CHAPTER 6

Possibilities of Patronage: The Dutch Poet Elisabeth Hoofman and Her German Patrons

Nina Geerdink

Patronage was a common practice for many early modern authors, but it was a public activity involving engagement with politics, politicians and the rich and famous, and we know of relatively few women writers who profited from the benefits of patronage. The system of patronage altered, however, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and one particular case study brings to light some of the possibilities and difficulties of this system for women writers. Elisabeth Hoofman (1664–1736) was a Dutch poet whose authorship was representative of that of many writing women around 1700: born in a rich family, she wrote poetry in order to establish and consolidate contacts in a wealthy circle of friends and family, refusing to publish any of her poems. Her authorship status seems to have changed, though, after she and her husband lost their fortune and turned to rich patrons to secure their living. The circle of people addressed in her poetry broadened to powerful men from outside of her intimate network and she started to print-publish. In this chapter, Hoofman's opportunities to contribute to the family income as a woman writer along with her ability and necessity to manage her reputation are analysed with and through her poetry.

Traditionally, Renaissance literary patronage has been regarded as a relationship between authors and patrons within the context of court culture. Patronised authors received pensions for their poetic work, which they could produce relatively autonomously, as long as their literary reputation reflected on the court and its ruler(s), and as long as their literary products could on occasion be used to amuse these ruler(s) and their guests. Although there

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004383029_007

were some exceptions to the rule, this traditional type of patronage did not easily suit women authors due to the public role, amongst other reasons, the patronised poet was expected to play.

In the last few decades, patronage studies have opted for a much broader definition of literary patronage, in which authors can be formally embedded within a court, and other authors and other contexts can also be integrated.[1] Patronage is, in this definition, any relationship between an author and someone of a higher class or socio-economic standing in which profits are exchanged. Literary products are part of the reciprocity. This less formalised form of patronage was important in a country such as the Dutch Republic, where court culture was less rich and dominant than in other European countries.[2] Throughout Europe, then, informal patronage began to play an increasingly important role during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] Patronage could lead to personal relationships of longer duration,[4] but it could also easily be characterised as commercial professionalism as it consisted of, in the words of Helen Smith, "a series of separable and isolated transactions in which cultural goods are traded for money or favour".[5] Authors tried their best to win patrons' favours, for example by writing occasional poems and dedicating books.[6] At first sight, this less formalised configuration of patronage seemed to fit female authors better than court patronage. At the same time, the fact that these configurations of patronage were not organised formally makes it difficult to unravel them, especially in the case of women authors, who less often published their literary exchange products.[7]

1 S. de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage. Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano*, Turnhout 2013; Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650–1800*, Cambridge/New York 1996; Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things. Women and Book Production in Early Modern England*, Oxford 2012. See also Sarah Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture, 1690–1740*, Houndmills/New York 2003, 112–15.

2 Nina Geerdink, *Dichters en Verdiensten. De Sociale Verankering van het Dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610–1667)*, Hilversum 2012, 13–15.

3 In England, for example. J. Brewer, "Authors, publishers and the making of a literary culture", in: *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, New York 1997, 162–63 shows informal patronage evolved as a consequence of the marginalisation of court patronage during the eighteenth century. See also Prescott, *Women*, 112–15. Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, argues covincingly it evolved even earlier, from the sixteenth century onwards, and existed next to court patronage.

4 Which is a crucial part of the definition of patronage that De Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, uses in line with Griffin, *Literary Patronage*.

5 Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 70.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Cf. for example Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 7.

In the case of the Dutch Republic, few female authors have left us reliable traces by which we can analyse their protection by a patron. One of them is Elisabeth Hoofman.[8] She wrote and published several poems for the German landgrave Charles I, who supported her household for many years because Hoofman's husband Pieter Koolaart worked for him. Using the case of Hoofman, this chapter explores the benefits for and limitations placed on Dutch women writers, who required the support of a patron, but wanted to protect their literary and social reputation at the same time.

Possibilities of Patronage in the Dutch Republic

Dutch poets could profit from the protection of rich salesmen, local and provincial politicians – the very powerful regents – and the leaders of the country, among them the Princes of Orange (the so called *stadholders*), that in some cases did stimulate a court culture (though incomparable to the court cultures in other countries). Moreover, Dutch poets frequently had patrons abroad. The famous Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel was, for example, informally patronised by the Danish King Frederick III.[9] Many Dutch authors found protection in German countries, like Hoofman. German Electors, Dukes and landgraves were willing to provide patronage in return for the creation of a positive public image by Dutch poets, who had the potential to reach an audience of Dutch politicians and were important for the German leaders. Moreover, Dutch poets brought with them the fame of the Dutch Republic, highly esteemed in the German countries.[10]

Relationships of patronage from Dutch authors should be regarded in terms of the broad definition of literary patronage sketched above. A direct transaction of money was not always guaranteed, but patronised poets could profit financially from their relationships with patrons in an indirect manner. For example, if their patrons arranged jobs for them, if they introduced them to networks that could be relevant for their jobs, if they invited them for dinners and

8 Other Dutch female authors that left traces of relationships of patronage are Maria Margaretha van Akerlaecken (1605–1670), Anna Maria Paauw (?-1710) and Katharina Lescailje (1649–1711).

9 Nina Geerdink, "De toe-eigening van een triomftocht. Het ontzet van Kopenhagen (1658) in teksten van Vondel, Vos en De Decker", in: *Oorlogsliteratuur in de vroegmoderne tijd. Vorm, identiteit en herinnering*, eds Lotte Jensen and Nina Geerdink, Hilversum 2013.

10 Cf. *Oranien-Nassau, Die Niederlände und Das Reich*, ed. Horst Lademacher, Münster 1995; *Soweit der erdkreis reicht. Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679*, ed. G. de Werd, Kleve 1979.

parties, or if they presented valuable gifts to them.[11] In return, authors wrote poems in praise of their patrons and their political, commercial and cultural deeds and importance.

This kind of patronage meant very often that poets had to choose sides in a political conflict since the political landscape consisted of many different factions, with an almost continuous struggle for power between the leaders of cities, provinces and the Republic as a whole during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[12] This also meant that the reputation and profits of a patronised poet depended on the political position of the patron, which was far from stable. This might have enlarged the informal organisation of patronage structures, which also had to do with literary reputation. In opposition to court patronage, the broader, more dominant Dutch configuration of patronage was almost always concealed. No author would proudly highlight his relationship of patronage with any one regent, in the same way as in other European countries, Dutch authors were vocal about writing for honour alone.[13]

For women, these informal relationships of patronage must have been more difficult to obtain and maintain than for men, since they had fewer opportunities to become acquainted with the (male) patrons. Networking within circles of politicians and other possible patrons was not particularly acceptable for women, who were expected to stay within the domestic sphere. Moreover, the political support that most patrons wanted did not correspond with the public profile of Dutch women authors, who – only from the end of the seventeenth century onwards – carefully started to write about political themes, such as military victories, the death of people from the ruling class, or political conflicts within the Dutch Republic that sometimes led to gruesome events (such as the murder of the De Witt brothers in 1672).[14] For a long time, women that sought publicity with their literary work tried to remain within the borders that their gender created, in order to protect their reputation.[15] Even more

11 Geerdink, *Dichters en Verdiensten*.

12 Cf. Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge 2005, esp. 166–185.

13 Geerdink, *Dichters en verdiensten*, 11. See also the introduction to this volume.

14 Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, "Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1575–1875", in: *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875. A Bilingual Anthology*, eds Lia van Gemert et al, Amsterdam 2010, 47.

15 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, "Women's Writing", 49, 53. A more detailed account of the limitations to women's writing during the early modern period, and the way in which women writers presented themselves is available in Dutch, in *Met en zonder Lauwerkrans. Schrijvende Vrouwen uit de Vroegmoderne Tijd 1550–1850 van Anna Bijns tot Elise van Calcar*, eds Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen et al, Amsterdam 1997.

than men, they emphasised that they did *not* write for profit. Women writers often did mention the intellectual support of male protectors, but not financial support. Moreover, in most cases women writers did not receive employment that made it possible for them to profit indirectly.

Elisabeth Hoofman

The possibilities and difficulties of patronage for Dutch women writers can be illustrated by the life and work of Elisabeth Koolaart-Hoofman.[16] In many respects, she is representative of Dutch women writers at the turn of the century. She was born in 1664 to a wealthy, intellectual mennonite family in the blooming Dutch city of Haarlem, a town with a central position in the rich province of Holland. In the mennonite circles she grew up in, the arts were held in high esteem.[17] She thus had the necessary possibilities to write poetry: free time, intellectual stimuli and enough money to buy writing materials. She is said to have written her first poems when she was only six, and by her sixteenth year, she wrote poems in Latin. She learned Greek and Latin from a tutor at home. One of her two brothers wrote plays.

Most of Hoofman's poetry, however, is written in Dutch and meant for family, friends and acquaintances, such as her teacher and other female authors in her network. It is so-called *social poetry*, written on the occasion of birthdays, marriages, other festivities and gifts. Exceptions are translations of poems by Horace, some religious and meditative poems, two country house poems about the country house of Hoofman's own family and the rather atypical poem "Schouwburg des doods" (Theatre of Death), a melancholic sketch of the vanity of the world.

A selection of Hoofman's poetry was published after her death in the *Naagelaatene gedichten* (Postuum Poetry, 1774).[18] Her daughter and son-in-law

16 Biographical information in this section is based on recent archival research, presented in W.R.D. van Oostrum, "Hoofman, Elisabeth", in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Hoofman; Lia van Gemert, "Victim of Distortive Editing. Elisabeth Hoofman, Haarlem 23 February 1664 – Kassel, 4 July 1736', in: *Women's Writing from the Low Countries*.

17 For references to literature about mennonite culture in the Dutch Republic in the later seventeenth century see Nina Geerdink, "The Appropriation of the Genre of Nuptial Poetry by Katharina Lescailje (1649–1711)", in: *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back*, eds Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya & Suzan van Dijk, Leiden/Boston 2010, 182.

18 Elisabeth Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten van Elisabeth Koolaart, geboren Hoofman*, ed. W. Kops, Haarlem 1774.

finished the manuscript collection of her poems that she herself started to arrange shortly before she died. They wanted to publish it, but had neither time nor money. In vain at first, they tried to arrange a publication in the Dutch Republic through a former friend of the family. After this friend died, the request of Hoofman's daughter came into the hands of a young man from Haarlem, Willem Kops, who as the son of former family friends showed some interest and chose some 30 poems from the collection to publish in a printed volume. He rewrote parts of these poems in order to meet the strict formal conventions of the day.[19] Some of the original poems are still in the manuscript collection that Hoofman's daughter finished together with her husband. Unfortunately, not everything survived. In the contents list of the handwritten collection (see figure 6.1), 120 titles are mentioned,[20] of which only 61 poems survived.[21]

During her lifetime, Hoofman did not want to publish her own work and presented herself modestly. So, in this respect too, she was like other early modern women writers.[22] This appears most clearly in her correspondence with Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712), a professor of letters and arts in Harderwijk, a university town in the province of Guelders. Van Almeloveen repeatedly asked Hoofman to write poems to include in his publications, which she continuously refused. Hoofman sometimes wrote poems for him, but she emphasized that they were not to be published. She reacted angrily when it surfaced that Van Almeloveen did publish one of her poems against her wishes, and even when he mentioned that someone had read her poem out loud in public, she was not amused.[23]

In contrast to many other female Dutch poets,[24] Hoofman continued writing after her marriage. In 1693, she married the wealthy Haarlem merchant

19 Van Oostrum, "Hoofman, Elisabeth".

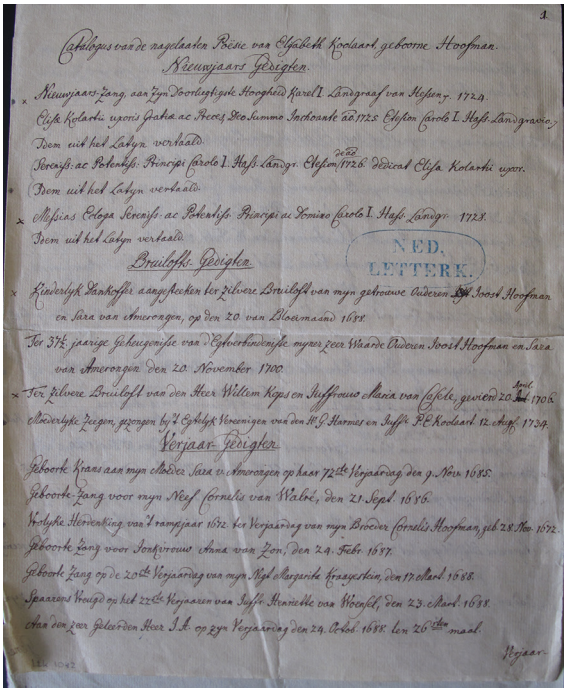
20 Since some of the titles refer to several poems, the total number of poems must have been even higher.

21 Katrien Timmers compared the contents of the collections accurately in Katrien Timmers, *Uit het loof van Poesij. Elisabeth Koolaart-Hoofman (1664–1736)*, master's thesis Utrecht University, 1994.

22 Cf. for example Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty*, London/New York 2012.

23 Saskia Stegeman, *Patronage en dienstverlening. Het netwerk van Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712) in de Republiek der Letteren*, Nijmegen 1996, 65–66.

24 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, "Women's Writing", 53. About Hoofman and other exceptions to the rule, I wrote a guest blogpost with some preliminary findings: Nina Geerdink, "The Phenomenon of the Married Woman Writer in the Dutch Republic", in: *Early Modern Women: Lives, Texts, and Objects*, https://martinevanelk.wordpress.com/2017/11/01/the-phenomenon-of-the-married-woman-writer-in-the-dutch-republic/, ed. Martine van Elk, 2017.


1.

Catalogus van de nagelaaten Boeie van Elisabeth Koolaart geboorne Hoofman.

Nieuwjaars Gedichten.

Nieuwjaars-Zang, aan Zyn Doorluchtigste Hoogheid Karel I. Landgraaf van Hessen, 1724.

Elisa Kolartii uxoris Gratia ac Accessio Summo Inchoante ad. 1725. Elisium Carolo I. Hass. Landgravio,

Poem uit het Latyn vertaald.

Serenis. ac Potentiss. Principi Carolo I. Hass. Landgr. Elisium 1726. dedicat Elisa Kolartii uxor.

Poem uit het Latyn vertaald.

Auspicia Eclogae Serenis. ac Potentiss. Principi ac Domino Carolo I. Hass. Landgr. 1723.

Poem uit het Latyn vertaald.

Bruiloft-Gedichten.

Kinderlyk Dankoffer aangeteekent ter zilvere Bruiloft van myn getrouwe Ouderen Joost Hoofman en Sara van Amerongen, op den 20. van Bloeimaand 1688.

Ter 37te jaarige Echtgenoote van Echtverbindenisse myner zeer Waarde Ouderen Joost Hoofman en Sara van Amerongen den 20. November 1700.

Ter zilvere Bruiloft van den Heer Willem Kops en Jufvrouw Maria van Sickle, gevierd 20. Aprill 1705.

Minderlyke Zegen, gezongen by 't Echtelyk Vereenigen van den Heer J. Hermes en Jufvr. P.C. Koolaart 12. Sept. 1734.

Verjaar-Gedichten.

Geboorte Kraans aan myn Moeder Sara v. Amerongen op haar 72de Verjaardag den 9. Nov. 1685.

Geboorte Zang voor myn Neef Cornelis van Walré, den 21. Sept. 1686.

Vrolyke Herinneringe van 't ramp-jaar 1672. ter Verjaardag van myn Broeder Cornelis Hoofman, gis 28. Nov. 1672.

Geboorte Zang voor Jonkvrouw Anna van Zon, den 24. Febr. 1687.

Geboorte Zang op de 20ste Verjaardag van myn Neef Burgerike Kraayenstein, den 17. Maart 1688.

Spaarens Vreugd op het 22ste Verjaaren van Jufvr. Henriette van Woensel, den 23. Maart 1688.

Aan den zeer Geleerden Heer J.A. op zyn Verjaardag den 24. Octob. 1688. ten 26ste maal.

Verjaar-

FIGURE 6.1 First page of the contents list in Hoofman's manuscript collection. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, hs. LTK 1042.

Pieter Koolaart. He was known as a lover of the arts. That her husband was held in high esteem appears, for example, from the fact that the Russian Czar Peter I (the Great) and his wife Catharine I visited the family in Haarlem in 1717. Koolaart brought to the relationship a 10-year-old daughter from an earlier marriage, Hester. She was deaf and a mute, and – with the help of a doctor who would become famous for his treatment of the deaf, John Conrad Amman (1669–1724) – Hoofman taught her to write and communicate. During her marriage, Hoofman gave birth to one daughter, named Petronella. So far, so good.

The tide turned in 1717, the same year Czar Peter I visited the Koolaart family. Most likely because they lived beyond their means, the couple encountered financial troubles and decided to move to a less expensive house in the village of Lisse, nearby Haarlem. In 1721, Pieter Koolaart was offered a job in Germany, in the retinue of the landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, Charles I. This seemed a good opportunity to solve their financial problems and so he moved there. Elisabeth followed him to Kassel in May 1722. Pieter Koolaart worked as Charles' *Kommerziendirektor*, which meant that he was responsible for the Hesse-Kassel

trade.[25] He earned 1600 guilders each year. In 1730, the landgrave died and Koolaart lost his job, but he could still take care of his family from the pension he received, although this was only half of his original salary: 800 guilders. This ended when he died himself, in 1732. After her husband's death, Elisabeth Hoofman had to take care of herself and her daughter. Hester, the deaf daughter of her husband, had a small yearly income. Some family members, cousins, made sure Hoofman and her own daughter also received some money, but this did not amount to anywhere near 800 guilders. In 1734, her daughter Petronella married the son of the Kassel's courtpublisher, therewith solving or at least deminishing the money problems. Petronella and her husband lived with her mother and half-sister Hester.

As a widow, Hoofman stayed in Kassel until she died in 1736. At that moment, she had been busy collecting the poems she wrote throughout her life. It was this manuscript collection that her daughter and son-in-law finished and which would be the basis for the publication of her poetry some 40 years later. In the biographical sketch that preceded the anthology of 1774, much attention was paid to the misfortune of Hoofman, who was portrayed as a victim of the financial incapabilities of her husband. It is this image that has survived as a significant foundation for maintaining interest in Hoofman's small oeuvre.[26] Only recently, archival research has shown that Hoofman was not a victim of her husband, but that she herself was also responsible for the financial troubles.[27] Be that as it may, the fact that Hoofman's financial situation changed during her lifetime, throws light on interesting questions regarding her authorship. Hoofman's meditative poetry has been interpreted autobiographically as lamenting about her misfortune, but this seems inaccurate as she also wrote this kind of poetry in times of prosperity. What, then, were the consequences of the changed financial situation for Hoofman's poetry?

Poetry in Times of Financial Decline

There are two changes in Hoofman's authorship after 1717 that cannot be overlooked: she started to write poetry for people outside her intimate circle and she seemed less reluctant to publish her own poems.

25 Hans Philippi, *Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel. Ein Deutscher Fürst der Barockzeit*, Marburg 1976, 672–73.

26 Cf. Timmers, *Uit het Loof van Poesij*, 45–76.

27 This appears from letters from Hoofman's daughter Petronella to a.o. Willem Kops (Leiden University Library, sign. LTK 1004), studied by Van Oostrum, "Hoofman, Elisabeth".

The new addressees of Hoofman's poems after 1717 are the landgraves of Hesse-Kassel: Charles I (1654–1730) and his sons and successors William (1682–1760), to be William VIII, and Frederick (1676–1751), to be Frederick I of Sweden. Frederick was the successor of his father but was engaged with the Kingdom of Sweden, which made William VIII, as a regent, the actual leader of Hesse-Kassel after the death of their father. As far as we know, Hoofman had written 19 poems for the father and his sons between her husband's arrival in Kassel in 1721 and her death in 1736. Eighteen of these poems have survived, in handwriting, contemporary print or in Kops' posthumous publication.[28] It cannot be a coincidence that this new circle of addressees were the financial caretakers of her family. At least up until 1732 that is. After the death of her husband, and the major decrease in income this caused, Hoofman hoped in vain for some kind of continuation of the support of the House of Hesse-Kassel.[29]

The publication history of her poems supports this hypothesis. Apart from some Latin poems that were published without her involvement and against her wishes, Hoofman print-published only two poems before 1717. The first one, "Kinderlyke dank-offer Aangesteken ter zilvere bruyloft, Van mijn getrouwe ouderen, Joost Hoofman en Sara van Amerongen. Op den 20sten van Bloey maand 1688" (A child's thanks-offering, lighted on the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary, of my faithful parents, Joost Hoofman and Sara van Amerongen, at the 20th of May 1688), on the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of her parents thus, she wrote, as appears already from the title, from the perspective of a daughter of celebrating parents. Hoofman was unmarried and living with her parents when she wrote this poem, and it is quite possible that the publication was a present for her parents, maybe also on behalf of her two younger brothers (her younger sister had died in 1682, aged 17). The poem was published by Jan Gerritsz Geldorp, a Haarlem publisher active from 1665–1690. He might have been familiar to the Hoofman's, as he published nuptial poems for couples from Haarlem's mennonite circles, to which the Hoofman's belonged. Elisabeth's private teacher, Jacob Storm, also published many poems with Geldorp's widow, who ran the publishing house from 1695–1720.[30] The second poem Hoofman published herself before 1717 was a nuptial poem, on the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of her parents' friends, Willem

28 The poem that I could not find is a New Year's song from 1725. It is one of the poems that is mentioned in the table of contents of the manuscript collection, but not included.

29 This appears from the letter from Petronella to Van Zanten, 23 June 1747 (Leiden University Library, sign. LTK 1004).

30 Cf. Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (STCN, http://picarta.pica.nl), s.v. printer/publisher: 'Geldorp, Jan Gerritsz.' and 'Geldorp, Jan Gerritsz. Wed.'.

Kops (grandfather of the later editor of her published works) and Maria van Casele, in 1706. This poem was published in a small booklet with two other nuptial poems on the same occasion, one of these by another member of the Geldorp family, and printed with the same publishing house (the widow of Geldorp).

After 1717, Hoofman published a nuptial poem on the occasion of the marriage of her own daughter in 1734, as well as a small collection with religious poetry at the request of her new son-in-law,[31] a birthday poem for her cousin Margareta Kraayestein in 1736, and 8 poems addressed to landgrave Charles I and his sons and successors William VIII and Frederick I of Sweden, between 1726 and 1736. It cannot be a coincidence that Elisabeth put her reservation for publishing aside in the period that her financial situation was difficult, while the poems she wrote and published were almost all of them addressed to people who helped her financially or were able to do so. This not only accounts for the landgraves, but also for her cousin Kraayestein, who supported Hoofman financially after 1732, and for her son-in-law, who by marrying her daughter had relieved her financial troubles. For the rest of this chapter, I will analyse the poems Hoofman wrote for her financial caretakers in order to draw some conclusions about the role her poetry played in the relationship with her supporters and in the management of her reputation.

Patronage from the House of Hesse-Kassel

Even before Hoofman had arrived in Kassel herself, she wrote her first poem to her husband's new lord. The Latin version of the poem, in Dutch titled "Aan syn doorlugtigste hoogheyd Karel de eerste" (To his Illustrious Highness Charles the First"), is dated 1721.[32] In the poem, she introduces herself and her daughters to the landgrave. It comes as no surprise that she praises Charles' person and writes that she hopes he will rule in Hesse-Kassel for a very long time, and moreover, that his family will rule there forever. As evident from the poem, it accompanied a gift for the landgrave: a book by John Conrad Amman, the famous doctor who had taught Hoofman's deaf stepdaughter Hester to communicate. It is a meaningful gift for a ruler that Hoofman calls in her poem

31 This collection, *Gedagten over eenige spreuken des allerwysten konings Salomon, mitsgaders uit zyn Prediker &c.*, was printed by Georg Harmes (most probably in his father's publishing house, that he would continue after his father's death in 1737) on his own request, as appears from the dedication to Hoofman's brother and her friends at home.

32 Both the Latin and the Dutch version have only survived in the manuscript collection.

one who "supports and favours science, and all valuable arts, perseveringly".[33] While writing that she hopes to find some rest and peace in Kassel in her old years, Hoofman of course also recommends her family to him, as they were known to be lovers of science and the arts themselves, and, more specifically, she recommends herself to him as a poet.

It did not immediately result in contact between Charles I and the Koolaart family, or at least it does not appear so based on Hoofman's poetry, as the next poem she wrote for Charles I is dated 3 years later, in 1724.[34] In January, Hoofman wrote him a "Nieuwjaarszang" (New Year's Song), written in Latin and translated in Dutch. It became a tradition she would continue for the next few years, up until 1728. Only the last one of these poems, the pastoral song *Messias* with which she celebrated the start of the year 1728, survived in contemporary print. We do know how the 1724 and 1726 New Year's Songs might have sounded though, as they are included in the collection Willem Kops made of Hoofman's poems in 1774.[35] He must have had manuscript versions that did not survive. The poems thank God for everything he has brought at the year's close and ask for a good new year, especially for Charles I and his offspring. In the last lines of the 1724 poem, Hoofman explicitly mentions how his good deeds inspire her as a poet.

Following the New Year's poem, Hoofman wrote a second poem for Charles I in 1724. It was a special year for the landgrave as he reached the age of 70. Charles' birthday on 14 August prompted Hoofman to write a long ode to the landgrave's newly built city for huguenote refugees from France. The city was called Karlshafen (nowadays Bad Karlshafen), as was Hoofman's poem. Again, she wrote it both in Latin and in Dutch, but unlike the New Year's poem, she published the Dutch version. It is the only poem that I could retrace in a German context (the archive of Nordrhein-Westfalen).[36]

33 "wetenschap, en alle nutte konst/Trou en standvastig bied u hulp en gonst".

34 Other sources seem to be scarce. German archives of the court and the family (in the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg) only contain some documents regarding Koolaarts job, but no documents with Hoofman's name or works mentioned in it (browsing s.v. the online searchtool Arcynsis s.v. *Hoofman*, *Koolaart*, and *Koolaert*).

35 Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 87–91; 103–8.

36 It is unclear in which language she presented the poem to landgrave Charles I. In the manuscript collection, only a Dutch prose translation survived, full of references to the Latin poem. Hoofman's later editor Willem Kops presents the poem both in Dutch and in Latin. The Dutch poem survived in print in the Landesarchiv NRW: 'Lobgedicht auf Landgraf Karl I. von Hessen-Kassel und Karlshafen von Elisabeth Koolaart ndl. 1724', in Abteilung Westfalen, 4.4.2. (Sammlungen von Vereinen, Institutionen und Firmen), 4.1, V508-41, Sammlung Ferdinand F.A. Tyrell, 'Gedichte, Leichenpredigte'.

The poem presents the landgrave as a beloved ruler, both from the perspective of other political leaders as from that of scientists and the inhabitants of Hesse-Kassel. She writes that he is an honest man, a brilliant soldier, a smart negotiator for peace, a moral example and a supporter of the arts and the sciences. Mentioning this last characteristic of the perfect renaissance ruler, Hoofman also refers, not surprisingly, to her own work. She makes that explicit when she asks Charles to support her literary work, especially this particular poem she has written for him. The phrasing she chooses is fairly conventional and there is no reason whatsoever to assume she thinks about financial support here. Still, the poem can be read as an incentive for Charles I to keep Pieter Koolaart in his service and thus to continue the financial support of the family.

The central theme of the poem is the coming into being of the city of Karlshafen, which Hoofman describes as down to Charles' merit. In a mythologically inspired narrative, Hoofman describes how he has built the city out of nothing and given it promise for the future. Hoofman represents Karlshafen as a centre of trade and business, and praises Charles I for his decision to create a city for business men. Since her husband was in charge of trade in the service of Charles I, she emphasises Koolaart's significance. Moreover, Hoofman refers to the fame and importance of Dutch trade twice, while her husband was hired in the first place because he was a Dutchman and Charles wanted to profit from the Dutch experience in trade.[37]

The two references to the Dutch Republic play an important role in the poem. The first reference appears in an argument about how trade and wealth create fame and power for cities and countries. The Dutch Republic serves as the perfect example; the country is small, but as a result of its successful trade, is still able to be a global leader. The second reference is made when the personification of Fortune speaks and wishes that Karlshafen would be the 'Queen' of Germany. Fortune makes her audience look back at the origins of Amsterdam, the famous city that began as a village of fishermen, in order to prove that development from nothing to all is quite possible.

We can safely assume that the poem "Karelshaven" as well as the New Year's poem from 1724 were received well by Charles, as Hoofman continued to write him such songs and birthday poems in the following years.[38] Moreover, "Karelshaven" is the first of her poems for Karel I that survived in print. From that point onwards, more of her poems were printed. In 1726 Charles thanked

37 Philippi, *Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel*, 672.

38 Some of these we only know of because they were published in Kops' edition, where we find the new year's songs of 1724 and 1726 and the birthday song's of 1725 and 1726. (Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 87–91; 103–8; 95–102; 109–16.)

Hoofman for her birthday poem with a valuable, silver gift. This appears from a poem that we only know in Kops' version, since it did not survive in handwriting or contemporary print.[39] Hoofman wrote it in order to thank Charles for his gift. It also appears from this appreciative poem that she received the gift in return for her 1726 birthday poem, a pastoral song praising Charles.[40]

We do not know whether Hoofman's poems were printed at the initiative of the landgrave or his retinue, or if Hoofman paid for the printing herself as part of the gift for the landgrave. It is very likely, though, the Kassel's court printer Harmes printed the poems himself. Although, no single poem bears the name of a printer, the font and initials (capital letters) used are characteristic of Kassel printers.[41] The hypothesis that the Kassel printer of the poems must have been the court printer is reinforced by one of the letters from Hoofman's daughter Petronella. She writes that her family was acquainted with her later husband, Georg Harmes (son of the Kassel's court printer and, from the death of his father in 1737 onwards, court printer himself), from around 1726, while the first print-poem for the landgrave we know of dates from 1724 and the number of printed poems increases from 1726 onwards.[42] If the court printer indeed executed the printing of Hoofman's poems, this means that the landgrave endorsed it. Since the poems are printed in Dutch, I assume they were meant for a wider Dutch readership, in order for the landgrave to broadcast his name and fame in the Dutch estates that were of major importance for his mercantile ambitions.[43]

The poems Hoofman wrote from 1726 onwards conventionally praise Charles as a sincere ruler and a lover of science and the arts. In the poem she writes in 1727 on the occasion of the entry in Kassel of his newly wed granddaughter Anna Charlotta Amalia and her husband, she chose the perspective of the caring and loving grandfather.[44] From the poem "Dubbeld vreugdefeest"

39 Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 117–19.

40 This poem too only survived in the collection by Kops: Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 109–16.

41 I am very grateful to Paul Dijstelberge, book historian and expert in analytical bibliography, especially the use of initials and font types, who studied Hoofman's publications and came to this conclusion.

42 She writes that the family had been acquainted with her husband ca. 8 years before they married in 1734, which means from ca. 1726 onwards. Petronella to Van Zanten, 23 June 1747 (University Library Leiden, sign. LTK 1004).

43 The importance of the Dutch Republic for Charles I appears from Claudius Sittig, "Kassel", in: *Handbuch Kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit*, part I, eds Wolfgang Adam & Siegrid Westphal, Berlin/Boston 2012, 1037–91, 1044. The fact that the print-publications nowadays are primarily available in Dutch collections (in Leiden), could also point at Dutch circulation rather than German.

44 This poem only survived in the manuscript collection.

(Party of Double Joy) – written in the same year, 1727, when Charles not only celebrated his 73rd birthday, but also his 50th year as a landgrave – it appears that Hoofman was invited to the party he held to celebrate these occasions in one of his gardens near Kassel. In this poem, she describes this joyous event and the happiness not only of the invitees, but of all the inhabitants of Hesse-Kassel, and many more.[45] The poem Hoofman wrote and published on the occasion of Charles' 74th birthday, a year later, shows how at this stage she was able to address his subjects as her public: "Hesse, give sympathetic audience to me, too".[46] At the end of the poem, she presents herself as part of the audience and invites Charles to listen to the birthday song, which they sing for him all together, both "natives and foreigners" ("ingeborenen en vreemdelingen") – reference to not only herself, but the whole of the international community in Hesse-Kassel, consisting mostly of French huguenot refugees and Dutch tradespeople.[47] She also identifies herself with the people of Hesse in a poem she wrote when Charles' son William was severely ill in 1728: frightened during his illness and relieved after his recovery.[48] Again, she presents Charles as a very human and family-oriented person, referring to the many losses of his children he endured earlier.

Hoofman's poetical address to landgrave Charles I shows how she tried to get into his favour from the moment she arrived in the landgraviate, and how she grew in confidence as the years went by and as Charles showed his approval. She then started to publish her poems (or at least gave her permission for them to be published) and represented herself more and more as a spokeswoman for the whole land of Hesse-Kassel. This is also how she appears in the "Lykzang" (Funeral Song) she wrote and published on the occasion of the death of the landgrave on 23 March 1730. Immediately, in the first lines of the elegy, she speaks to Hesse and encourages the land to mourn with her their shared landlord: "Help, o Hessen, please help me cry/for our landlord is dead".[49] In the middle and last part of the song, Hoofman addresses Charles' sons. This is remarkable as she does not mention them in her previous odes for Charles (except for the one poem she wrote for William when he was ill in 1728). In the second canto (the 'antistrophe'), she thanks God for the fact that Charles did

45 Moreover, Hoofman apparently wrote a separate poem on the occasion of Charles' birthday, meaningfully titled "Oud en nieuw Hessen" (Old and New Hesse). In this poem too, she presents herself as one among the inhabitants of Hesse-Kassel. It only survived in the edition of Kops: Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 120–27.

46 "Hessen, leen my gunstig mee uw ooren".

47 About this community: Sittig, "Kassel".

48 This poem only survived in the manuscript collection.

49 "Help, o Hessen, help me schreyen/onzen landheer is verscheyen".

not leave her and the inhabitants of Hesse-Kassel with nothing, but instead with able descendents. In the concluding canto, she speaks to Frederick I and asks him to accept the 'crown' of Hesse-Kassel and follow in the footsteps of his father. It is very probable that she meant this also as an encouragement for Frederick to maintain the relationship with her family.[50]

Her efforts were to no avail, however, and Pieter Koolaart lost his job. He did receive a small pension, but this amounted to a decrease of the family income by 50 percent for which Hoofman obviously felt the need to retain and to increase, if possible.[51] At least that is what her poem addressed to the new landgrave suggests. She wrote and published a poem for Frederick I as soon as he arrived in Hesse in 1731, for the first time after his father's death.[52] Hoofman praises his return to Hesse as a sacrifice he, as the busy King of Sweden, makes for his own people. Presenting herself as the spokeswoman of these people, she thanks him for it. She praises Frederick extensively for the (military) successes of his Swedish kingship, but she also emphasises, as she did in the elegy for Charles, that she hopes he will show the same virtues as his father did.

It turned out that Frederick's visit in 1731 was non-recurring. He left his brother William in charge of Hesse-Kassel as regent and stadholder. This meant that Hoofman had to turn to him if she wanted to maintain the relationship with the court and possibly procure her husband more income. Remarkably, there are no poems addressed to William until 1734. In the meantime, Hoofman's husband had died and the pension of the landgraviate had stopped. Hoofman had asked for a widow's pension and according to a letter by her daughter she had been promised one, but never received it.[53] It is meaningful that Hoofman wrote her first poem for William in the same year Petronella married court-printer Harmes. This possibly gave Hoofman more confidence in her approach to William and, in any case, increased her access to a printing press. Moreover, since her son in law's income depended on the court, her praise for the landgrave functioned like it did when Koolaart was still alive: as an insurance of

50 As far as we know, relationships of patronage were not conventionally passed onto heirs, cf. Geert Janssen, *Creaturen van de macht. Cliëntelisme bij Willem Frederik van Nassau (1613–1664)*, Leiden 2005, 35, and references in note 6 on that page.

51 It is possible that Koolaart did not know about the continuity of his job until after Frederick came to Hesse-Kassel. If this is the case, Hoofman wrote her poem in a period of uncertainty, but with more hope probably than when she already knew her husband had lost his job.

52 This poem was translated from Latin.

53 Petronella to Van Zanten, 23 June 1747 (Leiden University Library, sign. LTK 1004).

the family income, even while she might have given up hope for a widow's pension.

Hoofman's 1734 poem to William was on the occasion of his birthday. The poem was published as a pamphlet and praises William as Frederick's substitute; thanks to William, Frederick is able to concentrate on Swedish affairs. In the poem, she seems to justify the fact that she did not write for William earlier, explaining how she, being a woman, is not the right person to praise military deeds:

> But easily, be quiet my zither, you are not
> used to make music on this high tone.
> A male voice should trumpet the deeds of William.
> A woman is afraid for the poundering of fusils.
> This weak sexe is better fit for sending
> Lamentations for him to heaven.[54]

It is a conventional argument, of course, but she uses it strategically by constructing an image of benevolence in her patron.[55] Perhaps she even refers to her 1734 publication of religious poetry in the last two lines.[56] At the same time, it might be true that Hoofman had had difficulties continuing the relationship of patronage with William, who was engaged in military business much more so than his father. William was in service to the army of the Dutch Republic and General of the army of Hesse-Kassel.[57] He was often away during wars. This made him less accessible, and less easily praised by Hoofman, who had praised Charles specifically for his cultural and scientific interests, his trade policy and his paternal outlook toward the inhabitants. Moreover, since Hoofman's husband had died, she no longer had direct access to the network that came with Dutch trade, which she could have given William access to, and which had also allowed her to disseminate her poetry to his advantage.

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54 *'t Jaargetyde van zyn doorlugtigste hoogheid Wilhelm*. 'Maar zagt, houw stil mijn cither, niet gewoon/Te snaaren op zo'n hoogen toon./Een mannenstem moet Wilhelms daân trompetten./Een vrouw vert'saagd op 't balderen der musketten./Dat week geslagt past beter wee en zugt/Voor hem te zenden naar de lugt.'

55 Pender, *The Rhetoric of Modesty*, convincingly argues that tropes of modesty in early modern women's writing should not be interpreted literally too easily, but as part of strategical self-fashioning.

56 Elisabeth Koolaart, *Gedagten over eenige spreuken des allerwysten konings Salomon, mitsgaders uit zyn Prediker &c.*, [Kassel] 1734. [University library Leiden, sign. 1105 G 12]

57 Wolf v. Both & Hans Vogel, *Landgraf Wilhelm VIII. von Hessen-Kassel. Ein Fürst der Rokokozeit*, München/Berlin 1964.

These difficulties also seem to have played a role in the other two poems Hoofman wrote for William, both in 1736. She wrote a poem in March, on the occasion of his birthday, and one in April, on the occasion of his inheritance of the landgraviate of Hanau. Only the first of these two poems has survived in print. In both poems, Hoofman's presence in subdued. She presented herself as an acquantaince and as a spokeswoman for the people of Hesse in the poems she wrote for Charles, whereas in these poems for William she scarcely writes in the first person and does not refer to her own engagement in the described events and festivities. In the published poem on the occasion of his birthday, she again refers to her own preference not to write about military themes. Now that peace is upcoming,[58] she writes, she found her voice again and she is able to praise William. Again, the trope is used strategically, since Hoofman in this way both excuses herself for not writing more for William in the past two years and presents herself as a poet to rely on in the following years of peace, in which she expected William to be in Hesse-Kassel more frequently. Moreover, she not only praises William, but also his daughter and his son, who were engaged in the "useful sciences" ("nutte wetenschappen"). As far as we know now, William did not respond to the poems addressed to him and shortly after she had started to try to renew a relationship with the landgraviate, Hoofman died herself.

Family Support

Although Hoofman's financial supplies from the landgraviate ran dry, she still received some income through family support. Several members of her family gave her money on occasion, and two of her cousins supported her structurally with 100 guilders a year each.[59] These cousins, Margareta and Maria Kraayestein, were praised in several of Hoofman's poems. Hoofman had written a fairly conventional birthday poem for Margareta in 1688, long before she could even imagine that she would eventually need any financial support. She started writing birthday poems for her again in 1734, two years after Koolaart died and when she needed Margareta more than ever. In that same year, she wrote a

58 Probably the peace that would conclude the war between the German emporer and France (part of the War of the Polish succession), of which the preliminaries were signed 3 October 1735. About the peace that would conclude the War of the Polish succesion was being negotiated from 1735 onwards.

59 Petronella to Van Zanten, 23 June 1747 (Leiden University Library, sign. LTK 1004).

birthday poem for Maria Kraayestein. In 1736, she again wrote a birthday poem for Margareta, and this time, she also published it.[60]

These poems, written between 1734 and her death in 1736, are evidently related to the financial support. In the 1734 birthday poem for Margareta, Hoofman writes that she blesses her cousin twice, because she "helps her relatives in distress" ("naasten helpt in nood"). In the poem for Maria, Hoofman elaborates on the financial support:

> If she, full of compassion,
> since she knows the help makes a difference,
> from her rich fortune
> generously helps and gives.[61]

Hoofman thus had economic imperatives for writing these poems. They functioned in a completely different way than the poems for the landgraves, though. In the early modern period, it was regarded as a duty to help relatives in distress.[62] Therefore, Hoofman could write more explicitly about the money she received. In the case of the informal relationship of patronage with the landgraves, she did not receive money directly, but she was able to profit financially. Whereas the poems for the landgraves can be regarded as attempts to consolidate and even improve the author's financial situation, the poems for her cousins should likely not be regarded as attempts to garner more financial support, but rather as a letter of thanks in the form of a poem. That Hoofman decided to publish the last birthday poem she wrote for Margareta could very well have been motivated by her wanting to do something in return for the support. The value of the gift increased by printing it and since her daughter had by then married a printer, it probably was neither difficult nor costly for her to arrange this.

The same accounts for the publications she wrote and published as a gift for her son-in-law, the son of the court printer. Hoofman praised the marriage between Georg Harmes and her daughter in a nuptial poem that was published in a small booklet together with a poem by Petronella's half-sister

60 Next to the poems mentioned here, it appears from the catalogue in the manuscript collection that Hoofman wrote two more birthday poems for her cousins, one for Margareta in 1691 and one for Maria in 1735. These poems did not survive.

61 'Als zy vol van mededogen,/daar zy weet dat hulpe scheeld,/uit haar rijkelijk vermogen/rijklijk helpt en mededeeld.'

62 Cf. for example Luuk Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de Kunst van het Overleven in de Zeventiende en Achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1998.

Hester and two poems by the bridegroom's German friends. She also let Harmes print some of her religious poems as he had apparently requested. In the nuptial poem, the same tone of gratefulness can be distinguished as seen in the poems for her cousins, although Hoofman does not frame her gratitude in financial terms.

Finances and Poetics

Hoofman's authorship was influenced by her financial situation, but not in the way literary historians have hitherto assumed. Hoofman was, like many women writers around 1700, very careful with her reputation. She only began publishing when she deemed it necessary to protect the income of her household. She then initiated and maintained a relationship of patronage in which she dedicated many poems to her patron, some of which were published so that they could publicly – especially in the Dutch Republic – emphasise his good deeds and importance. Except for one valuable silver gift, we know of no direct gifts or transactions from the landgrave to Hoofman. Social imperatives prevented Hoofman from receiving money directly. In order to really profit from the relationship financially, she instead needed her husband, whose salary, and later pension, could be regarded as the favour in return.

Hoofman's relationship of patronage functioned in a court context, but was not formalised. This means that time and again, Hoofman needed to show her availability and benevolence, which made her deeds almost commercial. At the same time, the relationship between her (family) and the landgrave seems to get more personal over time. It remains a question as to whether Hoofman could and would also have been able to use her poetry to ensure the family's income if she and her husband had stayed within the Dutch Republic. Hesse-Kassel offered some advantages for a Dutch woman writer to be patronised, in the fact that she – being a Dutchwoman with a network in the Dutch Republic – brought something desirable for the landgrave and the landgraviate. It was also an advantage that she was not required to take a stance in political issues, while the landgrave had a firm position and was focused mainly on trade and science. The difficulties Hoofman faced to continue her relationship of patronage with Charles' sons seem to have been caused in part by their political and military worries and the fact that it was unclear who of the two sons she was meant to turn to. When Hoofman did not succeed in profiting from a relationship with the sons of her former patron, she relied on, as was socially accepted by, her (future) family.

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63 Except for the first four titles (letters by Petronella Harmes-Koolaart, Hoofman's manuscript collection, and Hoofman's collected works in print), these are seperate poems by Hoofman. They are ordered chronologically. For each poem, I first give the reference to the manuscript collection (if the poem was included), then to the contemporary pamphlet publication (if the poem was published), and at the end, between brackets, the reference to the edition by Kops (if the poem was included in his edition). I did not mention the author's name with each title. She signed her poems with her last name "Hoofman" before she got married, and during her marriage with "Koolaart" or "Koolaart-Hoofman". After she was widowed, she signed with "Koolaart-Hoofman" or "Hoofman".

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'Dankzegging aan […] Karel den Eersten […] voor een geschenk van zilver, my, voor mynen herderszang, op zynen LXXII. verjaardag gezonden.' (In: Koolaart-Hoofman, *De naagelaatene gedichten*, 117–119.)

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