelled buttocks like that of a cow with diarrhoea.”⁵²⁵ The female body also featured prominently and graphically in Epode 12, in which Horace for example described the nasty smell coming from a woman’s “withered limbs when, finding my penis limp, she presses on to satisfy her wild lust.”⁵²⁶

Translator Thomas Creech, who published his translation of the works of Horace in 1684, left out Epode 8 and 12.⁵²⁷ Justifying his expurgation, Creech recounted the ideas of Roman rhetorician Quintilian on the subject. Lyric poetry should be used in education but ‘some select parts only out of each Author’ should be read by young men, Creech stated, adding that “[Quintilian] says particularly of Horace that he would not have all in

⁵²⁴ In addition to the examples below, see: Harrison, ‘Expurgating Horace’, pp. 115-17; Houghton, Wyke, *Perceptions of Horace*, pp. 256-67; E. Wolff, ‘La Censure’, C. Volpilhac-Augier, and B. Bureau (eds.), *La collection Ad usum Delphini: l’Antiquité au miroir du Grand Siècle* (Grenoble, 2000), pp. 163-71; D.L. Clayman, ‘Horace’s Epodes VIII and XII: More than Clever Obscenity?’, *The Classical World*, 69, no. 1 (1975), pp. 55-61; E. Oliensis, ‘Erotics and gender’, S.J. Harrison (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace* (Cambridge, New York, 2007), pp. 221-34; D. Money, ‘The reception of Horace in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, Harrison, *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, pp. 318-33.

⁵²⁵ In: Horace, *Epodes*, Epode 8, transl. N. Rudd, *LCL*, 33 (Cambridge MA, 2004).

⁵²⁶ In: Horace, *Epodes*, Epode 12, transl. Rudd.

⁵²⁷ T. Creech, *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace* (London, 1684), p. 174. Creech skips from Epode 7 to 9 and from Epode 11 to 13. For more on Creech, see: H.J. Real, ‘Creech, Thomas (1659–1700)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

him interpreted.”⁵²⁸ The poet and translator Alexander Brome censured his translation of Horace similarly. Even though the sexual poems of Horace had specifically attracted Brome, since “The same temptation which induced our Grandame Eve to eat the fruit, prevaild me to read Horace, merely because forbidden”⁵²⁹, in his 1666 edition he rigorously toned down sexual passages and omitted obscene references.⁵³⁰

Not just in translations in the vernacular but also in Latin editions of Horace’s writings Epodes 8 and 12 were deleted or altered due to their explicit content. Professor in Rhetoric Louis Desprez omitted Epode 8 from his edition of 1691 and he expurgated certain lines of Epode 12, as we can see in Image 1 (page 178).⁵³¹ After describing a former mistress’ wasted limbs, in this Epode Horace cited her angry words to him:

You’re not so feeble with Inachia as you are with me. You can manage her three times a night; with me you’re too limp for a single session. Damn that woman Lesbia who, when I was looking for a bull, directed me to a passive creature like yourself! And all the time I could have had Amyntus of Cos, whose sinewy member stands more firmly in his tireless crotch than a young tree in the hillside.⁵³²

While Desprez printed the complete Latin text, his commentary skipped the most obscene part of Epode 8, which included the lines cited above. This seems a peculiar strategy of expurgation. Not only was the commentary also written in Latin, which meant that the preferred audience of the edition would have no trouble reading the original text, the asterisks would also catch the reader’s eye, highlighting the obscene passages throughout the volume. It may have been Desprez’s goal to subtly guide his reader from

⁵²⁸ C., *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace*, Preface.

⁵²⁹ A. Brome, *The poems of Horace, consisting of odes, satyres, and epistles* (London, 1666), Preface. For more on Brome, see: R.R. Dubinski, ‘Brome, Alexander (1620–1666)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008).

⁵³⁰ See for instance his translations of Odes 4.1, 4.10; Epodes 8, 10; Satire 1.2. Brome, *The poems of Horace*.

⁵³¹ L. Desprez, *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Paris, 1691), pp. 271-2, 279. See Image 1 on p. 178.

⁵³² In: Horace, *Epodes*, Epodes 12, lines 9-16, transl. Rudd.

indecenty to indecenty, or to clearly point out to his Christian audience that he had dealt with the sexual content of some of Horace's poems in the most appropriate manner, with attention to critical scholarship as well as good manners.

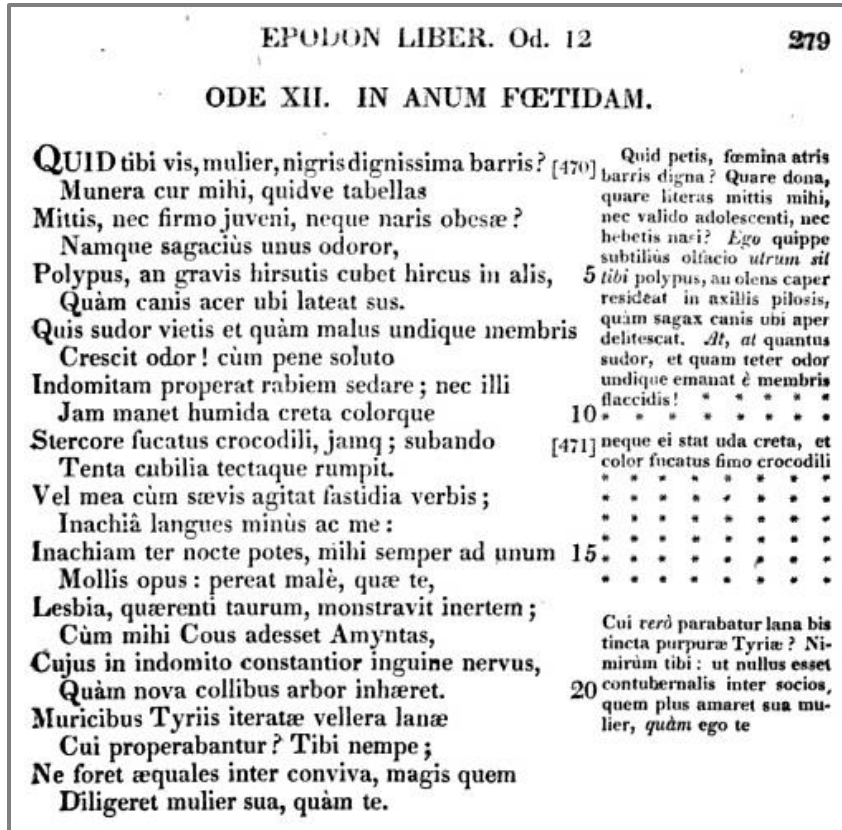


Image 1. Horace's *Ode* XII in Desprez's edition of Horace, which presents the original text in full, yet also the asterisks in the commentary.

The commonly shared Christian outlook on the expurgation of the classics also determined the excision of ancient texts in seventeenth-century France. In the 1670s Charles de Sainte-Maure, duke of Montausier, and Pierre Daniel Huet embarked on a large project. Both were involved in the education of the heir of Louis XIV, dauphin Louis of France, and came up with the idea to print new editions of important classical texts, which they could use to teach the dauphin. In their collection for the dauphin, known as the *Ad usum Delphini*, the works of over 40 classical writers were published in 64 volumes

between 1670 and 1698 and were often reprinted and translated throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵³³

One of the main motivations behind the publication of these editions was to offer a new solution for dealing with provocative passages. With the dauphin, the son of the most Christian king of France, but also a broader audience in mind, the editors of the *Ad usum Delphini* consciously censored classical works, deleting from the main texts obscene passages that could shock or shame modest Christian readers.⁵³⁴ Restoring the original manuscripts as well as adapting ancient texts to the Christian context when necessary were both valid, important, and standard concerns which influenced early modern humanistic scholarship in general and the *Ad usum Delphini* series in particular.⁵³⁵ Huet and Montausier aimed to present their reader with complete editions but also aimed to protect their (young) readers by taking obscene words, passages, or poems out of the main text and adding them in appendices at the end of a volume. Some writings were considered too indecent to be published at all. Due to its explicit obscenity, Petronius' *Satyricon*, for example, was not published as part of the series.⁵³⁶ Despite general guidelines, the editors of the *Ad Usum Delphini* chose their own approach: some removed all sexual passages from a text while others only rejected the obscenity of a work and author in the preface.⁵³⁷ The frequent alteration of obscene texts in the *Ad usum Delphini* editions underlines how commonly the classics were changed and also the great variation

⁵³³ For more on the *Ad usum Delphini*: C. Volpilhac-Augier, and B. Bureau (eds.), *La collection Ad usum Delphini: l'Antiquité au miroir du Grand Siècle* (Grenoble, 2000).

⁵³⁴ For more on the censorship in the *Ad Usum Delphini* see: Wolff, 'La Censure'.

⁵³⁵ Bloemendal, Nellen, 'Philology', pp. 185-206; Volpilhac-Augier, Bureau, *La collection Ad usum Delphini*, pp. 17-25, 33-8.

⁵³⁶ Wolff, 'La Censure', p. 72.

⁵³⁷ See: Wolff, 'La Censure'. See also Trimble, 'Catullus'; Lawton, 'For the gentleman and the scholar', p. 175; Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 189-90, 273.

of these adaptations. Editors could change one word, ignored sexual references altogether, or chose to downplay the explicit sexual connotation of a passage and adjusted their choices to the writers in question and the text at hand, at times adopting different methods within the same edition.⁵³⁸

A good example of an *Ad usum Delphini* edition that chose the middle path between presenting the full text and deleting its obscene components to safeguard the youth was the publication edited by Vincent Colleson. In 1680 his edition of Martial was printed, in which more than 150 epigrams of Martial were removed from the main text and assembled in an appendix, which was titled the 'Epigrammata Obscaena'.⁵³⁹ As we can see in Image 2 (page 181), in this appendix Colleson not only printed the complete Latin text of these obscene epigrams with comments, he also provided the reader with keywords regarding the particular obscenity of every epigram. For instance the title of the fourteenth epigram of book 1 stated '*Ad Cottam, mollem*', with *mollem* referring to the 'homo mollis' ('effeminate man'); to the title of epigram 85 of book 4 the word '*fellatricem*' was added ('a women performing fellatio'); and he added '*lenorem suae uxoris*' to epigram 31 of book 6 (*In Charidemum*), indicating this Charidemus was 'the pimp of his own wife'.⁵⁴⁰ Offering the reader the obscene epigrams on a silver platter, it is difficult to comprehend that it was actually Colleson's goal to protect the young readers against sexual passages. Appointed to publish an edition that included the full text but also had to be appropriately designed to be used for education, Colleson did the

⁵³⁸ Wolff, 'La Censure'.

⁵³⁹ V. Colleson, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum libros xv* (Paris, 1680). See also: Wolff, 'La Censure'.

⁵⁴⁰ Colleson, 'Epigrammata Obscaena', *M. Valerii Martialis*, pp. 1, 16, 17.

best he could. And in this way, teachers and tutors in charge of the Latin lessons could easily rip out the appendix, and keep it for themselves.

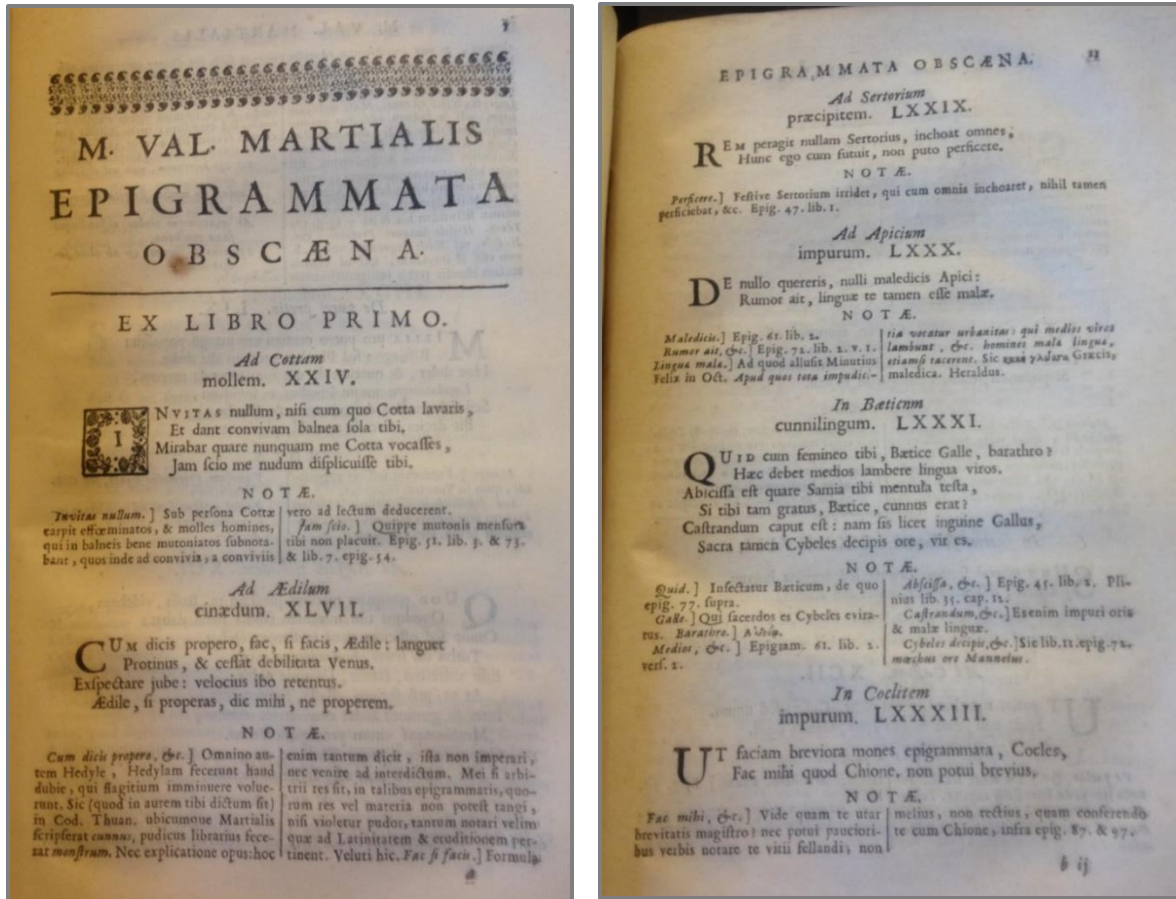


Image 2. Pages 1 and 11 of the 'Epigrammata Obscaena' in V. Colleson's edition of Martial (1680).

Some of the most famous and well-respected humanists chose to expurgate their writings from the obscene in the early modern period. Even J.J. Scaliger, who might be called the most humanist of humanists, denounced classical indecencies. In his edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius published in 1577, Scaliger combined a critical study of the original manuscripts with a solid distaste for the obscenities found in the texts.⁵⁴¹ While he described these three poets as ornaments of Roman poetry, he added that he

⁵⁴¹ J.J. Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii nova editio* (Paris, 1577). Added to this works were his *Castigationes*. For more on this edition see: Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, pp. 161-79. See also: Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 178-92.

did not pass over “any place worthy of notice, except for those that chaste ears cannot endure. For it is neither for me to touch them nor anyone else who has any modicum of chastity.”⁵⁴² Like his father, Scaliger was a greatly respected humanist scholar and his edition demonstrated his historical and philological expertise. His dislike of sexual passages, however, guided his edition just as much as his critical eye did.⁵⁴³ Scaliger argued for instance that his humanist predecessors M.A. Muret and A. Statius, who had published their editions of Catullus in 1554 and 1566 respectively, had made a mistake when editing Catullus’ 59th poem. These scholars wrongfully separated the poem in two parts and Scaliger argued that in the first line of the poem these ‘dirty men have substituted a dirty word’.⁵⁴⁴ The verb of the first line was not *fellare* but *fallare*, thus ‘Bononiensis Rufa Rufulum fellat’ (*Rufa from Bologna sucks Rufulus*) had to be changed to ‘Bononiensis Rufa Rufulum fallat’ (*Rufa from Bologna cheats Rufulus*).⁵⁴⁵

While Scaliger claimed his alterations were justified on the basis of the manuscript, his expurgation, omitting poems and changing obscene words and connotations of passages, was primarily motivated by his personal distaste for the obscene. In his *Castigationes* (*Chastisement*), added to his edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, Scaliger stated that he wished that bowdlerization of classical texts was not necessary: if only “the ancients themselves had taken some account of chastity and not handed themselves down to mankind in so many disgraceful writings.”⁵⁴⁶ In addition to voicing his disapproval, Scaliger also felt the need to justify his study of these three

⁵⁴² Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii nova editio*, 3v. Translation from: Gaisser, *Catullus*, p. 190.

⁵⁴³ See: Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 178-92; Grafton, *Defenders of the text*, p. 38.

⁵⁴⁴ Scaliger, *Castigationes*, a44.

⁵⁴⁵ Catullus, *Carmina*, poem 59, line 1. Transl. by Cornish, Goold. Modern editions agree that the line states *fellat*, not *fallat*.

⁵⁴⁶ Scaliger, *Castigationes*, a44. Translation from: Gaisser, *Catullus*, p. 190.

obscene authors, as writings focusing on the sexual were too pagan to be of any real use for decent Christian scholars. He therefore stated in his preface to the work that he had conducted the study in his spare time and that he only concentrated on these three poets because he was recovering from an illness and too weak to take up any serious work.⁵⁴⁷

The expurgation of the classics from all matters obscene, sexual, and explicit was generally incorporated in early modern editions of ancient texts and was applied with wide variety. The important place of sexuality in classical literature was an open secret, as commonly known as it was hidden by the majority of humanists. One could read Martial's erotic poems, Lucretius' ideas on sexual lust, and Tacitus' descriptions of the lascivious acts of Roman emperors in the privacy of one's own study, but to focus on these writings in serious scholarship and public studies was quite a different matter. In the wider context of humanist scholarship this dismissive approach to classical obscenities, which characterized the majority of editions of ancient texts published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrates that in the end not the concern for the original text but for the moral doctrine of the humanist enterprise was most important. The founding ideals of humanism, its educational and moral aims, and the authority of its approach to scholarship and wider outlook on early modern society it had acquired by 1550, precluded an inclusive attitude to sex in the classics. It was more important to argue that the classics were morally sound and timeless models of civil virtue, than to wholly expose the original texts and authentic ancient ideas behind them. Most humanist scholars agreed that the expurgation of the classics was necessary to

⁵⁴⁷ Scaliger, *Castigationes*. His choice to focus on these authors was also directly connected to his rivalry with scholar M.A. Muret and distrust about French classical scholarship, as described by Grafton in his *Joseph Scaliger*, pp. 161-3.

maintain the virtuous status of ancient works of literature and to uphold their usefulness for Christian people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Beverland's contra-expurgation

A catalogue of Beverland's library drawn up in the 1690s shows that he was well aware of his colleagues' methods. He owned multiple amended editions of Martial's epigrams, for instance those published by Hadrianus Junius in 1568 and Mattheus Rader in 1602.⁵⁴⁸

The classical scholar Junius explained to his readers in his dedication that although Martial's poetry was clever and witty, it also contained scurrilous and obscene parts.

Although the young desired to read only those passages, Junius stated, the wise man should cover them up and quickly pass by these verses, running from them like "a dog at the Nile", that quickly quenches his thirst and then runs away from the crocodiles in the river.⁵⁴⁹ Also Jesuit scholar Mattheus Rader, in the Preface of his expurgated edition, stated that he had 'banished the shameful lust'⁵⁵⁰ from Martial's text, with his honourable Christian readers in mind: "Nothing about those temples and sanctuaries of wisdom [should be stated] except chaste, sacred, and decent matters; lest the youth destroy its innocence, while it seeks knowledge."⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ See: 'Bibliotheca', 90r, 98v. He also owned expurgated editions of Catullus, Horace, and Lucretius: J. Passerat, *Commentarij in C. Val. Catullum, Albium Tibullum, et Sex. Aur. Propertium* (Paris, 1608); T. Faber, *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Saumur, 1671); T. Faber, *Titi Lucretii Cari. De rerum natura libri sex* (Cambridge, 1675).

⁵⁴⁹ H. Junius, *M. Val. Martialis epigrammaton libri xii* (Antwerp 1568) 3. The sentence refers to a Latin proverb from the fable of Aesop: 'Sicut canis ad Nilum bubens et fugiens.' For more on Junius see: Van Miert, *The kaleidoscopic scholarship of Hadrianus Junius*.

⁵⁵⁰ 'Quapropter improbum Cupidinem amandamus...', in: M. Rader, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton libri omnes* (Ingolstadt, 1602), Praefatio. See also: De Smet, *Hadriani Barlandi (Hadriaan Beverland) 'De prostibulis veterum'*, p. 747. Mattheus Rader (1561-1634) published different editions of Martial between 1599 and 1627. For more on Rader see: A. Schmid, 'Rader, Matthäus', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 21 (2003), p. 92; V. Lukas, 'Rader, Mattheus', in: *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

⁵⁵¹ 'Nihil ac haec temple et sacraria sapientiae nisi castum, sanctum, integrumque ne iuventus, dum scientiam quaerit, perdat innocentiam.' In: Rader, *M. Valerii Martialis*, 'Praefatio'.

Beverland may have possessed expurgated editions of the classics, but he did not agree at all with their approach. He attacked Rader, who “has castrated Martial, stuffed with wit and charm, and should be deprived of his [own] testicles...”⁵⁵², and defended French philosopher Pierre Gassendi, who had complained about the expurgation of the works of Epicurus.⁵⁵³ In addition to the editions of Junius and Rader, we find unexpurgated editions of Martial in his library. He owned for instance the 1607 edition of Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, who printed the Latin text in full and did not avoid the obscene in his comments. Even in the index explicit words like *cunnus*, *cunnilingus*, *mentula*, and *irrumare* were included.⁵⁵⁴ Also the editions of Martial published by Petrus Scriverius in 1618 and 1619 featured in the catalogue of Beverland’s library. Scriverius did not comment on sexual topics in his commentary but printed the complete text and therefore Beverland used this edition when composing his own comments on Martial’s epigrams. In his DPV he praised Scriverius as ‘the defender of Martial’, who had “restored this writer of the epigram to former brilliance...”⁵⁵⁵.

In his studies Beverland resisted the expurgation of the classics and concentrated on the obscene passages that his more responsible colleagues austere tried to avoid. Although in many ways a typical humanist, by choosing sex as the main subject of his

⁵⁵² ‘Testibus autem privandus fuisset Raderus, qui Martialem sale ac lepore refertum castravit...’, in: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 2068-9.

⁵⁵³ Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655) was a French philosopher, who published on the philosophy of Epicurus. See: A. Lolordo, *Pierre Gassendi and the birth of early modern philosophy* (New York, Cambridge, 2006); S. Fisher, *Pierre Gassendi's Philosophy and Science. Atomism for Empiricists, Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 131 (Leiden, 2005).

⁵⁵⁴ See: ‘Bibliotheca’, 90v. For more on these explicit words, see: J.N. Adams, *The Latin sexual vocabulary* (Baltimore, London, 1983), pp. 9-12, 62-3, 80-81, 125-30.

⁵⁵⁵ ‘Hallucinatur non minus doctissimus iuuenis, qui nuper mihi persuadere conabatur Ecclesiae Antistites Scriverio, Martialis Vindici, S[anctam] Synaxin interdixisse, quod hunc Epigrammatum scriptorem pristino nitori restituisset illibatum...’, in: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 2073-7. See: P. Scriverius, *M. Val. Martialis nova editio* (Leiden 1618. 1619) Animadversiones in Martialem. For Beverland’s copy, see: ‘Bibliotheca’, 98v; For his commentary, see ‘Ad M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata’ in the Bibliography. For more on Beverland’s use of Martial’s epigrams in his DPV, see: De Smet, ‘Citations’.

works he distinguished himself from the majority of classical scholars. In the DPO, DSVI, and DPV he focused in particular on the sexual elements that other humanist scholars ignored, hid away, or rejected, and he exposed classical obscenities in the context of his main argument. What might have started as youthful play, with Beverland compiling all he could find about sex in classical literature as a young student, by the late 1670s his studies had turned into serious scholarship.⁵⁵⁶ He stated in the dedication of his DSVI: “no negligence of mine can any longer suffer the further belittling of a benefit, which tender years, so prone to obedience, have hidden from publication...”⁵⁵⁷. While other humanists judged that the obscene texts of classical authors were unworthy of serious examination, something to read only during private leisurely hours, with the relative sexual freedom of the classical period an ancient flaw to conceal or reject, Beverland chose exactly this element of the classics as the main object of his scholarly endeavours.

By choosing an ignored topic, he desired to make an original and valuable contribution to humanist scholarship and to criticize not only the suppression of classical obscenities by humanist scholars but also the general attitude to sexuality in his contemporary Christian society. Pointing out well-known as well as obscured sexual connotations, Beverland concentrated on human history in general, and the Greek and Roman past, ancient culture, and classical literature in particular, to display the universal power of sexual lust: “the sin par excellence is in the end the itch to have sexual relations and its completion. Therefore there is nothing that is found more extensively among

⁵⁵⁶ His DSVI, which was largely composed during Beverland’s stay in Oxford in 1672, shows that his studies into the subject of sex might have commenced as a fun pastime activity, as he stated in the dedication of the work that he wrote it during a vacation, calling it ‘the crown of his youthful labours’. See: DSVI, Dedication to Ulric Huber.

⁵⁵⁷ ‘tandem beneficium, quod propalare dissimulat ad obedientiam prona teneritudo, diutius detrectare negligentia non passa fuit...’. In: DSVI, Dedication to Ulric Huber.

Greek and Latin authors...⁵⁵⁸. From the naked depictions of emperors to the obscene works of Roman poets, he focused in particular on the period of the Roman Republic and Roman Empire (200 BCE to 200 CE) and described the sexual aspects of ancient and early Christian culture. Especially in the DPV he offered a broad overview of sexual topics, from the sexual conduct of the Christian clergy in the first centuries to obscene images displayed on ancient coins.⁵⁵⁹

Underlining the importance of lust in universal human nature, Beverland made no distinction between the classical and the Christian and fully rejected the presumption that Christian readers needed to be protected from pagan obscenities. Like many expurgators, Sir Rob Stapylton (or Stapleton), in his two editions of the satires of Juvenal printed in 1644 and 1673, emphasized the distinction between the Roman world and Christian society: “For our nation hath long since disclaimed the Roman power and crime together: and sure no Englishman will now degenerate, after we have for so many ages been delivered from their bondages, to confess himself slave to their vices...”⁵⁶⁰. Also Rader, in his expurgated edition of Martial, underlined the dissimilarity between contemporary Christians and the ancient pagans: “We, who cultivate more austere Muses, are not allowed to be so Latin.”⁵⁶¹ Beverland could not disagree more with both editors: classical dealings with sexuality were nothing but familiar to Christian readers,

⁵⁵⁸ ‘Adeoque peccatum κατ’ ἐξοχὴν est coeundi pruritus eiusque perfectio. Ita nihil tralatitius apud auctores Graecos & Latinos, classicos ac proletarios, veteres & recentiores, ita ut posterioris aevi dicta...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XII, p. 61.

⁵⁵⁹ The sexual conduct of the Christian clergy in the first centuries CE was to be discussed in book I (chapter XIII), obscene coins, statues, and pictures in book 3. For more on the DPV, see the Bibliography.

⁵⁶⁰ R. Stapylton, *Juvenal’s sixteen Satyrs or, a survey of the manners and actions of humankind* (London, 1673), Dedicatory, a3. For more on Stapylton, see: L.G. Kelly, ‘Stapylton, Sir Robert (1607-09?–1669)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008).

⁵⁶¹ ‘Nobis non licet esse tam Latinis, qui Musas colimus pudiciores.’ In: Rader, *M. Valerii Martialis*, ‘Praefatio’. It is an adapted quotation from Martial himself: *Epigrammata*, book IX, epigram 11, line 16-17.

who after all shared the same sexually-corrupt nature. The Christianization of the classics, by expurgation of the obscene, was a useless and unnecessary endeavour: lust dominated everybody. “Who could make a pure world from the impure? What is born from flesh, is flesh. All are begotten from the blood and from the desire of the flesh, and from the lust of man, and no longer from God. A grasshopper would sooner bear an elephant, than a woman in labour would give birth to chaste offspring.”⁵⁶²

Beverland was by no means the only humanist who focused on sex in relation to classical literature, history, and scholarship. One can discover the obscenities of the classics in many types of publications, from pornographic dialogues to non-expurgated editions of ancient texts. Beverland’s approach to (ancient) sexuality set him apart from the relatively small group of other classical scholars who discussed the same subject however. In the first place, his studies of sex and the obscene were bold, unapologetic, and developed in great detail. In his 1563 commentary of *De Rerum Natura* classical scholar Denis Lambin (Dionysius Lambinus, 1520-72) focused not only on the text itself but also explained Lucretius’ philosophy. He made sure to distance himself from his subject however: he stated in his Preface that in the same way as *De Rerum Natura* had repeated Epicurius’ impious philosophy, he was also merely a transmitter of Lucretius’ views.⁵⁶³ Also English scholar Thomas Farnaby (1575-1647) defended his translation of Martial’s epigrams in 1615 by stressing that even though he offered a complete translation, he had not immersed himself in nor extensively commented upon the sexual

⁵⁶² ‘Quis daret mundum de immundo! Quod genitum est ex carne, caro est. Quales omnes qui ex sanguine & ex libidine carnis, & ex libidine viri, & nondum ex Deo geniti sunt. Prius pareret locusta Lucam bovem, quam puerpera prolem castam.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 51.

⁵⁶³ See ‘Address to Charles IX’, in: Dionysius Lambinus (Denys Lambin) *Titi Lucretii Cari De rerum natura libri sex* (Paris 1563). See also: Butterfield, ‘*Contempta relinquo*’, pp. 99-104. Tanaquil Faber (Tanneguy Lefèvre), who published an edition of Lucretius in 1662, distanced himself from the content of *De Rerum Natura* in a similar manner.

content of certain poems, because “the interpreter... must not add oil to the flames”⁵⁶⁴.

Unlike these editors of Martial and Lucretius, Beverland did not excuse his work, he did not distance himself from his subject matter, and he did not strive to avoid but aimed to explain sex in all its shapes and forms.

In his study of scholarship and censorship of Martial, J.P. Sullivan has argued that in the later-sixteenth century the laissez-faire approach of Renaissance scholars was replaced by a much more puritan way of dealing with Martial’s poems, due to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.⁵⁶⁵ And indeed, when we compare the writings of classical scholars on obscenities published before 1650 to Beverland’s studies, we can recognize a similar obsession with and immersion in the sexual subject. As he wrote to Gronovius in 1699: “You know that I do not lack an appetite for the sexual.”⁵⁶⁶ Yet again, Beverland’s works stand out. Beccadelli’s *Hermaphroditus*, which combined classical references with commentary on contemporary events and scholarship, was a long erotic poem, written to entertain, ridicule, and excite its audience.⁵⁶⁷ In a similar fashion scholar Antonio Vignali (1501-59), part of the Italian Academy of the Stunned (the Accademia degli Intronati) criticized classical scholarship and present-day politics in his *La Cazzaria* (*The Book of the Prick*), published in 1531. In this obscene satire full of allusions to ancient works and ideas, three classical scholars converse about local government, humanist culture, and libertinism.⁵⁶⁸ While Beccadelli, Vignali, and other humanists writing about sex in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries composed poems, satires, and plays,

⁵⁶⁴ T. Farnaby, *Val. Martialis Epigrammatwn libri* (London, 1615), Ad lectores.

⁵⁶⁵ Sullivan, *Martial*, p. 293.

⁵⁶⁶ ‘Nosti me non ἀναφροδισον.’ In: EG 18/8, 25/5/1699.

⁵⁶⁷ See for more details on Beccadelli page 170 and footnote 511.

⁵⁶⁸ A. Vignali, *La Cazzaria* (Venice, 1531). See: Findlen, ‘Humanism, Politics and Pornography’, pp. 86-94; A. Vignali, *La cazzaria*, ed. and transl. I.F. Moulton, *La cazzaria: the book of the prick* (New York, 2003).

Beverland discussed the topic in a serious study, a product of dedicated scholarship. Although his studies certainly contain elements designed to amuse the reader, his works were not intended to only entertain, excite, or ridicule. Beverland chose a different genre than his predecessors, a genre that came with its own scholarly aims, arguments, and audience. He did not compose a commentary on Lucretius or print an edition of Martial for educational purposes, nor did he translate the verses of Virgil for late-night entertainment or compose his own Priapean poetry in imitation of classical poets. It was this disregard for or mixing of genres, in his approach to sex as much as in his use of sources and traditions of learning, that set Beverland apart.

He may have defined sex as intrinsically wicked and sinful, Beverland's focus on sexuality, his presentation of many explicit passages, and his views on human nature directed his reader in a very different direction. In his early works we can often find the same glorification of sexual pleasure that can be found in Greek and Roman culture. Beverland emphasized the pleasures of sex, presenting detailed descriptions of sexual encounters and citing many Roman writings that highlighted not the corruptive character but the joy of sex.⁵⁶⁹ This gives his studies a paradoxical quality: he regarded sex as the greatest evil, argued that God had created the universe, and adhered to the traditional dualist position on the relationship between mind and body, but also expressed quite heterodox and pagan points of view by glorifying sexual behaviour. Despite his fascination with and glorification of his sexual subject, Beverland claimed he was not interested in imitating the sexual sins of the ancients however. He did admire the greater openness with regard to sexual matters in the classical world and he strongly rejected the

⁵⁶⁹ These citations and the obscene features of Beverland's text will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

puritanical views of the Christian Church on sexuality. Hiding or altering obscene passages present in the works of classical writers was characteristic of the general dismissive stance of Christian humanist scholars to sexual topics and Beverland condemned this contemptuous as well as hypocritical attitude.

To combine a focus on sex with a satirical outlook in a humanist study, exposing the vices and dishonesty of contemporaries and promoting lust, was a dangerous undertaking. Not many early modern scholars dared to involve themselves with the publication, let alone the study, of for instance Petronius' *Satyricon*. This Roman satire commented on social and moral values in Rome at the time of Emperor Nero, discussing many corruptions and vulgarities in an explicit and often pornographic way. This is the reason why Catholic scholar Caspar Schoppe (Gaspar Scoppius) referred to the work in an attack on Protestant scholar Josephus Justus Scaliger in 1607. He accused his opponent of homosexuality and of studying and enjoying Petronius.⁵⁷⁰ A century later, an edition of Petronius provoked similar allegations. Engaged in a debate on classical scholarship, Jean le Clerc used Pieter Burman's publication of the *Satyricon* in 1709 to accuse his rival of immorality. Le Clerc complained that instead of focusing on excellent examples of morality, Burman, and humanist scholars in a general sense, imitated the pagans in a condemnable sense and selected the most indecent texts as their models.⁵⁷¹ It is thus not surprising that Beverland decided against publishing his commentary on Petronius, as he

⁵⁷⁰ For more on Scaliger, Schoppe, and Petronius: De Smet, *Menippean Satire*, pp. 160-61; Gaisser, *Catullus*, pp. 188-92.

⁵⁷¹ This example is taken from: F. Verhaart, 'L'anglois a autant de civilité que le hollandois'. Jean Le Clerc, Pieter Burman and the strategic use of stereotypes in the Republic of Letters', *De Zeventiende Eeuw: Cultuur in de Nederlanden in Interdisciplinair Perspectief*, 29, no. 1 (2013), pp. 64-80. See also: U. Groetsch, 'The Scholar as Whoremonger. Petrus Burman (1668-1741) and the Dark Abysses of Classical Scholarship', M. Mulsow (ed.), *Kriminelle – Freidenker – Alchemisten. Räume des Untergrunds in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna, 2014), pp. 565-6.

wrote to Gronovius in 1695: "With my talents I could supplement the lacunas in Petronius, but what kind of honour would I achieve by it? That from every side [I would be] surrounded by poisonous commentators."⁵⁷²

Sixteen years prior however, he did print his DPO and DSVI and was preparing the publication of his DPV, studies which were in places just as sexually explicit as the *Satyricon*. In addition to their satirical features, Beverland's early works presented a double threat. Not only did he tell a truth about the ancient world that humanists preferred to forget, compromising the moral foundation of the humanist enterprise, by putting the spotlight on the sexual segments of classical literature, he also exposed the hypocrisy of his fellow scholars, who claimed to revive the original ancient world but actually altered its less than perfect appearance. In this way, Beverland endangered the moral basis of humanism, by presenting a side of the classics that did not necessarily support their status as grand models for Christian society and, in addition, by directly attacking the critical study of ancient texts by humanist scholars, since his studies exposed that they often disregarded the original text, deselecting and Christianising classical writings to fit within their contemporary context.

How did he challenge the expurgation of his colleagues in his early works? Beverland knew exactly which parts of ancient writings were expurgated by the majority of editors. His library suggests that he might have compared expurgated and unexpurgated editions and that he added to his own collection of obscenities the passages he discovered in countless manuscripts and humanist studies, translations, and commentaries that he

⁵⁷² 'Possem ego lacunas in Petronio meo ingenio supplere, sed quem ego exinde consequeretur honorem? tot venenatis undique vallatus interpretibus.' In: EG 35/22, 1695. His manuscript with notes on Petronius and the Nodotiana emblems has been preserved: 'Batavi in Brittania hospitis' (see Bibliography).

encountered in private and institutional libraries.⁵⁷³ It is not surprising that the most commonly cited classical writers in the DPV, Ovid, Juvenal, and Martial, were also among the most frequently expurgated ancient authors: in his selection of obscene texts Beverland often chose those passages which were carefully deselected by other humanists.⁵⁷⁴ To show how he exposed the grand humanist secret and used the obscenities of the classical world to explore his argument on sex and sin, we will firstly focus on his love for sexual connotations and secondly discuss his references to the sexual texts of Martial and Lucretius.

Beverland's philological study of the Bible, and of the Book of Genesis in particular, formed the basis of his theory on sexual lust and original sin. In addition to his close study of sex in the biblical texts, he concentrated on sexual connotations and explicit words in classical literature. Contrary to his humanist colleagues, he openly and extensively discussed the obscene words, sentences, and texts which underlined his argument on the widespread influence of sexual lust. His philological approach was as much characterized by his obsession with sex as by his fascination with euphemisms, allegories, and metaphors. Exemplary is a passage from his DPO:

Very often we read in place of the pubic region *land, soil, the ploughshare, a furrow; to plough* [is used] in Apuleius instead of [the word] *to have intercourse*. In Martial the woman is called an *arable field*; [there is the word] *to plough the soil* in Juvenal; and in Ausonius [there is] *the one who ploughs*, in the [works of] the Phalecii *you plough so many sweet girls....*⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ The catalogue of his library shows that he owned unexpurgated and expurgated editions of classical literature. For more on his library, see: 'Bibliotheca' in the Bibliography; De Smet, 'Bibliotheca'.

⁵⁷⁴ Of all ancient, medieval, and early modern writers Ovid (189 references), Martial (143 references) and Juvenal (128 references) featured most prominently in Beverland's DPV, but there were also numerous references to expurgated writers Horace (74 references), Lucretius (38 references) and Catullus (42 times). For more on Beverland's use of Martial, see: De Smet, 'Citations'.

⁵⁷⁵ 'Saepissime enim pro αἰδοίῳ, libidinis *solum, arvum, vomer, sulcus, arare* Apulejo, pro coire. Martiali uxor dicitur *ager. sodere agrum* apud Juvenalem: unde Ausonio *fossor*, & in Phaleciis, *Qui tot melleolas fodis puellas*.' In: DPO 1679, chapter VII, p. 36.

In the DSVI he discussed the words for woman and virgin: "Female is a name derived from the Latin *femen* or *femur*, which means the thighs; because [women] are more venereal inclined than sparrows in spring. The seat of all love has been found between the thighs by the group of the sons of the doctors."⁵⁷⁶

Exemplary of Beverland's use of expurgated texts in relation to his linguistic focus are his references to Martial, whose epigrams inspired many of his philological expositions. In his DPO of 1678 Beverland stated that "*Under the trees the apples are picked*, the girls of Didyma know what this means, and they are not silent about their sexual acts. The witty Spaniard does not reject this meaning: [Martial] *The rest of its produce he has bestowed on wanton girls*."⁵⁷⁷ Here he used a citation from Martial in this particular passage to underline that 'to pick apples' connoted the sexual act. The 'he' in Martial's epigram refers to a part of the sentence that Beverland omitted, namely 'mentula custodis luxuriosa dei' ('the lustful cock of its guardian'). By showing that also Martial used the allegory of 'bestowing produce' to indicate sexual intercourse, Beverland emphasized his own obscene interpretation of these words in the story of Adam and Eve in the Bible. While he specifically focused on sexual references, other humanist scholars deliberately avoided the sexual language of Martial's epigrams. For

⁵⁷⁶ 'Foemina dicitur à femine vel femore, quoniam in Venerem magis pronae sunt quam verni passerēs. Sedem omnis amoris in femoribus invenerant implicitae Medicorum filiorum manus.' In: DSVI, chapter IV, p. 22.

⁵⁷⁷ '*Sub arboribus poma legere*, quid denotet Didymae sciunt puellae, & quae concubitus non tacere suos: nec respuat hanc significationem argutus Hispanus. *Caetera lascivis donavit poma puellas*.' In: DPO 1678, chapter VII, p. 32. The exact source of this first quotation here has not been determined, but many classical authors talk of fruits being gathered under the trees, for instance Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* (book 2, verse 185) and Propertius in his *Elegiae* (book 1, poem 20, verse 33). The second quotation comes from Martial (Epigrams, book 7, epigram 91) and the line that follows shows that the 'he' in the sentence indicates 'the lustful cock of its guardian' ('mentula custodis luxuriosa dei'). The girls of Didyma can connote the priestesses of an ancient Greek sanctuary but can also refer a related festival, the Didymeia, during which contests and performances took place. Didyma was located not far from the city Miletos, which was known for its obscenity. For more on Didyma and the Didymeia: J. Fontenrose, *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, cult, and companions* (Berkeley, London, 1988).

instance Fathers André des Freux and Edmund Auger, two Jesuit scholars who published an edition of Martial in 1558, noted on the title page that “only a few of [the epigrams] have been rejected or changed without damage to the Latin, [as they were] stripped of every sort of obscenity and raised above every distasteful form of language.”⁵⁷⁸

In Colleson's *Ad usum Delphini* edition of Martial printed in 1680, more than 150 epigrams of Martial were expurgated and added to a special appendix.⁵⁷⁹ Also other early modern editors deselected Martial's verses: Rader deleted them from his 1602 edition and also in the work of philologist Justus Lipsius, titled *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata expurgata* and published in 1621, one does not find the obscene poems. Both Lipsius and Rader covered up their alterations by changing the standard numberings of the epigrams, so the ignorant reader would never suspect that they had expurgated the original text.⁵⁸⁰ Lipsius stated in the preface to his edition that there were ‘many filthy things in Martial’⁵⁸¹ and therefore he, for instance, deleted 66 epigrams from the third book, presenting the reader with only 34 out of the original 100 epigrams, while only 37 out of 89 verses survived his expurgation of book four.⁵⁸²

Martial's sexual epigrams did feature prominently in Beverland's early works, because many verses of the Roman poet underlined his theory on sexual lust.⁵⁸³ For

⁵⁷⁸ ‘Epigrammata paucis admodum vel reiectis, vel immutatis nullo Latinitatis damno, ab omni rerum obscenitate, verborumque turpitudine vindicata.’ In: A. des Freux, E. Auger, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Rome, 1558), title page. See: G. Kilroy, *The epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Farnham, 2009), p. 27.

⁵⁷⁹ Colleson, *M. Valerii Martialis*. See also: Wolff, ‘La Censure’.

⁵⁸⁰ See: Rader, *M. Valerii Martialis*; Justus Lipsius, *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata expurgata* (Venice, 1621). For more on Lipsius, see: J. Landtsheer, D. Sacré, and C. Coppens (eds.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk, Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia*, 21 (Leuven, 2006); J. Papy, ‘Lipsius, Justus’, in: *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

⁵⁸¹ ‘Multa foeda obscoena in Martiale... sed meliorum maior numerus.’ In: Lipsius, *M. Val. Martialis*, Preface.

⁵⁸² Lipsius, *M. Val. Martialis*.

⁵⁸³ The three epigrams quoted below (book III, Epigram 75; book VIII, Epigram 35; book XII, Epigram 95) are all part of Colleson's ‘Epigrammata Obscaena’, *M. Valerii Martialis*. In the DPV Beverland referred to

example, when describing the inescapability of the yearning for sex in the mind, even in old age, Beverland stated that Martial had discussed exactly this phenomenon:

in salty wit of such kind:

*Your cock gave up standing long ago, Lupercus,
and yet you, madman, struggle to rise.
But rocket and lascivious onions have no effect,
nor does shameless savoury help you anymore.
You have started corrupting pure mouths with money;
even so the badgered lust doesn't come alive.
Could anyone marvel enough at this or believe it?
What doesn't stand costs you a lot, Lupercus.*⁵⁸⁴

Beverland also cited Martial as an example of a writer famous for the quality of his poetry, who was read by many in ancient and in early modern times but nonetheless combined, without shame, serious and obscene subjects in his epigrams.⁵⁸⁵ Martial's own views on pornographic writings were cited, because this great Roman writer, contrary to humanist scholars, did not attempt to hide or reject their existence and popularity in ancient times. Thus to his own recommendation to read the obscene works of the ancients, Beverland added a citation of an epigram of Martial:

*Istantius Rufus, read those depraved little books of Musaeus, which vie with the Sybaritic sex manuals. Read pages tinged with prurient wit. Just be sure a girl is with you, lest you make lustful hands sing your wedding song and you become a husband without a woman.*⁵⁸⁶

Martial 143 times in total, citing obscene epigrams from the different books. For more on Beverland's use of Martial's epigrams in his DPV, see: De Smet, 'Citations'.

⁵⁸⁴ 'Sale in talem Martialis: Stare, Luperce, tibi iam pridem mentula desit: Luctaris demens tu tamen arrigere. Sed nihil eruca faciunt bulbique salaces improba non prosunt iam satureia tibi. Coepisti puras opibus corrumpere buccas: sic quoque non vivit sollicitata Venus. Mirari satis hoc quisquam, vel credere possit. Quae non stat, mano stare, Luperce tibi?' in: DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 1000-1005. Quotation from Martial, *Epigrammata*, book III, epigram 75.

⁵⁸⁵ For his comments on Martial as an obscene but popular writer: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 1850-1928, 1997-2012, 2117-94.

⁵⁸⁶ In: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 1862-8. From: Martial, *Epigrammata*, book XII, epigram 95, transl. D.R. Shackleton Bailey.

A second example of Beverland's selection of a classical text on sexuality that was dodged by many humanist scholars was his use of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. Many elements of this six-volume work, which discussed the philosophy of Greek thinker Epicurus, were considered irreligious. Lucretius focused for instance on the principles of atomism and the mortality of the soul. The end of the fourth chapter of *De Rerum Natura* was known for its vivid discussion of sexuality.⁵⁸⁷ Like his collection of copies of Martial's works, in the case of Lucretius Beverland also owned both expurgated and unexpurgated early modern editions. In the catalogue of his library composed in the early 1690s we firstly find a note about Isaac Vossius' "Lucretium"⁵⁸⁸. This was not a published work by his good friend Vossius but it probably refers to notes of Vossius on Lucretius, which Beverland might have copied from his friend's library in the 1680s. It is likely that Vossius composed these notes using one of the most famous manuscripts of *De Rerum Natura*; the Codex Oblongus.⁵⁸⁹ Taking Vossius' other works and his general approach to life and scholarship into account, we can safely assume that these notes were not expurgated. Beverland also owned an unexpurgated printed edition of Lucretius' work, published by Obertus Giphanius (Hubert van Giffen) in 1595, which presented the reader with the full text and notes.⁵⁹⁰

In addition to these complete versions, Beverland possessed a popular 1675 edition of Lucretius by Tanaquil Faber, which offered the text but rejected and avoided

⁵⁸⁷ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, book 4, lines 1037-1287., transl. Rouse, Smith. For more on Lucretius and the expurgation of *De Rerum Natura*: Brown, *The return*, pp. vii, 3-4; Butterfield, *'Contempta relinquo'*, pp. 95-114; Wolff, 'La Censure'.

⁵⁸⁸ In: 'Bibliotheca', 91r.

⁵⁸⁹ For more on the Codex Oblongus, father and son Vossius, and the role of Beverland in copying notes on this manuscript, see: D.J. Butterfield, *The Early Textual History of Lucretius' De rerum natura* (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 2013), pp. 303-13.

⁵⁹⁰ In: 'Bibliotheca', 98r; O. Giphanius, *Titi Lucretij Cari de rerum natura libri sex* (Leiden, 1595). For more on Giphanius, see: D. Gall, 'Giphanius, Obertus', in: *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

the obscene as much as possible.⁵⁹¹ Faber stated in his preface that there were many things in the work which “you could not safely express” and distanced himself from the text: “if anything has been said by me according to the mind of Lucretius, either in this very book or in others, please be sure to remember that I am an actor, not the poet.”⁵⁹² In accordance with his rejection of Lucretius’ obscenities and irreligion, Faber avoided them in his commentary. Thus while the full text at the end of Chapter IV was included, the commentary on this part of *De Rerum Natura* was abbreviated. Faber added a small note to his commentary of chapter four: “if I have been a little too brief in expounding these matters I did so prudently and knowingly, since I realised that the whole business of sex is so constituted that no one has required a commentator to understand it.”⁵⁹³

Using his unexpurgated editions, Beverland, on the other hand, often referred to the fourth chapter of Lucretius’ work. The ideas of this Roman philosopher on sexuality matched his own: both of them argued that men and women, like beasts, enjoyed sexual intercourse, with their bodies and minds ruled by the desire for sex. Exemplary is his citation of the Roman writer in the third chapter of his DPV.⁵⁹⁴ The argument on sexual desire put forward in *De Rerum Natura* strengthened Beverland’s own theory on the fervour and universality of lust in human nature and was therefore quoted in full:⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ In: ‘Bibliotheca’, 98r; Tanaquill Faber (Tanneguy Lefèvre), *Titi Lucretij Cari de rerum natura libri sex* (Saumur 1662). See also: H. Jones, *The Epicurean tradition* (London, 1989), p. 211; Butterfield, ‘*Contempta relinquas*’, pp. 95-114.

⁵⁹² Faber, *Titi Lucretij Cari*, Ad Lectorem, p. v and General Comment 472.

⁵⁹³ ‘in quibus explicandis si paulo brevior fui, prudens sciensque feci, qui viderem, ita comparatum esse totum illud negotium, ut ad illius intelligentiam nemo interprete opus habebat’, in: Faber, *Titi Lucretij Cari*, p. 499. See also: Butterfield, ‘*Contempta relinquas*’, p. 102.

⁵⁹⁴ See: DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 609-20. In total Beverland referred to Lucretius more than 38 times in his DPV, focusing in particular on chapter 4 of *De Rerum Natura*.

⁵⁹⁵ Beverland was not the only one to focus on this aspect of Lucretius’ work: also Italian humanists like Marsilio Ficino, Adriani, and Francheschi discussed in detail Lucretius’ Epicurean ideas on lust and pleasure. For more on this subject, see: Brown, *The return*, pp. 18-24, 54-62, 91-103; Butterfield, ‘*Contempta relinquas*’, pp. 95-114; Turner, *Schooling sex*.

Nor does a woman always feign the passion which makes her sigh, when she embraces her mate joining body to body, and holds his lips in a long kiss, moistening them with her own. For she often does it from the heart, and seeking mutual joys rouses him to run the full course in the lists of love. Nor otherwise could birds or cattle, wild beasts or sheep or mares submit to the male, were it not that their own nature, overflowing, is on heat and burning, and they thrust gladly against the penis of the mounting male. Do you not see also, when mutual pleasure has enchained a pair, how they are often tormented in their common chains? For often dogs at the cross-ways, desiring to part, pull hard in different directions with all their strength, when all the while they are held fast in the strong couplings of Venus. But this they would never do, unless they both felt these joys which were enough to lure them into the trap and to hold them enchained. Therefore, again and again I say, the pleasure is for both.⁵⁹⁶

Due to their obscenity, these lines were usually expurgated from early modern editions of *De Rerum Natura*. For instance, Thomas Creech, who printed an English translation in 1682, refuted Lucretius' impious ideas and cut the most sexual part of the text from his publication "for reasons obvious enough"⁵⁹⁷. Not only this paragraph, but the whole last section of Lucretius' fourth chapter was often deselected because of its graphic discussion of sexuality. In the Lucretius edition of the *Ad usum Delphini* series for example, edited by Michael DuFay (Michael Fayus), the Latin text of the end of the fourth chapter was only added as appendix.⁵⁹⁸ If the text was not deleted, it was at the very least excused or rejected. In his commentary of Lucretius, Lambinus argued that the work could be read by Christian readers, as long as they read the work for its stylistic qualities or used it to remind themselves that they should curb their own sexual desires.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁶ In: Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, book 4, lines 1192-1208, transl. Rouse, Smith.

⁵⁹⁷ T. Creech, *T. Lucretius Carus the epicurean philosopher, his six books De natura rerum* (Oxford, 1682), p. b4v. See also: Butterfield, 'Contempta relinquo', pp. 104-105; Butterfield, 'Lucretius', pp. 63-7.

⁵⁹⁸ M. Dufay, *T. Lucretii Cari De rerum natura libri sex* (Paris, 1680). See also: Wolff, 'La Censure', pp. 164-5.

⁵⁹⁹ See for details on Lambinus and his work, page 188 and footnote 563.

The frontier of friendship

Beverland's close friendships with leading Dutch humanists enriched his studies of the classics, yet he distinguished himself from his colleagues by concentrating on sexuality. Did his exposure of the grand humanist secret impact his personal relationships? To determine the influence of his unconventional studies, we will focus on three leading characters in his intellectual network. Firstly Heinsius, who acted as a father figure in Beverland's early scholarly life. Heinsius was a renowned classical scholar and Neo-Latin poet who acquired one of the largest private libraries at the time.⁶⁰⁰ Secondly there was Gronovius, a professor in law, Latin, and Greek at the University of Leiden. His character has been described as difficult, but Beverland trusted him with the most intimate details of his personal life and often turned to him for advice.⁶⁰¹ Beverland also discussed his early works in his correspondence with Graevius. Born in Germany, Graevius became a professor in history and eloquence at the University of Utrecht in 1661.⁶⁰²

His friendships with Heinsius, Gronovius, and Graevius were based on a shared fascination with classical scholarship and Beverland often discussed his own works in letters to his three friends. He appealed to them for advice, criticism, and support, especially when it came to his revision of the DPO: "Even I know myself what should be

⁶⁰⁰ For more on Heinsius see: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 3-4; Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius*; F.F. Blok, 'Nicolaas Heinsius in Napels (april-juli 1647)', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 125 (Amsterdam, 1983); J. Papy, 'Heinsius, Nicolaus', in: *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

⁶⁰¹ Gronovius was an influential person in Beverland's life: 48 letters from Beverland to Gronovius have been preserved, sent between 1676 and 1709 (see Bibliography). That he only mentions his daughter in letters to Gronovius attest to their close relationship (see for instance: EG 23/11, 10-09-1702). For more on Gronovius see: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 4-5; Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 1, 986-7; W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, 'Het geslacht Gronovius', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 60 (1942), pp. 95-109; J. Papy, 'Gronovius, Johannes Fredericus', *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

⁶⁰² For more on Graevius see: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 33-4; R.G. Maber, *Studies in the History of Ideas in the Low Countries, Volume 6: Publishing in the Republic of Letters: The Ménage-Graevius-Wetstein Correspondence 1679-1692* (Amsterdam, 2005); Blok, Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 2, pp. 669-70; J. Leonhardt, 'Graevius, Johann Georg', *BNP Supplements I*, volume 6.

done to the book. I am not so drunk on hellebore nor so irreconcilable due to prejudices that I would object to be taught by others who know better.”⁶⁰³ Consequently he appealed to his patron Heinsius: “only you, Ilias of the learned, can assist me with my endeavours, [thus] I beg that you may not refuse to help me with them.”⁶⁰⁴ Also with Gronovius he often discussed his studies:

I do not doubt that you also often repeat in your mind the conversations we had in The Hague, where in our spare time you kindly promised to supply me with concealed and secret [literature], as you decided to submit the undigested digressions of my nature... *De Prostibulis Veterum* to your critical opinion, so that you would indicate faults in these books with asterisks and, if I had erased or omitted something, you would add references to new teachings.⁶⁰⁵

Beverland regularly discussed his style with Graevius, as he wrote in 1679: “Your advice has been very helpful to me and it will be even more so if you continue to offer it...”⁶⁰⁶.

Although his own studies must have supplied him with many ancient obscenities, Beverland asked his friends for additional material. Heinsius’ learned library could greatly improve his DPV, Beverland commented in 1678. He was looking in particular for passages about ‘whores and related things’ and asked Heinsius for “a list of men and women who masturbate, perform oral sex, of the active and the passive men who have sexual intercourse, the bold sodomites, and similarly cursed species...”⁶⁰⁷. He also appealed to

⁶⁰³ ‘Quid fieri libro debeat, ipse moneo. Non adeo sum veratro ebrius nec praeiudiciis irreconciliabilis, ut meliora ab aliis doceri recusarem.’ In: EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

⁶⁰⁴ ‘Tu autem, eruditorum Ilias, cum solus conatibus nostris opitulari posses, precor ut eorum adiutor esse haud dedigneris.’ In: EH 2, 15/10/1678. See also: EH 1, 11/02/1678.

⁶⁰⁵ ‘Etiamque tuae inhaerere menti sermones nostros Hagae reciprocatos nullus dubito, ubi inter otia benignitas tua recondita arcanaque mihi supped[ita]turam sponderat, cum crudas ingenii... digressiones *De Prostibulis Veterum* tuo iudicio κριτικωτάτω submissem, ut in iis phalmata asterisci nota indicares et, si quid errassem aut omissem, signa novis poneress praeceptis.’ In: EG 1/1, 12/12/1676. Also in later life Beverland discussed his studies with Gronovius, see for instance EG 21, around 1685.

⁶⁰⁶ ‘Gratissima mihi fuit tua instructio eritque eo gratior quo crebrior...’. In: ET 4, Graevius, 1679. See also: ET 5, Graevius, 1679; EF 7, Graevius, 09/1685; EF 10, Graevius; EF 17, Graevius; EF 18, Graevius, 09/1685.

⁶⁰⁷ ‘Denique mastrupatorium, frictricum, fellatorium ac labdarum, cunnilinguorum, cinaedorum pariter ac pathicorum similiumque execrandarum divisionum brutorumque sodomitorum catalogum mihi exhibere facile poteris.’ In: EH 1, 11/2/1678. Beverland stated in the same letter: ‘Utinam mihi potestatem dares,

any material Gronovius might have: "If you have anything in your notes concerning wanton lesbians who masturbate, relying on you I ask that you may send it to me."⁶⁰⁸

By the late 1670s, Beverland had decided to publish his argument on sexuality. Even though he claimed that friends had pressured him to print this first work,⁶⁰⁹ after publishing the DPO in 1678 he realized that most of his colleagues did not appreciate it. "From the bottom of my heart, it would please me to present [my three books of the DPV] to you, the solace and sole sanctuary of those who devote themselves to studies," he wrote to Heinsius, "if I did not already know that you would not like them."⁶¹⁰ Also Graevius disliked the work. "You did not have any regard for my honour, my Graevius," Beverland wrote to him, "because allegedly you have sent my Milesian stories to Magliabechi while they were still hot off the press. The rumour that my writings had even arrived in the hands of the pope himself horrified me."⁶¹¹ Not only had Graevius sent his work around without his permission, Beverland complained that he did not trust him, as Graevius was allegedly denouncing his writings and reputation.⁶¹²

Letters composed in the early summer of 1679 show that Beverland tried to appease the disapproval of his friends and he wrote to Heinsius:

humanissime vir, ut quasdam versus dela Casae ex Satyra Bernia in ipsis aedibus tuis levi brachio exscriberem! A plurimis gratiam referres.' See also: See: EH 2, 15/10/1678; EH 13, 29/6/1681.

⁶⁰⁸ 'De fricticibus lesbiatoribus Cynaedis si quaedam in adversariis habeas, eadem opera transmittas subnixepeto.' In: EG 1/1, 12/12/1676

⁶⁰⁹ See: ET 2, 28/04/1679; Molenaer; ET 10, Heinsius, 1679.

⁶¹⁰ 'Hos ex animi candore tibi, studiis dicatorum solamen ac asylum unicum, offerrem lubens, si non ingratos fore praescirem.' In: EH 2, 15/10/1678. Heinsius had no affinity with the sexual. For instance when Beverland send him a copy of (probably his own edition of) the writings of Della Casa, Heinsius denounced them as vulgar, stated that he could not understand at all why Beverland had posted them to him, and send them straight back. See: EH 6b, Heinsius to Beverland, 12/09/1679.

⁶¹¹ 'Non bene consuluisti honori meo, mi Graevi, quod fabellas nostras Milesias ad Magliabequium miseris adhuc calentes. Perculit aures nostras rumor eas in ipsius Pontificis Max[imi] pervenisse manus.' In: ET 5, Graevius, 1679.

⁶¹² In letters exchanged with Heinsius in September 1679, Beverland specifically requested that he did not show the second version of his DPO to Graevius, as he suspected that Graevius was denouncing his work behind his back. See: ET 5, Graevius, 1679; EH 4, 09/1679; EH 7, 15/09/1679.

you have compelled me to change my opinion from the kindness and affection of our heart towards an inexperienced and even reckless protégé... I will make sure that in the second edition all that causes offence is expunged, so that a castrate comes forth to please the decrepit sons of the Stoics.⁶¹³

The second version of the DPO published later that summer was hardly less sexual than the first however. Heinsius feared that this edition would again cause much trouble and he strongly advised his friend to destroy or improve the work,⁶¹⁴ but Beverland was seemingly oblivious to his concerns: “You write, my dear patron, that you fear that I may suffer something inauspicious due to my second edition. Please, I demand that you do not refuse to quickly communicate to me the distinct reason of your careful anxiety.”⁶¹⁵ As his troubles accumulated however, he asked his patron to stand up for him:

Knibbe has pointed out to me that the professors of this university [Leiden] are developing something monstrous [against me]. For this reason I humbly ask, by means of my unvarnished candour, that you may write to Lord Spanheim and Le Moyne, and also, if you are given the opportunity, to Lord Goes, who can without difficulty summon all of the inferior senators in their roles with a simple nod, so that they may drown these documents in water.⁶¹⁶

Even though Beverland wrote to Heinsius in September 1679 that “I demand urgently that not any mortal see this edition... [especially] not Lord Graevius, because he will notify Gronovius, whom I trust less than the maid who cleans the toilet,”⁶¹⁷ after his

⁶¹³ ‘Tu enim ex animi candore et amore erga inexpertum adeoque et temerarium clientem... me compulere ut sententiam mutaverim. Curabo in editione secunda, ut offendicula expungantur utque castratus in exoletorum Stoicidarum gratiam prodeat.’ In: EH 3a, 08/07/1679. With the ‘exoletorum Stoicidarum’ Beverland referred to the Dutch theologians, who had most harshly criticized his works.

⁶¹⁴ In: EH 6b, 12/09/1679, Heinsius to Beverland.

⁶¹⁵ ‘Scribis, mi candide patrone, te vereri ne quid sinistri ex editione altera patiar. Flagito sodes ut quam citissime definitivam scrupulosae anxietatis causam mihi impertiri haud dedigneris.’, in: EH 6a, 10/09/1679.

⁶¹⁶ ‘Significavit me Dom[inus] Knibbe professores huius universitatis aliquid monstri alere. Quapropter humiliter per infucatum meum candorem peto ut ad Dominos Spanheim et Le Moyne scribas et, si occasio detur ad Dom[inum] Goes, qui totum pedariorum senatum in partes suas facili nutu vocare potest, ut hasce schedulas aqua mergant.’ In: EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

⁶¹⁷ ‘Hanc editionem flagito ne quisquam mortalium videat... Nec Dom[inus] Graevius, quia notificaret Gronovio, cui non magis fido quam ancilla, quae latrinam lavat.’ In: EH 4, 09/1679.

release from prison in December 1679 he thanked Gronovius for his support, as he turned out to be one of the only friends who had remained loyal to Beverland.⁶¹⁸ There is no evidence that Heinsius publicly supported his young friend during his trial and a letter written by Beverland more than two months after his release suggests that contact had been scarce: "I have lain hidden for so long, until I could guess from your letter whether those more charming malevolent beggars had also incruited your intelligence with prejudices. In truth since I see that you were not disturbed by the madness of the public, I hardly think that [you should] hinder your eyes with my renewed trouble..."⁶¹⁹.

Soon after his arrest, Beverland had already lost all faith in the support of Graevius. Graevius had failed to warn him about the trouble heading his way and was now openly cooperating with his prosecutors. And after his release in December 1679, Graevius could not wait for him to leave his hometown of Utrecht.⁶²⁰ Beverland even claimed that Graevius had tried to get him arrested again by inviting him to go to "the wine-shop where Kuffelarius, Overcampius, and other *atheists* come together. But I, being cautious, refused [to go]."⁶²¹

After his conviction Beverland promised Heinsius to change his ways: "The kindness of your counsel has moved me. ... Due to your painstaking exhortation I will never again undertake anything against the pastures of the Underworld."⁶²² In the first years of his exile, he kept informing his friend about the more appropriate humanist

⁶¹⁸ ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680.

⁶¹⁹ 'Latui tantisper, donec ex literis coniecissem num aequae malevoli aeruscatores delicatius tuum ingenium praeiudiciis incrustrassent. Verum cum videam te populari rabie non concitari, ideo vix piaculum cogito iterata perfrictae meae frontis molestia oculos tuos morari.' In: EH 10, 11/2/1680.

⁶²⁰ See: ET 21, Hoyer, 11/1679; ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680.

⁶²¹ 'Invitat me per Menningium ac Wittium ut dignarer mei copiam facere in oenopolio ubi Kuffelarius Overcampius alique *athe*i convenerant. Negavi prudenter.' In: ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680.

⁶²² 'Humanitate consilii tui moveor. ... Exhortatione denique tua sedula conabor ne unquam contra Acheruntis pabula quicquam de novo moliar.' In: EH 10, 11/2/1680.

endeavours he was undertaking, as he was for instance focusing on Justinian's *Institutiones*.⁶²³ His letters also bring out his continuing interest in the obscene however, since he described for instance how English girls often distracted him from his books and he kept asking Heinsius for a text dealing with Roman prostitutes.⁶²⁴ Heinsius died in October 1681. Beverland never forgot his beloved friend and honoured him in the text designed for his own gravestone more than 20 years later.⁶²⁵ Had Heinsius lived a longer life, he might have gradually washed his hands off Beverland: his protégé again and again dismissed his advice and continued to concentrate on the sexual subject he denounced.

In the case of Graevius, it is quite clear that Beverland's works on sexuality and the commotion they caused in the Dutch Republic instigated his abandonment of Beverland. Graevius had abandoned Spinoza in the same fashion, as Koenraad Oege Meinsma has concluded that it was to be expected that Spinoza was vilified by his enemies, but "It is less easy to understand, when we see that Spinoza's 'friend', Professor Graevius, did the same thing behind his back."⁶²⁶ Beverland exchanged letters and manuscripts with Graevius during his exile, but he could never quite get rid of the feeling that Graevius was informing his enemies about his writings and opinions.⁶²⁷ A letter written by Graevius to Heinsius shows he was right not to trust him; Graevius stated that

⁶²³ See: EH 10, 11/2/1680; EH 11, 7-1680; EH 12, 7-8-1680; EH 13, 29-6-1681; EF 5, Heinsius, 02/08/1681.

⁶²⁴ In: EH 13, 29/06/1681. He also asked for this fragment in EF 5, 02/08/1681, and had requested it for the first time in: EH 1, 11/02/1678.

⁶²⁵ For the text of the gravestone see the Epilogue.

⁶²⁶ 'Minder gemakkelijk valt ons dat, waar wij zien dat Spinoza's 'vriend', Professor Graevius, achter zijn rug hetzelfde deed.' K.O. Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring: historisch-kritische studiën over Hollandsche vrijgeesten* (The Hague, 1896), pp. 334-5. See also: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 47, 123.

⁶²⁷ For his distrust, see: EG 8/5, 25/05/1699; EH 4, 09/1679; EH 7, 07/10/1679; EH 13, 29/06/1681; ET 5, Graevius, 1679; ET 21, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680. For friendly relationship with Graevius, see letters exchanged with him (ET 4, Graevius, 1679; EF 7, Graevius, 09/1685, EF 10, Graevius; EF 17, Graevius; EF 18, Graevius, 09/1685) and his mentions in letters with others (ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679; ET 42, Godfried, 05/10/1685; EF 5, Heinsius, 02/08/1681; EF 13, Henninius, 168; EV 10b, 12/11/1683; EV 10c, 07/12/1683; EV 10g, 04/04/1685; EV 10n, 1690.

he considered the DPO to be a most disgusting work: “And truly it must be deplored that such filthy and impious books are published and tolerated in these lands...”⁶²⁸.

During his exile also Beverland’s friend Gronovius gradually deserted him. Gronovius’ attitude was exhibited first of all by his silent refusal to help Beverland when he attempted to secure a pardon from the University of Leiden. In 1684 he sent his most trusted friend a plea dedicated to the judges of the University of Leiden, relying on Gronovius to deliver it.⁶²⁹ By 1689 however Beverland had realized that nothing was happening: “I have already understood that my pleas to you and to the Senate have been delivered and read, but I am greatly saddened that I have still not received or read any answer...”⁶³⁰. Also Gronovius’ persistent unwillingness to publish Beverland’s writings under his patronage to his increasing abandonment. Focused on returning home, Beverland was keen on printing some of his classical commentaries in the Dutch Republic.⁶³¹ He asked Gronovius to handle the publication of the works: “I send to you, most learned man, my *Otia Oxoniensia*... because I believe that this [work] will be more pleasing to readers, if it will appear into the light under your supervision, I ask [you] to commit it to print and to deem it worthy to acquire a public right.”⁶³² He sent the ‘*Otia*

⁶²⁸ ‘Libellum illum sacrum et detestabilem De Peccato Originali nemo hic vidit nec in nostris bibliopolis conspicitur. Egi tamen de illo hodie cum nostris theologis, sui, simulac in illorum manus pervenerit, ut iuguletur et luce interdicator, providebunt. Et sane dolendum est tam foedos ac prophanos libros in his terris publicari ac tolerari, quae nostrae genti notam inurunt turpissimam.’ In: Graevius to Heinsius, No date, in: P. Burman, *Sylloges Epistolarum*, Part IV (Leiden, 1727) p. 598.

⁶²⁹ See: EG 3, 1685, to the Judges; EG 2, 30/10/1684; EG 5, 28/7/1685. For the full story see the Epilogue.

⁶³⁰ ‘Intellexi iamdudum meas ad te et Senatum traditas lectasque fuisse petitiones, sed pro dolor! nullam adhuc accepi nec legi responsionem.’ In: EG 14/6, 10/01/1684.

⁶³¹ For his ideas on this matter, see EG 20/10, 15/8/1699 and the references below. De Smet has argued that Beverland wanted to publish these works to present them as gifts for university professors, safeguarding his return. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 58.

⁶³² ‘Mitto tibi, vir eruditissime, *Otia mea Oxoniensia*... Et cum illa lectoribus acceptiora fore confidam, si tua cura prodierint in lucem, rogo ea typis committere et publici iuris facere digneris.’ In: EG 16/7, 25/3/1693. For more on the ‘*Otia Oxoniensia*’, see the Bibliography.

Oxoniensia' and other studies, like his notes on Martial, Juvenal, Petronius and the 'Iter Anglicum', but no works were ever published by Gronovius.⁶³³

During his student years, as a young, talented, and ambitious humanist scholar, Beverland felt supported and encouraged by his older, more established friends and colleagues in the field of classical scholarship. His argument on sex in general, and his unveiling of the many obscenities in classical literature in particular, contrasted with the approach that the majority of his humanist companions adopted with regard to the subject of sex however. It is therefore not surprising that his colleagues disapproved of his studies and did not want to be affiliated with him or his works when he persisted to pursue and publish on the topic in the latter 1670s. By defying the traditional method of expurgation he denounced not only their supposedly critical approach to ancient texts but also threatened the foundation of humanist scholarship at a sensitive time. By the last decades of the seventeenth century, humanism and classical scholarship were increasingly scrutinized as novel ideas on knowledge, based not on the writings of ancient authorities but on Cartesian, empirical, and rational approaches, methods, and philosophies, had increased in importance.

The French *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* and the *Battle of the Books* in England were emerging slowly at this time, with scholars forced to rethink the assumed authority of ancient knowledge and debating the importance of the classics in the face of the seventeenth-century developments in the acquisition of knowledge, since not books but experiments and not philology but philosophy had started to dominate many fields

⁶³³ This is clear in his correspondence with Gronovius in the 1680s, 1690s, and 1700s. See especially: EG 16/7, 25/03/1693; EG 18/8, 25/5/1699; EG 19/9, 25/05/1699; EG 20/10, 15-08-1696; EG 23/11, 10/12/1708.

of learning.⁶³⁴ In the late 1670s, this battle was still in its early stages yet an attack upon the foundation and critical method of humanist scholarship was as unwelcome to classical scholars, and humanist scholarship in a more general sense, as it would be thirty years later. Especially when the challenge was made by a young, arrogant, and abrasive scholar, who focused on the most indecent subject of all. The satirical poems of Martial and the obscenities of Ovid, Horace, and Juvenal might be fun to read for pleasure and to discuss in private conversation, but to publish them as part of a radical argument on the subject of sex was a very different story.

Beverland's choice to study and publish works on sexuality defined his relationships with other humanist scholars: his close colleagues did not appreciate his sexual studies and criticized them openly. His friendships with Graevius, Gronovius, and Heinsius show that his love for the sexual impelled his friends to warn him, criticize him, and eventually to turn away from him, whether via silent condemnation or direct disapproval. Although almost everyone around him warned him about the (planned) publication of his studies, Beverland ignored their guidance.⁶³⁵ He wrote in November 1679: "I prefer to be incautious than to be insane. Discretion is faintheartedness in a young man, as imprudence is a masculine virtue."⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ For more on this battle, see: J.M. Levine, *The battle of the books: history and literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, London, 1991); L.F. Norman, *The shock of the ancient: literature & history in early modern France* (Chicago, London, 2011); D. Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: a genealogy* (Chicago, 2010). For an introduction of the influence of the battle in Dutch perspective, see: W.W. Mijnhardt, 'Dutch culture in the age of William and Mary: cosmopolitan or provincial?', D. Hoak, and M. Feingold (eds.), *The world of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 219-33.

⁶³⁵ In the majority of letters Beverland sent and received between 1676 and 1680, we witness him accepting and disregarding advice. See for example: EH 3a, 08/07/1679; EH 5, 05/08/1679; EH 6a, 10/09/1679; EH 6b, Heinsius to Beverland, 12/09/1679; EH 10, 11/02/1680; ET 3, Gronovius, 01/06/1679; ET 4, Graevius, 1679; ET 8, Vossius, 1679; ET 10, Heinsius, 1679; ET 14, Heinsius, 15/10/1679; ET 17, Goyer, 11/1679; ET 18, Munck, 11/1679; ET 24, Goyer, 11/1679.

⁶³⁶ 'Malo tamen imprudens quam vecors esse. Prudentia in iuvene pusillanimitas, imprudentia virtus mascula.' In: ET 18, Munck, 11/1679.

After dismissing the advice of his humanist friends time and time again, during his trial and after his banishment Beverland was gradually expelled from the scholarly network he had relied on for professional patronage and personal support. Early in his career, the young scholar underestimated how significant the rejection of his studies by senior humanists would be. Later in life, however, Beverland did connect his troubles to the predicaments of his early publications, leading to his exile, and concluded that his studies of the sexual had determined the course of his life. That many of his friends and acquaintances abandoned him because they did not want to be associated with him anymore was no secret. Despite the fact that he had defied their advice repeatedly and openly challenged Dutch theologians, looking for trouble, he was greatly disappointed by the attitudes of his colleagues, whom he argued chose their reputation and financial benefits over publicly discovering, discussing, and admitting to the truth. He had expected that his friends, whom he claimed supported his argument in private, would have stood up for him in public.

In a letter to De Goyer, Beverland recounted his views on the matter when discussing Graevius' deceitful behaviour. Graevius' large family and overspending wife were partly to blame, Beverland concluded: "I know that [Graevius] is choked by his wife, who continuously borrows money and wastes it. Truly, would it not be better to prescribe a limit to his family, than to glorify the ulcers of the Church to the stars for the sake of bread and fame?"⁶³⁷ Not just Graevius, but also other scholars chose money and reputation over truth and scholarship. Beverland described himself as a brutal honest

⁶³⁷ 'Scio illum continuatione vorsura et uxore prodiga strangulari. Verum nonne satius esset modum praescribere familiae, quam ob panem famamque ecclesiae vomicas ad sidera tollere.' In: ET 21, De Goyer, 11/1679. Beverland did have a point regarding Graevius' family, as he had 18 children with his wife. Money was still a problem for Graevius years later, as Beverland attested for instance in EF 13, Henninius, 1685.

man, who voiced his ideas and stressed that it was impossible for him to flatter other people, even if it was in his own interest.⁶³⁸ He criticized many of his humanist colleagues for being much less sincere in their approach to knowledge and learned endeavours, as:

the stupid herd believes in investing their strength not in their erudition but in their wealth. I resent how often I see that the learned beg for money and pieces of silver like beasts... I do not doubt that if all honourable men became acquainted to supporting themselves with bread and polenta instead of the insult of wealth (like Dodwell in England), adorned with the scanty persistence of frugality, they would actually be able to debate with the gods themselves.⁶³⁹

If all scholars would be content with a scarce meal, making their studies a priority, they could achieve so much more: "Those who diligently watch over their riches and reputation refuse to expose themselves to danger: but I have desired to make use of the mastery of my own free will and fate, and to tame the barbarity of the stupid."⁶⁴⁰

Conclusion

While sex was frequently discussed and described in the classics, obscene texts were expurgated by humanist scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Via the deselection, alteration, and rejection of indecent passages, the majority of humanists aimed to uphold the exalted status of their classical models. But Beverland was different. Although in many ways he was a typical humanist scholar, he condemned the approach his colleagues, friends, and acquaintances had adopted with regard to the sexual and focused precisely on the subject they avoided, ignored, and renounced. He elevated

⁶³⁸ He stated this for instance in: ET 36, Gronovius, 03/1680; EG 4/3, to the judges, 05/06/1685; EG 25/13, 10/12/1708; EG 26/14, 1702; EG 29/16, 1698; EG 33, 29/08/1694; EH 1, 20/11/1676.

⁶³⁹ 'Quae assentatio effecit ut bruta illa Armenta putaverint virtutem non in eruditione sed in divitiis consistere. Indignor quoties video doctissimos a bestiis το χρυσιον και τ' ἀργύριον mendicare... Certe si didicissent viri boni pane et polenta contra fortunae insultus se tueri (ut in Anglia Dodwellus) iam patientia parcae frugalitatis ornati, ipsis etiam diis controversiam facere potuissent.' In: ET 21, Goyer, 11/1679.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Qui divitiis honoribusque invigilant, nolunt se exponere periculis: at ego meae spontis et fortunae meo arbitrio uti volui et barbariem cicurare insubidorum.' In: ET 18, Munck, 11/1679.

pagan obscenities from classical literature, unveiling the secret of humanist scholarship, in the context of his argument on sex and sin. Beverland could be silenced by the attack of theologians on his published studies mainly because his humanist colleagues did not rush to his defence. His close friends did not agree with his argument, which directly and indirectly criticized their approach to the classics and threatened the moral foundation of their scholarship. They warned Beverland, advised him to alter his argument, but when he refused to listen they turned their backs and abandoned him. Why did he ignore their advice, why did he not listen to his friends, his more senior colleagues? Why did Beverland persistently refuse to let his sexual subject go, even after his banishment and years of exile? We must turn to this question in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Sex

In the late 1670s, Beverland tried to convince his intellectual network of his grand proficiency in classical scholarship. He presented an original contribution to humanist learning by arguing that scholars should not hide the immanent significance of lust but should instead use the classics in order to better understand this important part of human nature. His colleagues did not appreciate his works, yet in spite of their warnings and the harsh critiques from Dutch theologians after the publication of his first works, Beverland did not abandon his ideas on sexuality. Why did he continue to pursue this dangerous subject? Why was he unwilling to alter his writings to become more 'decent', discussing his sexual subject in a manner that was less provoking, despite the detrimental influence of his perseverance to his professional career and personal life?

Modern scholars have provided a simple answer to these questions. Beverland could not help but pursue sex because he was obsessed, a libertine in heart and soul. He has been described as "a libertine of some renown whose erotomania got him into trouble with the law"⁶⁴¹, a man who not only wrote about sex but who also lived licentiously, and consequently died of a venereal disease.⁶⁴² Historians like Van Bunge, Israel, and Leemans, who have rightly positioned him in the historical context of the early enlightenment, have suggested that Beverland's choice to write about sex was

⁶⁴¹ In: Steenbakkers, Touber, Van de Ven, 'A clandestine notebook', p. 42. In a different work Steenbakkers called Beverland that 'young Utrecht libertine': Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza in the History of Biblical Scholarship', p. 313.

⁶⁴² During Beverland's own time there were rumours about him suffering from a venereal disease, as he attested himself in the Signior Perin Del Vago correspondence: 'they dispers'd that you have the Gout in your Membrum' (*Discovery of the three imposters*, after 1708, p. 5; See Bibliography). That he might have suffered from syphilis was repeated in the works of different modern scholars, see for instance: Leemans, *Het Woord*, p. 251.

predominantly influenced by his own libertine lifestyle: he attempted to validate his own behaviour by constructing a theory of sexual desire.

It might seem straightforward to call a man writing about sex a libertine, but before using this term its meaning must be clarified. Much has been written about libertinism in the early modern period as historiographical studies have focused on the historical definition of a 'libertine' and the changes in the use of the term 'libertinism'.⁶⁴³ Originally a French term, libertinism traditionally referred to criticism of orthodox religious ideas in the sixteenth century but was increasingly associated with writings that, in addition to an anti-religious stance, supported sexual freedom from a sceptic and Epicurean point of view.⁶⁴⁴ Taking historical definitions and historiographical interpretations of the term and its development in different times and contexts into account, three important elements of libertinism in the early modern period must be briefly highlighted here.

Firstly, its religious component, with the term libertine originally used to describe thinkers who criticized religious authority, orthodox doctrine, and traditional dogma. B.J. Kaplan for instance, in his historical study of the development of religious toleration in the late-sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, juxtaposed Calvinists

⁶⁴³ Many different studies have focused on libertinism in the early modern period, especially in the French context. Fundamental were the studies of R. Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1943) and of F. Charles-Daubert, 'Libertinage, littérature clandestine et privilège de la raison', *Recherches sur le XVII^e siècle*, 7 (1984), pp. 45-57; idem, *Les libertins érudits en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1998). For recent discussions of the subject, the special issue of the *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* (12, no. 2, 2012) is of great interest. There is also an article by D. Wootton: 'Pierre Bayle, Libertine?', M.A.A. Stewart (ed.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century European Philosophy, Oxford Studies in the History of Philosophy* (3 volumes, Oxford, 1991, 1997, 2000), volume 2, pp. 197-226. The subject has not been studied much in the Dutch context, but is touched upon in: D. Haks, 'Libertinisme en Nederlands verhalend proza, 1650-1700', G. Hekma, H. Roodenburg, *Soete minne en helsche boosheid: seksuele voorstellingen in Nederland 1300-1850* (Nijmegen, 1988), pp. 85-108; Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 68-73; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 149-62.

⁶⁴⁴ Haks, 'Libertinisme', pp. 102-105; L. Hunt, 'Introduction', Hunt, *The Invention of pornography*, pp. 9-48; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 22-6; Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 40-51, 70-72; Wootton, 'Pierre Bayle', pp. 200-201.

and Libertines. He defined the latter as Reformed moderates who supported toleration within the Dutch Reformed Church, opposed ecclesiastical discipline, and turned against the least or most orthodox aspects of the Calvinist religion. Orthodox Calvinists at the time described libertines as unchurched men without faith, who “wished to live solely as their fantasies direct and as will gain them the most pleasure.”⁶⁴⁵

Secondly, the term libertines referred to intellectual freethinkers, who criticized traditional views from a classical philosophical and humanist point of view, arriving at sceptical and relativist perspectives on religion, society, and politics. Seventeenth-century erudite libertinism was characterized by a rational intellectual attitude, with the ‘libertin erudit’ combining an oppositional stance with traditional humanist scholarship focused on ancient as well as modern texts.⁶⁴⁶

Thirdly, libertines were associated with a lifestyle free from restraints, in relation to Epicurean ideals and sexual licentiousness. In the eighteenth century in particular, libertinism became associated with sexual freedom and pornographic literature, as (erudite) libertines were open to sexual experimentation on paper and in practice.⁶⁴⁷

Historians have argued that there was a clear development in the use of the phrase, from religious libertinism in the sixteenth century via the ‘libertin erudit’ focused on philosophy in the seventeenth century to the sexually free libertine of the eighteenth

⁶⁴⁵ Kaplan, *Calvinists*, pp. 40-51, 70-71.

⁶⁴⁶ See: K. Vanhaesebrouck, and P. Dehert, ‘Libertine bodies or the politics of Baroque corporeality’, *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12, no. 2 (2012), pp. 1-11; Haks, ‘Libertinisme’, pp. 102-105; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 22-6; P.J. Buijnsters, ‘Libertijnse literatuur in Nederland gedurende de 18e eeuw?’, *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 71 (1978), pp. 50-59; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 149-62; Mulsow, *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik*; T. Wauters, ‘*Libertinage érudit* and Isaac Vossius: A Case Study’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12, no. 2 (2012), pp. 37-53; T. Gregory, ‘“Libertinisme érudit” in seventeenth-century France and Italy: The critique of ethics and religion’, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 6, no. 3 (1998), pp. 323-49.

⁶⁴⁷ See: Hunt, ‘Introduction’; Haks, ‘Libertinisme’, pp. 102-105; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 22-6; Buijnsters, ‘Libertijnse literatuur’; Vanhaesebrouck, Dehert, ‘Libertine bodies’; Wootton, ‘Pierre Bayle’.

century, but in recent years the complexity of these terms and their application in different historical contexts has been recognized, with this traditional view revised.⁶⁴⁸

The association of Beverland with the obscene features of his works and lifestyle is primarily due to the popular adaptations of his writings in the eighteenth century, which were more extreme in their sexual outlook than Beverland's own studies.⁶⁴⁹ Biographer Chauffepié wrote in 1750: "C'étoit un homme d'un très beau génie; mais il en fit un fort mauvais usage, en composant des Livres obscènes... il s'appliqua beaucoup à la lecture des Livres propres à favoriser la débauche et le libertinage."⁶⁵⁰ Building on this image, Beverland was called 'L'homme le plus libertin de son siècle'⁶⁵¹ in the nineteenth century, a description still repeated by modern scholars.⁶⁵²

Explaining Beverland's story by calling him a libertine does not take into account the complexities of his exile, from the contrasting views portrayed in his erudite studies to the unusually harsh punishment he received from the university court. Some scholars have depicted Beverland as a sceptical and relativist scholar. Van Bunge for instance concluded that he was a 'libertine erudite', one of the most prominent representatives of learned libertinism in the seventeenth century in both theory and praxis, and stated that Beverland's works were characterized by a materialist reading of Spinoza and

⁶⁴⁸ For a good overview of changing ideas, see: Vanhaesebrouck, Dehert, 'Libertine bodies'; Wauters, 'Libertinage érudit', pp. 37-53.

⁶⁴⁹ His DPO was adapted and translated by J.F. Bernard in French in the early eighteenth century (*Histoire de l'état de l'homme dans le péché originel*) and from this French adaptation, different German versions were published after 1740. See the Conclusion of this thesis and the Bibliography.

⁶⁵⁰ J.G. Chauffepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, pour servir de Supplément au Dictionnaire de P. Bayle* (4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1750-1756), volume 1, p. 282. Also in other eighteenth-century biographies Beverland was characterized as a libertine, see for instance: Chalmot, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, volume 3, p. 43-8; J.F. de Bure, *Bibliographie Instructive, ou Traité de la Connoissance des Livres Rares et Singuliers* (7 volumes, Paris 1763-1769), Volume de Théologie, pp. 489-492.

⁶⁵¹ M. Michaud (red.), *Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne* (45 volumes, Paris, 1843-65), volume 4, p. 248.

⁶⁵² See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 115; Leemans, *Het Woord*, p. 250; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 149-62.

religious scepticism.⁶⁵³ Beverland's scholarship has rightly been linked to strands of early enlightenment thought, since his ideas do have a place in the early modern debate on sexual liberty, and there is no denying that his life, writings, and collections paint him out to be an archetypal erudite libertine. Yet to simply label him a libertine does not advance a true interpretation of his views, nor does it help understand the motives behind his sexual scholarship or the broader context of his exile. The complexities of the term obscure its precise relevance to Beverland: are we calling him a religious radical, a critical philosopher, or a rational sceptic? When using the term libertine, do we make him a relativist, an Epicurean, a pervert, or all of the above? Because definitions vary with each historical period and each modern study, using the term libertinism complicates rather than assists a better understanding of his scholarship. To answer the question why Beverland pursued his subject with such reckless tenacity, we have to look beyond the libertine label, dismissing preconceived ideas that accompany the term and focus instead on the importance of his fascination with sex.

This is not to say that modern scholars were wrong to suggest that Beverland's studies might have been influenced by his less than chaste lifestyle. And so it is to his personal life that we must firstly turn.

4.1 Bars, brothels, and obscenities

In the service of girls

In his first letter to Heinsius, composed on 2 November 1678, Beverland tried his best to impress the accomplished professor. After praising Heinsius' erudition, he shared the story of his mistress, a Miss Liesfeldt, who had convinced him to marry her with 'many

⁶⁵³ Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, p. 161.

tricks of seduction'.⁶⁵⁴ After living together for a while, however, according to Beverland, Miss Liesfeldt drove him crazy: she drank too much wine and was simple of mind. Thus he decided to end things with her: "While allowing her to pack her belongings, I said to her: 'Go away Madam!' [and] thus I have said goodbye with a dissolution of the marriage..."⁶⁵⁵. The importance of this anecdote is not the manner in which he might have dealt with Miss Liesfeldt, although this does tell us something about his general attitude to women. The fragment is significant because Beverland chose to tell Heinsius this particular story in his introductory letter; presenting himself to an important professor and potential patron as an unmarried man, not bound to any woman, who might have been lured into a marriage once, but would never let this happen again.

We will never know if his lifestyle originated in his first readings of the obscene parts of classical literature or if his sexual adventures inspired his studies of ancient sexuality, but his correspondence shows that Beverland greatly enjoyed visiting taverns and brothels, that he loved drinking alcohol with his friends and spending time with women during his student years.⁶⁵⁶ As soon as he was released from student prison in December 1679, he met his friends in Utrecht to "wash off the anxiety with an abundant cup and rub off the barbarity of Leiden with much wit."⁶⁵⁷ Halma, a bookseller and printer in Utrecht at the time, noted that Beverland "with his acquired skill in debauchery, in the

⁶⁵⁴ In: EH 1, 11/02/1678. See also: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 14, 17, 73, 75, 79. It is unclear if the couple got married or only exchanged promises of marriage. The Latin indicates a legal marriage and Beverland stated it was officially conducted in Utrecht in the presence of a priest, but no marriage contract nor any additional references to a Miss Liesfeldt were found in Beverland's documents or Dutch archives, except one letter in which Beverland sent greetings to a Miss Liesfeldt (EH 13, 29/06/1681).

⁶⁵⁵ 'Sarcinam constringi passus dixi: "Domina, exi!" itaque repudio valedixi, ea saltem...', in: EH 1, 11/02/1678. I have not been able to discover who Miss Liesfeldt was, if she and Beverland were really married, or how their relationship ended. See also footnote 654.

⁶⁵⁶ He discussed his adventures in numerous letters. See the examples below and also: EF 3, Goyer, 27/03/1680; EG 30/17, 1685; EG 25/13, 10/12/1708; EG 18/8, 25-05-1699; EG 31, 1700.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Tormento te videndi flagror. Veni citissime et fecundo calice omnem diluamus aegritudinem Lugdunensiumque immanitatem multo sale defricabimus.' In: ET 31, Goyer, 12/1679.

company of unruly youth and in taverns, threw his weight around in a peculiar way, boasting about his burned manuscript..."⁶⁵⁸.

"To give poor girls drinks, to make love to them, and take them home to supper, is quite a legitimate action for us all in this good town of The Hague."⁶⁵⁹ In Beverland's published works one can discover his personal fascination with the sexual as well. When discussing women's clothing in the DSVI, he commented that:

The milk white breasts, voluptuous exceedingly to be beholden outside the fine linen, summon the lover to venereal delight... For who could look upon such hills and bays, without his delight trembling and palpitating immediately, carried away by the breath of tumultuous desire? ... Ah! How I saw, and perished! A naked bosom is enough to tempt the Gods.⁶⁶⁰

In a letter of dedication to his stepfather De Gomme, printed in the DPO, he admitted that during his studies he had encountered sweet obstacles that had forced him to deal with the 'deadly plague of unavoidable lust'⁶⁶¹ and he confessed in the 'Pia Meditatio' at the end of the same work that he found it hard to resist the temptations of desire.⁶⁶²

The most famous portrait of Beverland (Image 3, page 220), which he commissioned in the 1670s, flaunts the carefree lifestyle of his younger years. De Smet has argued that Beverland intended to use this painting for the introductory pages of his

⁶⁵⁸ 'met zijne ingezoge kundigheit van ontucht, in gezelschappen van onbandige jongelingen, en herbergen, wonderlijk den baas speelde, breedte opgaf van zijn verbrandt handschrift...', in: Halma, *Toneel*, p. 135.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Puellas parvulas potare, amare atque ad coenam conducere, licet hoc Hagae nobis.' In: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 150.

⁶⁶⁰ 'Lacteolae papillae, sine linteo nimum lubricae aspici, ad Venerem vocant amantem... Nam quis colles tantos, tantasque Syrtis intueri posset, qui non statim prae desiderii aestuantis aura, trepidans palpitansque adhinniat?... Ut vidi, ut perii! Nudum pectus sollicitare posset Deos.' In: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 115. With *colles* and *Syrtis* Beverland referred to the arches of the breasts of women, referring with *Syrtis* to Syrtis Maior and Minor bays in North Africa.

⁶⁶¹ 'verum enim vero veterum monumenta ruminanti duciores salebrae obvenere, quibus fatalem necessariae Veneris luei suo gladio jugulare jubebat corruptionis aevi cacoethes.' In: DPO 1679, letter to De Gomme, A2v.

⁶⁶² See: DPO 1679, Pia Meditatio, N5r.

DPV.⁶⁶³ It was painted by Ary de Vois⁶⁶⁴ and contains a short description: 'Portrait of Adriaan Beverland, writer of theological works and satires, with a wanton woman'. We see Beverland portrayed as a wealthy and comfortable young gentleman: he is sitting down, leaning back, and dressed in extravagant fabric. With his eyes wide open, he looks straight at the onlooker while leisurely smoking his pipe, a symbol of earthly pleasure and sexual intercourse.⁶⁶⁵ Next to him we see not only an empty wineglass on a silver plate but also a half-naked woman, two additional references to sexual desire and the pleasures of life. No symbols of erudition or learning are depicted: no globe, no academic dress, no Bible or classical literature in sight. The only book we see clearly is Beverland's own 'De Prostibulis Veterum', open on the table in the hands of the young lady, who is however more interested in the man next to her than the contents of the work. The portrait conveys confidence, leisure, and sex, with Beverland as the self-assured man in the middle, challenging the spectator to disapprove of this shameless portrayal of his person, his work, and his lifestyle.

⁶⁶³ De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 149-50.

⁶⁶⁴ Ary de Vois, or Arie de Vos (1632/35-1680), was a Dutch painter, who usually painted classical subjects or portraits (not a few naked women). An engraving of this portrait was made by Isaac Beckett in the 1680s.

⁶⁶⁵ For more on smoking (a pipe) as a symbol of passing pleasures and sexuality in seventeenth-century Dutch art, see: I. Gaskell, 'Tobacco, Social Deviance, and Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century', W. Franits (ed.), *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 68-77; D. Mitchell, 'The iconology of smoking in turn-of-the-century art', *Notes in the History of Art*, 6, no. 3 (1987), pp. 27-33.



Image 3. Painting of Hadriaan Beverland by Ary de Vois (1670s), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Sex outside the bonds of matrimony was forbidden not only by Christian churches in Europe but also by law in early modern states. Marriage had become a secular affair after the establishment of the Protestant Dutch Republic in the course of the sixteenth century: it was no longer considered to be a sacrament and matrimonial affairs were placed in the hands of the secular authorities. Official standpoints on marital affairs were still firmly founded on Calvinist doctrine however. The two most important laws on marriage issued in this period, published in 1580 and 1656, prohibited sex outside marriage and ordered that pre- and extramarital sexual relations should be legally prosecuted, because these sins brought dishonour not only those involved but also to the larger community.⁶⁶⁶ Although not officially involved in jurisdiction, the influential Dutch Reformed Church did concern itself with the sexual behaviour of its members and of Dutch society as a whole. Sex outside the matrimonial bed was considered sinful and therefore strictly forbidden. Church councils often discussed the topic, because it was thought to be of the greatest importance for the Reformed community to remain pure and protected from God's wrath.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁶ See: 'Politieke Ordonnantie Van Holland', S. de Blécourt, N.J. Japikse, N.J. (eds.), *Klein plakkaatboek van Nederland: verzameling van ordonnantiën en plakaten betreffende regeeringsvorm, kerk en rechtspraak, (14e eeuw tot 1749)* (Groningen, 1919), p. 126-34; 'Echtreglement' Staten Generaal 1656', C. Cau et al. (eds.), *Groot Placaet-Boeck* (9 volumes, The Hague, 1658-1797), volume 2, pp. 2429-48. For more this topic: M. van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland: stedelijke rechtspraak en kerkelijke tucht, 1550-1700* (Amsterdam, 1998), pp. 30-76; L. van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford, 2011), Dutch edition used here: L. van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom: Prostitutie in De Zeventiende En Achttiende Eeuw* (PhD Thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 75-6, 157-70; D. Haks, *Huwelijk En Gezin in Holland in de 17de En 18de Eeuw: Processtukken En Moralisten over Aspecten Van Het Laat 17de- En 18de-Eeuwse Gezinsleven* (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, Assen, 1982), pp. 70-104; E.M.F. Broers, *Van Plakkaat Tot Praktijk: Strafrecht in Staats-Brabant in De Zeventiende En Achttiende Eeuw* (Nijmegen, 2006), pp. 60-75.

⁶⁶⁷ This is based on the documents of the Church issued between 1580 and 1620, published in: C. Hooijer, *Oude Kerkordeningen Der Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeenten (1538-1638) en Het Concept-Reglement Op De Organisatie Van Het Hervormd Kerkgenootschap in Het Koninkrijk Holland* (Zaltbommel, 1865); J. Reitsma, and S.D. van Veen (eds.), *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden, gehouden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572-1620* (8 volumes, Groningen 1892-1899); J.P. van Dooren et al. (ed.), *Classicale Acta 1573-1620* (10 volumes, The Hague, 1980-2011), volumes 1,2,3,4 and 7. See also: Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 26-35, 163-209; Van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland*, pp. 56-241; H.

The laws and statutes issued and the many concerns raised by both secular and religious Dutch authorities in this period about premarital sex, adultery, and prostitution suggest that men and women frequently ignored official regulations and Reformed doctrine. Modern scholars have outlined the tension between the formal restriction of sex to matrimony and the relative freedom to have sexual relations outside marriage in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, concluding that different States and especially the Dutch Reformed Church might have had the will but not the means to effectively supervise or control sexual behaviour.⁶⁶⁸ Beverland's vivid adventures as well as his comments on the sexual conduct of other Dutch men and women attest to this relative freedom of sexual relations: "Before legitimate marriage the life of juveniles is wont to be nomadic, with desires fixed first on one whoreson union, then on another."⁶⁶⁹ Other contemporary observations support his statements: many seventeenth-century publications, from Reformed sermons and moralistic prose to Neo-Latin poems and burlesque songs, commented on the behaviour of Dutch youth, especially young males. They were not supposed to drink, have sex, or gamble but they visited inns, brothels, and playhouses on a regular basis.⁶⁷⁰

Students had a particularly bad reputation. As Beverland noted:

Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur: Kerkelijke Tucht in De Gereformeerde Gemeente Van Amsterdam, 1578-1700* (PhD Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Hilversum, 1990), pp. 105-24, 230-320; Haks, 'Libertinisme'.

⁶⁶⁸ See: Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 181, 196-225, 343-55; Van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland*, pp. 11-32, 70-74, 142-164; Haks, 'Libertinisme', 85-107; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 13-32, 147-72; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-300.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Ante legitimos thorus vaga solet esse praetextatorum vita, meretriciis amores nuptiis conglutinans.' In: DSVI, chapter XIII, p. 213.

⁶⁷⁰ See: Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-300; W. Frijhoff, 'Seksualiteit en erotiek in de achttiende eeuw: een slotbeschouwing', *Documentatieblad werkgroep achttiende eeuw*, 17, no. 1 (1985), pp. 197-203; D.J. Noordam, 'Lust, last en plezier: vier eeuwen seksualiteit in Nederland', Dupuis, *Een kind onder het hart*, pp. 128-48; B.B. Roberts, and L.F. Groenendijk, "Wearing Out a Pair of Fool's Shoes". Sexual Advice for Youth in Holland's Golden Age', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13, no. 2 (2004), pp. 141-53; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 141-65.

The lustful desire of the stimulating sin has chiefly touched these descendants of Pallas and Minerva. ...their thoughts run wild at home, in the city, and in sacred places, while in heat they break through blinded windows, bedrooms, and houses, so that they may prevail to restrain the untamed madness when the penis is released. ... [they heed] whichever girl suits their temper. Like circus horsemen they jump from one exhausted mare to a fresh one all the time.⁶⁷¹

Concentrating on a wide range of sources, from cases handled by Dutch university courts to songs written by students in this period, historians have painted a similar image of the academic rake, who visited brothels regularly, violently raped maids, and spread sexual diseases. In cities like Leiden, Franeker, and Utrecht, students were a general nuisance, but because they were tried before university courts, instituted to safeguard the elite, it was almost impossible for secular and religious authorities to firmly act against their transgressions.⁶⁷² Professor Gerardus Joannes Vossius wrote in 1638 to his good friend Hugo Grotius that many “foul acts against women and even youngsters” had taken place

⁶⁷¹ ‘Stimulantis hujus peccati urtica praecipue tetigit hosce Palladis Minervaeque nepotes. ...horum cogitationes intra muros, domos & templa grassantur, subando caligantes fenestras, cubilia tectaque perrumpunt, idque ut pene soluto indomitam rabiem sedare valeant. ... quaeque puella iis facit ingenium. Ex fessa in recentem subinde transulant desultorii equam,,,’ in: DPO 1679, chapter XX, pp. 147-9 [157-9]. His description continues on p. 150 [160].

⁶⁷² See: M. Wingens, ‘Deviant gedrag van studenten: verkrachters in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw’, *Batavia Academica*, 6 (1988), pp. 9-26; M. Wingens, ‘Jeugdige lichtzinnigheid en losbandigheid. Seksueel gedrag en seksuele beleving van studenten ten tijde van de Nederlandse Republiek’, G. Hekma, D. Kraakman, and W. Melching (eds.), *Grensgeschieden in de seks. Bijdragen tot een culturele geschiedenis van de seksualiteit, Balans en perspectief van de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 8-28.; Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 381-92; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 141-65, 491; Meijer, ‘Brieven’, p. 47; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 118-19, 127-34; Noordam, ‘Lust, lasten plezier’, pp. 128-48; D. van Miert, ‘Holbolligheid en holle frasen. De zeventiende-eeuwse student als personage en auteur’, *Literatuur*, 20 (2003), pp. 27-30; P. Altena, ‘Ben jy lui Studenten, zo moetje studeeren’. Waarom Izabelle De Franequer Los-Kop niet lezen mocht’, *Literatuur*, 8 (1991), pp. 11-18; F. van der Ven, ‘Groningse loskoppen’. Academierechtspreek in Groningen’, A.H. Huussen Jr. (ed.), *Onderwijs en onderzoek. Studie en wetenschap aan de academie van Groningen in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw, Studies over de geschiedenis van de Groningse Universiteit*, 1 (Hilversum, 2003), pp. 231-60; M.M. Schmitz, ‘Studentenleven in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw’, *Spiegel Historiae*, 4 (1969), pp. 216-23; I.A.R. de Smet, ‘Town and Gown in the Dutch Golden Age: the menippean satires of Jan Bodecher Benningh (1631) and ‘Amatus Fornacius’ (1633)’, J. IJsewijn, D. Sacré, and G. Tournoy (eds.), *Myrica: essays on Neo-Latin literature in memory of Jozef IJsewijn, Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia*, 16 (Leuven, 2000), pp. 491-521.

in Leiden recently, remarking that “It is embarrassing to refer to them. Alas, how much that place has changed since the time when both of us spent our youth there.”⁶⁷³

In other seventeenth-century writings the notorious sexual behaviour of students was similarly described in great detail. In the pseudo-autobiographical pornographic novel *De Leidsche Straatschender, of de roekeloze student: behelzende lichtmisserien en boevestukken, die de studenten gewoon zijn aan te regten* (*The vandal from Leiden, or the reckless student, about debauchery and pranks, that students usually engage in*), which was published in the same city and year as the second edition of Beverland’s DPO (Leiden 1679), student life was depicted in all its glory. The main character focused more on women and alcohol than his books: together with his academic friends he visited brothels and bars, did not hesitate to use violence, and in addition to consensual sexual relations with maids and prostitutes, he kidnapped, abused, and raped women.⁶⁷⁴

The second half of the seventeenth century seems to have been a period of paradox when it came to sexual liberty in the Dutch Republic. Scholars have observed that secular governments attacked sexual sins more actively, focusing in particular on eradicating prostitution, and the Dutch Reformed Church, partly due to the Further Reformation movement,⁶⁷⁵ confronted sexual immoralities more directly in sermons, publications, and church discipline. In 1661 the university town of Harderwijk issued an edict that made it possible for the town’s court to prosecute students that assaulted

⁶⁷³ G.J. Vossius to H. Grotius, 06/01/1638. Taken from: D. van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632-1704* (Boston, 2009), p. 29.

⁶⁷⁴ *De Leidsche Straatschender, of de roekeloze student: behelzende de lichtmisserien, boeve-stukken, die de studenten gewoon zijn aan te regten* (Amsterdam, 1679). For more on this novel see: Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 90-92, 100-21, 184-8, 209-12, 379.

⁶⁷⁵ For more on the Further Reformation see the Introduction (page 32) and: Van Lieburg, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 9-151; Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*; Spaans, ‘Zeventiende-eeuwse kerkgeschiedenis’.

maids, in 1669 obscene books were officially forbidden by the Court of Holland and the States General, and in 1677 the States of Holland did not only prohibit men to monetarily 'compensate' for and thus avoid adultery charges but in addition quadrupled the fine for adultery committed by married persons to 1000 guilders.⁶⁷⁶

On the other hand, premarital sex was tolerated in most places, prostitution steadily increased in Dutch cities, and the market for pornography flourished. The prohibition of 1669 seems to have only been directed to publications which could cause immediate religious and especially political problems, in relation to the tense relations with England and France. Obscene works that steered clear from politics were printed without problems and became greatly popular in the last decades of the seventeenth century. And the act of 1677, which barred men from settling adultery charges financially, was lifted in 1679, mainly due to protests from local authorities, who had complained about their loss of income.⁶⁷⁷ It falls outside the scope of this thesis to study this interesting paradox in more detail and discover whether the greater attention paid to sexual crimes was inspired by an increase in misbehaviour, or vice versa. What is important to note is that Beverland composed his studies in precisely this period, with him observing first-hand how many people enjoyed sex without restraint.

⁶⁷⁶ See: L. van de Pol, , 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie in de zeventiende eeuw', G. Hekma, and H. Roodenburg (eds), *Soete minne en helsche boosheid: seksuele voorstellingen in Nederland 1300-1850* (Nijmegen, 1988), pp. 109-44; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 163-70, 241; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-6; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 145-62, 173-4, 233-41; L. Knappert, *Verloving en huwelijk in vroeger dagen, Meulenhoff-editie*, 23 (Amsterdam, 1914), pp. 195-211; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 137-40. For more on the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church see also: Haks, 'Libertinisme'; Van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland*, pp. 213-20; Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, pp. 135-41, 257-69, 280-91.

⁶⁷⁷ Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', pp. 109-44; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, p. 241; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-6; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 137-40; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 145-62, 173-4; Haks, 'Libertinisme'.

“Liberty in our day has been evilly employed, and blossoms out into petulant audacity”, Beverland stated in his work on women, observing that: “whatever good morals remain are disappearing under the frivolity of an exquisite toilet.”⁶⁷⁸ Of course he commented in particular on sexual customs:

It is then not so much the prescript of Justinian or the law of unclipped Cato but the depravity of the age which warns the man who intends to marry that there are few [women] who leave the hands of lecherous young men as virgins still. For there is nothing either devised, painted nor written in poems, which has not been perpetrated by students. The boy in his teens joins this gang with a ready will, and without a scruple of conscience, gorges himself with the whole body of the maiden he deflowers. Oh foolish age!⁶⁷⁹

Not only students, also older descendants of Pallas and Minerva did not shy away from immoral pastimes. Modern historians have only commented upon the sexual customs of Dutch scholars in the seventeenth century in passing, but it seems that many of Beverland’s scholarly colleagues, professors at Dutch universities, enjoyed women and alcohol as much as their students did.⁶⁸⁰ His friend Vossius, a famous Dutch scholar, was for instance well known for his libertine lifestyle.⁶⁸¹ Also Beverland enjoyed the good life when he stayed with Vossius in Windsor in the early 1680s. He wrote to Heinsius in 1681:

All of this time I have done absolutely nothing. I have placed myself partly in the service of the court, and partly, because I had the opportunity and the chance not to study, [in the service of] girls. By Jupiter! I have discovered that the English rather give up their wives than their

⁶⁷⁸ ‘In petulantiam nunc & audaciam erumpit male dispensata libertas & quicquid adhuc boni moris est, exstinguitur levitare politurae corporis.’ In: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 121.

⁶⁷⁹ ‘Non ita Justiniani praescriptum, & intonsi Catonis lex, sed aetatem nostram adeo esse depravatam volo, ut qui ducere intendat, praescire debuisset, paucas à cupido juvene redditas virgines. Neque usquam fictum, neque pictum, neque scriptum in poematis, quod à Studiosis non perpetratum est. Ad hanc comitatem ephebus se ultro admovit, & toto defloratae corpore citra scrupulum religionemve se ingurgitavit. O seculum insipiens!’ In: DSVI, chapter VII, pp. 63-4.

⁶⁸⁰ Meijer, ‘Brieven’, p. 47; M. Mulsow, *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik. Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2012), pp. 67-87; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 159-60.

⁶⁸¹ This was recounted as instance by Thomas Crenius, who visited Vossius at this time. See for his anecdote: Gottlieb Stolle, ‘Reisetagbuch 1703-1704’ (see Bibliography); Mulsow, *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik*, pp. 44, 62. For more on Vossius see: Nellen, Imhoff, ‘Isaac Vossius’; Blok, *Isaac Vossius*.

books, and that these wives, when I ask them, open their legs much faster than their husbands open the doors of their libraries for me.⁶⁸²

During his exile in England, Beverland continued to study the classics but could not help spending time with girls:

Do not think that I torment, or torture, myself, because I have tumbled head over heels from Venus' slippery lap into Pallas' bosom. How pleasant this affair was can be deduced from the fact that I have spent all my time with Vossius' lovely and elegant Muses, while I intended to conceal myself between the rose-red breasts of British girls. And even though those girls, who get me drunk with only a fifth of their liquor, were very pleasing to me, still - I admit it - I enjoy myself the most in the fact that I have found the collected work of Herodes of Alexandria and the Scholia of the earliest Grammatici on Homer, between ripped and rotten manuscripts...⁶⁸³.

Also his friend Heinsius enjoyed the company of women outside wedlock, which might explain why Beverland decided to share the story of his mistress in his introductory letter. At the time of this correspondence Heinsius was involved in a lawsuit with one of his mistresses. The strenuous court case eventually concluded with an order for Heinsius to marry Margareta Wullen, the mother of two of his illegitimate children.⁶⁸⁴

The sexual behaviour of some academics was downright scandalous. Adriaan Heereboord (1613-61), professor of rhetoric and philosophy in Leiden, loved to drink, was abusive, and allegedly offered his wife to a friend, to use her as if she was a prostitute. His misbehaviour was discussed in great detail in pamphlets published during a heated

⁶⁸² 'Totum istud tempus mihi in otio effluxit partim aulae, partim, quod occasio et studendi facultas defuerit, puellis officia mea offerendo. Per Iovem! Expertus sum Anglos uxores suas facilius quam libros concedere easque ocus vulvas mihi supplici aperire quam illi bibliothecarum valvas.' In: EH 13, 29/6/1681.

⁶⁸³ 'Noli itaque putare quod me torqueam aut macerem, praeprimis cum elubrico Veneris gremio praeceps ceciderim in sinum Palladis. Quam gratus mihi fuerit iste casus vel inde poteris colligere quod, dum in roseis Britannicarum puellarum papillis latere destinaveram, haeserim tamen semper inter non illipidas atque inelegantes Vossii Musas. Et quamvis me quinta nectaris sui parte inundantes mirifice placerent, illud tamen, fateor, perplacuit maxime quod inter membranas passim laceras et carie exesas invenerim omnes rei militaris scriptores, Herodis Alexandrini opera omnia, grammaticorum vetust[orum] in Homerum scholia.' In: EG 30/17, after 1698.

⁶⁸⁴ For more on Heinsius see: Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius*, pp. 90-1; Kan, 'Nicolaas Heinsius', p. 363.

and very public quarrel between Heereboord and his in-laws after his wife had left him.⁶⁸⁵ Also the sexual conduct of Alexander Morus (1616-70), professor in ecclesiastical history at the Athenaeum in Amsterdam and a minister of the Reformed Church of Geneva, became public knowledge. Due to his indecent conduct he was denied a position at the University of Harderwijk in the 1640s, he was known in Amsterdam for his many sexual encounters with loose women in the 1650s, and he became involved in more scandals after his move to Paris in 1658. He eventually lost the support of his patron Claude Salmasius because he allegedly assaulted a girl in his benefactor's house.⁶⁸⁶ During the court case that followed, when Salmasius accused him of sleeping with prostitutes yet implored the court to order Morus to marry the assaulted maid, Morus defended his sexual relations with the young girl by stating that he had slept with her not as a minister, but as a professor.⁶⁸⁷

When out on the town, especially women from the lower social classes were eyed by the male members of the academy. Sexual relations with landladies, their daughters, or maids were quite common.⁶⁸⁸ Jacobus Perizonius (1651-1715), professor in history at the University of Leiden and an acquaintance of Beverland, revealed in a letter to a friend his concerns about the relationship between his sister Alida, who was also his housekeeper, and his student Bleck, who lived in his house as well. Perizonius had

⁶⁸⁵ Knappert, *Verloving*, p. 206; E. van der Vlist, 'Een verstrooide brief van een verloren professor. Het eerwoord van Heereboord', *Nieuw Letterkundig Magazijn*, 21 (2003), pp. 40-48.

⁶⁸⁶ H. de Waardt, 'Academic careers and scholarly networks', Van Bunge, *The early enlightenment*, pp. 23-9; Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, pp. 79-84; P.R. Sellin, 'Alexander Morus before the Synod of Utrecht', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 58, no. 2 (1995), pp. 239-48.

⁶⁸⁷ Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, p. 82.

⁶⁸⁸ Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 371-92; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 107, 118-9, 127-34; Wingens, 'Deviant gedrag'; Wingens, 'Jeugdige lichtzinnigheid'.

discovered that Alida might be pregnant and was worried about her future, because a marriage between the two was out of the question.⁶⁸⁹

Prostitution was forbidden by law and deemed greatly sinful in the eyes of the Dutch Reformed Church, yet partly due to the economic prosperity, growth of trade, and expansion of Dutch cities in the seventeenth-century, prostitution could be found everywhere in the Republic and was particularly prominent in Amsterdam. Studies of prostitution in the Dutch Republic have concluded that in university towns students were the main customers, who visited brothels or met harlots in the streets, in taverns or inns.⁶⁹⁰ “Among the people from Holland and Zeeland women of evil life not only do not register their names before the magistrate”, Beverland noted, “but they wander freely about in known neighbourhoods for whores, even everywhere else in the city...”⁶⁹¹.

When pre- or extramarital relations were discussed by contemporaries, whether in the context of prostitution, rape, or consensual sex, the woman was usually blamed for the indecent act: female prostitutes were guided by their hunger for money and unquenchable lust and maids were blamed for their loose morals and untrustworthiness.⁶⁹² Beverland agreed that students had to be careful: “How wickedly those women make eyes all round at the young men, how immodestly they display their persons, how they laugh and wink with a leer in the eye and sucking with their eager lips

⁶⁸⁹ Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, p. 371.

⁶⁹⁰ Haks, ‘Libertinisme’; Pol, ‘Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie’, 109-144; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 27-35, 127-74, 343-57, 525; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 141-65; Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 371-92.

⁶⁹¹ ‘Apud Batavos & Zelandos nomina sua non solent profiteri apud Aediles probrosae, sed passim in media Suburra & Summoenio, quin & tota urbe vagantur.’ In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 201. See for instance also his statements on prostitutes in: DSVI, chapter XII, 199-203; DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 1108-10.

⁶⁹² See: Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 371-92; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 141-65, 491; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 118-9, 127-34; Noordam, ‘Lust, lasten plezier’, pp. 128-48.

they devour every young Priapus.”⁶⁹³ Young women “tuck up their robes to their middle and present their pubic hair to young men, asking them whether they would like to return to the cavern from where they have come forth.”⁶⁹⁴ We find this blatant double standard embedded in most contemporary laws and attitudes: male clients could usually pay local authorities a small fine to avoid prosecution while prostitutes were convicted and displayed in public houses of punishment. Young members of the universities who raped or abused women were usually not prosecuted by university courts: victims were frequently ignored if they belonged to the lower classes of society.⁶⁹⁵

Beverland agreed with this reproachful attitude towards the female sex, as he for instance spoke against women who went to court to make sure a former lover paid for an illegitimate child. During so-called ‘vaderschapsacties’ (‘paternity actions’), unmarried women initiated a court action against the man who they believed to be the father of their (unborn) child, to partly rescue their own reputation and to force the father to take responsibility, by marrying the mother or financially supporting the child. Without the father involved, pregnant girls and unmarried mothers in the Dutch Republic could not only be harshly punished for engaging in illicit sex but would also face a difficult struggle in taking care of themselves and bringing up their child.⁶⁹⁶ Beverland was of the opinion, however, that most unmarried women should not be allowed to take their case to court at all, because they had gotten pregnant due to their own loose morals. He concluded in

⁶⁹³ ‘Quam improbe Juvenum circumspectatrices, quam immodicesui ostentatrices, rident argutoque oculo annunt, & glubenti labello priapulos comedunt.’ In: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 117.

⁶⁹⁴ ‘alte succinctae cristam praebent praetextatis, sciscitantes utrum in cavernam redire velint unde progressi sunt.’ In: DSVI, chapter IV, p. 20. Beverland noted in addition that Dutch women played cards and gambled too much. They thus only had themselves to blame when men requested sex from them or mistakenly took them for prostitutes. See: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 132; DSVI, chapter XII, p. 193.

⁶⁹⁵ See: Wingens, ‘Deviant gedrag’; Wingens, ‘Jeugdige lichtzinnigheid’.

⁶⁹⁶ For more this subject, see: Haks, *Huwelijk En Gezin in Holland*, 75-104; Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland*, 123-5; Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie*, pp. 386-9.

his DSVI: “Though she swears [when pregnant] oath after oath that she can prove [who is] the father of her offspring or something more human still, that she was led on by the glory of betrothal, then the prurient desire of matrimony is of no use: for every woman that is in heat could in this way traduce any student who usually wears his girdle high.”⁶⁹⁷

Positioning his lifestyle and opinions on the behaviour of contemporary men and women in the context of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, Beverland proves to be no exceptional rake. This conclusion is supported by the absence of contemporary comments on his indecent behaviour. Beverland for instance does not feature in the diary of Christiaan Huygens Jr. (1629-1697), a Dutch diplomat who worked for Stadtholder and King William III. Huygens attested almost daily to the sexual transgressions of the Dutch and English elite in the 1680s and 1690s⁶⁹⁸, yet despite their close acquaintance Huygens never commented on Beverland’s sexual acts.⁶⁹⁹ Preacher Knibbe did advise Beverland in 1679 to direct his talent towards more pious subjects, but stated in the same letter that the preachers who denounced his work did not have anything against his person.⁷⁰⁰ Likewise, documents composed around the time of the publication of his early works and of his trial are completely silent on the topic: in the official documents of Beverland’s trial, in poems written about his works and life, and even in the harsh critique published by Van Rijssen in 1680, Beverland’s lifestyle was not commented upon at all.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁷ ‘Sive ergo dejeret & pejeret in partu se certum patrem demonstrare posse, sive quod humanius est, sponsaliorum gloria magis quam nuptiarum pruritu illectam, nihili fiet, dum quaecunque sordibus calent, Studiosos altius cinctos sic traducere possent.’ In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 204.

⁶⁹⁸ C. Huygens, *Journalen van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon* (Utrecht, 1876); R. Dekker, J. Marcure, ‘Sexuality, elites and court life in the late-17th century: the diaries of Constantijn Huygens Jr.’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23, no. 3 (1999), pp. 94-109; R. Dekker, *Family, Culture and Society in the Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange, Egodocuments and history series*, 5 (Leiden, 2013).

⁶⁹⁹ Established by other diary entries on Beverland in the 1680s and 1690s. See: Huygens, *Journalen*.

⁷⁰⁰ ‘Op u persoon en leggen zy het niet toe.’ In: EH 3b, Knibbe to Beverland, 07/1679.

⁷⁰¹ See: ‘Documents concerning Beverland’s trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 115r-116d. The poems were written by J. Le Fer and D. van Hoogstraten and the work of L. Van Rijssen that attacked the DPO was

Obscene collections

Not just with regards to sexual customs, but also when it came to the possession, publication, and production of obscene books and erotic art the official outlook of early modern religious and secular authorities was overruled by a much more relaxed reality. Erotic prose enjoyed great popularity in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century and sex was celebrated in art, poetry, and literature.⁷⁰² Considering this freedom and taking into account Beverland's fascination with sex, it is not surprising that we find many obscenities in his extended collection of art, books, and curiosities.⁷⁰³

I have a brilliant picture of the Bacchanalia, which Meurs of Amsterdam has engraved recently after a bronze sculpture. If only I could find [a picture] of the Floralia in relief! I have also given [to Meurs] to be engraved: images of Priapus and Mutinus by Boissard, lights by Licenti, a precious stone [in the shape] of Mercurius, [and] two wanton coins from Goltz' *Graecia*.⁷⁰⁴

He possessed many prints of lewd gods and goddesses, Greek and Roman fertility festivals, and other sexual subjects. That some of these prints were quite obscene, if not

titled: *Iusta Detestatio Leonardi Ryssenii S. S. Th. Doctoris, Iusta Detestatio Sceleratissimi Libelli Adriani Beverlandi, Icti. De Peccato Originali* (Dordrecht 1680). For more on these documents see the Bibliography.

⁷⁰² For more on this, see: Haks, 'Libertinisme', 85-107; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 1-32, 118-72; Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', 109-144; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 11-32, 151-72; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-300; Noordam, 'Lust, last en plezier', 128-48; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 137-40; E. de Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 3, no. 1 (1968-1969), pp. 22-58.

⁷⁰³ The inheritance from his parents was issued when he turned 25 years old in 1675, and by the time he left for England five years later, he had spent large sums on his collection. He also used the money he received from the inheritance of his stepfather Bernard de Gomme to enrich his collection. For more on his library see: 'Bibliotheca' in the Bibliography; De Smet, 'Bibliotheca'; Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 126-135, 171-183, 205-206, 218, 235-6.

⁷⁰⁴ 'Bacchanaliorum picturam luculentam habeo, quae modo a sculptore Meurs Amstelodami aeri inciditur. Utinam Floraliarum ectypum invenire possem! Priapeiorum ac Mutini statuas ex Boissardo, lampades ex Liceto, Mercurii gemmam ex Chiffletio, lascivos duos nummos ex Goltzii *Graecia* eidem incidendos dedi.' In: EH 2, 15/10/1678. Mentioned are: Jacob van Meurs (1618/20-80) publisher and engraver; Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602) antiquary, Neo-Latin poet, and artist; Fortunio Liceti (1577-1657) philosopher, doctor, and scientist; Jean Chifflet (1614-66) professor who wrote on stones, gems, and inscriptions; Hubrecht Goltz (1526-83) engraver and painter, with a great interest in coins (Beverland refers to his *Opera Omnia*, published in 1645 in Antwerp, as the second part was titled: *Graeciae eiusque insularum et Asiae Minoris numismata, cum eiusdem Nonii commentario*). See also: Wauters, 'Correspondentie', pp. 20-25.

pornographic, was confirmed by Beverland later in life.⁷⁰⁵ Expert in the field, he regularly also informed his friends on where to find erotic images: “You will find [images of] the Bacchantes in the segments of Perier.”⁷⁰⁶ And in a letter to Perizonius, he stated:

I sent the *Adversaria de Prostibulis Veterum* to Mr. Spanheim. In this work [there is] an index of erotic works, [which is] worthy [to be] printed in the *Thesaurus* of Gronovius. It contains one hundred Greek synonyms for the genitalia of both sexes. It was a useful book, if nude pictures are useful in the palaces of important people (as long as they do not show sexual intercourse).⁷⁰⁷

In Beverland’s library we find many obscene works as well. He owned not only the works of Martial, Catullus, Lucretius, and Horace but also more obscure ancient writings known for their sexual content: for example the ‘*Erotica Pathemata*’ of Parthenius of Nicaea and Longus’ ‘*Daphis et Chloe*’.⁷⁰⁸ Contemporary erotica was listed in the catalogue as well: for example the pornographic poetry of (pope) Aeneas Silvius, the erotic works of Niccolo Franco, a book by doctor and philosopher Garzaroli’s titled ‘*De Opportunitate Coitus*’, and the scandalous satires of Ferrante Pallavicino.⁷⁰⁹ Beverland also owned and traded in obscene paintings. In an early-eighteenth-century catalogue of his art we find two Dutch painters, Adriaen de Henny (or Hennin, 1664-1710) and Egbert van Heemskerck (1634-1704), who were both known to paint civilized scenes as well as more

⁷⁰⁵ See: EG 31/18, after 1700; EG 33/20, 29/08/1696.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘Bacchantes reperiuntur in segmentis Perierii.’ In: EG 29/16, after 1698.

⁷⁰⁷ ‘Misi ad D. Spanhemium *Adversaria de Prost. Veter.* in eo index scriptorum Eroticorum, dignus qui excudatur in Gronovii *Thesauro*. Centum Synonyma Graec. utriusque sexus pudendorum. Erat liber utilis, si *Picturae nuda* (absit obscoena copula) sint utiles in palatiis magnatum.’ In: EF 30, to Perizonius, 25/09/1702.

⁷⁰⁸ In the ‘*Bibliotheca*’ we find for instance: ‘the ‘*Erotica Pathemata*’ of Parthenius of Nicaea (edited by J. Cornarius and published in Basel in 1531) and the work ‘*Daphnis and Chloe*’ by Longus, as published by G. Jungermann (*Longi Sophistae pastoralum, de Daphnide & Chloe, libri quatuor* (Hanover, 1605)). For more on his library and the catalogue of his library, see: ‘*Bibliotheca*’ in the Bibliography; De Smet, ‘*Bibliotheca*’.

⁷⁰⁹ The poetry of Aeneas Silvius (Pope Pius II); N. Franco, *La Philena*, (Mantova, 1547); K. von Barth, *Pornoboscodidascalus Latinus* (Frankfurt, 1624); J.B. Gar[za]roll[i], *De Opportunitate Coitus* (Utini, 1655); Ferrante Pallavicino (who wrote scandalous satires, for instance *La retorica delle puttane* (Parma, 1643).

indecent pictures. Paintings of Henny were described as 'obscene' pieces by contemporaries, with one painting depicted as 'Landskip of 2 naked women'.⁷¹⁰ Van Heemskerck was known for his paintings of brothels, for depicting satirical genre scenes, and for generally vulgar images, so-called 'closet pieces' meant to be exhibited in private rooms.⁷¹¹ Beverland owned a Van Heemskerck titled 'smoking'⁷¹² and we also find a painting of Cornelis van Poelenburgh, described as "*Diana and Callisto*, by *Poelenburgh*, his Master peece"⁷¹³, in two sale catalogues of his paintings published around 1710.⁷¹⁴ Depicting ancient ruins and naked figures, this last work suited Beverland's classical interests as well as his sexual fascination, as did the mythological story connected to it: Callisto was the maid of goddess Diana (or Artemis), who was raped by Zeus (or Jupiter), got pregnant with his baby, and was consequently dismissed from Diana's service.⁷¹⁵

Despite its many obscene items, Beverland's collection of books and art was not exceptional by seventeenth-century standards. The studies of modern historians has emphasized that sex was not ignored in early modern writings. In the Dutch Republic, from the works of liberal poets to the writings of stern theologians, sex often made its way into publications in the seventeenth century. The subject was most often discussed within the traditional, negative associations, as for instance humanist scholars like Erasmus and Coornhert, philosophers like Geulincx and Spinoza, and popular writers like

⁷¹⁰ This description was taken from two different sales catalogues published in 1689. See the website of the British Museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=121423. See also: M. Jones, *The print in early modern England: an historical oversight* (New Haven, 2010).

⁷¹¹ S. Karst, 'Off to a new Cockaigne: Dutch migrant artists in London, 1660-1715', *Simiolus*, 37, no. 1 (2013), pp. 38-40.

⁷¹² See: *Patrimonii sui reliquiae*, p. 2. See the Bibliography.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷¹⁴ See: *Patrimonii sui reliquiae* in the Bibliography.

⁷¹⁵ For more on this myth and its depiction see the entry on Callisto in the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database on http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/subcats.php?cat_1=5&cat_2=244.

Johan van Beverwijck and Jacob Cats focused in their works on the great power of the passions, often warning their readers of the dangers of sexual desire.⁷¹⁶ Despite this general negative focus however, many authors and publishers did not distance themselves from the production of pornography. Since 1581 books that were defined as dishonourable and harmful could be censored in the Dutch Republic, but pornography was more or less allowed, unless it was perceived as injurious to diplomatic relations. Not until 1669, after an increasing number of complaints about sexual publications in which foreign officials were defamed, were obscene works prohibited as a separate genre of books. In practice, however, the Dutch authorities found it difficult to put this law into practice.⁷¹⁷ Obscene images printed in cheap pamphlets or in books were more harshly judged and occasionally censored by the governments, possibly because these could be more easily distributed to the public.⁷¹⁸ In general, however, erotic art was produced regularly but seldom subject to moral criticism or censorship in the Dutch Republic.⁷¹⁹

The grand production of these works and images on the one hand and the absence of censorship on the other was not only determined by the limitations of the Dutch system of (local) government, but more importantly directed related to the market economy of the Dutch Republic in this period. The Republic transformed into a

⁷¹⁶ Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheit'. For Jacob Cats see H. Luijten's edition of Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (The Hague 1996). For more on this topic: Noordam, 'Volmaakt geluk?'; Baumann, *Johan van Beverwijck*; J. Koppenol, 'De eerste keer. Adam en Eva in het paradijs van Jacob Cats', *Literatuur*, 19 (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 330-38; H. de Mare, 'The House and the Rules of Thought. A cultural-historical investigation into the work of Simon Stevin, Jacob Cats and Pieter de Hooch', (University of Amsterdam PhD Thesis, 2003), pp. 249-422.

⁷¹⁷ Haks, 'Libertinisme', 85-107; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 147-51; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 87-100, 137-56; De Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief'.

⁷¹⁸ Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 163-4; H. Van Nierop (ed.), *Romeyn de Hooghe. De verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle, Amsterdam, 2008).

⁷¹⁹ An exception to this rule was J. Torrentius (1589-1644), a painter of still lifes and one of the only artists ever convicted for obscene art in the Dutch Republic in 1627. See: Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief'; Noordam, 'Volmaakt geluk?'; Van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', pp. 109-196; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 163-4.

commercial empire from the 1590s onwards, due to the enormous growth of (international) trade and domestic industries, which in turn fuelled the growth of the Dutch towns, population, and prosperity. Labelled as the first modern economy, the Dutch Golden Age of the seventeenth century was founded on the forces of demand and supply and thus the popularity of obscene art and publications generated the production of these works by artists, writers, and printing houses. The art market, for instance, commercialized rapidly, dealt with the high demand via specialization and greater efficiency, and produced everyday scenes, portraying taverns and brothels, for their novel clientele of wealthy citizens. Authorities tried their best to support trade and production, because the market formed the basis of their collective wealth as well as personal prosperity. Merchants were highly represented in Dutch town councils and the States and since they usually placed profit before the moral concerns involved with the production and publication of obscenities, policies were determined by commerce.⁷²⁰ Leemans has even argued that the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century was not only 'le magasin de l'univers' but also 'the sex shop of Europe', since erotic books censored in other countries made up an important part of total print production.⁷²¹

Beverland's writings confirm that he enjoyed a drink, visited brothels, and owned many obscene items. He was by no means a chaste man, whose fascination with the sexual only presented itself in his love for obscene classical writings. Comparing his behaviour to that

⁷²⁰ For more on the Dutch market economy and its influence upon the art market, politics, policies, and censorship, see: Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 87-134, 237-42; De Vries, Van der Woude, *The first modern economy*; Van Zanden, *The rise and decline*; Goldgar, *Tulipmania*; Freedberg, De Vries, *Art in history*; North, *Art and commerce*.

⁷²¹ I. Leemans, 'Arousing discontent: Dutch pornographic plays, 1670-1800', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12, no. 2 (2012), pp.121-4.

of contemporaries, however, he was no exception. Even though the formal rules of propriety, based on the traditional outlook of the Christian Church, forbade all engagement with the sex outside marriage, official regulations of Dutch religious and secular authorities with regards to sexual behaviour and obscene art and literature were ineffective. It is therefore not surprising that Beverland did not become known for his libertinism until the mid-eighteenth century, when his ideas on sex were connected to his personal lifestyle in the context of the development of novel ideas on sexual liberty.

4.2 Enticing texts and images

Many early modern writings discussed sex. In the Dutch Republic we can place these works in three broad categories. Firstly there were legal, moral, and medical writings, in which sex was one of many topics discussed, with writers trying to explain human nature as well counselling their readers on how to live their lives in the best way. An example of a medical tract was the *Schat der gesontheit* (*The Treasure of Health*) by doctor Johan van Beverwijck (1594-1647) published in 1637. Van Beverwijck argued that people should engage in sexual intercourse to release the body of sexual seed, but emphasized that self-control and moderation were of great importance.⁷²²

Secondly, works of literature at times focused on the subject, seeking to entertain the reader by discussing sexuality with a moralistic undertone. Using well-known subjects, stories, and characters, sex was discussed in relation to ideas about love, marriage, and male-female relations, with the writers mocking stereotypes and providing practical advice in dialogues, poems, and plays. Jacob Cats (1577-1660), poet, lawyer and statesman, was one of the most popular writers of the seventeenth-century Dutch

⁷²² See: Noordam, 'Lust, lasten plezier', 128-48; Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 128, 172; Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheit'; Baumann, *Johan van Beverwijck*, pp. 196-7.

Republic. In his works on love, marriage, and morality Cats underlined the importance of sexual relations, which should be enjoyed by all people in marriage alone.⁷²³

The third category of early modern Dutch writings on sex was pornography. Erotic or pornographic novels were written to sexually incite the reader, underlined the power and necessity of sexual satisfaction, and at times contained philosophical arguments, promoting a more sexually free way of living. Popular Italian and French pornographic novels were not only distributed via the Dutch Republic but also translated into Dutch and in addition a small number of original Dutch pornographic works was published in the latter-half of the seventeenth century.⁷²⁴ In the *Leidsche Straatschender* for example the life of a student was described in an autobiographical style. Written for young men, an anonymous author spoke against moralist conventions on sex and promoted an Epicurean lifestyle characterized by sexual encounters.⁷²⁵

Beverland's writings do not fit into one of these three categories. In his scholarly works he combined his humanist theory on sex and sin with detailed and explicit explorations of the sexual act. His studies were not aimed at the sexual arousal of its readers, they were written in Latin, and characterized by their scholarly outlook, and thus Beverland's early works stand out. The obscene features of his studies set them apart from the works of other scholars on original sin, sex, and human nature, which did

⁷²³ See: Noordam, 'Lust, last en plezier', 128-48; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', p. 296; Koppenol, 'De eerste keer'; H. Luijten, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (Den Haag, 1996).

⁷²⁴ The most important historical studies of pornography in the context of early modern Europe and the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic have been undertaken by L. Hunt, W. Mijnhardt and I. Leemans, who have concluded that pornography was a written not just to incite and entertain its reader, but should be seen as a vehicle for criticism. As a reaction to the repression of sexuality and the censorship of 'obscene' works, these writings turned against traditional ideas, authorities and persons. See: Hunt, 'Introduction'; M.C. Jacob, 'The materialist world of pornography', Hunt, *The invention of pornography*, pp. 157-202; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 1-30, 106-220; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 20-26, 104-143; Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-300.

⁷²⁵ *De Leidsche Straatschender*, see footnote 674.

present similar arguments. For instance, while the works of Beverland and Agrippa von Nettesheim offered the same theory on sex and sin, Agrippa presented his ideas in a theological *declamatio* of only 19 pages long, without ever discussing the sexual act in great detail.⁷²⁶ Beverland's studies on the other hand were written in a detailed and literary style, ignored rhetorical and scholarly conventions, and, especially in the first volume of his DPV, he discussed sex in great detail. Leemans has suggested that he used pornographic novels as inspiration for these parts of his text and that some authors of pornography in turn indirectly referred to Beverland in their works. The descriptions of obscenities, that he composed himself or cited from classical literature, were explicit and varied, featuring sex between men and women, man and man, woman and woman, orgies, sodomy, flagellation, and pederasty. He depicted these sexual acts with the use of graphic details, obscene words, and sexual metaphors, with his descriptions often emphasizing the pleasures of sexual intercourse.⁷²⁷

Sexual descriptions

Exemplary of his obscene style of writing is first and foremost Beverland's detailed portrayal of the events of the Fall.⁷²⁸ He invited his readers to come with him to the Garden of Eden, to be incited by the words of the Devil, and to experience the sexual arousal of the first humans for themselves. In the fragment below Eve, after being seduced by the Devil, cannot contain her sexual excitement when she lays eyes on Adam:

⁷²⁶ Other works that offered a similar argument but in a much more scholarly and argumentative style were the treatises of Fludd and Van Helmont (see Chapter 1).

⁷²⁷ Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 248-60.

⁷²⁸ Beverland commented on the short length of the story of Creation and Fall in the Bible as part of his biblical criticism, arguing that these important parts of the biblical text (in particular the conversation between Eve and the Devil) were either lost or corrupted (taken out or changed) by Christian theologians. See: DPO 1679, chapter VI, p. 26; chapter VII, p. 37; chapter XVIII-XIX, pp. 100-121.

Upon hearing these words her lower body is placed in danger, and [Eve] is moved by advancing fury, she does not hear commands, she begs, moves, she is in heat, she is wanton as cattle released from the stable, *She is fulminating without control and set on fire she runs, she runs wild through the whole garden*, Until the innocent girl with devouring eyes, in whose side the lethal weapon clings, fixes her eyes on the exceedingly desirable wood, suitable to her private parts and delightful, attacking it with insolent boldness, invading her husband's neck with an embrace, and then giving kisses to him, who is not resisting, imprudent with her touch soliciting his most innocent part with soothing words which possess fingers, and with her piercing bite she torments now his legs now his arms, *She laughed and by pulling with sinful hand his manly parts, the stolen love gave them pleasure, 'husband', she said, 'use the gift that nature has given: I am not so strict to condemn the fire that I feel'*.⁷²⁹

Also in his philological explanations, the connection between sex and pleasure is never far away. Exemplary is a passage from the DPV, in which Beverland discussed the words used to describe sexual activities in Greek and Latin. For instance he argued that the word *ludere* ('to play') had a strong sexual connotation:

To play implies not only awkward dances and idolatry, but also fornication, or better [said] the cult of Priapus. Hence Tertullian has explained it, in his book *Contra Psychicos*, as a sexually impure game under command of the penis. ... Hence this [statement] of Sardanapalus: *Eat, drink, play, after death no pleasure remains*. ... [As] Catullus [stated] in the wedding chant: *Play as you please, and soon bring children forth*. And Helen said according to Naso: *I am not practised in the theft of love, and never yet (the Gods are my witness) have I artfully played tricks on my husband!* And everywhere else [he states]: *The beautiful enjoy themselves. Chaste is she whom no one has asked*.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁹ 'Hisce auditis periclitatur et rabie vasaria incendente fertur venter, praecepta non audit, poscit, appellat, ipsa catullit, et ut emissae stabulo pecudes lasciviens, *saevit inops animi, totumque incense per hortum Bacchatur*, donec devorantibus oculis virguncula, cui haerebat lateri lethalis arundo, arborem summopere desiderabilem, sexui suo aptam, gratam ac delectabilem contemplata, et proterva fronte petens maritum eius cervicem amplexu invadens, et non repugnanti oscula dans, manuque improba, blandisque digitos habentibus dictis sollicitans innocentissimam partem, et serrato morsu nunc crus nunc lascertos vexans, *Risit et immunda tractando virilia palma, His quoque furta placent, coniunx, ait, utere donis Quae natura dedit: nec sum tam tetrica, quales Sensi ignes damnem.*' In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 237-50. Quotations from Virgil (*Aeneid*, book 4, lines 300-301) and John Barclay (*Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1629), volume 5, p. 442).

⁷³⁰ '*Ludere* παιζειν non tantum πλημμελώς inconcinnam saltationem et idololatricam, sed et scortationem denotat, vel potius Priapi cultum. Unde hunc lusum impudicitiam interpretatur cum verpulis Tertullianus

In addition to his own obscene style of writing, Beverland specifically selected those classical passages in which sexual acts were described in detail (see Chapter 3). He for instance quoted a passage from Juvenal, in which the effect of sexual desire on women was described: "How their minds are all on fire to get laid then, how they squeal to the dance of their desire, how abundant a torrent of undiluted lust runs over their dripping thighs!"⁷³¹ Classical citations were complemented by references to the erotic writings of contemporaries. For instance Beverland praised the erotic poems of Aernout van Overbeke⁷³²: "[that wise Spaniard Martial says], who recently Nauta (also known as Arnoldus... Overbeeck), no less cleverly than Mattiacus ridiculed: *Martial is pious, but you ridiculed him. He speaks of 'the stocking', as he would speak of a piece of bacon.*"⁷³³ He also referred to other obscene writings: "There is the wandering prostitute of Aretino, the *Satyra Sotadica of Aloysia Sygea*, or the *Fescennina*, taken from hell rather than from

contra Psychicos. ... Hinc illud Sardanapali: *Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas.* ... Catullus in hymenaeo: *Ludite, ut lubet, et brevi liberos date.* Et Helena apud Nasonem: *Sum rudis ad Veneris furtum: nullaque fidelem (Dii mihi sunt testes) lusimus ante virum.* Et alibi passim. *Ludunt formosae; casta est, quem nemo rogavit.*' In: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 2306-14, 2321-7. Quotations from Catullus (*Carmina*, poem 61, lines 106-107) and Ovid (*Heroides*, poem 17, lines 141-2; *Amores*, book 1, poem 8, line 43).

⁷³¹ 'o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor concubitus, quae vox saltante libidine, quantus ille meri Veneris per crura madentia torrens!' In: DPO 1678, chapter VI, p. 26. Quotation from: Juvenal, *Satires*, satire 6, lines 317-19. Also in other parts of the DPO 1678 the 'female fluid' is described by Beverland, for instance in chapter VIII, pp. 38-9.

⁷³² Aernout van Overbeke (1632-1674) was a Dutch lawyer, who published poetry and prose in his spare time. For more on his works see: J.A. Worp, 'Mr. Aernout van Overbeke', *Oud-Holland*, 1 (1883), pp. 257-67; see also R. Dekker, and H. Roodenburg, 'Humor in de zeventiende eeuw: opvoeding, huwelijk en seksualiteit in de moppen van Aernout van Overbeke (1632-1674)', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, 10, no. 3 (1984), pp. 243-66.

⁷³³ '[ait acutus ille Hispanus] in quem nec minus ingeniose quam mattiace lusit nuper Nauta (Arnoldus potius... Overbeeck: *Martialis is stichtelyck, maer gy scheerter de geck mee. Hij spreeck vande kous, of hij van een stuck speck sude.*' In: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 2004-06, 2010-12. There is no straightforward translation for the word *mattiace* here. The only possible reference that makes sense, is that with *mattiace* or *Mattiacus*. Beverland adopted a phrase used by classical scholar Joan van Broekhuizen (Janus Broukhusius, 1649-1707), who used the word against Melchior Leidecker (Leydecker, 1642-1721), a professor of theology in Utrecht who was known for his polemical poetry and had allegedly attacked Broekhuizen, who reacted by calling him *Mattiacus*. It is thus very probable that Beverland referred to Leidecker here, as a clever poet who ridiculed his contemporaries. For Broekhuizen's use of *Mattiacus*, see: J.A. Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 10 (1891), pp. 65-6.

the garden of heaven, of which not Meursius but Johan of Westrene, who wrote more than even Isaeus did, was the author ...”⁷³⁴.

In comparison to other writings on sex published in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, there is no doubt that parts of Beverland’s early works were rightfully considered obscene. Scholarly writings did at times discuss the subject of sex, but rarely in a descriptive manner, while Beverland’s style at times almost resembled pornographic fiction and erotic poetry. In his studies he mixed different genres. Not only did he combine citations from the classics, biblical books, and respected humanist studies with quotations taken from erotic poetry, satirical writings, and obscure passages on sex in ancient works, also in his style of writing he mixed learned and erudite passages with literary and erotic descriptions. Beverland himself was well aware that the obscene, vulgar, and less sophisticated parts of his texts troubled his friends, his foes, and the Dutch religious and secular authorities. Editing the first version of his DPO, he promised to remove “all that causes offence...”⁷³⁵ and he indeed deleted some obscene examples, for instance omitting citations from Ovid’s *Amores*, Martial’s *Epigrammata*, and Horace’s *Odes*.⁷³⁶ Beverland supposedly cleansed the second version of his DPO, but the story of Adam and Eve was still described in great sexual detail and many explicit citations from the classics were not removed from the text. It is therefore not surprising that during his

⁷³⁴ ‘Ita Aretini prostibulum erraticum ac Aloisiae Sigaeae Satyra Sotadica ac Fescennina ex Tartaro, potius quam Elysiis hortis deprompta, quorum non Meursius, sed Westrene Isaeo torrentior auctor...’, in: DPV, book I, chapter IV, lines 1881-4. Johannes Meursius and Johan van Westrene were both accused of being involved with the Latin translation of the originally Spanish work *Aloisia Sigaeae, Toletanae, Satyra sotadica de arcanis Amoris et Veneris*, which has become more widely known as *L’Academie des dames, ou les Sept entretiens galants d’Aloisia* (*The School of Women, or The Seven Flirtatious Encounters of Aloisia*) published by Nicolas Chorier. Isaeus was an ancient Greek writer and historian, who lived in the fourth century BCE.

⁷³⁵ ‘Curabo in editione secunda ut offencicula expungantur...’ In: EH 3a, 08/07/1679.

⁷³⁶ He for instance removed citations from Ovid (*Amores*, book 2, poem 9, line 15), from Martial (*Epigrammata*, book 11, epigram 7, line 5), and from Horace (*Odes*, book III, Ode 6, lines 17-20, transl. Rudd.) from the DPO. The citations were printed in full on p. 5 of the 1678 version, but were adapted on the equivalent page of the 1679 edition (p. 10).

trial by the university court of the University of Leiden, the work was not only denounced for proposing obscene and immoral concepts⁷³⁷ but also because it contained “very vulgar, detestable in chastities and frivolities unknown in these lands, not deferring from emboldening in [using] certain vulgar expressions and exquisite language that you only hear in brothels”⁷³⁸.

Images

In addition to the sexual descriptions in his works, Beverland's master thesis, the DPV, would also contain obscene images.⁷³⁹ His letters reveal that he dedicated time and money to the images that he wanted to add to this work, even having prints especially made: “In the first book of my DPV I had written in an elegant manner about the Greek festivals... 300 Florins did I spend to add etchings of these festivals.”⁷⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the prints he commissioned for the published version of the DPV have not been preserved, because financial difficulties forced him to sell his prints later in life.⁷⁴¹ In two collections of his personal notes however, in the ‘Crepundia Lugdunensia’ and ‘Inscriptiones singulares’, we do find images that Beverland collected from other publications.⁷⁴²

⁷³⁷ ‘Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 115v.

⁷³⁸ ‘het voorschreven tractaetie hadde vervult, met seer vuijle, detestabele ende in deeze landen onbekende luxurien, ende dertelheeden, niet ontsiende sig selven te praevaleren van diergelijke scurrile expressien ende exquisite bordeeltalen’ in: ‘Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, 115v.

⁷³⁹ For instance in: EG 8/5, 12/11/1685; EG 29/16, after 1698; EG 30/17, 1685-89; EG 32/19, 1706.

⁷⁴⁰ ‘Ego tam eleganter scripseram in libr[o] 1 *De Prostibulis Veterum* de festis Graeco[rum]. ... Impenderam 300 Flor[enos] in concinnandis imaginibus festorum.’ In: EG 29/16, after 1698.

⁷⁴¹ For more on this see the Epilogue.

⁷⁴² The ‘Crepundia’ consists of engravings and excerpts of the DPV and the ‘Inscriptiones’ is a large volume of general notes, images, and inscriptions. Joyce Zelen, a Dutch art historian who works at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and at the Radboud University in Nijmegen, is currently working on these collections of prints in her PhD, titled: ‘Private Prints: Case Studies on Print Collectors and their assembled Print Albums (c. 1550-1700)’. Her study, which focuses on three print albums by small-scale collectors, will shed more light on these prints and the context of their creation. See for more on both manuscripts the Bibliography.

Looking at these images, which he positioned on their own or in combination with others, it seems that Beverland used some kind of cut-and-paste technique. He selected and cut pictures out of collections of reproduced prints issued in the seventeenth century, as Italian and French etchers like Francois Perrier (1590-1650) published assembled etchings based on ancient, medieval, and Renaissance artwork. In the eighteenth century collecting prints, ephemera, and images in scrapbooks became a favourite pastime. The collection of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818) for instance bears some resemblance to Beverland's notebooks. She cut, assembled, and pasted images selected from ladies pocket books in a similar way as her brother Joseph Banks (1743-1823) collected botanical specimens from around the world.⁷⁴³ In the context of the seventeenth century and in their particular focus, however, Beverland's collection can be considered unique. Only images in the works of Willem Goeree (1635-1711) seem to resemble those in Beverland's collection. Goeree was radical thinker, with a special love for satire and erotica, who published works on a variety of subjects, from art to theology. In his history of the biblical books of Moses, published in 1700, we find an image that consists of small drawings of Priapean Egyptian lamps. In its sexual focus and style, the picture bears some resemblance to Beverland's images.⁷⁴⁴ In Beverland's notes we find pictures based on the art of Italian artists and reproductions of antique pieces, with the majority of pictures

⁷⁴³ For more on Sarah Sophia Banks, Joseph Banks and collecting in the eighteenth century see: A. Leis, 'Displaying Art and Fashion: Pocket-book Imagery in the Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks', *Journal of Art History*, 82, no. 3 (2013), pp. 252-71; N. Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum : the world of collecting, 1770-1830* (London, 2007, 2015); J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge, 1994); A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 119-58, 259-74.

⁷⁴⁴ See: I. Leemans, 'De weg naar de hel is geplaveid met boeken over de bijbel. Vrijgeest en veelschrijver Willem Goeree (1635-1711)', *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 9, no. 3 (2004), p. 258. For more on Goeree, see also: Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 168, 322, 363-4, 376, 404, 428, 432, 449.

selected for their obscene qualities. Sexual relations are nowhere explicitly shown, but naked people are everywhere, in compromising positions and with many phalluses, vaginas, and breasts on display.⁷⁴⁵

To give an idea of the pictures Beverland collected, I will discuss a selection of images from his personal notes, presented below as Images 4 to 15 (pages 248-53). Image 4 is in different ways representative of the many images assembled in the 'Crepundia' and 'Inscriptiones'. We see a mound of naked men and women, even some animals, in all kinds of positions, with a Priapus-like statue on the top. This man with erect penis represents sexual desire in general and, as the text states, Baalpeor, the Lord of Mount Peor, in particular: a God referred to in the Torah and New Testament who was associated with the devil and a lascivious cult. This collage is just one example of Beverland's creative combining of images cut from other works, with the naked men and women forming some sort of heap of human flesh. One can recognize for instance an image adopted from Michelangelo's *The Fall of Phaeton* (the woman on the top with her arms spread wide, see Image 5) and from *Diana and her Nymphs* by Italian painter Domenichino (the woman in the water on the right, see Image 6). The positions of some of the couples suggest that they were modelled after the erotic poses engraved by Giulio Romano and printed by Marcantonio Raimondi as the *I Modi* (*The Ways*) in 1524.⁷⁴⁶ The assembly as a whole represents Beverland's general style, with him combining citations, references, and

⁷⁴⁵ I would like to thank art historians Lindsay Alberts (Univ. of Boston), Dr. Richard Stephens (Univ. of York), Prof. Michael Zell (Univ. of Boston), and Alice Taatgen (Univ. of Amsterdam) for their suggestions on this material. I have also discussed Beverland's collections of prints with Joyce Zelen, who is currently studying them in her PhD in the History of Art at the Radboud University Nijmegen (see footnote 742).

⁷⁴⁶ Also known as *The Sixteen Pleasures*, these engravings gained notoriety when printed alongside Pietro Aretino's *Sonetti Lussuriosi* (Salacious Sonnets) in 1527. See: Talvacchia, *Taking positions*, pp. 3-19; A. Nagel, *The controversy of Renaissance art* (Chicago, 2011), pp. 223-9; L. Lawner, *I Modi: the sixteen pleasures: an erotic album of the Italian renaissance* (London, 1988); J.G. Turner, 'Marcantonio's Lost Modi and their Copies', *Print Quarterly*, 21 (2004), pp. 364-84.

images from different periods in history, as well as his main argument on sexuality: all the people we see are dominated by sexual desire, whether male or female, old or young, living in ancient or modern times. Again, he mixed genres: from the gods and goddesses depicted in mythical tales by the most esteemed artists to the simple folk portrayed in the taverns and brothels by commonplace painters, all were ruled by sexual desire.

Image 7 also consists of images put together, to resemble a sort of stage, with trees and statues on both sides. A fertility festival is depicted: we see symbolic crops from the harvest, flowers, and Priapus surrounded by (naked) actors, spectators, animals, gods and devil-like creatures in all kinds of poses: dancing, making music, and even praying. In the midst of this classical and chaotic scene we can recognize the ancient Venus de' Medici statue on the left as well as 'putti', chubby male children, in a tub right next to her, which might have been modelled after Titian's painting *The worship of Venus*.

Images 8 and 9 stand on their own and seem specifically chosen by Beverland to underline certain parts of the text of his DPV that dealt with the grand lust of the female sex. The images of Greek female poet Sappho from Lesbos (Image 8), showing her face on one side and her private parts on the other, complement his argument that lesbians have a larger clitoris than other women, similar to a man's penis. Image 9 shows three women holding up an image of a penis, worshipping it as an important symbol. The text next to the image refers to a passage on Roman emperor Nero in which he kills his mother. In the DPV Nero's mother Agrippina is used as an example of women overpowered by sexual lust, who would even sleep with her own sons.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁷ DPV, book I, chapters III and IV.

Although Image 10 cannot be directly connected to any passages written by Beverland, the text under this image of a naked woman suggests that it was selected in relation to the female origin of lust. The goddess Venus is depicted, with Beverland noting that this is "*Venus herself, for whom the flame is strong, for whom the fire fights.*"⁷⁴⁸ Looking closer, the cut-out image shows that the note was composed before the picture was pasted in the notebook, with the p of 'ipsa' cut-off. This suggests that Beverland might have first collected the pictures, adding small notes, before arranging them in his notebooks.

Image 11 shows us notes for Chapter VIII of the DPV to which an image has been added: a dancing girl decorated with flowers. She represents the subject of the chapter: Ceres, the Roman Goddess of agriculture and fertility. This page of Beverland's personal notes presents a possible outline of the DPV in its published form.

Images 12 to 15 are placed on different pages of the notebooks. There is no textual evidence to suggest that Beverland intended to use these cut-outs of women and a group of men, women, children, and animals for the DPV, or one of his other writings, but the pictures do give a good idea of the kind of images scattered in his collections of notes. We see naked women and the depiction of what could be a procession for a fertility festival or in dedication to an ancient sexual goddess, with naked men and women offering goods to the statuesque woman in the middle of an ancient forum.

⁷⁴⁸ 'Ipsa Venus, cui flamma potens, cui militat ardor.' In: 'Crepundia', 53r.

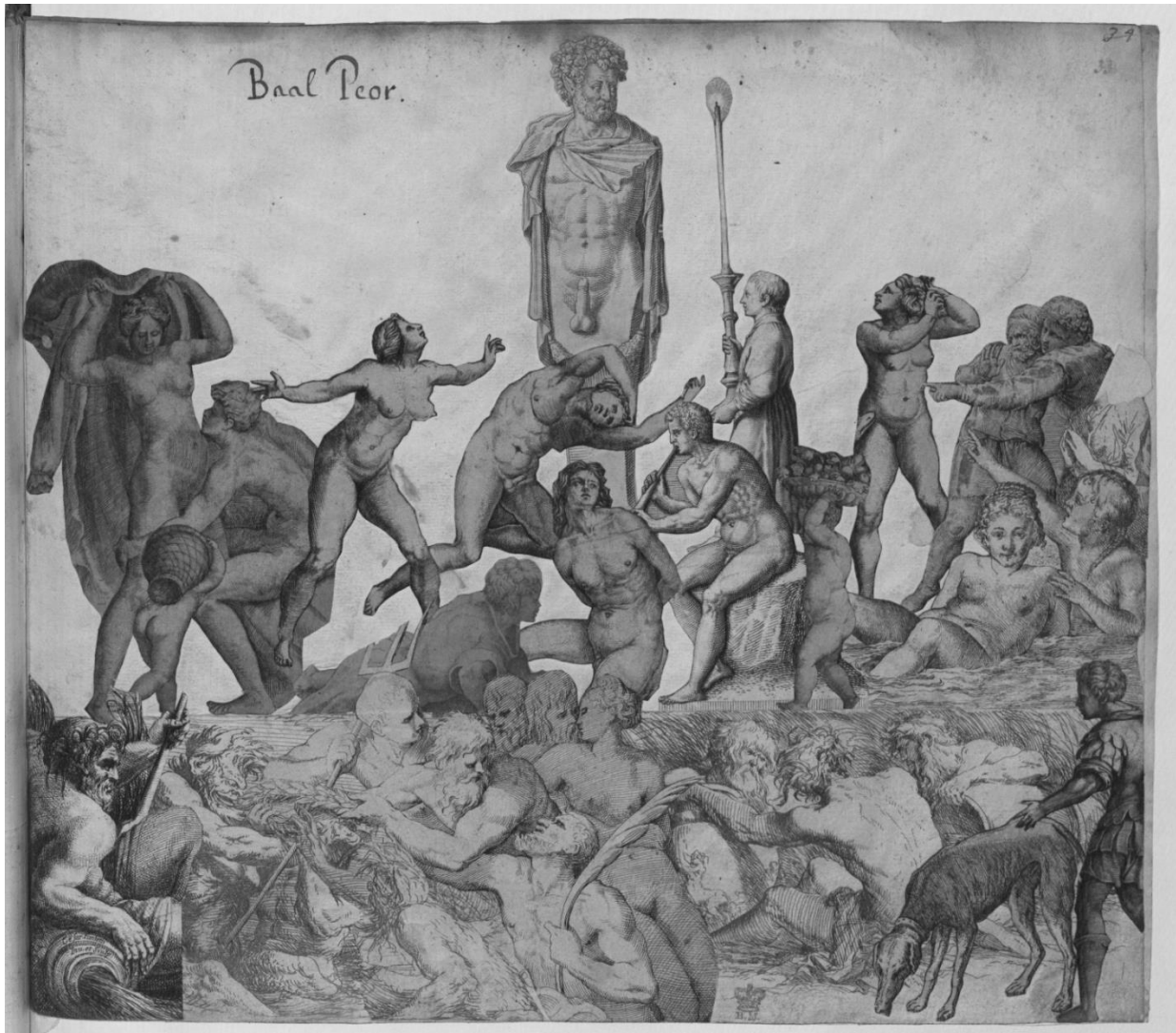


Image 4. Collected pictures in connection to Baalpeor (DPV, Book I, chapter IV, lines 1243, 2206), 'Crepundia' (68r).



Image 5. Detail of *The Fall of Phaeton* by Michelangelo (1533, Royal Collection Trust, London)



Image 6. Detail of *Diana and her Nymphs* by Domenichino (1616-17, Galleria Borghese, Rome)



Image 7. Example of arranged images without comment in the *Crepundia* (70r).



Image 8. Image of Sappho, in reference to lesbianism and the lust of women in the DPV (for instance in: book I, Chapter III, IV, ines 1028, 1103, 1823), Crepundia (103r).

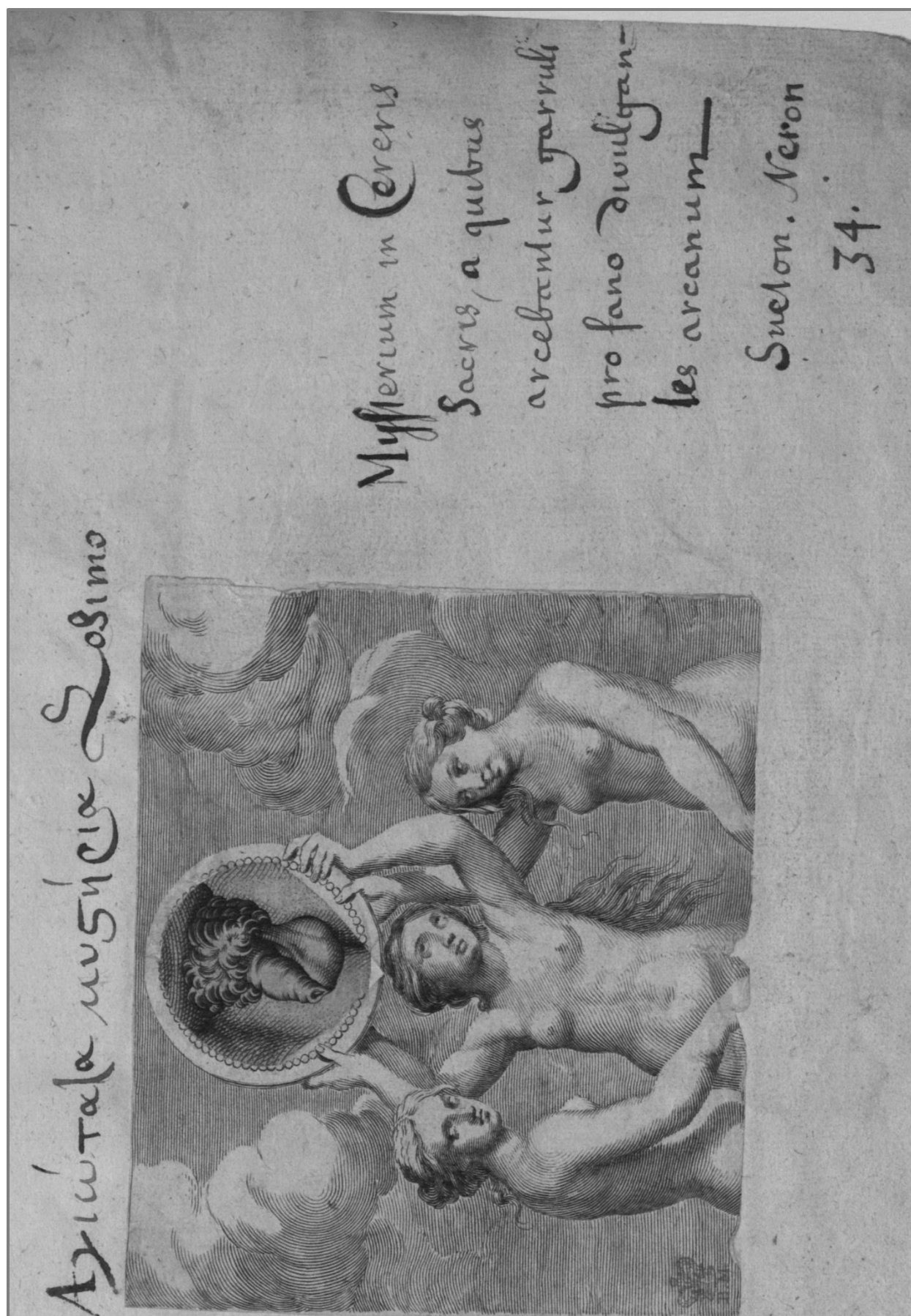


Image 9. Image in relation to obscene ancient cults and a reference to Suetonius on Nero and his mother (*The Twelve Caesars*, 34), *Crepundia* (101r).



Image 10. Picture of a naked woman with the text 'Ipsa Venus cui flamma potens, cui militat ardor' ('Venus herself, for whom the flame is strong, for whom the fire fights'), 'Crepundia' (53r).

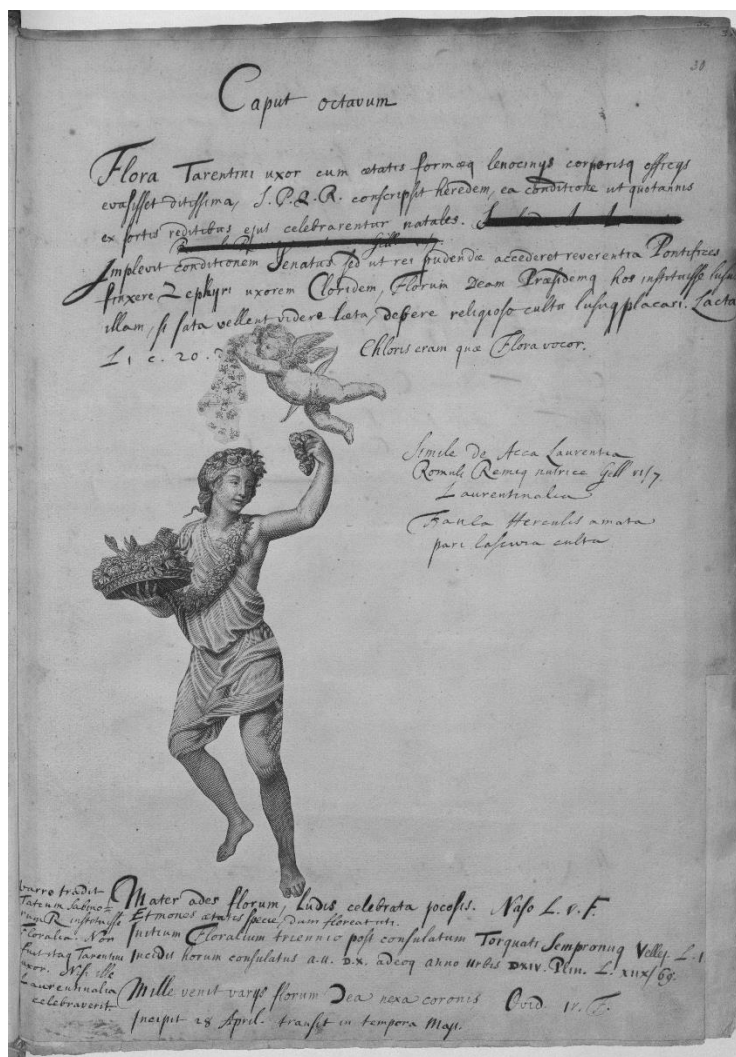
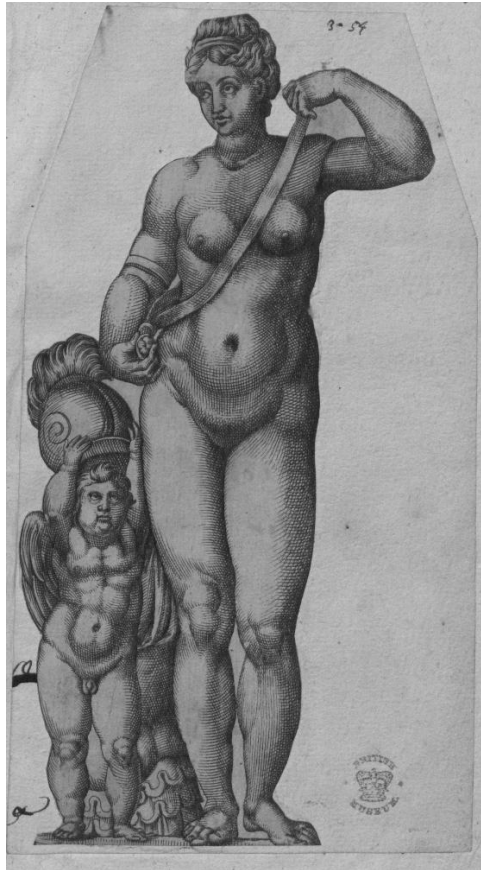


Image 11. Notes for Chapter VIII of the DPV on the cult of fertility of Goddess Ceres ('Crepundia', 30r).

Chapter 4. Sex



Images 12 to 15. Examples of pictures without text in the 'Inscriptiones' (15v, 5r) and 'Crepundia' (53r, 25r).

From a modern point of view, the images Beverland collected are quite harmless. Would a seventeenth-century observer have concluded the same? In early modern Dutch art one can find many examples of erotic depictions and modern historians have argued that these images are exemplary of the relative freedom with regard to sexuality.⁷⁴⁹ In all genres of paintings, created by a variety of artists for different segments of the art market, we see naked women and men and erotic scenes are portrayed in the context of mythological, classical, and biblical scenes. Also scenes of prostitution were often depicted, set in a brothel or tavern. The theme of love in a sexual sense has been described as a typical Northern European theme, with artists combining moralistic warnings against the dangers of lust with inciting erotic images.⁷⁵⁰

Two Dutch artists who produced erotic art in this period were Rembrandt and Torrentius. The black and white erotic etchings by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-69) are well known: he depicted couples in the bedroom, with the painter as an onlooker to sexual intercourse. Also the name of painter Johannes Torrentius (1589-1644) has been connected to erotic art. He was one of the only artists in the Dutch Republic to have been imprisoned for making obscene paintings: he was sentenced to twenty years in prison in 1627, found guilty of blasphemy, and convicted for painting erotic scenes and female nudes.⁷⁵¹ Erotic images were also printed in early modern books or pamphlets.⁷⁵² The Dutch States did on occasion act against these printed images, possibly because they

⁷⁴⁹ Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', pp. 52-4; Van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', pp. 109-96.

⁷⁵⁰ Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', pp. 22-35; Noordam, 'Volmaakt geluk?'; Van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', pp. 109-96.

⁷⁵¹ Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief', pp. 22-54; Noordam, 'Volmaakt geluk?'; Van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie', pp. 109-96; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 683-4; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 163-4.

⁷⁵² Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 163-4.

could be more easily distributed. Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) for example was accused of making the pornographic prints added to the Dutch translation of the pornographic novel *La Puttante Errante (The Wandering Whore)* by Pietro Aretino, published in 1677. He denied any involvement, but he was accused of the same crime and of obscene behaviour in the 1690s. De Hooghe was never convicted but the association with pornography followed him the rest of his life.⁷⁵³

The images Beverland collected in his personal notebooks might be quite tame in comparison to modern as well as early modern erotic art, but the pictures do fit flawlessly into his general style and support his main argument. The engravings he had especially designed for his master thesis were lost, but what can be concluded from this limited study of his personal collection of pictures is that he intended to highlight his theory on the dominance of sex and his at times explicit text by adding obscene images. The naked men and women, with exposed private parts, excited facial expressions, and suggestive bodily positions would communicate his message loud and clear, even to those who did not understand Latin or were illiterate. Beverland stated himself in his DPV: “to see someone naked, is to become acquainted with [them], to expose one’s own flesh, [stands] in relation to being unchaste... And thus nakedness indicates a disgraceful deed.”⁷⁵⁴ The cut-outs, on their own and in groups, present a mix of images in relation to classical, medieval, and early modern art and show that all people were always and everywhere, in the past and present, guided by their sexual lust. Not just in his style of

⁷⁵³ See: A. de Haas, ‘Commissaris van zijne majesteit en mikpunt in faamrovenede paskwillen. Een biografische schets’, Van Nierop, *Romeyn de Hooghe*, pp. 12-27; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 163-4; A. De Haas, ‘Feit en fictie rond de ‘Aretijnse’ prenten van Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708)’, *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 28 (Amsterdam, 2005), p. 104-15.

⁷⁵⁴ ‘alicuius nuditatem videre, est cognoscere, carnem suam nudare, pro incesto committere... Ita et nuditas denotat rem turpem.’ In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 372-4.

writing, but also in his collection and collages of images Beverland combined different genres: the art of esteemed painters is portrayed next to the sketches of more obscure artists, the drawing of a vulgar prostitute is set next to the Venus de' Medici, thus he combined erotic, pornographic, and obscene images with pictures taken from more highbrow, erudite, and cultured works of art.⁷⁵⁵

The only contemporary reference to the imagery for the DPV comes from Halma, who wrote that Beverland had saved the image for the title page of the DPV, which consisted of “a temple of Venus, or the inside of a Brothel, full of obscene behaviour, with [Beverland] himself sitting in the foreground with a whore on his lap. He showed this image regularly to his intimates, with titillating delight.”⁷⁵⁶ Halma's description of the title page cannot be verified: the DPV was never printed and has not been preserved in its entirety. Because we find no prints in his published works, obscene images played no part in the critical reception of his writings or his banishment. His intention to add images to the DPV does underline the obscenity of his master thesis however: Beverland aimed to amuse his reader with sexual descriptions as well as visual images of the obscenities he discussed. A brief look at his personal collection displays, in addition, that with the inclusion of images he aimed to emphasize the humanist character of his work and his own erudition: the majority of pictures was modelled after well-known and admired pieces of ancient, Renaissance, and contemporary art. By mixing periods and genres, he exposed that sex was everywhere and that all works of art could be considered pornographic, from the very vulgar to the highly esteemed.

⁷⁵⁵ For more on these pictures, see the forthcoming PhD thesis of Joyce Zelen (see footnote 742).

⁷⁵⁶ ‘De Tyteltekening hadde hy ook van dit werk bewaart, zynde een Venustempel, of Bordeel van binnen, vol ontuchtig gebaar, waar in hy zelf op den voorgrondt zat met eene hoer op zyn schoot: welke tekening hy dan menigmaal, met een kittelend genoegen, aan zyne vertrouwelingen onder d'oogen bragt.’ In: Halma, *Toneel*, p. 135.

What can be concluded after reading Beverland's obscene descriptions and looking at his collection of images is, first of all, that both were relatively innocent in context of contemporary art, erotica, and pornography. To include these kinds of texts and pictures in a scholarly work was conspicuous and Beverland's combination of different genres was exceptional, but the depictions never become real pornography. They were included to mark and illustrate his argument on the importance of sexuality and not designed to only amuse the reader. Secondly, even though Beverland presented his critics with another reason to dislike his writings by adding these obscenities, the role that this aspect of his style and the unpublished images played is too small to explain his motives or his troubles. During his trial his works were denounced for their vulgarity but many, much more explicit, pornographic novels published in the same period were never censured. And while he was unique in his combination of sex and scholarship and his collection of cut-and-paste images, the obscene part of his writings did not divert from but contributed to his scholarly argument. Beverland was not banished for writing pornography, but it was his unexpurgated pursuit of an uncomfortable truth that got him into trouble with his theological enemies, humanist colleagues, and important magistrates.

4.3 Truth and liberty

Beverland's personal interest in sex aligned with his scholarship, but his fascination alone does not explain why he pursued the subject and published his argument in the face of adversity. The reason behind this persistence was his determination to expose the truth about sex. By redefining the original sin and exploring the dominance of sexual desire in history, Beverland intended to reveal the importance of lust in universal human nature since the Fall, which was denied, ignored, or hidden by the vast majority of his contemporaries. He aimed to show what was concealed and to discuss the problem of

sexuality openly, honestly, and from a historical point of view. What set him apart was not a personal preoccupation with sex, but his outspoken attitude to sexual lust as it exhibited itself not only in the Bible, the classics, and history but also in his contemporary society. Pointing out the grand gap between theory and practice, between the official restriction of sex to marriage and the actual sexual behaviour of the men and women around him, he presented his contemporaries with an honest mirror and coupled an attack on their hypocrisy with a radical solution to the problem of lust.

Truth and hypocrisy

Beverland often emphasized in his studies that he revealed the universal truth about lust:

My conscience and the light of my heart taught me that our opinion is more consistent with the words of God. And indeed nobody fails to experience and discover such a vehement and frequent sin in their own instrument. But what else can I write? *True words do not require support.*⁷⁵⁷

By publishing his argument, he endeavoured to construct a more honest and natural perspective on sexuality that explained not only the obscenities of the pagan past but also the sexual deviances of the Christian present. The truth might be obscene, indecent, and sinful, but needed to be confronted nonetheless. Despite the criticism his standpoint received from different sides, Beverland trusted that in the end many of his contemporaries would agree with him. “Not only will those with sharp eyes see the beams of the most truthful evidence shine beyond the cover and plaster, but also they who are confused by the veil and the bewitchment of prejudices will realize, when they

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Nostram sententiam Dei eloquiis magis congruam conscientia & lux cordis docuit. & in proprio vase quisque nullum adeo vehemens & frequens ubicunque sentiet reperietque, vitium. Sed quid multis? *Veritas verborum adminicula non desiderat.*’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 58. Quotation from: Marcus Antonius Peregrinus, *Consilia siue Responsa iuris* (Venice, 1600), Summaria of Consilium XLV, p. 228.

carefully observe the course of their life and weigh it many times, that we, wretched people as we are, are all driven by the itch of an inborn crime”, he stated in the last chapter of his DPO, adding that he hoped that no one would do away with “the causes of our problem as if all that I have brought forward are unfounded wanderings and fables without accountability. In fact, I trust that they will approach me to feel and speak about all that they have learned as the truth...”⁷⁵⁸ .

In his studies Beverland presented many historical examples of people engaging in the sexual act to underline his theory. “Passing by the tragedies of the ancients and not omitting to quote [in my favour] names known through the ages... I am not ashamed to challenge the whole assembly of humanity to give their sworn testimony.”⁷⁵⁹ In addition, he did not hesitate to illustrate the inevitability of sex with reference to his own society, to underline the present-day importance of his argument. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, he claimed, lust ruled peoples’ lives. Students, professors, and especially young women could not contain themselves:

Sooner than they were of the age to be able to accept the conditions of feminine submission, immature girls are used to desire men, and the little virgins long for and even demand to be deprived of their virgin state.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁸ ‘Argumentorum verissimorum radios non tantum trans vela & tectoria emicare emissitiis bene vasati videbunt oculis, sed & praejudiciorum velo & fascino dementati, vitae curriculum non indiligenter multotiesque pensitantes observabunt, quo ingeni sceleris pruritu magis miselli homunciones catervatim incitemur, ita ut confidam problematis nostri causas, non παρεχφρήματα nec τεχνάσματα sine ratiocinio & fundamine à me prolata exhibituros, imo quotquot verum didicere & sentire & loqui mihi accessuros facile fidem habeam...’, in: DPO 1679, chapter XX, p. 154.

⁷⁵⁹ ‘Ne tragoedias veteres curem aut nomina seculis nota in partes citem, religiosa fide totum mortalium coetum ad testimonia proquirere haud erubesco...’, in: DSVI, chapter I, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁰ ‘Antequam ejus essent aetatis, ut muliebris patientiae legem accipere possent, catullire solent crude pupae, & devirginari anhelant flagitantque virgunculae.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIII, p. 65. For more examples of his observations of contemporary sexual behaviour, see the first part of this Chapter.

It was widely held in Beverland's time that by focusing on reason or on God, by denying or ignoring the incentive of sexual lust, people could live without it or could at the very least restrict sexual relations to particular conditions. Connecting historical and contemporary experiences in his works, Beverland argued conversely that all societies, whether ancient or modern, pagan or Christian, should instead come to terms with the sexual nature of humankind, thus denouncing the dishonest attitude of many of his contemporaries. He berated the many 'hypocrites' around him, who were very well aware of the importance of sex but who denied, ignored, or concealed its prominent presence. Above all he blamed the Christian clergy of the Reformed Church, not just their personal insincerity but also for establishing the deceitful attitude towards sex that influenced Dutch society as a whole. Beverland condemned these 'religious hypocrites' for continuing to maintain that living a chaste life was actually possible.

Not just his archenemies, also Beverland's close friends were not safe from his scrutiny. Many scholars, he argued, attempted to find beauty in their studies, yet actually devoted much of their time to other matters: "They preferred their drinking societies and their games of cards and dices to activities on an academic level."⁷⁶¹ Despite their sexual misbehaviour and familiarity with the obscene writings of the ancients however, they refrained from supporting his work publicly. Illustrative of the attitudes of his humanist friends were the views of Graevius, who voiced his opinion in letters to Heinsius in 1679. Graevius advised Heinsius not to involve himself too closely with Beverland, to protect

⁷⁶¹ 'Combibonum collegia, crepitantium fritillorum tesserarumque competitiones anteferunt exercitiis Academicis.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, p. 147 [157].

his own reputation. He described Beverland as a mad man, who had rightfully paid ‘the price of folly’ for publishing his despicable and indecent work.⁷⁶²

A third group in Dutch society that Beverland singled out for their hypocrisy with regard to sexuality was the political and economic elite, the secular authorities of the Dutch Republic, and the magistrates of the town of Leiden in particular. The court of the University of Leiden had concluded that his works were heterodox, wanton, and impious.⁷⁶³ In letters written just after his trial, Beverland belittled the judges of his case, who had not understood his writings at all.

If the lawsuit had been pursued in my hometown, the outcome would have been very different. Our magistrates are usually not chosen from artisans, gardeners, and shopkeepers. Consul Schuyl, one of the judges, was a man with undeveloped knowledge of the Latin language and a trader in manure. The others were merchants of the market and wine sellers. Behold these suitable judges of my work!⁷⁶⁴

He deemed these magistrates too ignorant to understand and unworthy to weigh the honesty and importance of his ideas and he accused them in addition of turning a blind eye towards the sexual transgressions happening in Leiden on a daily basis.

In September 1679, the States of Holland had ordered the university court to arrest Beverland, because his works encouraged ‘frivolity and lewdness’ and inspired the

⁷⁶² The letters exchanged in 1679 between Graevius and Heinsius, in which Beverland and his works were discussed, were published in: P. Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum* (5 volumes, Leiden, 1724-27), volume 4, pp. 597-625, numbers 536, 537, 542, 546, 567, and 570. See: De Waardt, ‘Academic careers’, 32-3. For more on Beverland’s relationships with fellow humanist scholars see Chapter 3 (pages 200-210).

⁷⁶³ ‘Documents concerning Beverland’s trial by the Academische Vierschaar’, folio 115v-116r. For more on (the documents of) his prosecution see the Bibliography.

⁷⁶⁴ ‘Si lis in patrio foro agitata fuisset, longe alium sortita fuisset eventum. Magistratus nostrates non solent eligi ex cerdonibus, sarritoribus, cauponibus. Consul Schuyl, unus ex iudicibus fuit homo linguae Latinae rudis et mercator stercorarius. Ceteri fuere foricarii, oenopolae. En idoneos scripti nostri arbitros!’ In: ET 33, Rechstood, 12/1679.

youth to engage in all kinds of scandalous behaviour.⁷⁶⁵ During his trial the judges agreed with the States that Beverland's writings should be censured to protect Dutch youth, as in the DSVI 'debauchery unknown in these lands' was described in coarse language.⁷⁶⁶ In turn, Beverland attacked the magistrates for their outrageous hypocrisy: prostitutes were roaming the streets, students were sleeping with a different maid every night, Dutch girls could not wait to lose their virginity, but instead of dealing with the grand problem of lust itself, they arrested him and censured his works for merely telling the truth.⁷⁶⁷ He dedicated his DSVI precisely to these 'prevaricators', to those who avoided honesty, and on the last pages of his DPO he challenged those:

who are loath to stain immature ears with words of plebeian lust, but at the same time arouse their own virtues with wine, or by the clear light of day secretly and lazily grow stiff between the female chairs... Every time the enjoyment of the beautiful feminine bodies in a small boat by the descendant from Venus, or even outside the boat, is mentioned by Helciariorius, the Socratic perverts, the false men with swollen ankles, the nervous Stoics, the painted Laronias, and other hypocrites burst into rage, so that if someone looked at them, he would consider them to belong to the Essenes. Meanwhile these upright people with their morals live obscene lives themselves. But why am I discussing in front of many these unpleasant things, which all people know about...⁷⁶⁸.

⁷⁶⁵ See: *Resolutie van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland* part 2 (The Hague, 1679-1727), 1727, folio 851. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 35-6.

⁷⁶⁶ 'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar', 115v. Beverland also argued during his exile that secular authorities of the Dutch Republic were against his return. See for instance his comments in: EG 6, 14/08/1685.

⁷⁶⁷ This is a summary of Beverland's argument and descriptions of sexual customs in the late-seventeenth century, that were explained in the first part of this chapter and will be further discussed below.

⁷⁶⁸ 'qui plebejæ Veneris vocabulis acerbis aures imbui detestantur, & interim eorum virtutes mero incalescunt, vel clanculum tota luce inter foemineas cathedras segniter torpescunt... Quoties in cymba à Veneris nepotulo, vel extra eam ab Helciariorio mentio fit de usu formosarum, tam vehementer excantent Socratici cinoedi, ficti Scauri, trepidi Stoicidae, fucatae Laroniae, alique hypocritae, ut si qui eos intueatur, diceret aliquos ex Essenis, interim moribus probi, obscœne vivunt. Sed quid multis ingrata, eaque unicuique... nota revolve', in: DPO 1679, chapter XX, pp. 154-5 [164-5].

In his emphasis on honesty and his argument against the hypocrisy of his contemporaries, we can recognize in Beverland's criticism familiar features of the (radical) philosophies that came to determine scholarly debates in the second half of the seventeenth century. With the rise of a new world view, as scientific developments and new philosophical theories like Copernicanism and Cartesianism changed the academic landscape, came the critical assessment of traditional ideas. Influenced also by the advancement of biblical criticism, by the last decades of the seventeenth century the foundations of truth and knowledge were challenged from different directions. Spinoza, Hobbes, and Bayle concluded that since the Bible was fundamentally flawed, not revelation but reason should guide the way. The orthodox interpretation of Scripture was outdated and the authority of theology and the Christian clergy unwarranted, as it was argued that a philosophical and rational approach to the biblical text and a thorough examination of the laws of nature would lead people to salvation.⁷⁶⁹

Although these were European developments, in the Dutch Republic debates on the Bible, the right path to knowledge, and the determination of truth were particularly heated and influential, due to the high standard of philological and biblical scholarship, the early and wide-ranging influence of Cartesianism, and the internal strife within the Dutch Reformed Church. By the 1670s, the rise of heresies, like Socinianism, and radical thought, like Spinozism, intensified debates outside and inside the Church and the rift

⁷⁶⁹ A selection of works on this subject: Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, especially pp. 28-34, 95-114, 372-404; Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, especially pp. 25-9, 301-27, 477-85, 550-75; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, especially pp. 44-64, 74-82, 149-70; Van Bunge, *Spinoza Past and Present*, pp. 101-118; Wielema, *The march*, pp. 11-17, 78-87; Jorink, *Reading*; S. Berti, 'Unmasking the Truth: The Theme of Imposture in Early Modern European Culture, 1660 1730', R.H. Popkin, J.E. Force, and D.S. Katz (eds.), *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin, Brill's studies in intellectual history*, 91 (Leiden, 1999), pp. 19-36; Van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality*; S. Shapin, *A Social History of Truth. Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England, Science and its conceptual foundations* (Chicago, 1994).

between liberal and orthodox theologians widened. One radical participant in this theological debate, preacher F. van Leenhof, even dared to state in one of his writings that he was honoured, not ashamed, to say that he had read Spinoza's work with care and that that he was the better for it.⁷⁷⁰ Also in the works of for instance Hobbes, Locke, and Bayle, and Dutch thinkers Spinoza, Meijer, and Koerbagh we can recognize this same emphasis on honesty and castigation of hypocrisy as in Beverland's argument.⁷⁷¹

The representatives of revealed religion and the orthodox interpretation of the Bible, theologians of the Christian Church, were most often called out for their hypocritical views. In the Dutch Republic of the late-seventeenth century, due to the extent and great influence of the Church's internal strife, the attack on Dutch ministers was particularly vehement and direct. Arguing that knowledge should be based on reason and truth could only be found in natural law, different strands of moderate and radical thinkers questioned and challenged the authority and hypocrisy of the clergy.⁷⁷² The very first sentence of Koerbagh's *A Light Shining in Dark Places*, published in 1668, stated:

We have seen fit to set before your eyes and show by this kindled light the errors and fallacies of the divines in theology and religion, which cause such intense hatred (which is rightly called an accursed and evil hatred) among them, all of whom claim to be disciples of the Saviour, whereas most of them, especially those most powerful and with the most followers or supporters, do quite the opposite of the Saviour's teachings in both words and deeds.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷⁰ F. Leenhof, *Den hemel op aarden opgeheldert van de nevelen van misverstand, en vooroordeelen* (Zwolle, 1704). See also: Wielema, *The march*, pp. 103-32; Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 406-35.

⁷⁷¹ See the works in footnote 769 and 772.

⁷⁷² See in addition to the works in footnote 769: Van der Wall, 'The religious context'; Van der Wall, Wessels, *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding*; Douglas, *Spinoza & Dutch cartesianism*; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 918-31; Spaans, *Graphic Satire*, pp. 237-51; H.G.M. Jorink, *Wetenschap en wereldbeeld in de Gouden Eeuw, Zeven Provinciën reeks*, 17 (Hilversum, 1999), pp. 47-60, 101-107; Fix, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 83-148.

⁷⁷³ A. Koerbagh, *A Light Shining in Dark Places, to Illuminate the Main Questions of Theology and Religion* (Amsterdam, 1668) Preface. Translation taken from edition by M. Wielema (Leiden, 2011), p. 57.

Although his views on the ignorance and hypocrisy of the clergy and theologians can be connected to critiques voiced by other (radical) thinkers, among early enlightenment writers Beverland was exceptional in his focus on sex. His views on the importance of presenting the truth and challenging hypocrisy surrounding sexual lust can however be aligned to a different early modern genre. Both J.G. Turner and M.G. Jacob have pointed out that there was a close relation between the emergence of novel natural philosophies and sexual fiction in the seventeenth century, since both focused on materialist and naturalist theories of thought.⁷⁷⁴ In these pornographic writings descriptions of sexual acts were often accompanied by harsh criticism of contemporary society. A large range of erotic and pornographic works, including Aretino's *Ragionamenti* (1534), Chorier's *Satyra sotadica de arcanis Amoris et Veneris* (1660), the anonymously published *L'Ecole des Filles* (1655), and *Vénus dans le cloître, ou la Religieuse en chemise* (1683), was not only inherently anti-clerical but characterized by the same emphasis on truth. Aretino argued that prostitutes were the only honest creatures in society, since they openly accepted the important place of sexual lust in human nature. By presenting sex in all its glory, the (female) characters starring in his erotic writings of Aretino and other writers exposed the hypocrisy of their contemporaries, especially of the lustful members of the Church who denounced sex in public but enjoyed it in private.⁷⁷⁵

In pornographic novels published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, as Leemans has shown, authors attacked hypocrisy as well; arguing that their works presented the real world, dominated by sex, contrary to the fake world, in which chastity

⁷⁷⁴ Jacob, 'The materialist world of pornography', pp. 157-202; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 1-30.

⁷⁷⁵ See: Hunt, 'Introduction'; Jacob, 'The materialist world', pp. 157-202; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 1-30, 106-220; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 233-76; Mijndhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 283-300; M.F. Rosenthal, 'Introduction: 'A whore's vices are really virtues': The Erotics of Satire in Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti*', R. Rosenthal, *Aretino's Dialogues* (Toronto, 2005), pp. xi-2.

ruled. In *De Doorluchtige Daden van Jan Stront* (*The Illustrious Deeds of John Shit*) the male characters conclude that all people who claim they are chaste merely uphold an insincere veil of hypocrisy. And in the second volume of *De Leidsche Straatschender* the author comments on the gap between the great popularity of the first volume of his work and its harsh denunciation: young women might say that they regarded his book to be outrageous and coarse, but they loved reading it.⁷⁷⁶

In his focus on truth and fight against hypocrisy, Beverland's ideas aligned with those expressed in contemporary philosophical as well as pornographic writings. He did not only attack the hypocrisy of his powerful contemporaries however, he also presented them with a solution to the gap between idealized theory and actual practice, between exalted Christian morality and contemporary sexual customs: greater sexual liberty.

Sexual liberty

Beverland proposed to replace the hypocritical attitude of his contemporaries with a more natural, honest, and liberal view upon the greatest sin of all. He introduced this unorthodox solution by emphasizing the importance and unavoidability of sexuality in human nature. On the surface of his text Beverland obediently followed the traditional Christian position on sex, with desire as the source of all corruption. Other writers might have underlined the importance of reason, free will, or faith in the battle against the carnal sins of the flesh; Beverland argued that the war had been lost in the Garden of Eden. He stated in his DPV: "And because this matter neither has any measure, nor can be guided by reason, when this titillating and tickling [desire] invades the heart of mortals, they unlock the doors of the bedchamber (*what moderation can there be to lust?*) and

⁷⁷⁶ Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 127-44, 237-47. See for more on this novel the first part of this Chapter.

after having freed the penis they hasten to bring to rest the untamed madness..."⁷⁷⁷.

Humankind was completely and irrevocably lost to lust in mind and in body: "Moral purity and respect for their parents could not lead people from the unchaste and criminal... not sacred pledges, not religion, not the harshest punishment of death could keep [people] away from the forbidden fruit of this branch."⁷⁷⁸

In Agrippa's work, which presented the same argument on sex and sin, the conclusion that followed was logical and straightforward: Agrippa wholly denounced sex, only allowing sexual intercourse within matrimony for procreation. Beverland's works however presented a much more paradoxical standpoint: he combined his negative outlook with an emphasis on the joyful side of sex.⁷⁷⁹ With sexual lust defined as dominant and natural, Beverland questioned the dismissive attitude of the Christian Church and suggested that if the sin of sex was an inevitable part of human nature, why could one not enjoy its pleasures more freely? If not even faith could stop people from having sex, why would one even try? "Have you ever met a person, who was satisfied by just one passionate deed? He averts his face and resumes his enormous genius for crime. No sin is limited once it appears."⁷⁸⁰ While he attempted to hide his encouragement by his negative definition of sex as the greatest sin of all, in line with his aim to convince readers that they should accept the truth, he suggested between the lines of his

⁷⁷⁷ 'Et cum haec res neque modum habeat ullum, nec ratione regi possit, ubi illud γαργαλίζειν ac titillare invaserit mortalium corda, sive clam vi aut praecario reserant cubiculorum fores et, (*Quis enim modus adsit amoris?*) pene soluto indomitam rabiem sedare properant...', in: DPV, book I, chapter III, lines 571-5. Quotation from Virgil, *Eclogae sive Bucolica*, ecloga 2, line 68.

⁷⁷⁸ 'Multos non sanctitas aut reverentia parentum ab incestis nefariisque abducere potuit... non vota sancte nuncupata, non religio, non poena mortis acerbissima à vetito hujus rami fructu arcere potuerunt.' In: DPO 1678, chapter X, p. 46.

⁷⁷⁹ Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De originali peccato*.

⁷⁸⁰ 'Quisnam hominum, quem tu contentum videris uno flagitio! Redit in faciem scelerumque immane resumit ingenium, neque ullum finitur vitium ibi, ubi oritur.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XI, p. 57. The words *redit in faciem* in Claudian (*Against Rufinus*, book 2, line 142) that Beverland refers to here, are today read as *redit in rabiem*.

argument that his audience should explore a more sexually free lifestyle. He stated in the first edition of his DPO, quoting from Ovid's *Amores*: "*That you should not err, since you are fair, is not my plea. He who is allowed to err, errs less.*"⁷⁸¹

This suggestion of greater sexual liberty resonated in his style: "In truth, man is made to strive after sexual desire... *Oh may he be stricken on earth, whose art has revealed the melodies of sweetness. The bitterness of the delightful!*"⁷⁸² Beverland used satire to advance his views on sexual liberty below the surface of his traditional argument on the dangers of sex: "Our salvation to a great extent [depends on] knowing the poison and the force of the illness, whose infestation itself attacks our body, and the infection which incubates in the wretched horrendously."⁷⁸³ With his exaggeration of the negative features of the sex, constantly reminding his reader in the midst of obscene descriptions of the evil, horrible, and hazardous features of original sin and outlining the appalling consequences of sexuality, Beverland actually suggested to the reader to consider the opposite point of view: that sex was a delight, a natural gift to all people. As Eve said to Adam: "*use the gift that nature has given: I am not so strict as to condemn the fire that I feel.*"⁷⁸⁴ In his DPO of 1678, Beverland cited Martial when advising young men to have sex before marriage, because "*what embarrassments, what ordeals will you suffer if a cunt is something foreign to you.*"⁷⁸⁵ He added that "People have stated that in this way

⁷⁸¹ 'Non ego ne pecces, quum sis formosa recuso. Cui peccare licet, peccat minus.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XII, p. 61. Quotation from Ovid, *Amores*, book 3, poem 4, line 1.

⁷⁸² 'Itane Homo factus est similis adhinnienti caballo... *Ah gemat in terris, ista qui protulit arte libidinis mellimela. O dulcis amarities!*' in: DPO 1678, chapter XIV, p. 66. Quotation from: Propertius, *Elegiae*, book 2, poem 6, line 31.

⁷⁸³ 'Magna salutis portio nosse virus impetumque morbi, cuius infestum semet lateri haeret, et turpe miseris contagium incubat.' In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 534-5.

⁷⁸⁴ 'utere donis quae natura dedit: nec sum tam tetrica, quales sensi ignes damnem.' In: DPV, book I, chapter II, lines 248-50. Quotation from Barclay (*Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1629), volume 5, p. 442). For more on Barclay, see: footnotes 175 and 179.

⁷⁸⁵ 'heu quantos aestus, quantos patiere labores, si fuerit cunnus res peregrina tibi!' In: Martial, *Epigrammata*, book XI, epigram 78, lines 9-10.

the boy acquired at once the knowledge of good and evil, is right away tempted by this lust, and greatly desires also to learn through hugs with women the unknown deed."⁷⁸⁶

Beverland's paradoxical connotation of desire was often portrayed in his depictions of the joys of sex. He portrayed the most evil sin as the source of the greatest pleasure, presenting many obscene quotations that emphasized the unavoidability of sex:

Sooner than they were of the age to be able to accept the conditions of feminine submission, immature girls are used to desire men, and the little virgins long for and even demand to be deprived of their virgin state. Although they are not yet strong enough to carry the yoke on their subdued neck, as these unripe virgins may not endure an attack of battering, they elevate the savage lust of the unripe girl with a delicate finger.⁷⁸⁷

In his DPO he described the libidinous acts of students. He denounced their behaviour, yet he depicted their customs in great detail:

they pursue girls in church, so you could say that Venus wanders there and the Charites are taken care of. Moved by flattering, powerful, and hungry desire, they toss hand kisses across the railings, they gently and carefully look at the feet of the girls passing by... they reach out and offer their hand, shaped in an obscene way, to the Nymphs... Also the girls themselves consented from a distance with their eyes looking around, babbling they grant their nods, and conceal their flattering words by [using] signs, with honeysweet charm and witty composure. As if playing a ball game in a public place she gives and surrenders herself in turn, she nods to one, holds another, and arouses the feet of a third... With what kind of deep sighs, gathering in groups with the charming control of small paces, are they uttering in the bottom of their heart the cynical declaration of a Vestal virgin? *How happy married women are! O, may I die if marriage is not sweet.*⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁶ 'Quapropter & puer statim atque boni & mali notitiam adeptus est, hac cupidine tentari incipit, gestitque uti foemineis complexibus, & discere ignotum opus.' In: DPO 1678, chapter VIII, p. 39. The quotation is taken from biblical commentary of Aben Ezra (Abraham Ben Meir Ibn Ezra, 1089-1167) on the tree of good and bad.

⁷⁸⁷ 'Antequam ejus essent aetatis, ut muliebris patientiae legem accipere possent, catullire solent crudae pupae, & devirginari anhelant flagitantque virgunculae. Cum subacta cervice jugum necdum ferre valeant, nec arietantis impetum sustinere possint acerbae virgines, tenero digito immitis uvae tollunt cupidinem.' In: DPO 1679, chapter XIII, pp. 64-5.

⁷⁸⁸ 'venantur in templo puellas, ubi Venus vagari & Charites ministrari diceres. Dira ambitiosae famis libidine agitati, per cancellos basia jactant, transeuntium virginum pedes diligenter & lente... manum in obscenum modum formatam porrigunt Nymphis, offerunt & notant... Ipsaeque puellae emissitiis è longinquo oculis

In his work on women Beverland took a step further. In his DSVI he firmly grounded his views on sexual liberty, offering practical solutions on how to deal with the problem of lust in human nature in general and the abundance of sexual misbehaviour in contemporary Dutch society in particular. Amidst his descriptions of the sexual customs of the youth, and especially of Dutch women, he extended advice to his readers, commented on current problems, and suggested how the situation could be improved.

For instance, he discussed premarital relations, because he observed that many people engaged in sex before matrimony in the Dutch Republic. When these premarital relations resulted in pregnancy, the couple did not always get married and young women regularly instituted lawsuits against the alleged fathers of their (unborn) children, to force their former partner to take responsibility.⁷⁸⁹ To avoid these legal battles, Beverland firstly extended some general advice: “So if you are wise, do not defile girls with your immoderate kisses under the misleading pretence of future nuptials, nor must you, little maids, be so quick to throw yourself upon anyone’s neck or give unnumbered kisses to unwilling youths.”⁷⁹⁰

He proposed secondly that premarital sex should be legally permitted if promises of marriage had been properly exchanged, with the promise only firmly settled if pledged in front of a witness, established in a written document, or accompanied by the exchange

annuunt, nutos conferunt loquaces, abduntque blanda verba notis, melle lepore & sale compositis, quasi in foro pila ludens datatim dat se, alii adnutat, alienum tenet, aliique pervellit pedem... Quibusne densim singultibus, delicata graduum moderatione glomerantes, intra pectoris larem effantur gannientis Vestalis effatum? *Felices nuptae! moriar nisi nubere dulce est.* In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, pp. 149-51 [159-61]. Quotations from Ovid, *Amores* (book 2, poem 15, lines 9-10) and Seneca Maior (*Controversiae*, book 6, part VIII, lines 1-2). The ‘Charites’ are the Graces of pleasure.

⁷⁸⁹ For more on these ‘paternity actions’, see p. 230-31 and the works in footnote 696.

⁷⁹⁰ ‘Adeoque si sapere velitis, ne tam facile nuptiarum futurarum augurio puellas basiis inconditis inquinare: neque vos, virgunculae, tam cito cervicem alicujus invadite, nec non repugnanti puero innumerabilia oscula date.’ In: DSVI, chapter XII, pp. 197-8.

of money.⁷⁹¹ Premarital sex was strictly forbidden by the Dutch States and the Reformed Church. Often we find in the notes of local Church councils complaints about the lack of government action however, with the clergy urging the secular authorities to act more decisively against this type of sexual misbehaviour. Living together as man and wife without being married was considered a crime, punishable with a fine or with banishment, yet despite official regulations illegitimate sex was often ignored in practice. The intention to get married was crucial: only in the case of false promises were harsh punishments the rule.⁷⁹² Allowing sex after promises had been properly exchanged would actually have assisted authorities: it would have been easier to check whether a proper promise had been given and governments would no longer have needed to embroil themselves in the question of whether betrothed couples had engaged in sexual acts. This solution would have reduced the gap between theory and practice, between official laws and what was actually already taking place.

Related to his ideas on premarital promises, a second subject Beverland touched upon was the sexual behaviour of students. He argued that to safeguard young men and women, certain matters needed to be dealt with. Sexual relations frequently took place between women of the lower classes and sons of the elite:

For the spoiled children of fortune and youths of the nobility are wont to come home when people are all in their beds, besprinkled in no sparing way with the bloom of Father Bacchus, and so, to prevent them boring holes in shirt or cloak or defiling themselves with the nocturnal imaginings of their dreams, they play a man's part in no perfunctory way, with the mere servant-maid.⁷⁹³

⁷⁹¹ In: DSVI, chapter XII, pp. 197-8.

⁷⁹² For the primary documents and secondary studies this summary is based on, see footnotes 666 and 667.

⁷⁹³ 'Solent enim albae gallinae filii nobilesque pueri concubia nocte, flore Liberi patris haud leviter adpersi, domum venire, adeoque ne tunicam palliumque pertunderent, aut nocturnis somniorum interpretamentis polluerentur, haud perfunctorie cum puris ancillis fortiter facere.' In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 196.

In Zeeland, the province where he was born, an edict had once been decreed, Beverland explained, which ordered maid servants to be aware of 'the stiff weapons of their masters'.⁷⁹⁴ If maids decided to sleep with these men without a solid promise of marriage, Beverland argued, they should be forbidden to take the man to court if they became pregnant and were then "bound to supply the child with nourishment themselves. Let dressmaker and washerwoman then make what noise they will, they will see themselves placed beyond the help of the law."⁷⁹⁵ These young women should be on their guard and realize that "when the rich seeks the poor, he carries bread in one hand but shows his penis with the other. The girl who of her own accord presents herself to a student, soldier or artist is considered to give headlong consent to debauchery."⁷⁹⁶

Beverland also warned the men: students needed to be aware of the dangerous consequences that sexual relations with loose women before they were seduced, he argued, because it would be impossible for them to constrain the most evil sin in their bodies. Maid servants in particular were:

frequently went to kiss the master's son, to touch his organ and solicit the burden of his groin...
And so he was wont to wax merry after their advance, not to seem colder than a winter in Gaul and rising up to the nuptial task, to work her thoroughly up from beneath.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁴ 'Propter morum differentiam aliam legem praescribere Celsissimi Comitatus Zelandiae Proceres, variosque lubricorum schematum casus cognoscentes decreverunt, edictoque praeceperunt, ut ancillae se caveant a rigidis Dominorum telis...'. In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 196.

⁷⁹⁵ 'ut ipsaemet saucia teneantur solae alimenta praestare infanti. lactantur itaque, quacunque ratione possunt, sartrices & lotrices, videbunt se infra legum auxilium positas.' In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 196.

⁷⁹⁶ 'ubi appellat pauperem, altera manu fert panem, penem ostentat altera. Quaecunque se ultro offert Studioso aut militi aut pictori, me Deus fidius censetur praeceps consentire in stuprum.' In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 198.

⁷⁹⁷ 'solebant spissius patrisfamilias filium basiare, & pertracto vasculo inguinum pondus sollicitare... Ille itaque hilarior factus post hanc pollicitationem (ne frigidior hieme Gallica factus videretur) consurrexit ad officium nuptiale, eamque probe subagitavit.' In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 197. See also: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 113-14.

It was also up to Dutch authorities to change their restrictive policies and general attitude. Observing seventeenth-century Dutch society, Beverland offered a simple solution to the impertinent lust of young men: they should be allowed to visit prostitutes. In the DSVI he quoted Cicero in support of his opinion that although prostitutes were vile creatures, it should not be criminal for young men to call on them: *"If anyone thinks that young men should be forbidden to make love to harlots, he is very severe."*⁷⁹⁸

His stance on the legalization of prostitution resembles the regulation of prostitution in medieval Europe. Based on the idea that it was a necessary evil, prostitution was tolerated in Dutch towns, as in many other states in the later Middle Ages, in certain streets or neighbourhoods, to strictly separate the honourable from the dishonourable and thus to safeguard respectable women. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century ended this era of regulation: not just in the newly established Dutch Republic but in the majority of both Protestant and Catholic countries prostitution was strictly forbidden.⁷⁹⁹ Beverland criticized the puritanical stance of the Calvinist doctrine on whores and brothels however, arguing in line with medieval regulations that the legalization of prostitution would give young men an outlet for their sexual urges and would therefore keep virtuous women safe:

On account of the licence of public brothels, well-conducted virgins have desired to be helped by the protection of the law. It is not at all proper conduct for a man to lead the daughter of an upright citizen so far by his flatteries that she will, either willingly or unwillingly, succumb to his passion.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁸ *'Si quis est qui meretriciis amoribus juventuti interdictum putet, est ille quidem valde severus.'* In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 200. Quotation from: Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, paragraph 48, line 637.

⁷⁹⁹ See: Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom*, pp. 151-60.

⁸⁰⁰ *'Propter publicarum fornicum licentiam honestae virgines legum auxiliis praemuniri voluere. Nequaquam recte facit, qui honesti civis filiam blanditiis eousque producit, ut invita vel volens ejus libidini succumbat.'* In: DSVI, chapter XII, p. 195.

Lust was sinful, without question, but denying, concealing or repressing its power, especially in young people, only made matters worse:

I admit that it is not for the good of young men as a class that those who have Venus in their blood see to their indignation that kind of life unmistakably branded, for, wherever Venus is repressed, lechery increases. But, where public consistories of lust are permitted, Venus has her ivy as much as Bacchus, and there a religious feeling of respect for the matron dictates her distinction from those who sell their persons for money. When that is so, swollen lust abates, and snares and nets can be avoided.⁸⁰¹

These solutions to the problem of sex reveal Beverland's views on sexual liberty in practical detail and at the same time betray the double standard he adopted with regards to men and women. In the DSVI he argued in great detail that women, who were ruled by sexual lust, should be kept busy, not go out in public alone, and dress appropriately to safeguard their virginity and reputation.⁸⁰² Here he aligned with contemporary attitudes: the importance of a chaste reputation was often emphasized in contemporary writings and females could expect a harsher punishment than their male counterparts when convicted for premarital relations, adultery, or prostitution. While women of a certain social standing should be chaste and virtuous, Beverland concluded, men should however be allowed greater liberty and handle the dominance of sexual lust in their bodies as they themselves saw fit.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰¹ 'Nullus inficias eo, non e salute sigulatae pubis esse, si certa indicia vetitae vitae tremulis intueretur oculis Veneris nepotulus: nam ubi Venus punitur, gliscit libido. Verum ubi publica libidinum consistoria permittuntur, Venus aequae suam hederam habet ac Bacchus, ibidem sacratus matronarum honor dictat, ut decernatur ab iis, qui venalem formam suam prostituunt.' In: DSVI, chapter IX, p. 113.

⁸⁰² He discussed how women should behave in his DSVI, especially in chapter IX (pp. 99-100, 123) and chapter XIII (pp. 209-210).

⁸⁰³ He explored this argument in his DPO of 1679 (see for example chapter IX, pp. 43, 47; chapter XIII, pp. 64-9; chapter XV, pp. 76-7) and his DPV (especially in book I, chapter III, lines 1010-1156), and the excessive sexual lust of women formed the subject of his DSVI.

In the decades after Beverland published his early writings, ideas on sexual liberty developed in the midst of theological and philosophical debates on knowledge, truth, and (human) nature. In relation to their new perspectives on reason versus revelation, early enlightenment thinkers turned to traditional ideas and customs. Dabhoiwala has convincingly shown in his publications on the subject that in this intellectual environment sexual liberty became a topic of (radical) discussion. The freedom of sexual relations, the idea that neither secular nor religious authorities should interfere with private sexual behaviour, had been expressed before 1700, but sexual morality was more broadly and seriously questioned and debated in the course of the eighteenth century, due to the rapid development and wide influence of early enlightenment thought.⁸⁰⁴

For instance in his theory on human nature, the development of civil society, and the benefits of vice, Bernard Mandeville proposed, like Beverland, to permit public prostitution. In his *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*, Mandeville argued that prostitution should be accepted as a necessary evil, tolerated under secular supervision, because it was better to bear lesser inconveniences to prevent greater trouble.⁸⁰⁵ Alberto Radicati on the other hand, an Italian freethinker who wrote about philosophy and politics in the 1720s and 1730s, concluded that as there was no absolute standard for sexual morality and with worldwide customs and religious standpoints varying, complete sexual freedom should be promoted, which would lead to the happiness of all.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁴ See: F. Dabhoiwala, 'Lust and Liberty', *Past & Present*, 207, no. 1 (2010), pp. 89-179.; Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex*. See on this topic also: Findlen, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography', pp. 99-108; Jacob, 'The materialist world of pornography', pp. 161-94; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 1-30; Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 572-89; Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 82-96; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 233-76.

⁸⁰⁵ For more on Mandeville: I. Primer (ed.), *Bernard Mandeville's A Modest Defence of Publick Stews: Prostitution and Its Discontents in Early Georgian England* (New York, 2006); E.J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's fable: Mandeville and the discovery of society* (Cambridge, 1994, 2005), pp. 218-25.

⁸⁰⁶ For more on Radicati, see: Israel, *Radical enlightenment*, pp. 69-74, 94-5, 272-3.

In the late-seventeenth century however, Beverland was exceptional in his sole focus on sex and in presenting sexual liberty as a serious option. John Locke, despite his promotion of religious toleration, emphasized that in matters of morality, the common good should be protected by discipline, because adultery and fornication were too dangerous to be tolerated. Spinoza, Hobbes, and other philosophers emphasized the rule of nature over revelation and traditional customs, but did not extend their theories to discuss sexual morality, let alone to promote sexual freedom. It was not until the early eighteenth century that a broader scholarly debate on sexual liberty started emerging.⁸⁰⁷

In erotic and pornographic publications, however, sexual liberty was openly discussed and advocated before 1700. In accordance with their truthful stance on the lustful nature of all people and as a challenge to the hypocrisy of chastity, authors of this genre presented sex as something good and useful, which should not be bound to moral rules but should be freely enjoyed.⁸⁰⁸ The promotion of sexual freedom formed the foundation of many erotic and pornographic works in this period. In the last part of the *Satyra sotadica de arcanis Amoris et Veneris* for instance, a series of sexual dialogues that was published in the 1660s and translated in different languages, writer Chorier concluded that not chastity but sexual liberty was most honourable, underlining the legitimacy of pleasure.⁸⁰⁹ The same sentiment can be found in Dutch pornographic novels published after 1650. For example in the *Eenige vermakelyke, doch waarachtige historien, synde het leeven van verscheide reukeloose pachters, borgers, medestanders, collecteurs en verklikkers* (Some entertaining, yet true histories, about the life of several reckless

⁸⁰⁷ See the works in footnote 804.

⁸⁰⁸ See: Findlen, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography', pp. 99-108; Jacob, 'The materialist world of pornography', pp. 161-194; Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 1-30, 106-220; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 233-76.

⁸⁰⁹ See: Turner, *Schooling sex*, pp. 165-220; Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 150-54, 250.

tenants, citizens, partners collectors and snitches), published in Franeker 1697, the vicar and theologian Pius was persuaded to abandon his chaste ideals and shamelessly enjoy sex. During his conversation with other men however the reader discovers that Pius, although he portrayed himself as an ignorant clergyman, is actually greatly experienced in matters of sex. Even though he fully supports sexual freedom at the end, Pius maintained his hypocrisy and asked the others to keep their conversation private.⁸¹⁰

Unlike seventeenth-century pornographers and eighteenth-century philosophers, Beverland argued that the freedom of sexual relations should exclude women. Only educated men of the higher ranks of society, who could deal with the responsibility of sexual freedom, could be trusted with sexual licence. His views on greater sexual liberty were not meant to be read or adopted by all: he presented his views to the 'initiated': the educated men of the elite who were responsible enough to enjoy the pleasures of sex or at the very least could be trusted to have an honest discussion about sex. For the other readers of his work however, Beverland carefully obscured his line of reasoning below a thick blanket of satire, complex Latin, and obscure references, emphasizing constantly the evilness, wickedness, and dangerous features of the sexual sin.

I am determined not to offer light to the blind, a conversation to the deaf, or wisdom to the fool. I merely wish to delight the ears of the few, that is Greek ears, and to be valued only by them. It has never been my intention to be admired by the breadth of the people, because I know from experience that prestige is perverted, if it is protected by the errors of the masses, and I am also aware that the favour of the people has been ill-fated for many...⁸¹¹.

⁸¹⁰ Jan Defensiu (Timotheus van Hoorn), *Eenige vermakelyke, doch waarachtige historien, synde het leeven van verscheide reukeloose pachters, borgers, medestanders, collecteurs en verklikkers* (Franeker, 1697). See: Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 111-19, 137-42, 371.

⁸¹¹ 'verum nec lumen coeco, nec sermonem surdo nec sapientiam bruto propinare constitui. Me tantum raris & quidem Atticis juvat auribus placere & probari. Nunquam animum induxi populari aurae placere, noveram enim probrosam esse Majestam, quae se populi erroribus tuetur, noveram funestum dirumque multis fuisse populi favorem...', in: DPO 1679, chapter XX, p. 155. '*aura popularis*' is a phrase adopted from Horace (*Odes*, book 3, Ode 2, line 20).

Uncultured readers of his work, meaning the majority of Dutch theologians and magistrates that he judged to be ignorant, might object to his redefinition of the original sin but surely would support his negative portrayal of sexuality. And if they did create a fuss, Beverland was determined not to discuss his ideas with these inferior men: “And as a man is usually cured from his drunkenness by sleep, then why shouldn’t I bear this senseless lunacy with resignation, because their slander hardly hurts me and I listen to the yelping of those small dogs without fear.”⁸¹²

Beverland’s strategy backfired on both fronts. The *Initiati*, scholarly friends and colleagues, denounced his ideas on the classics and sexuality, he failed to fool his less erudite readers with his negative argument, and his studies were read, or at least talked about, by the ‘ignorant’ masses, who only had to look at the title page of his DPV to understand its contents. All of his contemporaries rightfully spotted that underneath his negative assessment of sexual lust, Beverland attacked and ridiculed the hypocritical façade of chastity that characterized Dutch society, similar to many pornographic novels, in which authors argued that people should accept the real world, dominated by sexuality, without denying or hiding their (shame of) sexual feelings and behaviour.⁸¹³

After the publication of the first version of his DPO, he altered the work, well aware that if he failed to obscure his unorthodox stance on sexual morality he would be in great trouble. He for instance changed a crucial sentence in relation to his critique of traditional Christian doctrine. In his 1678 edition, Beverland had stated that “Because all people enjoy the gift of the earth, we are all fornicators in body and in soul, even when

⁸¹² ‘Et cum homo ebriatus somno sanari soleat, nonne rabiem & phreniticum furorem aequo tollerem animo, cum maledicta oratione vulnerari vix soleam, latratusque minutorum catellorum securus exaudiam.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XX, 152 [162].

⁸¹³ Leemans, *Het Woord*, pp. 104-43.

we have sex in the legal marriage bed...”⁸¹⁴. He altered the sentence and the 1679 edition stated: “Because we all are fornicators in body and soul, even when we have sex in the legal marriage bed.”⁸¹⁵ Even though he erased his positive note on the enjoyment of sex and omitted other passages from the first version of his work, which emphasized the pleasure of sex and sexual freedom, he fooled no one. The second edition of his DPO and the publication of the DSVI in 1679 sealed his fate.

By the early 1700s, Beverland was living in London and well aware that he had at times been carried away when reading and writing about sex: “You know that I do not lack an appetite for the sexual. Yet I am afraid that I lost my mind at certain critical moments.”⁸¹⁶ His belief in his argument remained strong however, and despite his public renunciation of all thing sexual in his excuse work, which he published in the late-1690s, he kept dedicating himself to the subject.⁸¹⁷ In 1691, for instance, Beverland emphasized the validity of his early works in his criticism of English scholars and theologians Humphrey Hody, Richard Bentley, and John Selden:

Because those idiots have no clue about what lies hidden in pagan literature. It was unavoidable that I have focused on this. [Selden] argues that Eve ate [from the fruit] when Adam was not with her. How could he be so mistaken! Because if she had eaten alone, then only she would have been changed and the good Adam would have turned away from the girl, [who was] shaking with fear and ashamed.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹⁴ ‘Nam omnes quicunque terrae munere vescimur, animo & corpore scortati sumus, etiam in legitimi matrimonii actu...’. In: DPO 1678, chapter XII, p. 61.

⁸¹⁵ ‘Nam omnes animo & corpore scortati sumus, etiam in legitimi matrimonii actu.’ In: DPO 1679, chapter XIII, p. 70.

⁸¹⁶ ‘Nosti me non ἀναφροδισιον. Curam tamen habui ne ingenium in lubricis periclitaretur.’ In: EG 18/8, 25/5/1699.

⁸¹⁷ For instance some of the essays in his ‘Otia Oxoniensia’, composed during his exile in England, focused on sexual subjects, as Beverland himself attested in multiple letters to Gronovius (see: EG 16/7, 25/03/1693; EG 18/8, 25/05/1699; EG 19/9, 25/05/1699). See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 58, 78-85; Wauters, ‘Correspondentie’, pp. 114, 119-20.

⁸¹⁸ ‘Quippe isti fungi ignorant, quae latent in prophanor[um] scriptis. Me quoque non potuit relinquisse intactum. Dicit Evam absente Adamo comedisse. Qui hoc fieri potuit? Falsissimum est. Quippe si illa

Conclusion

It might be true that Beverland was obsessed with sex, in his personal and professional life, but he was not banished due to his inappropriate love for lust. Beverland was exiled because he exposed the wide gap between formal attitudes to and actual engagement in sexual relations in the late-seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church, the professors of the University of Leiden, and the magistrates of the States of Holland: all of them enjoyed sexual relations in- and outside matrimony, he argued, yet all chose to deny it, hide their feelings, and renounce sexual lust. Beverland challenged these hypocrites to be honest, to acknowledge the unavoidable presence of desire, and to face the issue that dominated Dutch society, offering historical connections, biblical and classical advice, and even practical solutions in his studies.

He exposed the hypocrisy of his contemporaries not only in his main argument and direct attacks but also in the style of his works. Aiming to show that all people, Greek gods, Roman poets, biblical figures, Christian monks, medieval prostitutes, and respected contemporaries, wanted sex, he combined the most esteemed literary genres with the most vulgar prints, placing conclusions from humanist studies next to citations from erotic poems. He mixed genres, from theology to pornography, in his style of writing, his use of sources, choice of quotations, and collages of images and offended his contemporaries by completely disregarding the hierarchy between categories of significance, esteem, and scholarship. As he mingled the pagan and the sacred, theology and philology, erotic descriptions with esteemed biblical and classical interpretations, his studies encouraged fellow scholars to merge together various aspects of Dutch society

comedisset sola, etiam mutata fuisset. Mutatam, tremebundam ac pudibundam aversatus fuisset vir bonus Adamus.' In: EG 37/23, 10/07/1691.

that the traditional religious, secular, and academic authorities preferred to keep separate. By removing the veil, highlighting the importance of sex in all genres, periods, and people, he offended theologians, magistrates, and humanists alike.

Beverland's emphasis on the uncomfortable truth hit a raw nerve, not just with regards to attitudes to sexuality but in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic more generally. Throughout this period the clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church constantly complained about prostitution and adultery, continuously pointing out that many vices of luxury had come to characterized Dutch society. And they were not mistaken. The Golden Age of the Republic was based on the free market, with trade, commerce, and profit subverting Christian morality and Calvinist doctrine. Pornographic novels were printed, brothel-scenes were painted without censorship, and Amsterdam acquired a reputation for prostitution. The dishonesty Beverland exposed with regards to sexuality was broadly practiced by magistrates and merchants alike, who favoured the market before upholding Christian morality in all aspects of life. By the time Beverland published his first works in the late 1670s, the accusation of hypocrisy had become a delicate issue. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic's unprecedented and unbridled economic growth was slowing down, with grand political, cultural, social and intellectual consequences.⁸¹⁹ In the eighteenth century the decline of the Republic's prosperity was linked to a deterioration in morality: the frugal, hard-working, and courageous Dutch had become focused on luxury, wealth, and pleasures alone. They had abandoned the virtues that had made them successful, it was argued, and had foolishly

⁸¹⁹ Historians have argued that the economic growth slowed down due to a drop in agricultural prices, the financial burden of the wars with France and England, and the mercantile policies of other European states. As the market was the driving force of the prosperity of the Republic, social, political and intellectual decline soon followed. This decline is described in most studies of the Republic, see for instance: Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 263-8; Feingold, 'Reversal of fortunes'; Vries, Woude, *The first modern economy*.

ignored the vices that accompanied their economic prosperity.⁸²⁰ In the late-seventeenth century however, no one wanted to hear this, least of all from an arrogant and pedantic young scholar who accused everyone but himself of hypocrisy. So Dutch theologians accused Beverland of atheism and reported him to the States, humanist scholars did not come to his defence, and magistrates of the town of Leiden arrested, tried, and banished Beverland without difficulty.

Beverland's crime was that he chose sex as his subject, promoting honesty and defending sexual liberty, and, in doing so, exposing the hypocrisy of a deeply conflicted society at a precarious time. The rest of his life he eagerly waited for his friends, his colleagues, his intellectual network to acknowledge and appreciate the purpose and importance of his studies. In a letter to Gronovius, written around 1700, he confessed that he regretted destroying his master thesis: "Often it pains me that I have burned the work and, if I would still have it now, I would much rather die than destroy it. Even though I would not want to print it, I would like to keep it safe..."⁸²¹. Because one day, people would understand.

⁸²⁰ For more on this see: Mijnhardt, 'Politics and pornography', pp. 298-9; S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the golden age* (London, 1988).

⁸²¹ 'Saepe pigetque operis combusti et, si nunc haberem, potius mori vellem quam comburere. Nollem tamen imprimeretur, sed conservaretur...', in: EG 31/18, around 1700.

Epilogue. Exile (1680-1716)

I have since moved to London... Delightful flowers have measured out my entire wallet. All girls lean on my fortunate arm here, the most refined ones honour foreigners with kindness. I would tell you about this delightful grace in great detail, if only I could find the adequate words. ... Nothing torments me more, than that you may not also be overflowed by so many of the same waves of pleasure.⁸²²

Beverland arrived in England in the spring of 1680. He planned to camp out across the Channel to let the commotion die down and was welcomed into the home of his friend Isaac Vossius in Windsor, where he was entertained by the 'Muses of wisdom and the Goddesses of love'.⁸²³ He could not wait for his friend De Goyer to join him:

*Sharp winter is loosening its grip as spring and the West Wind bring a welcome change; winches drag down the dry hulls. ... Please, my Jacob, don't tie yourself down with tedious delays. ... Often there is mention of young Dutch men among the British women here, Rebecca often cries out for you... most-wished-for Jacob, make haste to come here. Black thoughts will be lightened by song.*⁸²⁴

Studies and services

In England, Beverland continued to work on his DPV. While he handed in a duplicate of the first book to the authorities of the University of Leiden in March 1680, he had sent copies of the first, second, and third book of the work to England before his departure.⁸²⁵

⁸²² 'Ex eo tempore quo me Londino subduxi... Totis saccis mihi flores admetiunt venustulae. Omnes, quae albo humero nitent, puellae, politissima extraneos mactant humanitate, quam oblectandi gratia enarrarem, si adaequata possim invenire verba. ... Nihil me magis cruciat, quam quod inter tot voluptatem undas tu quoque non iisdem inunderis elegantium hominum deliciis.' In: EF 3, Goyer, 27/03/1680.

⁸²³ In: EF 3, Goyer, 27/03/1680.

⁸²⁴ 'Solvitur acris hiems grata vice, Veris et Favoni, Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas. ... noli sodes, mi Jacobe, moras nectere longiores.... Quoties inter Britannas Batavicae juventutis fit mentio, toties tibi tollit gannitum Rebecca. ... exoptate Jacobe. Corripe itaque gressum Minuentur atrae carmine curae.' In: EF 4, Goyer, 1680. Quotations from Horace: *Odes*, book 1, Ode 4, lines 1-2; book 4, Ode 11, lines 35-36.

⁸²⁵ His letters and notes suggest that he kept working on the DPV for a couple more years. See: EF 5, Heinsius, 02/08/1681; EH 13, 29/06/1681; 'Crepundia Lugdunensia' (see Bibliography).

Sometime in the 1680s however, he gave up on his master thesis. He seems to have realized that the work would never be published and he started focusing on other things. What happened to his copies of the DPV remains a mystery. Beverland suggested on different occasions that he burned the work because he was afraid that it would be discovered in his possession, since his sentence had instructed him to hand it in in full.⁸²⁶ In a letter written in the same period, however, he stated that he had sent segments of the books back to the Dutch Republic, that he had given certain parts to friends, but also that he feared that the manuscripts had recently been stolen from him by enemies.⁸²⁷ The only certainty is that the current location of the DPV, if it was saved, is unknown. The only part of the work that we know to have been preserved is the copy of the first book that he surrendered to the University of Leiden. Although the prosecutor of the university court pleaded during Beverland's trial that the work should be burned, the rector of the University of Leiden, Friedrich Spanheim, preserved it in his own personal collection. After his death, it was bequeathed to the university library, where it still resides today.⁸²⁸

Beverland continued his classical studies after his abandonment of the DPV. He focused for instance on Roman law, studying Justinian and the *Institutiones*, but mostly occupied himself with the classics that had featured in his early writings; Martial's epigrams, the satires of Juvenal, and *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius.⁸²⁹ He also composed shorter essays on ancient subjects and sources, which he assembled for instance in the 'Otia Oxoniensia' and the 'Iter in Anglia'.⁸³⁰ He sent several of his classical commentaries

⁸²⁶ He referred to his burning of the DPV in: 'Colloquium inter Satanem, Adamum et Evam', p. 22; 'Papers in collection of Hans Sloane', 60r, 89r; 'Crepundia Lugdunensia', 55r; DFC (*Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correctata*, 1698, p. A3v); EG 31/18, after 1700). See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 104-7.

⁸²⁷ In: EG 31/18, after 1700.

⁸²⁸ 'De Prostibulis Veterum', see Bibliography.

⁸²⁹ See for these commentaries the Bibliography.

⁸³⁰ See in the Bibliography: 'Otia Oxoniensia' and 'Iter in Anglia'.

and collections of essays to Gronovius after 1690, asking his friend to publish them in the Dutch Republic: "Hereby I send to you, most learned man, my *Otia Oxoniensia*, so that you can see what I have spent my free time doing. ... I ask you to entrust it to the printing press and to distribute it."⁸³¹ Beverland also read and criticized the studies of other classical scholars and disclosed in his letters his desire to educate students, who could travel from the Dutch Republic to England to work with him.⁸³²

In addition to classical scholarship, soon after his arrival in England Beverland started working as a sort of secretary, librarian, and broker in the service of Dutch friends, such as Vossius, and new English contacts, like the Third Earl of Carberry, John Vaughan. His correspondence shows that he performed various duties: he bought or sold books for and from their libraries, he handled their affairs in London, Windsor, or Oxford, and he studied or copied material for them in various libraries and personal collections.⁸³³ For instance Beverland assisted the physician and collector Hans Sloane in selling, purchasing, and managing his large book- and manuscript collection from sometime in the 1690s until the last years of his life.⁸³⁴

Return to the Dutch Republic

During the first years of his exile Beverland enjoyed his life in England, yet he started contemplating his return as early as 1681.⁸³⁵ To make his wish a reality, he composed a

⁸³¹ 'Mitto tibi, vir eruditissime, *Otia mea Oxoniensia*, ut ex iis possis conicere quomodo fefellerim tempus. ...rogo ea typis committere et publici iuris facere digneris.' In: EG 16/7, 25/3/1693.

⁸³² See especially his comments in letters to Gronovius, for instance in: EG 19/09, 25/05/1699; EG 20/10, 15/08/1699; EG 24/12, 03/10/1708; EG 26/14, after 1702; EG 31/18, after 1700; EG 32/19, after 1706; EG 33/20, 29/08/1694; EG 35/22, after 1695; EG 37/23, 10/07/1691.

⁸³³ See his correspondence with Gronovius, Heinsius, Vossius, and Sloane after 1679 (especially letters in: 'Colloquium de religione', 'Papers in collection of Hans Sloane') as well as his *Although my innocency*. See for these works the Bibliography.

⁸³⁴ Many notes and papers of Beverland can be found in the collection of Sloane, including many letters, calculations, and accounts he kept for and sent to Sloane. See: 'Papers in collection of Hans Sloane'.

⁸³⁵ In: EH 13, 29/06/1681.

plea to the judges of the University of Leiden in 1684 and sent it to Gronovius, trusting his friend to deliver the appeal to the right person(s).⁸³⁶ The plea stated that Beverland, after suffering the fury of the court, had now renounced his youthful bravado. He asked the judges to pity him, to acknowledge his guilt and regret, and pleaded with them that, since he had accepted their punishment, his banishment should not be for life: “please, spare a citizen of the Netherlands, a lover of *Belles Lettres*, a most tender admirer of his fatherland, so that I can end my life in that place where I was born and raised.”⁸³⁷ Beverland was already thinking about his return, contemplating marriage and taking up a position as secretary,⁸³⁸ but Gronovius did not reply to his request. Nor did he hear from the University of Leiden. Even after he explained the sudden urgency of a return in 1685, namely that the wife of his late brother Christoffel was allegedly squandering his brother’s inheritance, no reply came.⁸³⁹ “I have already understood that my pleas to you and to the Senate have been delivered and read”, Beverland wrote to Gronovius in 1689; “but I am greatly saddened that I have still not received or read any answer.”⁸⁴⁰

By the late 1680s, since his appeal had gone unheard, Beverland concluded that only a stronger indication of his regret could entice Dutch authorities to revoke his punishment.⁸⁴¹ That he had truly changed his mind about his earlier arguments is doubtful, but it seems that by the late 1680s Beverland realized the gravity of his exile, just as he had been forced to accept the dangers of his trial during his last weeks in prison

⁸³⁶ In: EG 3/2, 1/11/1684.

⁸³⁷ ‘Quare si vobis paenitentiae lachrymae carae sint, si quid afflicti apud vos valent preces, conservate sodes Reip[ublicae] civem, bonarum literarum amatorem, tenerrimum patriae suae cultorem, ut in ea sede, in qua auram hausit et ubere lac suxit, animam quoque agam meam.’ In: EG 4/3, to the judges, 05/06/1685.

⁸³⁸ See: EG 10, 18/3/1686; EG 11, 2/3/1686.

⁸³⁹ In: EG 34/21, around 1684.

⁸⁴⁰ ‘Intellexi iam dudum meas ad te et Senatum traditas lectasque fuisse petitiones, sed pro dolor! nullam adhuc accepi nec legi responsionem.’ In: EG 14/6, 30/01/1689.

⁸⁴¹ See for instance: EG 18/8, 25/5/1699; EG 30/17, 1685-1689; EG 32/19, after 1700.

in 1679. He realized that if he ever wanted to return to his fatherland, he had to publicly and convincingly revoke his early endeavours.⁸⁴² His strong desire to return home at this time was directly related to the passing of his stepfather Bernard De Gomme in 1685 and of Vossius in 1689, whose deaths cost him his greatest English sources of intellectual, mental, and financial support.⁸⁴³

His plea to the judges had yielded nothing and therefore Beverland embarked on a new project in the late 1680s: an apologetic work titled *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio* (*Warning about fornication which should be avoided*, DFC).⁸⁴⁴ He revealed to Gronovius: “Because God the Almighty had revealed himself to me in a miraculous way and has made me change my mind, I have not refrained from announcing this to friend and foe in my small work *Admonition to decent behaviour and chastity*...”⁸⁴⁵ By publishing the treatise Beverland aimed to present a volte-face: “When after sixteen years a German showed me my little book *On Original Sin* and read it out to me, I could hardly express my shock that I had once presumed to put such calamities to paper. ... I abhor the obscenity of my style and the even more obscene contents.”⁸⁴⁶

The death of Vossius in 1689 might have been a blow to Beverland, but it also presented him with the perfect opportunity to get his sentence revoked. Both Oxford and Leiden were in competition to obtain the great scholar’s library and Beverland, who knew Vossius’ library inside and out, seized his chance. Partly due to his involvement, Vossius’

⁸⁴² In EG 8/5, 12/11/1685.

⁸⁴³ For more on these relationships, see Chapter 3 (pages 200-210).

⁸⁴⁴ See for more on the DFC: Bibliography; De Smet, ‘Hadrian Beverland’s *De Fornicatione Cavenda*’.

⁸⁴⁵ ‘Cum Deus optim[us] se miro modo mihi manifestaverit mentemque meam mutaverit, non potui non id amicis et inimicis ista *Adhortatione ad Pudicitiam et Castitatem* notum facere.’ In: EG 18/8, 25/05/1699. The *Adhortatione ad Pudicitiam et Castitatem* (*Admonition to decent behaviour and chastity*) was the title of the first version of the DFC (see the Bibliography).

⁸⁴⁶ In: DFC, *Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correcta*, 1698, Dedication, p. A3v. Translation taken from: De Smet, ‘Hadrian Beverland’s *De Fornicatione Cavenda*’, p. 121.

grand collection was granted to Leiden and in return he secured a pardon for his sentence.⁸⁴⁷ The University of Leiden retracted his conviction and in 1693 he received a pardon from King William III, the highest judge of the United Provinces in his position as Stadholder.⁸⁴⁸ The King forgave and acquitted him of the “faults and misuses committed by him in the publication and dispersion of certain provocative writings and treatises...”⁸⁴⁹. Beverland returned the pardon at first: he was resentful that he had to pay 60 guilders for it and told Christiaan Huygens, secretary to King William, that since he had been of such great service to the academy of Leiden, they should pay for the pardon.⁸⁵⁰ In the end however, he paid the price and was allowed to return to Holland.

A broken man

Yet Beverland never returned home. Although the University of Leiden accepted King William’s pardon and revoked his punishment,⁸⁵¹ Beverland felt that the atmosphere at the University, and in Holland in general, was too hostile for him to return.

The King has acquitted me from the insult...and has allowed me to return to my fatherland. I do not know if I will ever see Holland again [however], because I know that theologians will always lay traps for me. It is difficult to recover my standing from the wreckage of a good reputation that was destroyed.⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁷ The details about his exact involvement are unclear and have not been studied (yet). In the Library of the University of Leiden many of the original documents have been preserved however, which for instance reveal that Beverland also played a role in the court case that followed the sale. See: ‘Documents concerning the sale of the library of Isaac Vossius’ in the Bibliography.

⁸⁴⁸ See for more on the decision of the University of Leiden: De Smet, ‘Traces’, p. 75; P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* (The Hague 1920) IV, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁴⁹ ‘vergeeft en scheld quyt mitsdezen de fauten en misusen by hem begaan in ‘t publiceren en divulgeren van zekere aanstotelyke geschriften en tractate...’, in: ‘Pardon William III’ (see Bibliography).

⁸⁵⁰ See: Huygens, *Journalen*, volume 3, p. 176-7 (23 February 1693; 1 March 1693); Dekker, *Family, Culture and Society*, p. 11.

⁸⁵¹ See: ‘Pardon William III’ in the Bibliography. See also: De Smet, ‘Traces’, pp. 74-80.

⁸⁵² ‘[Rex] restituitque me meis natalibus. Nescio an unquam videbo Bataviam, quia novi sacerdotes mihi semper structuros insidias. Difficile est existimationem suam laceratae famae spoliis recuperare.’ In: EG 35/22, 1695.

He was well aware that the publication of his retraction, the DFC, in London in 1697 and 1698 had not done much to alter his reputation.⁸⁵³ “Was my revocation, which I wrote voluntarily and have included in the preface of my work *Warning about fornication which should be avoided*, not enough for them? Then what do they want exactly?”⁸⁵⁴ To change his status, Beverland asked Gronovius to publish some of his classical studies in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁵⁵ “If I had printed copies in my hand [of these works], then I would offer some of them to the notables and judges, so that they would command that the slanderers would be flogged with rods.”⁸⁵⁶ Gronovius never printed any of his works however. Although his pardon stated that no one was allowed to “prosecute, accuse nor molest [him] in any way,”⁸⁵⁷ Beverland was certain that not everyone would heed the King’s order: “I passionately desire to see the pillars of smoke of my fatherland, but I fear that the magistrates and the theologians will still bother me. You know after all that their animosity never dies. The theologians of this generation are not used to weaken their feelings of hate.”⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵³ I agree with De Smet and contemporaries of Beverland that due to its satirical style and focus on explaining the arguments of Beverland’s early works, as well as presenting many obscene examples, the DFC cannot be taken seriously as a genuine renunciation of and apology for his earlier works. See: De Smet, ‘Hadrian Beverland’s *De Fornicatione Cavenda*’.

⁸⁵⁴ ‘Nonne iis sufficere debebat ultronea mea recantatio in praef[atione] praefixa libello *De Fornica[tione] Cavenda*? Quid volunt?’ In: EG 31/18, after 1700.

⁸⁵⁵ His letters to Gronovius show that Beverland sent different works to him to be published: his notes on Martial (‘Ad M. Val. Martialis’), on Petronius (‘Batavi in Brittania hospitis’), on Juvenal and Persius (‘D.J. Juvenalis et A. Persii Flacci Satyrae’), on Theophilus (‘Notae criticae in Theophili’), on Justinian (‘Notae Philologicae Reales’), and other works: ‘Hieroclis Facetiae’, ‘Iter in Anglia’, and ‘Otia Oxoniensia’. See: his letters to Gronovius after 1689 (EG) and all the other works in the Bibliography.

⁸⁵⁶ ‘Si impressa exemplaria haberem, offerrem magnatibus iudicibusque ut iuberent calumniatores virgis caedi.’ In: EG 33/20, 28/08/1694.

⁸⁵⁷ ‘over en wegens het begaan der voorsz[eyde] fauten en misusen niet te prosequeren, te calangeren nochte eeniges maten te molesteren, maar hem dore zyne Majesteits gratie en pardon ge[l]ustelyk te doen en laten genoeten.’ In: ‘Pardon William III’.

⁸⁵⁸ ‘Cupio fumum videre patrium, sed vereor ne me semper molestant tribuni plebis, sacerdotes. Siquidem horum odium nosti esse immortale, quod in hoc saeculo non solent remittere.’ In: EG 33/20, 28/08/1694. He expressed the same sentiments in other letters written in this period, for instance: EG 19/9, 25/05/1699; EG 29/16, after 1698.

Was he right not to return home? Was his reputation indeed destroyed? There is hardly any evidence, aside from Beverland's own writings, to support his assessment. More conspicuous than the few remarks made about his revocation in the late-1690s was the silence surrounding his person in the Dutch Republic at this time. Gronovius did not bother to publish his new studies, no discussion about the DFC took place, and his name was not mentioned during meetings of the States of Holland or the synods of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is questionable if Beverland would have received such a hostile home-coming, had he returned to the Dutch Republic in 1693.⁸⁵⁹ Due to his history, it is unlikely that he would have been given an academic position in Leiden, or at any other Dutch university, but would anyone have objected to him taking up a secretarial position somewhere in Holland or Zeeland, as he had suggested in 1686?⁸⁶⁰

It seems that by 1700, Beverland's decision not to return home was not based on his allegedly injurious reputation in the Republic, but on his own state of mind. He might not have trusted the Dutch theologians and magistrates; most of all he did not trust himself. If he would move home, take up an insignificant position somewhere, and stay out of the public eye, academic, religious, and secular authorities would most likely let him be. But Beverland knew very well that he would be unable to dedicate himself to this kind of life. His letters and writings at this time underline that he had not changed his mind: he still believed in the argument he presented in his early works and he realized that he would not be able to hold his tongue. And if he would he speak up or, lo and

⁸⁵⁹ Adelung, in his *Geschichte der Menschlichen Narrheit* of 1785, also wondered why Beverland did not return, as he found no evidence to suggest a reason for him to stay in England. See: Adelung, *Geschichte*, volume 1, pp. 33-34. Only Beverland's own letters talk about his bad reputation: no other documents suggest that he is in danger or was warned about returning home.

⁸⁶⁰ See: EG 10, 18/3/1686; EG 11, 2/3/1686.

behold, publish on the subject again, he was probably right in assuming that he would be punished more severely the second time around.

His revocation had already proven to himself, as it did to his contemporaries, that no matter how hard he tried, since he had worked on the four versions of the DFC for over ten years, he could not let go of, nor convincingly conceal, his true feelings on the subject of sex. In the DFC Beverland urged his fellow academics to be chaste, to 'dispel the darkness with which all our young people are burdened', to refrain from looking at obscene books and erotic pictures,⁸⁶¹ yet he admitted that he might not be the right person to extend this counsel: "I do not presume, sick as I am, to dictate you to the correct regulations, I shall nonetheless attempt, insofar as my limited possibilities allow (for I am but one man among many), to provide such advice to the sick..."⁸⁶². He still believed that lust, the original sin and greatest pleasure of all, could not and should not be pushed aside, yet with his own infamous story as a cautionary tale, he advised that "those who heed my words may proceed, not perhaps to entirely put aside the vices of nature, but at least to not cultivate them any further."⁸⁶³ The DFC warned against pornographic images, dirty jokes, and masturbation, but in true Beverland-style these apparently most horrible things were described in utmost detail: "By her swaying hips and frivolous expression shall you know the fallen women; she who nods, throws her head back or lays her hand on her breast while she arches her neck betrays an adulterous spirit; an impertinent comment, a playful laugh, invite embraces."⁸⁶⁴ This was the tone of a public renunciation

⁸⁶¹ In: DFC, *Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correcta*, 1698. See: De Smet, 'Hadrian Beverland's *De Fornicatione Cavenda*'.

⁸⁶² In: DFC, *Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correcta*, 1698, p. 7. Translation taken from: De Smet, 'Hadrian Beverland's *De Fornicatione Cavenda*', p. 122.

⁸⁶³ Idem.

⁸⁶⁴ In: DFC, *Editio Nova et iuxta Exemplar Londinense correcta*, 1698, p. 129-30. Transl. from: De Smet, 'Hadrian Beverland's *De Fornicatione Cavenda*'.

of his youthful mistakes, with which Beverland attempted to show that he had forsaken his earlier ideas. One can only imagine what he would declare in discussions with friends or debates with enemies, what he would say or write on the subject if provoked. And therefore, by the later 1690s, Beverland's exile became self-imposed. His ban had been lifted, by William III and by the University of Leiden, yet as he did not trust himself to be able to control his own audacity and to refrain from discussing in public what he still fervently believed in private, it was safer for him to stay in England.

His mental state at the time also influenced his decision. In the 1690s, Beverland slowly started to lose his mind. He had always displayed a special interest in what people were saying about him: in letters to his friends, he never failed to enquire after rumours going round, the gossip of people at the market, and what theologians, magistrates, and professors thought about him and his writings.⁸⁶⁵ Later in his life this fascination gradually started to take a paranoid turn. It is impossible to pinpoint exactly when his mental state started to change, but around 1700 Beverland's letters become more difficult to understand. "Last night here in Brentford the Jacobites have thrown torches into the recently finished church of the Presbyterians. The same [men] use my barber and neighbours as spies to send hitmen after me to kill me, when I go to London..."⁸⁶⁶. Comments on classical scholarship are interspersed with observations on the increasingly threatening atmosphere around him.⁸⁶⁷ He became convinced that his enemies had contrived a plot against him: they wanted to get him arrested, to steal items from his grand collection, to frame him as a thief or rapist, and to get him killed. Many of his letters

⁸⁶⁵ As he expressed for instance in: ET 30, Fer, 4/12/1679; EH 13, 1681; EG 8/5, 12/11/1685. We can also discover his fascination in other writings, see for instance: DPO 1679, Letter to De Goyer, pp. A7r, B2r.

⁸⁶⁶ 'Hac nocte novo templo Presbyteranorum faces iniecerunt Jacobitae hoc in oppido Brentford. Iidem tonsorem meum vicinosque habent exploratores, quando Londinum peto...', in: EG 33/20, 28/08/1694.

⁸⁶⁷ See for instance comments in: EG 18/8, 25/5/1699. See also the Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence.

concluded that Dutch theologians were at the root of all his troubles. The displeasure he had caused the clergy, Beverland argued, had motivated a great conspiracy: first Dutch clergymen had schemed against him during his trial, now they plotted against him in England.⁸⁶⁸ “But I did not think the Dutch Ministers to be so outrageously restless, that they shou’d, after a free Recantation, persecute and torment me with such insupportable Indignities without measure.”⁸⁶⁹ His paranoid ideas influenced his decision not to go back to the Republic: if his Dutch enemies managed to slander his name and destroy his life in England, one could only imagine what they would do to him back home. “What a wicked and cruel Plot! (Worser than an assassination) contrived of them, which pretend to be Ministers of a Reformed Religion? These mercenary hirelings are the occasion that the high-way-men intended to murder you...”⁸⁷⁰.

After he had lost his two patrons in England, not just mental but also financial troubles started to determine his life. For years Beverland had spent his money on books, art, and curiosa, but now he was forced to sell many items of his collection.⁸⁷¹ It is safe to assume that overspending was the reason behind his financial issues, but Beverland mainly blamed his enemies: “Here I am ambushed by devils, villains, robbers, and thieves. This is the reason that I have sold all of my possessions.”⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁸ See: Seignior Perin Del Vago Correspondence; EF 29, Bayle, after 1700; EF 30, Perizonius, 25/9/1702; letters sent to Gronovius after 1693 (for instance: EG 18/8, 25/05/1699; EG 20/10, 15/08/1699; EG 23/11, 10/09/1702; EG 31/18, after 1700)

⁸⁶⁹ *Seignior Perin Del Vago’s Letter*, 1702, p. 11.

⁸⁷⁰ *Seignior Perin Del Vago’s Letter*, 1702, p. 8. The mistakes in English are part of Beverland’s text.

⁸⁷¹ For the sale of his library and art, Beverland composed catalogues (*‘Bibliotheca’*, 1690-93; *Patrimonii sui reliquiae*, around 1711). He also mentioned the sale of his collections in the ‘Perin Del Vago Correspondence’ (for instance in: *Seignior Perin Del Vago’s Letter*, 1702; *A hue and cry*, around 1702; *Le Chevalier Montenack’s Letter*, in or after 1709) and in other letters (see for instance: EG 19/9, 25/5/1699; EG 27/15, around 1693; EG 29/16, after 1698; EG 32/19, around 1706-07; EG 35/22, around 1695). See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 64-71; De Smet, *‘Bibliotheca’*.

⁸⁷² ‘Hic cingor a diabolis, affinatoribus, latronibus et furibus, quae fuit ratio ut res omnes meas vendiderim.’ In: EG 29/16, after 1698. See also: EG 24/12, 3/10/1708.

The paranoia that tortured Beverland during the last twenty years of his life was exhibited in great detail in the Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence, a series of letters published in London between approximately 1702 and 1710.⁸⁷³ The correspondence was written as if exchanged between Beverland and a man called Perin Del Vago, but it was actually wholly written by Beverland himself.⁸⁷⁴ Perin Del Vago composed his first letter to Beverland to warn him about the conspiracies against his person. His enemies tried to defame Beverland “with unlawful accusations, made-up stories, and false chatter...”⁸⁷⁵. While the letters also discuss earlier periods of life, Del Vago and Beverland predominantly exchanged information about his enemies, who “hated you because you speek so much the Truth...”⁸⁷⁶ and who spread rumours about him, for instance “that you have the gout in your *Membrum*, which you used to foment between the Breasts. You knowing that common Whores have a Wolf in their Privy, you use to only admire their Bubbies...”⁸⁷⁷. Well aware that he found women hard to resist, his enemies used young girls to get him arrested: “If you had schut your dart she had cryed out murther, and you had been indicted for ravishing a fresh water maidenhead. If you could not prove that she had ever plaid the whore before, you had ben hanged.”⁸⁷⁸ It is unlikely that all accusations

⁸⁷³ Dingwall discussed Beverland’s paranoia and De Smet pointed out that the illness Beverland suffered from during childhood might have been psychological (see: Dingwall, *Very peculiar people*; De Smet, *Hadrianus*, pp. 63-4). Other writings composed in this period attest to Beverland’s paranoid frame of mind. See for instance: *Although my innocency* and the letters Beverland sent to Gronovius after 1700 (EG).

⁸⁷⁴ The many notes Beverland composed for the correspondence attest to this. Not only are Perin’s letters composed in his handwriting, in these notes he sometimes forgets his perspective and switches back and forth. The name of his imaginary correspondent was probably based on painter Pietro Buonaccorsi (1501-1547), who was also called Perin (or Perino) del Vaga. Buonaccorsi was also known for his erotic drawings. For more on Buonaccorsi, see: E. Parma (ed.), *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo* (Milan, 2001).

⁸⁷⁵ ‘calumniis fictisque fabellis falsis quoque mendaciorum portentis’, in: *Seignior Perin Del Vago’s letter*, 1702, p. 3.

⁸⁷⁶ In: *A hue and cry after the bulls of Bashan*, 1702 or later, p. 11. The mistakes in English are part of Beverland’s text.

⁸⁷⁷ In: *Discovery of a most Horrid and most Cruel Plot*, 1707 or later, p. 5. The mistakes in English are part of Beverland’s text. To *foment* (from Latin *fomentare* and French *fomentier*) means to incite, stir up, or arouse.

⁸⁷⁸ In: ‘Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters’, 1700-1702, p. 9r-v. The mistakes in English are part of Beverland’s text.

were based on true events. Beverland's confused style of writing and bizarre allegations suggest that some, if not the majority, of happenings sprang from his own paranoid imagination, despite his own claim that "all the people who live in London know very well for what kind of crimes I am blamed every day..."⁸⁷⁹.

A person often discussed in the Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence was Beverland's housekeeper, who allegedly conspired with his enemies to ruin him. Beverland accused her of spending his money, of having sexual relations with a number of his foes, and of planning to be named his heiress so that she could sell his precious books and prints to the highest bidder after his death.⁸⁸⁰ It is unlikely that this woman was truly out to ruin him, since Beverland shared his life with his maid Rebecca Tibbith. Little is known about their relationship.⁸⁸¹ He must have met Rebecca immediately after his move to England in 1680, or already during his first visit in 1672, since she was first mentioned in a letter in March 1680. She became his partner and the archives suggest that they had two daughters: Catherin, born in 1685, died soon after birth, and Anna, born in 1687.⁸⁸² Despite the fact that Rebecca and Beverland never married and that, in

⁸⁷⁹ 'omnes Londinenses non ignorant quae scelera quovis die mihi adfricantur...', in: EG 31/18, after 1700.

⁸⁸⁰ See: *Seignior Perin Del Vago's letter*, 1702, p. 13; *Epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem*, after 1705, pp. 10, 14; *Le Chevalier Montenack's letter*, 1709 or later, pp. 6-8; 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', 1700-1702, 2v.

⁸⁸¹ Rebecca's name is stated in Beverland's testaments of 1703 and 1704 (see Bibliography). No Rebecca Tibbith could be found in parish records but a 'Rebecca da[ughter] of Degorie Tippet and Ann' was christened at St. Botolph Parish, Bishopsgate, London, on 4 June 1650 (*Church of England Parish Registers*). This was the same Church where Beverland's stepfather De Gomme remarried after the death of Beverland's mother in 1667. For all documents mentioned here, see the Bibliography.

⁸⁸² For Beverland's own references to Rebecca and his daughter, see: EF 4, Goyer, 03/1680; EG 23/11, 10/09/1702; Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence; 'Testament 1703'; 'Testament 1704'. A girl called of 0 years old called 'Catherin Beverland' was recorded in the burial records of St James Piccadilly, Middlesex (Westminster Burials, July 1685). As the name Beverland is found rarely in any English records before 1800 and Catarina was the name was Beverland's mother, it is likely that this was Beverland's daughter. The year 1685 also coincides with his mention of the birth of a daughter in his Seignior Perin Del Vago letters (see: 'Notes for the Perin Del Vago Letters', 1700-1702, 2v). A girl named 'Anne Beaverley' was christened on the 28th of September 1687 at St Dunstan and All Saints Parish (Stepney, Middlesex), in the presence of parents Adrian Beaverley and Rebecca (who was not his wife, as behind a name the word *uxor* (usually stated behind the woman's name) is absent). See: *Church of England Parish Registers*. That they had a daughter

his paranoid last years, he accused Rebecca of cheating and asserted that Anna was not his daughter, both women adopted his last name. Ann Beverland married James Bagley in 1713 and, as a widow, married Charles Bennett in 1753.⁸⁸³ Rebecca was buried in New Brentford on 11 August 1739 as 'Rebekah Beverland, widow of Adrian Beverland'.⁸⁸⁴

By the end of his life, Beverland was a broken man. While he kept studying his beloved classics, he suffered from gout, kidney stones, and possibly syphilis, his paranoia made him frightened of even his closest companions, and he was forced to sell most items of his cherished collection.

Please do not repay my importune pertinence with indignation. Feelings of sorrow and anguish torture me without interruption, since I am robbed of my many manuscripts. I could kill myself because I did not keep duplicates, especially because with these manuscripts I chased away the aversion I feel for my horrible life and by expanding and editing [my collection] I soothed my pain, also because I used them to forget the loneliness [I feel] here in the countryside.⁸⁸⁵

Beverland died in London on 14 December 1716 and was buried four days later, in the yard of Saint Paul's Church in Covent Garden.⁸⁸⁶ In the last testament that has been preserved, composed in 1704, Beverland appointed his niece Catharina, daughter of his brother Christoffel, as his principal heiress. He was certain that Rebecca had been

together is confirmed by a statement in Huygens' diary: in December 1689 he noted that Gerard Joannes Vossius told him that Beverland lived with a maid of Vossius' sister and that they had a child together (Huygens, *Journalen*, volume 3, 28-12-1689, p. 217). See for all documents mentioned here the Bibliography.

⁸⁸³ The first took place in St. Luke's, Chelsea, Middlesex on 9 December 1713 (*Church of England Parish Registers*) and the second is mentioned in the *Registers of Clandestine Marriages* (Fleet prison, London, 25 April 1753). As stated, the name Beverland is very rare in this period thus we can safely assume that this concerns his daughter. For the documents, see the Bibliography.

⁸⁸⁴ She was buried in the parish of St. Lawrence, Middlesex (*Church of England Parish Registers*).

⁸⁸⁵ 'Noli importunam pertinaciam indignatione retaliare. Maeror et angor me perpetuo vexant, quod manuscriptorum meorum destitutor copia. Mihimet ipse irascor, quod ἀπογραφὸν non reservaverim. Nam praeperquam quod fastidiosae vitae taedia iis dissiparem iisque auctis et augendis lenirem, solitudinem quoque campestris fallerem.' In: EG 32/19, after 1706.

⁸⁸⁶ See: Boyd, *London Burials Index*; 'Anonymous biography of Beverland', in the Bibliography.

unfaithful to him and that Anna was not his child, and therefore Anna received only 200 pounds and the housewares and he left Rebecca 'a necklace'.⁸⁸⁷ His will of 1704 included the design of a marble memorial plate to be placed above his grave. The text, written more than a decade before his death, did not name Rebecca, Anna, or other family members, did not refer to the grand works he intended to write, nor hinted at his death in exile. Only Beverland's grand idols, the friends he had admired all of his life, would feature on the headstone that was never to be:⁸⁸⁸

<i>Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.</i> ⁸⁸⁹	<i>That in death at last I may rest in a quiet place.</i>
Hadrianus Beverlandus	Hadriaan Beverland
Non unus e multis peccator	Not just any sinner
Hic iaceo. Hic ubi tu, qui haec	Here I lie, where you who reads this
Legis esse nolles. Velles, si	Would not want to lie. Yet you would want to,
Vossianos, Heinsianisque manes	If with the whispers of Beverland you would know
Beverlandinis susurris mulcere	To delight the shades of Vossius and Heinsius.
Posses.	

⁸⁸⁷ See: 'Testament 1703'; De Smet, Wauters, 'Two last wills', pp. 24-8.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Huius ultimae meae voluntatis executores facio Rever[endissimum] Doctorem Th[omam] Smith pariter ac Doctorem Henr[icum] Sloan, rogoque simulac expiravero meum cadaver condant sepulcro puro iubeantque inscalpi saxo... Parieti infigatur marmor hac inscriptione spectabile...'. See: 'Testament 1703'; De Smet, Wauters, 'Two last wills', p. 25.

⁸⁸⁹ Quotation from: Virgil, *Aeneid*, book 6, verse 363.

Conclusion

How did Beverland manage to get himself into so much trouble in 1679? Looking at the characters who played a part in his story, it turns out that Dutch theologians, humanists, and magistrates all had their reasons to dislike the young scholar, to denounce his works, and to support his exile.

His traditional enemies, the Dutch theologians, were greatly offended by Beverland's writings on sex, sin, and Scripture. His theological views and his biblical exegesis cannot be considered greatly radical in the context of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic: Beverland was not the first to discuss original sin in relation to sexual lust nor the only one to focus on the flaws of the biblical texts. Not his theology or exegesis as such but the overall insolent attitude and satirical style of Beverland's unique works outraged the Dutch Reformed Church: this student of the classics mocked Reformed doctrine and accused ministers and theologians of ignorance, hypocrisy, and sexual immorality, without any regard for their authority in matters of religion. The position and power of the Reformed Church in Dutch society had been a constant point of debate since the establishment of the Republic and by the last decades of the seventeenth century the authority of theologians was challenged from different sides, due to the tense political situation and the growing influence of new philosophies, biblical criticism, and different heresies. When Beverland challenged them openly and failed to heed their admonitions, the Church lashed out. They might not be able to put a halt to the advancement of radical ideas, to influence Dutch politics on a larger scale, to solve their internal strife, or to uphold the central and sacred status of the Bible, yet they could act against this perverted and arrogant know-it-all, who thought he could get away with openly insulting them. Thus

they used the political leverage they could still count on and made sure Beverland was arrested, tried, and exiled.

The success of the theologians in getting him arrested and convicted tells us as much about his Beverland's own network as about the actual power of the Dutch theologians. Beverland expected to be attacked, but he also expected humanist colleagues, famous Dutch scholars like Heinsius and Gronovius, to rush to his defence. Despite his young age and student status, he expected his friends, who had supported his career thus far, to stand up for him. But they stayed silent and let him hang. Why did his humanist companions – as aware as he was of the sexuality of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and often as contemptuous as he was of the learning, authority, and morality of the Reformed ministers – not bring their collective weight to bear in defending a fellow scholar within the university court of their beloved Leiden? As the Dutch Golden Age came to an end, the cultural and intellectual hegemony of humanism was being undermined by new philosophical and scientific ideas, which undermined the traditional humanist approach to scholarship, knowledge, and truth. Beverland's more senior friends were acutely aware of the grave danger that his writings posed to their intellectual programme; and although they too had tried to dissuade their young friend from his reckless behaviour, he had turned a deaf ear to their friendly advice. They had warned him time and time again: there was no harm in reading, discussing, and enjoying classical views of sex in private, but publishing studies on the subject, which glorified the act, denounced the traditional Christian perspective on sexuality, and directly challenged the clergy, was a different matter. By concentrating on sex, Beverland highlighted the uncritical negligence of his fellow scholars with regards to the obscene side of the ancient world, implicitly or explicitly charging them with incompetence, hypocrisy, or both.

Conclusion

Worse still, his relentless focus on the obscene content of the classical canon threatened to undermine the elevated status of classical literature itself. Erasmus had founded the Dutch tradition of Christian humanism by proposing to carry off everything that was of value, leaving the unedifying behind. This process of discrimination was the indispensable precondition that made the classics the foundation of elite education. By unmasking the classics and revealing the different sexual mores and practices which pervaded them, Beverland was threatening the very foundation of humanism. Far from assisting him, the humanists united in attempting to dissuade him and when he refused to listen they had no choice but to abandon him. Far better to sacrifice one promising young scholar than to help him destroy the enterprise of Christian humanism. Because he continued to pursue the subject and published not one, not two, but three versions of his work on sex and sin, in preparation of the reveal of his grand 'De Prostibulis Veterum', his scholarly friends left him to his fate.

Despite the warnings of friends and foes, Beverland kept pursuing his sexual subject. It is true that he enjoyed books as much as he loved brothels, yet it was not so much his private obsession with the sexual, exhibited in his lifestyle, collections, and the design of his works, but his pursuit of truth that explains why he continued to push his argument. He presented the political and economic elite of the Dutch Republic, the magistrates of the town of Leiden and the members of the different States, with an unwelcome mirror. While they officially restricted sex to matrimony and denounced obscene imagery in their legislation, Dutch magistrates did not actively act against the sexual sins committed in Dutch towns on a daily basis. When it came to the publication of popular erotic works for instance, they let their encouragement of commercial success overrule their moral duties. In the last decades of the seventeenth century prostitution

was on the rise, many young men and women engaged in sexual relations before marriage, and Dutch students spent their time drinking in taverns and reading pornographic novels. Beverland had nothing against people enjoying the pleasures of life and did not argue that strict sexual rules should be enforced, yet he did challenge the elite to openly discuss the problem of lust and not to ignore, cover up, and deny that, like Beverland, their own student sons visited brothels and had regular sexual relations outside wedlock.

In his early works, Beverland offered a solution to the issue, namely sexual liberty for the male elite, and proposed some practical adjustments to Dutch policies, advising for instance to legalize prostitution. When theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church asked the States of Holland to act against Beverland, they did not hesitate to instruct the University of Leiden to arrest him. The political and economic elite had other things on their mind. By the late-1670s, the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic was past its peak. The Republic had been (and would soon again be) at war with the most powerful nations in Europe and the States struggled to control internal battles between their members, who either supported or denounced the recent appointment of William III as Stadholder. In addition, the foundation of their prosperity, on a personal and national level, was slowly crumbling. The Dutch economy was grinding to a halt: the Republic had lost some of its most precious colonial possessions and was hit hard by the mercantilist policies of England and France. In this tense context of change, magistrates did not care to consider the ideas of a student on the subject of sex, whose works had revealed an uncomfortable truth in an audacious manner. Beverland had accused the authorities of hypocrisy and openly challenged their judgment. Thus when the university court of Leiden decided to exile him, the magistrates of the town of Leiden gladly signed his conviction.

Conclusion

The harmony of Dutch society during its Golden Age was maintained through a series of compromises, which balanced the interests of political, religious, economic, and intellectual powers. National, provincial, and local policies were formulated on the basis of discussion and consensus between the States General, provincial States, and local authorities. The position of the Reformed Church was the outcome of a compromise: the Church was not granted the title of State Church yet became the only confession allowed to engage in public worship. In a similar fashion, the prominent standing of Dutch humanism was based on a silent agreement: humanist scholars would pretend that the classics did not display and promote pagan sexual attitudes and practices. Only by expurgating the classics could humanist scholarship be celebrated as the height of learning, with humanism institutionalised as the foundation of elite education and Dutch scholars renowned for their critical approach to ancient texts. In his early works, Beverland exposed this compromise for what it was: intellectual deceit and moral hypocrisy. His humanist colleagues did not critically study or present the original texts, but expurgated all perversities from the works of Martial, Ovid, and Lucretius. To uphold the virtuous status of the classics, their timeless importance, and contemporary relevance, scholars ignored, altered, or rejected pagan perspectives on sexuality.

Beverland on the other hand chose to present the omnipresence of sexuality in the classics in all its glory. He did not write erotic verses, compose pornographic prose, or edit the obscene verses of Martial: he constructed a serious study on sexual lust, which aimed to do more than entertain its erudite male readers at night. He directly and openly challenged the hypocrisy of his contemporaries by arguing that lust dominated human nature, writing in a satirical style, and ignoring rhetorical conventions in his early works. No matter where you looked, he argued, in theological or humanist studies, the Bible or

the classics, pornographic or literary writings, mythological paintings or erotic sketches, texts composed in ancient, medieval, or contemporary times, the behaviour of men or women, saints or prostitutes, clergymen or scholars, senior magistrates or their student sons: sex, the greatest sin of all, was always everywhere. By incorporating everything he could find about lust, his works ignored the hierarchy of early modern scholarly traditions and overstepped the boundaries of genre: Beverland freely combined high and low culture, works that were traditionally considered to be of great intellectual importance and writings that were deemed indecent and insignificant.

And at the same time, he uncovered the omnipresence of sex in Christian civilization and Dutch life. He judged the hypocrisy of the theologians and clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church, of his humanist colleagues, and of Dutch magistrates alike. Every human being was aware of the sexual lust that ruled their bodies and of the grand gap between theory and practice in the sexual morality of the Dutch Republic at this time, he argued, but to discuss and openly address the problem was apparently blasphemous, perverse, and heterodox. It was his determination to present the truth about the unavoidable importance of sexual desire that ruined his life and career. His works hit a raw nerve and the intellectual, religious, and secular authorities of Holland banished what they could not control.

These conclusions provide a perspective from which Beverland's tragic life make retrospective sense. Before he could properly start his scholarly career as a classicist at the University of Leiden, it had ended. He might have been regarded as an erudite and promising academic, he had yet to establish himself as a scholar and was still a student. While he adhered to his age and student status when calling upon the court's clemency and argued that it excused his audaciousness, the university court used his junior rank to

get rid of him. It is important to reiterate, however, that his banishment was not for life. Beverland received a pardon from King William III and could return to the Dutch Republic in 1693. That he never did was due to his own state of mind: he did not trust himself to go back, knowing very well that he would be unable to refrain from speaking his mind. By the end of his life, haunted by paranoid thoughts about the dangers of his own sexual urges and imagining enemies closing in on him from all sides, Beverland was certain that a return to the Dutch Republic would mean death.

In 1714, publisher J.F. Bernard (1683-1744) printed the *Histoire de l'etat de l'homme dans le péché originel*. The title page of this small book did not mention Beverland's name, but Bernard's treatise on original sin turned out to be a translation and adaptation of *De Peccato Originali*. Beverland's story did not end with his death: Bernard's work was the first of many novel editions of the DPO that appeared in the eighteenth century, as it was reprinted in 1731, 1740, 1741, 1774, and 1868. Bernard's popular adaptation of Beverland's work inspired different German editions. Law professor P.E. Bertram (1726-1777), for example, published the *Philosophische Untersuchung von dem Zustand des Menschen in der Erbsünde* in Frankfurt in 1746 and 1747 and a second adaptation was printed in Berlin by Eduard Fielding, a pseudonym of German writer J.M.R. Lenz, in 1747, 1760, and 1761, titled *Der Baum der Erkaentnis des Guten und Boesen*.⁸⁹⁰

The legacy of Beverland's argument on sex and sin in the eighteenth century helps reveal the magnitude of the changes that took place in the European world of scholarship between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Traditional sources, hierarchies,

⁸⁹⁰ For more on these writings, see the Bibliography.

methods, and subjects that had dominated European scholarship for centuries were gradually replaced by powerful new ideas about the acquisition of knowledge, the foundation of truth, and the infrastructure of learning. From the late-seventeenth century onwards, Cartesian, empiricist, rationalist, and similarly innovative theories started to substitute traditional methods of scholarship, which focused on classical texts and the Bible as the only sacred and solid sources of wisdom. The kind of scholarship Beverland believed in was disappearing: he was one of the last Renaissance humanists who was convinced that the truth about (human) nature could only be found by critically studying ancient sources from a philological point of view. As the intellectual environment changed, so did classical scholarship. Editions of ancient material that did not avoid the sexual still met with moral disapproval, with the expurgation of classical literature continuing well into the twenty-first century. But classicists and textual critics did gradually gain more freedom in their studies and started to focus with less hesitation and judgment on the non-Christian and obscene parts of classical texts.⁸⁹¹

If Beverland was one of the last humanists, he can also be considered an enlightened thinker, even if perhaps an inadvertent one. Despite his firm grounding in the humanist tradition, his studies on sex and sin did not live on in his own beloved field of classical learning. It is telling that his argument was reinstated in a debate dominated by philosophy and new approaches to scholarship after 1716. Partly due to his eighteenth-century legacy, Beverland has earned his place in the history of early enlightenment thought as it developed in the Dutch Republic in the late-seventeenth

⁸⁹¹ For more on the development of classical scholarship in the eighteenth century, see Floris Verhaart's forthcoming DPhil thesis (University of Oxford), titled: 'The Public Classics: Scholarship and Education and the Rise of Two Classical Cultures in France, Britain and the Dutch Republic (1670-1730)'.

century. In this intellectual context he was an exception, a humanist scholar among philosophers who combined a traditional method with radical views on sexuality. His works show us that even in the last decades of the seventeenth century, traditional sources and methodology could inspire ideas that were just as radical as those springing from scientific and philosophical studies.

The adaptations of Beverland's DPO in the eighteenth century show how much scholarship as a whole had changed in Europe and point to the development of one particular debate. The popularity of his argument attests to the relevance of his ideas after 1700 in the context of novel approaches to sexuality. Eighteenth-century debates on sexuality, as ideas on the 'scientia sexualis' and sexual liberty matured, did not gain real momentum until after 1716, as thinkers like the Marquis d'Argens, Alberto Radicati, Bernard Mandeville, and Denis Diderot explored traditional sexual morals in relation to broader ideas on liberty and human nature. Since the Bible was progressively questioned as the basis of knowledge and religious liberty was on the rise from the late-seventeenth century onwards, discussions on sexual morality started to take shape. Discoveries of other societies outside Europe that adhered to very different sexual norms made enlightenment thinkers wonder what was normal or natural behaviour, approaching the matter of sexual lust from more rational and liberal, less religious and restrictive, points of view. As Dabhoiwala's study of this development in England has pointed out, by 1800 there existed many new ways of thinking about sexual morality and ideas about sexual behaviour, which were closely connected to the boundaries of the public and private spheres.⁸⁹² By 1750, thinkers were openly debating sexual freedom without having to fear

⁸⁹² See: Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*. See also: Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 572-89.

for their lives and careers, even as they presented ideas that went far beyond Beverland's suggestion of sexual liberty. It is telling that Beverland's DPO, only 36 years after its original publication, was altered to be relevant in this enlightened context. The adaptation of Bernard focused less on ancient history and biblical criticism and stretched not only Beverland's attack on religion, theology, and the clergy but also his limited sexual freedom, as Bernard proposed that not just educated males but all members of society should enjoy their sexual liberty.⁸⁹³

Bernard was not arrested, tried, or banned for printing his adaptation of Beverland's study on sex and sin in the vernacular. Nor were his German counterparts convicted for discussing a work that had been considered blasphemous, ungodly, and perverse. The second life of the DPO only decades after its original publication and suppression shows how rapidly the intellectual context was changing. The development of enlightenment debates was accompanied by the emergence of greater freedom of speech in the eighteenth century. The newfound liberty of classical scholars and philosophers alike was partly the result of the declining influence of theologians, and religious doctrine more generally. As the status of the Bible and its value for scholarship decreased, so did the traditional authority of Dutch ministers. While Beverland had considered them as his greatest and most influential enemies, in the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth century the position of power of orthodox theologians was undermined in matters of scholarship.⁸⁹⁴ From strict censorship on the basis of religious doctrine and close state supervision focused on protecting the common good against godless ideas, in

⁸⁹³ For more on J.F. Bernard, see: L. Hunt, M.C. Jacob, W.W. Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Picart & Bernard's Religious ceremonies of the world* (Cambridge MA, 2010), especially pp. 89-11, 122-3; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 1040, 1048; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, pp. 377-9.

⁸⁹⁴ See for instance: Van der Wall, 'The religious context'; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, pp. 372-405; Van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord*; Kloek, Mijnhardt, 1800, pp. 187-211, 443-53;

the enlightenment moderate men of the Church and statesmen, in accordance with the ideas of enlightened philosophers, debated individual responsibility, the necessity and benefits of toleration, and the freedom of speech. From the late-seventeenth century onwards, also the active censorship of books from a secular point of view decreased on a broad scale, as the consensus about which books to ban, the possibility to successfully remove a publication, and the necessity to censor works was increasingly questioned.⁸⁹⁵

At the time of his death most people had forgotten about Beverland, his sexual studies, and his exile. His works had become collector's items and were only read for private pleasure. The grand future he had imagined, the fame he had foreseen for himself as an accomplished scholar of the classics, never materialized. Yet by the mid-eighteenth century, Beverland's ideas were given new life in the midst of a prominent enlightenment debate. The full story of his fascinating posthumous legacy remains to be told.

⁸⁹⁵ For the changes in censorship in the Dutch Republic, see for instance: Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht'; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*; J. van Eijnatten, 'Van godsdienstvrijheid naar mensenrecht. Meningsvorming over censuur en persvrijheid in de Republiek, 1579-1795', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 118 (2003), pp. 1-21.

Bibliography

Primary and secondary sources are presented in alphabetical order below. The sources under Parts 1.1, 1.2, and 2.1 are listed in the following format:

'Title' ('Alternative title')

Type of document, date(s) of composition or publication, language(s), number of pages or letters.

Brief overview of source.

Current location (detailed reference) if unpublished.

List of archives and libraries

BL: British Library (London, United Kingdom)

BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, France)

BOD: Bodleian Libraries (Oxford, United Kingdom)

BUW: Wrocław University Library (Wrocław, Poland)

CUL: Cambridge University Library (Cambridge, United Kingdom)

CWA: City of Westminster Archives Centre (Westminster, United Kingdom)

KB: Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague, The Netherlands)

LMU: Universitätsbibliothek LMU München (Munich, Germany)

LO: Landesbibliothek Oldenburg (Oldenburg, Germany)

MA: Metropolitan Archives (London, United Kingdom)

NA: Nationaal Archief (The Hague, The Netherlands)

NSUG: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (Göttingen, Germany)

RLC: Royal Library Copenhagen (Copenhagen, Denmark)

SUH: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky (Hamburg, Germany)

TNA: National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom)

TULJ: Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena (Jena, Germany)

UA: Utrechts Archief (Utrecht, The Netherlands)

UL: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Leiden, The Netherlands)

UML: The University of Manchester Main Library (Manchester, United Kingdom)

UVA: Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrale Bibliotheek (Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

ZBM: Zeeuwse Bibliotheek Middelburg (Middelburg, The Netherlands)

Part 1. Manuscript and archival sources

1.1 Letters in manuscript

‘Correspondence with Andreas Arnoldus’

Letters, 1683-85, Latin and French, 6 letters.

Three letters from Beverland to Andreas Arnoldus (1656-1694) sent in 1683 and 1685 and three letters from Arnoldus to Beverland sent in 1683. These letters were transmitted via Isaac Vossius in Windsor.

In: UVA (OTM: hs. III E 10: 42, 61, 46, 32, 56, 57).

‘Correspondence with Johann Georg Graevius’

Letters, 1679-89, Latin, 7 letters.

Letters sent to Johann Georg Graevius (1632-1703); two in 1679, one in 1684, two in 1685, and two in 1689.

In: RLC (Thott 1258 4; Thott 1262; Thott 1264).

‘Correspondence with Jacobus Gronovius’

Letters, 1676-1708, Dutch and Latin, 43 letters.

Most of these letters (30) form part of a larger file in Munich (LMU), which consists of letters sent to Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716) by different people. The file also holds letters from Beverland to other people however: to a group of friends, Tobias Coorne, Thomas Fritz, Ulricus Huberus, and D. Oosterom. It also contains the plea Beverland composed to the ‘Rector Magnificus and judges of the University of Leiden’ and a number of notes, which were probably sent as addenda to letters. Of these letters, 21 were translated by Wauters from Latin into Dutch, in: Wauters, ‘Correspondentie’. The letter in Zeeland (ZBM) was translated into English in: De Smet, ‘Traces’, pp. 86-91.

In: LMU (2° Cod.ms. 627); ZBM (KLUIS Handschrift 2619).

‘Correspondence with Nicolaas Heinsius’

Letters, 1678-81, Latin, 16 letters.

Letters sent by Beverland to Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-81). The file of letters in Leiden (UL) also holds a note from Beverland to Heinsius, a letter from Heinsius to Beverland, and a letter by David Knibbe to Beverland. The letter in Copenhagen (RLC), from Heinsius to Beverland, was added at the end of notes of Beverland on his *Pleydoy gedaen* (see below). The Latin letters in Leiden (UL) were translated by Wauters from Latin into Dutch, in: Wauters, ‘Correspondentie’.

In: UL (BUR F 6 a; BPL 246); RLC (GKS 3416 8).

‘Correspondence with Hans Sloane’

Letters, no dates (approximately 1680-1716), Latin, Dutch, and English, 98 letters.

In these files in London 88 letters to Hans Sloane are preserved as well as a letters to Luke de Beaulieu (1644/4-1723), Balthasar Bekker (1634-98), John Holt (1642-1710), John Vaughan, third earl of Carbery (1639-1713), D. Charlington, and the mysterious N.N.. The file also contains two letters from Sloane, one from Beaulieu, and one from Peter Lely (1618-1680) to Beverland.

In: BL (Sloane MS 3963, 3395, 1985).

‘Correspondence with Isaac Vossius’

Letters, 1682-9, Dutch and Latin, 25 letters.

Letters sent to Isaac Vossius (1618-89). The file also holds one letter sent by Vossius to Beverland (E127), which includes notes of Beverland. A letter to Vossius in Leiden (UL 764) was preserved in Beverland’s notes on Celsus (see ‘Aurelii Cornelii Celsi’ below). Two more letters in Leiden (UL ZZU 759 and 764) were written by Beverland on the first and last pages of a published book by Vossius: *Variarum observationum liber* (London, 1685).

In: UVA (OTM: hs. E 10: a-u; E127); UL (ZZU 759 C83; 764 c 21).

‘Epistola Joannis Irish ad Adrianum Beverlandum’

Letter, 1693, Latin, 1 letter.

Letter from John Irish to Beverland. The letter was published in: Nagtglas, *Levensberichten*, volume 1, p. 38; De Smet, ‘Traces’, pp. 80-86.

In: ZBM (KLUIS Handschrift 2375).

‘Epistolae Familiares’ (‘Minutenboek’)

Letters, 1680-1706, Latin, 30 letters.

Letters sent to a diverse group of people: Pierre Bayle, Abraham van Berkel, Jan Beverland, Johannes Godin, Jacob de Goyer, Johann Georg Graevius, Jacobus Gronovius, Nicolaas Heinsius, Henricus Christianus Henninius, Ulricus Huberus, Jacobus Perizonius, Gerardus Joannes Vossius, en Isaac Vossius. Two small works of Beverland named ‘Vacua tonsoris in umbra’ and ‘Plactus funebris in Obitu Reginae Mariae’ are found in this file as well (see for both below). Beverland prepared these letters for publication, but they were not printed during his lifetime. Twelve of these letters were however published as the *Epistolae XII* in 1747 (see below).

In: KB (originals, KW 131 G 25), BOD (copies, D’Orville 480).

‘Epistolae Tullianae’

Letters, 1679-1685, Latin, 42 letters.

Letters sent to different people: to Nicolaus Arnoldus, Jan Beverland, Nicolas Blancardus, Tobias Coorne, Bernard Van Deynse, Jan Le Fer, Jan van Gelder, Johannes Godin, Jacob de Goyer, Johann Georg Graevius, Jacobus Gronovius, Nicolaas Heinsius, Ulrich Huber, D. Matthaeus, Hadrianus Molenaer, Alecander de Munck, Dionysius Rechstood, Godfried Thomas, Alard Uchtman, Johannes Voetius, en Isaac Vossius. Transcriptions of the letters with summaries and notes were published by De Smet, in: ‘Epistolae Tullianae’. The letters were also discussed by T.J. Meijer, in: ‘Brieven uit de studentenkerker’.

In: UL (BPL 204).

‘Letters concerning the sale of the library of Isaac Vossius’

Letters, approximately 1690-1704, Dutch, French and Latin, unknown number.

After the death of Isaac Vossius in 1689, Beverland was involved with the sale of his library to the University of Leiden. Part of the communication surrounding the sale has been preserved.

In: UL (ubl002, AC1, Archief van Curatoren, 1574-1815).

‘Letter to Abraham Berkel’

Letter, no date, Latin and Greek, 1 letter.

Letter sent by Beverland to Abraham Berkel.

In: LMU (2e Cod. Mss. 646, fol. 229r -230r.).

‘Letters to Edward Bernard’

Letters, no dates (approximately 1680-1700), Latin, 6 letters.

Letters from Beverland to Edward Bernard (1638-97), one from Bernard to Beverland. The three letters in Copenhagen (RLC) are copies of the same letter, which was used for the Preface of *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio* (all published versions 1697 and 1698, see below).

In: BOD (Ms Smith 8, 15615; Rawl letters 107, 74r-75v); LMU (2° Cod.ms. 663); RLC (NKS 1975 13, 14, 15).

‘Letter to Ismaël Boulliau’

Letter, 1684, Latin and Greek, 1 letter.

A letter from Beverland to Ismael Boulliae (1605-94).

In: BNF (Bib. Nat. Paris. Mss. Fr. 13040-110, 110r-v).

'Letter to Arthur Charlett'

Letter, 1692, Latin, 1 letter.

Letter to Arthur Charlett (1655-1722).

In: BOD (MS Ballard 26, folio 35).

'Letter from Jacob de Goyer'

Letter, no date, Latin, 1 letter.

Letter sent by Jacob de Goyer to Beverland.

In: BOD (Tanner MSS 9915.89, nr 215).

'Letters to Martin Lister'

Letters, no dates (approximately 1690-1700), Latin, 2 letters.

Two letters sent to Martin Lister (1639-1712). The letter to Lister in Leiden (UL) was preserved among Beverland's notes on Celsus (see 'Aurelii Cornelii Celsi' below).

In: BOD (Lister MSS 25230); UL (764 c 21, folio 7).

'Letters to Hans Sloane, Robert Harley, J. Hudson, and an unknown addressee'

Letters, no date (approximately 1700-1710), Latin, 5 letters.

One letter to and one letter from Hans Sloane (1660-1653), a letter to Robert Harley (1661-1724), letter to a J. Hudson (unknown), and a letter to an unknown addressee.

In: BL (Sloane: Sloane MS 4042, folio 168r-v; Harley: Add MS 4253, folio 27r-29v; unknown addressee: Add MS 4277, folio 22r-23v; Hudson: Add MS 4459, folio 60).

'Letter to Thomas Smith'

Letter, no date, Latin, 1 letter.

Short letter to Thomas Smith (1638-1710).

In: BOD (MS Smith 46, folio 183).

'Letter to David Wilkins'

Letter, no date (approximately 1690-1700), Latin, 1 letter.

One letter to David Wilkins (1685-1745).

In: BOD (Tanner MSS 9853.33, nr 55).

1.2 Manuscripts of Beverland (or concerning Beverland)

‘Ad M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata lectiones variantes et notae ineditae’ (‘M. Val. Martialis, cum collatis mss. et notis mss. Hadr. Beverlandi et Is. Vossii’)

Notes, 1680-94, Latin, 312 pages.

Original notes on Martial's *Epigrams*, made in the margins and on blank pages in an edition of Martial published by P. Scriverius in 1619. The copy once belonged to Isaac Vossius and therefore also contains notes by his hand. The volume was sent to Gronovius in 1694: Beverland asked him to publish his commentary, this never happened. A summary of the notes was published in: F. Stoschius (Ferdinand Stosch) *Museum Criticum, continens observations ad auctores veteres Graecos et Latinos* (Lemgo 1774), pp. 48-86, 387-419. See also: De Smet, 'Citations de Martial'. In: UL (755 H 38).

‘Apologia’

Finished work, 1679, language and size unknown.

In multiple letters written in 1679 Beverland talked about an ‘Apologia’, a work he had written to defend himself against his critics. He was hesitant to print it however and the fact that the work has not been preserved would suggest it was never published.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Aurelii Cornelii Celsi De Re Medica Libri Octo accessere in primum eiusdem Hieremiae Thriveri Brachelii commentarii doctissimi in reliquos vero septem’

Notes/finished work/letters, date unknown, Latin, 750 pages.

Beverland made notes in the margins and on blank pages of *De Re Medica* by Aurelius Cornelius Celsus (1592 edition, including notes of others). A separate set of notes Beverland is added to the file, under the title *Notae Beverlandias editionem Celsi Lug. Bat. 1592* (10 pages). Two letters are also present in the file on the first and last pages, to Vossius and Lister (see above).

In: UL (764 c 21).

‘Batavi in Brittania hospitis Notae in Petronium Arbitrum et animadversiones in Emblemata Nodotiana’

Notes/finished work, 1680-93, Latin, 56 pages.

Commentary of Beverland on Petronius, which included notes on the ‘emblemata Nodotiana’ (the forgery of Francois Nodot, published in 1691). The manuscript was finished in 1693 and sent to Jacobus Gronovius in Leiden in 1699 to be printed, but this was never done.

In: UL (BPL 1717).

'Bibliotheca'

Notes, 1690-93, Latin, 79 pages.

A catalogue of his library constructed by Beverland himself, who divided his works in categories like 'Lexicographi Graeci', 'Mythologica', 'Erotica', and 'Ius Civile Romanorum'. He composed this document when in the process of selling (some of) his books in the early 1690s, because of his financial difficulties, to Charles Spencer, the third Earl of Sunderland (1675-1722). The catalogue was discussed by De Smet in: 'Bibliotheca Hadriani Beverlandi'.

In: BL (Add MS 61661, pp. 77-116).

'Collectanea varia'

Notes, no date (approximately 1670-90), Latin and Greek, 180 pages.

Variation of notes on unbound papers, partly focused on the same subjects as discussed in the DPV. Similar to 'Scopae dissolutae' and therefore arguably composed in the same period and possibly also sent back to Leiden after Beverland's banishment (see below).

In: UL (BPL 207).

'Colloquium de religione habitum Vindesoriæ rerum poliente'

Notes/letters, 1680-84, Latin, Dutch and English, 250 pages.

All kinds of notes bound together. It contains 49 letters (see above 'Correspondence with Hans Sloane') and contains a finished work, titled: 'H.B. Existimationis suae vindiciae contra Titanem, Tiphonem as Tophanem' (folio 20r to 33v).

In: BL (Sloane MS 3963).

'Colloquium inter Satanem, Adamum et Evam'

Finished work, 1700-16, Latin, 4 pages.

Short essay on Adam and Eve.

In: BL (Add MS 4277, folio 24r-25v).

'Crepundia Lugdunensia'

Notes/images, no date (approximately 1670-1690), Latin, 56 pages.

A manuscript consisting of notes, focusing in particular on the DPV, and collected prints and engravings. Very similar to 'Inscriptiones singulares hactenus ineditae' (see below).

In: BL (Western manuscripts, Add MS 30384).

‘De Gigantibus sentential’

Finished work, no date, Latin and Greek, 12 pages.

Bound together with a manuscript of Nathaniel Vincent, ‘Conjectura nautica’.

In: CUL (Pepys Library of St. Magdalene’s College, No. Pepys sea Mss. 1825, PL 1825(2)).

‘De Patribus Patratis et Patrantibus et eorum Patratiōibus’

Finished work, no date (approximately 1690-93), language and size unknown.

Mentioned in a manuscript in London (BL, Add. Mss. 4277, fol. 22) and in Beverland ‘Bibliotheca’ under ‘Pontificii contra Jesuitas’. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘De Prostibulis Veterum’ (DPV)

Finished work, 1670-85, Latin, 226 pages.

Beverland worked on his master thesis the ‘De Prostibulis Veterum’ (DPV) from the early 1670s until the mid-1680s. In the first chapters he established his argument on the dominance of lust in human nature, before exploring its significance in ancient and early Christian history, culture, and religion. He designed the DPV to consist of three books, but the unfinished copy he handed in of the first book to the University of Leiden as part of his punishment in March 1680 is the only one that has been preserved. De Smet commented on the manuscript in *Hadriani Barlandi*, of which the introduction was published as *Hadrianus*. The contents of the second and third book were summarized in ‘Goyeri Paralipomena ad libros de Prostibulis Veterum’ (see below).

In: UL (BPL 1994).

‘D.J. Juvenalis et A. Persii Flacci Satyrae, cum annotationibus T. Farnabii’ (‘Notae ad Iuvenalis et Persii Satyras ex editione Thomae Farnabii’)

Notes, no date (approximately 1680-1700), Latin, 78-190 pages.

Notes on the satires of Juvenal and Persius made in the margins and on blank pages in an edition published by Thomas Farnaby (*D.J. Juvenalis et A. Persii Flacci Satyrae, cum annotationibus T. Farnabii*, Amsterdam 1642). According to his correspondence Beverland sent (a copy of) these notes to Gronovius in 1699 to get it published, yet this was never done. In Hamburg (SUH) the notes are bound together with his notes on Horace (see below).

In: BL (General Reference Collection 11375.a.14.); CUL (3 copies: Adv.c.27.1, Adversaria A.15 and Ely.c.294); SUH (Cod. philol. 159, copy of original by other hand).

'Documents concerning Beverland's trial by the Academische Vierschaar'

Trial documents, 1679-1680, Dutch, 8 pages.

Documents that deal with Beverland's trial by the university court of the University of Leiden.

In: NA (Vierschaar der Universiteit te Leiden, Crimineele klachtboeken. 1631-1810, deel 13, Litt. E, 1647-1695, folio 115-116d).

'Documents concerning the sale of the library of Isaac Vossius'

Notes/letters, Composed 1690-1704, Dutch, French and Latin, unknown number of pages.

Beverland was involved with the sale of the library of Isaac Vossius to the University of Leiden after Vossius' death in 1689. It is clear that he was partly responsible for the sale of the large and valuable collection of books, manuscripts, and maps not to the University of Oxford but to Leiden, yet the details about his involvement have thus far not been studied. In the library of the University of Leiden a great number of documents concerning this sale are preserved however, among which notes and letters of Beverland (see also above).

In: UL (ubl002, AC1, Archief van Curatoren, 1574-1815).

'Existimatiois suae vindiciae (contra Titanem, Tiphonem ac Tophanem)'

Finished work, 1701, Latin, 28 pages.

The version in Oxford (BOD) is bound together with letters of the Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence (*Seignior Perin Del Vago's letter 1702*, see below).

In: BL (HB Sloane MS 3963); BOD (8A H247 BS).

'Fabri Thesaurus cum notis mss.'

Notes, 1710, Latin and Greek, 145 pages.

Notes in two copies of Basilius Faber, *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae* (Leipzig, 1696).

In: CUL (St. John's College H.21-23 (James 286-8)); BL (General Reference Collection 1505/244).

'Goyeri Paralipomena ad libros de Prostibulis veterum. Scripsit A. Beverland ('Jacobi Goyeri Traiectini Viri, dum viveret doctissimi Paralipomena ad Libros de Prostibulis Veterum, fami gratissimi H.B.')

Notes, 1678, Latin, 86 pages.

As De Smet has also concluded, these notes were written by Jacob de Goyer and Paul Colomesius between 1670 and 1678 yet subsequently copied by Beverland after 1689. The notes summarized and commented on all the three books of the DPV.

In: UL (BPL 1716).

‘Hieroclis Facetiae’

Finished work, 1680, Greek, 56 pages.

Beverland copied these notes, consisting mostly of Greek inscriptions, from papers preserved in the library of Isaac Vossius. He sent the work to Gronovius to be published in the Dutch Republic in 1699, but this was never done.

In: UL (VGO 2).

‘Inscriptiones singulares hactenus ineditae’

Notes, no date (approximately 1680-92), Latin, 64 pages.

Collection of notes and images, consisting mostly of inscriptions (including multiple for Beverland’s own grave). The inscriptions were published in: P. Langtoft, *Chronicle* (Oxford, 1725).

In: BOD (original in D’Orville collection MS D’Orville 540; copy in Notes Rawl K 15198).

‘Iter in Anglia’ (‘Iter in Britannia’, ‘Iter Anglicum’)

Finished work, 1690-1702, Latin, size unknown.

A commentary of Beverland on classical works and topics. Beverland sent the work to Gronovius in 1699 to be published, but this never materialized.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Omnia ad Proelium Parata’

Finished work, no date, Latin, size unknown.

This work is mentioned in a letter to Jacobus Gronovius (EG 32/19, 1706).

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Otia Oxoniensia’ (‘Batavi in Britannia Hospitis Existimationis suae Vindictiarum Praeludium’)

Finished work, 1690, Latin, 140-194 pages.

This work was composed during Beverland’s stay in Oxford in 1690 and consists of controversial essays on different topics. He sent the work to Gronovius in 1699 to be published but this never happened. It was referenced by: J.C. Wolf, *Curae philologicae et criticae in IV priores Pauli Epistolas* (Hamburg, 1723), pp. 483-6; Z.C. Von Uffenbach, *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiani universalis sive catalogus librorum tam typis quam manu exaratorum*, Volume III (Frankfurt, 1729), p. 750.

In: BOD (original: MS Bodley 404); NSUG (8 Cod. Ms. philol. 2b, nr philol 85 and 275); SUH (8 Cod. Ms. philol. 2b); LMU (0014/W 8 Vetus 388).

‘Papers in collection of Hans Sloane’

Notes, no date (approximately 1680-1716), Latin, Dutch and English, around 226 pages.

All kinds of papers were bound together. Includes not only letters (see above) but also many personal notes, including notes for *Although my innocence*, Beverland’s testament of 1703, catalogues of his paintings and books, notes on the ‘Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum in locos communes’, and versions of the Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence (see these works below).
In: BL (Sloane MS 3395, Sloane MS 1985).

‘Planctus funebris in Obitu Reginae Mariae’

Finished work, no date (approximately 1694), Latin, 6 pages.

Poem of mourning for the death of Queen Mary II, who died in 1694. Preserved as part of the ‘Epistolae Familiares’ collection (see above, 22v-25r).

In: BOD (part of file of letters: MS D’Orville 480); KB (part of Epistolae Familiares: 131 G 25).

‘Mundus in sua membra... sectus’

Finished work/notes, no date, Latin, size unknown.

Mentioned in a manuscript in the British Library (Add. Mss. 4277, fol. 22). See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Notae criticae in Theophili paraphrasin Institutionum’

Notes/finished work, no date (approximately 1700-1708), Latin, size unknown.

According to his letters, Beverland sent these critical notes on the *Paraphrasis Institutionum* of Greek writer Theophilus to Gronovius in 1708 to have them published, yet this never happened. The notes were also mentioned in a manuscript in the British Library (Add. Mss. 4277, fol. 22). See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Notae in Horatium’

Finished work, 1680-1700, Latin, 260 pages.

Commentary of Beverland on the works of Horace, as published in the edition of Laevinus Torrentius (*Horatius Flaccus, cum erudite Laevini Torrentii commentario*, Antwerp 1608). The edition in Hamburg is bound together with Beverland’s notes on Juvenal and Persius (see above).

In: UML (R4YAN); SUH (old nr: Cod. philol. 159); TULJ (4 Bibl.Bjelk.30 and 4 Bibl.Bjelk.31).

‘Notae Philologicae Reales in Institutones Iures Civilis Iustiniani’ (‘Commentarius in Institutiones Iustiniani’)

Finished work, no date (composed 1680-1700), Latin, 233 pages.

Commentary of Beverland on Byzantine emperor Justinian’s *Institutiones*, part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. According to his letters, Beverland sent the work to Gronovius in 1708 to be published, but this never happened. The work is mentioned in a manuscript in British Library (Add. Mss. 4277 fol. 22) and in: P. Schoenberg, *Bibliotheca Selectissima* (Amsterdam, 1743), p. 585. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Notes in Iuvenalis cum scholiis veteribus et commentariis Britannici et aliorum’

Notes, no date, Latin, size unknown.

The notes are mentioned in: *Catalogus Librorum Caroli Andreae Dukeri* (Utrecht, 1750) p. 47. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

‘Notes on Lucretius’ (‘I. Vossii notulae ad Lucretium, Annotatus Beverland’)

Notes, 1682, Latin, 445 pages.

Notes by Beverland made in the margins of *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, in an edition of Lucretius published in 1662 (Tanaquil Faber, Saumur). An edition of Lucretius published by Tanaquil in Paris in 1675, now preserved in Leiden (UL) was annotated by Isaac Vossius and the description of the document suggests that Vossius copied these from Beverland.

In: BOD (D’Orville 324); UL (757 G 29).

‘Pardon William III’

Official document, signed 1693, Dutch, 1 page.

The Pardon for Beverland’s sentence was signed by William III in Whitehall on 13 February 1693. The original has not been preserved, but a manuscript in Middelburg (ZBM) contains an eighteenth century copy made by P. Boddaert. The Pardon was transcribed, with notes, in: De Smet, ‘Traces’, pp. 74-80.

In: ZBM (Ms 1713).

‘Religio naturalis’

Finished works, no date (approximately 1701), Latin, 4 pages.

Two small works, with many references, on the definition of ‘religion’ in Antiquity.

In: BL (Add MS 4459, 60; Harl. Mss. 7011, 92).

'Salubre consilium quod popularibus impertit additur catalogus optimorum librorum; subiungitur canon chronicus, quo saeculo scriptor quisque vixerit'

Finished work, date unknown, Latin, size unknown.

Work mentioned in a manuscript in P. Schoenberg, *Bibliotheca Selectissima* (Amsterdam, 1743), p. 585. See: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

'Satyra in Sacerdotes'

Finished work, date unknown, Latin, size unknown.

This work is mentioned in a letter (EG 31/18 1700), as Beverland stated that he burned the work.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

'Scopae dissolutae ad perficiendum opus De Prostibulis Veterum' ('Collectanea de Prostibulis Veterum')

Notes, 1670s-1681, Latin and Greek, 148 pages.

Variation of notes on unbound papers, which focus on the same subjects as discussed in the DPO, DSVI, and DPV. The notes were sent to England before Beverland's banishment, but he sent them back to Leiden in 1681 as agreed in his conviction of 1679 (as the title page states).

In: UL (BPL 206).

'Testament 1703'

Finished work, 1703, Latin, 2 pages.

This testament was discussed by De Smet and Wauters in: 'Two last wills of Hadriaan Beverland'.

In: BL (Sloane MS 1985, 64).

'Testament 1704'

Finished work, 1704, Latin, 1 page.

The original version of this testament has unfortunately been lost, arguably due to the bombing of the Middelburg archive in the Second World War. The original text was published by M.F. Lantsheer and F. Nagtglas (*Archief van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap*), based on a copy by Kornelis Van Alkemade (donated to the Zeeuws Genootschap by H.W. Tydeman). A fragment of the testament was also published in the eighteenth century by A. Beyerus (*Memoriae historico-criticae librorum rariorum*). This testament was discussed by De Smet and Wauters in: 'Two last wills of Hadriaan Beverland'

In: UL (Cat. 1887 p. 54).

'Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum Graevii in locos communes digestus et auctus ex scopiis'

Finished work, no date, Latin, size unknown.

This work is mentioned in a manuscript in the British Library (Add. Mss. 4277 fol. 22) and in different letters of Beverland to Gronovius.. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

'Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum Gronovii, in locos communes digestus et auctus ex scopiis'

Finished work, no date, Latin, size unknown.

This work is mentioned in a manuscript in the British Library (Add. Mss. 4277 fol. 22) and in different letters of Beverland to Gronovius.. See also: De Smet, *Hadrianus*, p. 85.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

1.3 Other archival sources

'Anonymous biography of Beverland', BL (Add Ms 4221, folio 26r).

'Burial Catherin Beverland July 1685', CWA, 'Westminster Burials', Westminster Collection.

'Christening Jacob Beverland 12 July 1643', ZBM (Dooop-, Trouw-, Begravenislijsten, Biervliet 1-3 (NG doopregisters 1640-1796)).

'Church of England Parish Registers', MA Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538-1812.

'Marriage Ann Beverland with Charles Bennett', Fleet prison 25 April 1753, TNA (*Registers of Clandestine Marriages and of Baptisms in the Fleet Prison, King's Bench Prison, the Mint and the May Fair Chapel, Records of the General Register Office, Government Social Survey Department, and Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, Registrar General series 7*).

Regt, W.M.C., 'Predikanten van de Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk en Hervormde Kerk in Zeeland, 1572-1938', *Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* (The Hague), inventory nr 962, vol. I.

'Replacement Johannes Beverlandt as collector of taxes in Lillo May 1654', ZBM (Staten van Zeeland en Gecommitteerde Raden, 1578-1795, inventory number 1670, folio 95r).

'Resoluties van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland', NA, 1679-1727, folio 851.

Stolle, G., 'Reisetagbuch 1703-1704', BUW (Cod IV oct, folios 438-439).

'Taxes Johannes Beverlandt', 1652-1654, ZBM (Gids Tol van Zeeland, 2.06.03).

'Transfer of share East India Company Christoffel Beverland 12 June 1675', UA (entry number 34-4: Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560-190, Archive of notary J. van Almeloveen, nr. U073a001).

'Will of Bernard de Gomme 27 Nov 1685', TNA (England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858, London 27 Nov 1685, folio 199r-200r).

Part 2. Printed primary sources

2.1 Works and letters of Beverland in print

Although my innocency is shelter'd with a bulwark of virtues. Nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in its own garrison

Published in London in 1709 and 1712?, English, 6 and 8 pages.

Between 1685 and 1709 Beverland collected testimonies of people about himself and published these testimonies to emphasize his virtues and prove his innocence against his alleged enemies that threatened his person (see the Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence below). In 1709 he published *Although my innocency is shelter'd with a bulwark of virtues. Nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in its own garrison; therefore I must call to the allies to assist against so many legions: and if that I don't do, I shall implore our Sovereign to grant me Hercules, that he may perform the thirteenth blow* (6 pages). Approximately three years later he published a more extended version of 8 pages, to which was added a letter in the style of his Seignior Perin Del Vago correspondence (see below), titled: *Although my innocency is shelter'd with a bulwark of virtues. Nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in its own garrison; therefore I must call to the allies to assist against the crew of Captain Bentivoglio, the Centaurn*.

De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio Sive adhortatio ad Pudicitiam at Castitatem

Published in London 1697 and 1698, Latin, 106-118 pages.

The first, unpublished, version of this work (DFC) was finished in 1689 and a second version was completed in 1694 and titled 'Exhortatio ad pudicitiam' (110-188 pages). The work was published in four versions in 1697 and 1698, which did not differ greatly in content: *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio. Sive adhortatio ad Pudicitiam at Castitatem* (1697, 111 and 113 pages) and *De Fornicatione Cavenda Admonitio. Sive adhortatio ad Pudicitiam at Castitatem, Editio Nova et ab Auctore Correcta* (1698, 106 and 109 pages). In the DFC Beverland revoked all his earlier arguments and works (DPV), but due to the manner in which the work explored his former ideas it was not taken seriously by contemporaries. While some have argued it to be a genuine apologetic work, De Smet has considered it to be merely satirical and I agree with his assessment. The work was dedicated to Edward Bernard. Some versions (in Oxford, Genève and Lausanne of 1698) state the year 1710. The work was discussed by De Smet, in: 'Hadrian Beverland's De Fornicatione Cavenda'.

De Peccato Originali kat' exochên sic nuncupato Dissertatio Psalmographus Ps. LVIII commate IV. Abalienati sunt implii inde a vulva, erraverunt ab utero; loquentes mendacia. Ex typographeio M.DC.LXXIX.

Published in Leiden in 1679, Latin, 167 pages.

This is the second version of Beverland's work on original sin (DPO), which was published in two versions: one without and one with the assumed printer (*Danielis a Gaesbeeck*) mentioned on the title page. The first actions towards Beverland's arrest were taken after the publication of this work in the summer of 1679. Due to a printing mistake, the work seems to consist of 157 pages, but from page 156 the numbers drop back to 147 again thus the work consist of ten more pages. Beverland corrected this mistake himself in his notes for the third edition (preserved in LMU, 0014/W 8 Theol. 5678). In Denmark a handwritten version of the work is kept, which belonged to J.G. Graevius. A reaction to the work was published by L. van Rijssen in 1680 and the work was defended in *Lof-Digt* and *Allardi Uchtmanni Vox Clamantis in deserto* (see below).

The work was altered and published in eighteenth-century French and German editions. No thorough study into these different works and Beverland's eighteenth-century legacy has yet been conducted. The titles below represent only the most well-known editions:

J.F. Bernard, *Histoire de l'etat de l'homme dans le péché originel* (Paris, 1714, 1731, 1740, 1741, 1868).

Fontenai, *Etat De L'Homme Dans Le Peché Originel: Où l'on fait voir quelle est la source, quelles sont les causes & les suites, de ce peché dans le Monde* (Amsterdam, 1714, 1774).

P.E. Bertram, *Philosophische Untersuchung von dem Zustand des Menschen in der Erbsünde: wo man die Quelle, die Ursachen und die Folgen dieser Sünde in der Welt anzeigt* (Leipzig, Frankfurt, 1746, 1747).

E. Fielding, J.F. von Buchwald and C.E. von Schard, *Ha-'ez ha-da'at tov wara' Oder Der Baum Der Erkaentnis Des Guten Und Boesen / Philosophische Untersuchung von dem Zustand des Menschen in der Erbsünde and Der Baum der Erkenntnis des Guten und Bösen* (Berlin, Gotha, 1747, 1760, 1761).

De Stolatae Virginitatis iure Lucubratio Academica. Nuda recede Venus: non erst tuus iste libellus tu mihi, tu Pallas Caesariana veni

Published in Leiden in 1679, Latin, 223 pages.

Beverland's work on women and lust (DSVI) was published in Leiden 1679, despite the year 1680 on the title page, as it was mentioned in letters and the trial in 1679. A version in Denmark (RLC, GKS 3416 8) includes notes of Beverland. The work was translated to English and published by F.D. Byrne for Charles Carrington as *The law concerning draped virginity* in Paris in 1905).

Elegantioris Sophiae Magistri. Epistolae XII, Ad viros sui temporis clarissimos conscriptae, hucusque anecdotae, et prima nunc vice, ob raritatem materiae, et elegantem dictionis modum, publici iuris factae

Published in Amsterdam 1747, Latin, 12 letters.

Twelve letters of Beverland to famous people of his time, selected from his 'Epistolae Familiares', with a dedication to Jan Beverland. The letters were transcribed and discussed in a French article: De Smet, 'H. Beverlandi Epistolae XII'.

Patrimonii sui reliquiae

Published in London in 1711?, Latin and English, 12 pages.

His worsening financial situation obligated Beverland to auction his collection of paintings and thus he published a catalogue of which there are two different versions: *Patrimonii sui reliquiae to be sold by auction at the dwelling house of the late Mr. de Bois, at the Upholder, the corner of the little Piazza, in Russel-street, Covent Garden, in Easter week*, and *Patrimonii sui reliquiae, Being the cream of his paintings. To be sold by auction in Covent Garden*. The work starts as a catalogue for auction, but from page 5 it turns into the description in the style of the Del Vago correspondence including a fictional dialogue (see below). One copy in the London (BL General Reference Collection 1080.i.25 (10)) has notes of Beverland added to it.

Peccatum Originale kat' exochên sic nuncupatum, philologice problêmatikôs elucubratum a Themidis Alumno. Vera redivit facies, dissimulata perit, Psalmographus Os. LVIII commate IV. Abalienati sunt implii inde a vulva, erraverunt ab utero; loquentes mendacia. Proba merx facile emptorem reperit, tametsi in abstruse sita sit loco. Eleutheropoli extra plateam obscuram, sine privilegio auctoris, absque ubi et quando

Published in Leiden in 1678, Latin, 146 pages.

The *Peccatum Originale* (DPO 1678) is the extended version of the second chapter of the first book of the DPV. It concentrates on original sin and sexual lust. It was, with the second version, a direct incentive for Beverland's trial in 1679. A copy in Denmark (RLC GKS 3416 8°, Hans Gram #289) contains the notes of Beverland himself, focusing on alterations for the second version.

Pleydoy gedaen bij N.N. Advocaet in saake van N.N. gedaegden in cas van falsiteyt, ter eenre. Op ende jegens N.N. Bailjau, inne officij Eysscher, ter andere zijde. Anno 1677 (Eerste pleydoy van Mr. A.B. rechts-geleerde in cas van falsiteyt 1677)

Published in Utrecht in 1677, Dutch and Latin, 19 pages.

This plea was made by Beverland in relation to his doctorate in law of 1677. Attached to the work is a letter in French by a certain N.N. The version in Denmark (RLC, GKS 3416 8) includes notes of Beverland and a letter from Nicolaas Heinsius (see above). The work was published in: D. Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse, historique et critique ou catalogue raisonné des livres difficiles à trouver* (Göttingen, 1750) p. 276; P. de La Rue, *Geletterd Zeeland* (Middelburg 1734-1742) p. 13.

Poma Amoris per Hadr. Beverlandum J.U. Licentiatum adornata. Editio tertia prioribus auctior et emendatior

Published in Leiden in 1679, Latin, size unknown.

This third edition of Beverland's work on original sin was printed in November 1679, when Beverland was in prison. As it has not been preserved, it could have been destroyed by the authorities as part of his court case. In Munich (LMU, 0014/W 8 Theol. 5678) there is an edition of the second version of the work with Beverland's notes for the third version.

Location or preservation of this work is unknown.

Rime di diversi autori composte sive Satyrae Satodicae diversorum Authorum compositae

Published in 1678?, Latin and Italian, 43 pages.

On the title page nothing is stated about the publication of this work (no author, date or place). The work consists of four Italian texts with a Latin translation. The texts are *Capitolo di M. Giovanni della Casa sopra il forno*, *Mauro in lode di Priapo*, *M. Bino dell'mal Francese*, and *Molza de' Fichi*. The first is the *Capitolo Il Forno*, one of Giovanni Della Casa's five 'chapters' that was first published in 1538. The second text consists of parts of Giovanni (del) Mauro's *In Lode di priapo* (published in 1530s). Parts from Giovanni Francesco Bini's *Del mal Francese* and Francesco Maria Molza's *Capitolo in lode dei fichi* make up the third and fourth text.

According to De Smet Beverland composed the Latin translations of these texts and was involved in the publication of this work (in 1678 allegedly). It is probable that he took the Italian texts from the collections of so-called *bernesque* poetry (also called burlesque, named after the poet Francesco Berni (1497-1535)), published between 1548 and 1555: *Il primo libro delle opera burlesche* and *Il secundo libro delle opera burlesche*. In these collections, that were reprinted many times in this period, the poems of Della Casa, Mauro, Bini and Molza that feature in the *Rime di Diversi autori* are found.

Rime di Diversi autori is mentioned during the proceedings of his trial: Beverland is accused of being involved with the publication of this 'obscene work'. The trial refers to the work as *De Laudibus Sodomiae seu Paederastiae*, a title which actually referred to a number of verses that feature in Della Casa's poem *Capitolo Il Forno*. A work called *De Laudibus Sodomiae seu*

Paederastiae, G. Menage established in 1688, with his conclusions underlined by P. Bayle in his *Dictionnaire*, never existed, but was invented by Protestant enemies of Catholic bishop Della Casa. The story surrounding the work has been complicated due to Meijer, who in his article on Beverland of 1971 mistakenly referred not to Della Casa's work but to a text by Placcius on the *Saryra Sotadica* of A. Sigaea. Beverland had nothing to do with this reprint of this other work.

Seignior Perin Del Vago's correspondence

Published in London between 1702-1710, Latin and English, 12-14 letters.

Letters that Beverland wrote to himself, as if exchanged between himself and Perin Del Vago, (referring to the nickname of Italian painter Pietro Buonaccorsi (1501-47): Perino Del Vago). The correspondence is focused mainly on conspiracies against Beverland in England, and in the Dutch Republic. Notes of Beverland for the letters can be found in many of his personal documents, for instance in the Gronovius correspondence (1710-15, LMU: 2° Cod.ms. 627: 211r-214v, 215r-218v 230r-v) and in manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (1700-1702, BOD: Ms 12198. Qu. Catal. v, Rawl. cod. C. 344 1 and 2), and in the British Library (1700-1715, BL: Ms Sloane 1985 66r-82v, 92rv). These are the different printed letters which have been discovered in European archives thus far:

Seignior Perin Del Vago's Letter to Mr. Hadrian Beverland; Mr. H.B.'s answer to Seignior Perin Del Vago

Published in London in 1702, Latin and English, 3, letters, 13 pages.

A hue and cry after the bulls of Bashan

Published in London in 1702?, Latin and English, 4 letters, 16 pages.

Epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem de Tribus Impostoribus

Published in 1705 or later, English and Latin, 3 letters, 8 pages.

Epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem

Published in London around 1705, English and Latin, 5 letters, 8 pages.

Seignior Perin Del Vago's Discovery of a most Horrid and most Cruel Plot

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