

SEVERING WHAT WAS JOINED TOGETHER:
DEBATES ABOUT PAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
DUTCH REPUBLIC

Lia van Gemert

Introduction

In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, physical pain was written about by a wide range of authors operating in a variety of discourses. In this article I will look at reflections on pain in a number of Dutch medical, literary, historiographical, judicial and philosophical texts. I will show that Dutch writers approached pain both from a practical, medical and an ethical perspective, and that the two approaches were often connected. Although the French philosopher René Descartes lived and worked in the Republic during this time, his famous mechanistic understanding of pain does not inform the texts that I will consider. This is not to say that Cartesian views of pain were not discussed at all by Dutch writers of this era; the texts that I have selected for this article are intended as a starting point for further research into conceptions of pain in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

I will start with the views on pain put forward by the Dutch physician Johan van Beverwijck (1594–1647), and then move on to a number of literary texts from the period. Like Van Beverwijck, literary writers interpreted pain as a sign that both body and mind were in need of purification. Pain also formed a starting point for ethical discussions: I will look at a number of Dutch commentaries of the seventeenth century that were highly critical of the infliction of pain in torture and judicial punishment, and advocated moderation. I will end with a brief discussion of René Descartes' revolutionary ideas about the perception of pain.

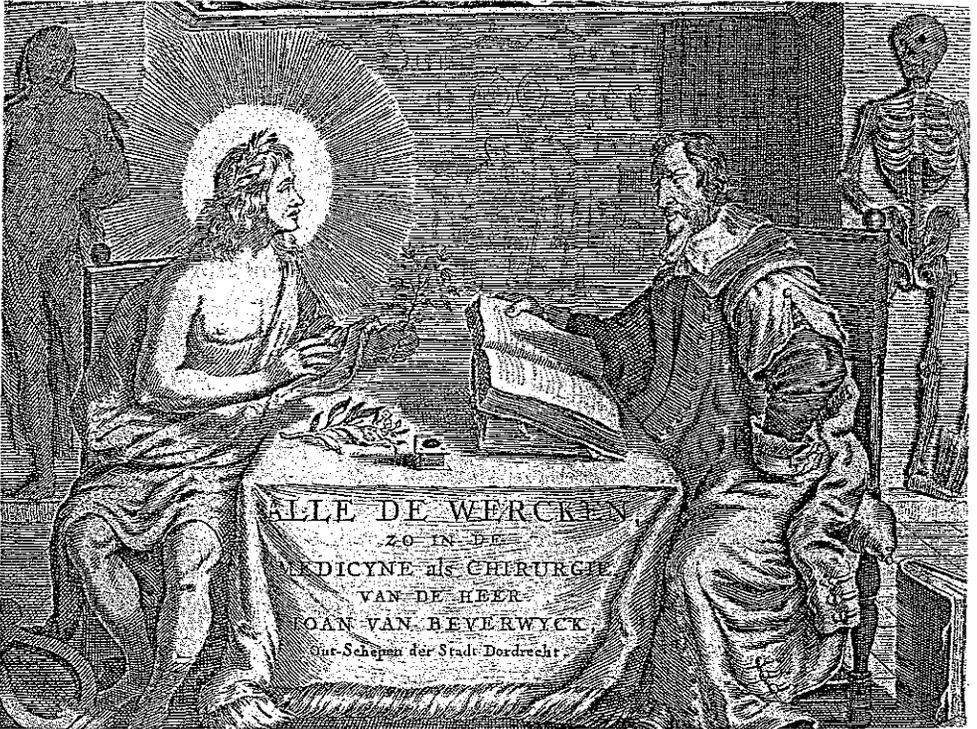


Fig. 1. Johan van Beverwijck discusses his books on health with Apollo. Title page of Johan van Beverwijck, *Wercken der genees-konste, bestaende in den Schat der gesontheit, Schat der ongesontheit, Heel-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664). Private copy.

Johan van Beverwijck: A Progressive Physician

The writings of the Dordrecht physician John van Beverwijck form a fascinating entry point for mapping the understandings of pain in the early modern Dutch Republic. Although he worked as the local 'city doctor' and surgeon, and was not affiliated with a university, he did belong to the intellectual vanguard of Dutch medical culture. Van Beverwijck had studied at several European universities and had graduated at Padua, one of the centres of anatomical scholarship. He was the first Dutch physician to acknowledge Harvey's ideas on the circulation of the blood and expanded on them in a surgical treatise on bladder and renal stones (*De calculo renum & vesicae liber singularis*, 1638; translated into Dutch as *Steen-stuck*). He also wrote a famous trilogy: *Schat der gesontheit* (1636), *Schat der ongesontheit* (1639) and *Heel-konste* (1645) (*Treasure of Health, Treasure of Illness and Surgery*). This first complete medical encyclopedia in Dutch, often reprinted, offered a systematic survey of conditions of health, as well as the causes and treatments of all known diseases. It was based on the classical galenic doctrine of the four humours, which was supplemented with the ideas of Harvey.¹

Van Beverwijck's customary method was to compare a range of existing sources, mostly medical theories from antiquity to his own day, with his own observations and experiences. Hij had a pronounced interest in discovering general patterns of health and illness, and especially in issues of urology (kidneys, bladder and urinary passages). He also enjoyed taking part in current medical debates: he corresponded with William Harvey and René Descartes about the circulation of the blood, and with Anna Maria van Schurman about the question of whether God had pre-determined each human life span.² Van Beverwijck also made use of the writings of other physicians, such as botanical studies, surgeon's books, treatises on specific diseases such as scurvy and the plague, and practical medical surveys. Moreover, he had clearly studied also non-

¹ Gemert L. van, "Johan van Beverwijck"; in Bynum W.F. – Bynum H. (eds.), *Dictionary of Medical Biography* (Westport – London: 2007) vol. I, 203–204. Quotations are taken from Johan van Beverwijck, *Wercken der genees-konste, bestaende in den Schat der gesontheit, Schat der ongesontheit, Heel-konste* [...]. (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664; private copy). For an anthology, translated into modern Dutch, see Johan van Beverwijck, *Schat der gezondheid*, ed. L. van Gemert (Amsterdam: 1992).

² This correspondence was published under the title *The Verge of Our Lives (Pael-steen onsens levens)*. See: "Aenhangel van brieven", in Van Beverwijck, *Wercken der genees-konste*, 232–235; 204–213; 192–201.

medical sources, such as the Bible, travel accounts and historiographical works, for any insights into illness, recovery and death. He would finally compare all of these materials with his own experiences, and describe his own medical remedies whenever he felt this was relevant. In this way, he did indeed compile the 'treasure' of the encyclopedia's title: a richly informative book that offers a mixture of theory and practice, and that, beside its serious medical content, contains a light touch. Van Beverwijck's work was made all the more attractive by the poems of his friend and fellow townsman Jacob Cats, who offered summaries in verse of the many topics that Van Beverwijck touched upon. Cats also time and again recommended Van Beverwijck's works, for example in the proem to *Steen-stuck* (*Treatise on bladder and renal stones*):

Learn, Citizens, Holland's Citizens, learn
 From what is being offered here
 By one who places all he knows
 Always in the service of your well-being.³

According to Van Beverwijck, humanity suffers pain as a result of the Fall; in this way he reiterates the Christian notion that pain is one of God's ways of punishing humanity for its sins. For Van Beverwijck, the fact that pain can be extremely fierce and cruel is an indication that it is indeed a divine matter. As a result, 'humans do not have the power to go against Nature', he once remarked.⁴ This is also why pain is so often associated with death, and experienced as a punishment worse than death. The only real solution for excessive, uncontrollable pain is the end of all sensation in death, but, in Van Beverwijck's own experience, this is a solution that people shy away from: 'I have often seen that very old, infirm people who had called for death because of their unbearable pain, still had a strong desire to live once they approached death'.⁵

³ 'Leert, Burgers, Hollands Burgers, leert

Het geen' u weder wert vereert

Van een, die al wat dat hy weet,

Gedurigh in u dienst besteet', in Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Illness* II, 228.

⁴ 'De Menschen en hebben oock de macht, noch de kracht niet, om tegens de Nature in te gaen', in Van Beverwijck, *Heel-konste* 143.

⁵ '[...] alsoo ick dickwils gesien hebbe, dat oock stock-oude en daer by gebreckelicke lieden, die uyt onverduldighet van pijn dickwils om de doot geroepen hadden, de selve beginnende te genaken, noch met groote begeerte na het leven joockten [...]', in Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Health* 3.

Even though pain is God's punishment for sin, this does not mean that lifelong, unrelieved suffering is inevitable, since God is also merciful: 'God does not punish without healing'.⁶ This entails an opportunity, or rather an obligation, for the physician to employ his expertise, yet in order to do so, he first has to arrive at a scientific understanding of how pain works. This brings us to the field of philosophy. Van Beverwijck expounds his basic understanding of pain in *Heel-konste* (*Surgery*):

All pain consists in the severing of what was put together, and this is its most likely cause. Likewise, the medicine that takes pain away by a countering force does effectively alleviate the pain, but cannot be seen as removing the pain since it only softens it, while the cause remains present. Such a medicine is either moderate, and appropriate to the composition of our body, or warm in the first degree, and composed of fine matter.⁷

Van Beverwijck is clearly indebted to Aristotle, although he does not refer to him in this passage – unlike in some of his other writings. Aristotle argues for a unity between body and mind (in spite of their different natures), and Van Beverwijck subscribes to this idea, for example in the following passage from the *Treasure of Health*:

Our Soul and Body differ a great deal from each other, and are therefore tied together by the innate heat of the body [...], as Aristotle argues in Book 2, Chapter 4 of his *Book of the Soul*.⁸

This remark helps to clarify the passage on pain quoted above: body and soul are tied together by body heat; pain is caused by a disconnection between them, and this pain can only be alleviated by an appropriate medicine that either corresponds to the balance between the elements in our body, or has a certain temperature. The pain is then eased, but the cause of the breach between body and soul is not removed. Since Van Beverwijck believed that the soul is immutable, and

⁶ 'Dat Godt niet en slaet, of hy salft wederom'. Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Illness* I 101.

⁷ 'Alle pijn bestaat in 't ondoen van 't gene te samen gevoeght is, ende dat is de naeste oorsaeck; gelijk het middel, 't welck die wech neemt door tegenstrijdende kracht, de pijn recht stilt, maer even wel niet pijn-versachtend genoemt werdt, dan alleen 't gene, de oorsaeck blijvende, de pijn alleen versoet, ende versacht. Soodanigh middel is ofte gematight, ende ons lichaem gelijk; ofte werm in den eersten graed ende fijn van stoffe', in Van Beverwijck, *Surgery* 21. With thanks to Jeroen Jansen.

⁸ 'Also ons Ziele en Lichaem van malkanderen veel verschillen, en derhalven door de ingeboren wermte met eenen bandt aen malkanderen gehecht zijn [...] gelijk Aristoteles betuyght in sijn 2. Boeck van de Ziele op het 4. Capittel [...]', in Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Health* 21.

that it sets the body in motion as its instrument (as long as body and soul are connected), it is plausible to assume that he locates the causes of the severing of body and soul in the body.⁹ It is worth investigating whether he is consistent on this point throughout his medical works. For the purposes of this article, the most important point is that for Van Beverwijck, pain can be fought by means of interventions in the body. This brings us to Van Beverwijck's ideas about concrete medical remedies for pain.

It is clear that Van Beverwijck was very much interested in the alleviation of pain; pain is even included as a separate entry in the index to his encyclopedia. He developed his own surgical techniques for removing bladder and renal stones, which he described in *De calculo renum & vesicae liber singularis (Steen-stuck; 1638)*. Central to Van Beverwijck's methods was an attempt to keep the cut as small as possible and to minimize the infliction of pain.¹⁰ In *Surgery* he warns against touching the nerves while opening a vein for blood-letting: it causes severe pain and may even lead to death. In general, nerves are very sensitive, he states: a heavy wound for instance, 'usually affects nervous parts, and causes great pain there, those parts being very sensitive, and that pain in its turn causes a great influx of fluids: thus the afflicted part must inevitably swell, and if that does not happen, it gives signs that the fluids have gone inside, and reach more vital parts, where they cause much more harm'.¹¹ Van Beverwijck gives short shrift to any illusions of invulnerability or immunity, or to any medical remedies that promise anything like it. As the various wounds on the titlepage of *Surgery* also suggest, all tales about magical ointments, incantations and rituals have no basis in reality.¹² Incidentally, this view of magic as powerless and illusory is frequently encountered in seventeenth-century Dutch texts.

The preparation of medicines is, of course, an important part of analgesics. Van Beverwijck offers elaborate prescriptions for specific ailments –

⁹ 'Want de Ziele en kan niet beschadigt werden, maer blijft alijt even de selve, en onveranderlick, soo lang de mēsche leeft, en doet de eygen wercken, als sy maer het eygen Werck-tuygh [lichaam] en heeft', in Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Health* 25.

¹⁰ Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Illness* II 228–287, esp. 285–287.

¹¹ Van Beverwijck, *Surgery* 63; 133: 'Want alsoo een sware Wonde, gemeenlick zenuwachtige Deelen raeckt, in de welcke, als seer gevoelick zijnde, sy nootwendigh groote pijn verweckt, ende die wederom groote toevloeying van vochtigheyt: soo moet dan van oock het gequetste Deel noodtsaekelick opswellen, ende sulcks niet geschiedende, geeft te kennen, dat die vloed sijnen loop na binnen, ende voornamer Deelen genomen heeft, waer hy veel meerder schade doet'.

¹² Van Beverwijck, *Surgery* 127.

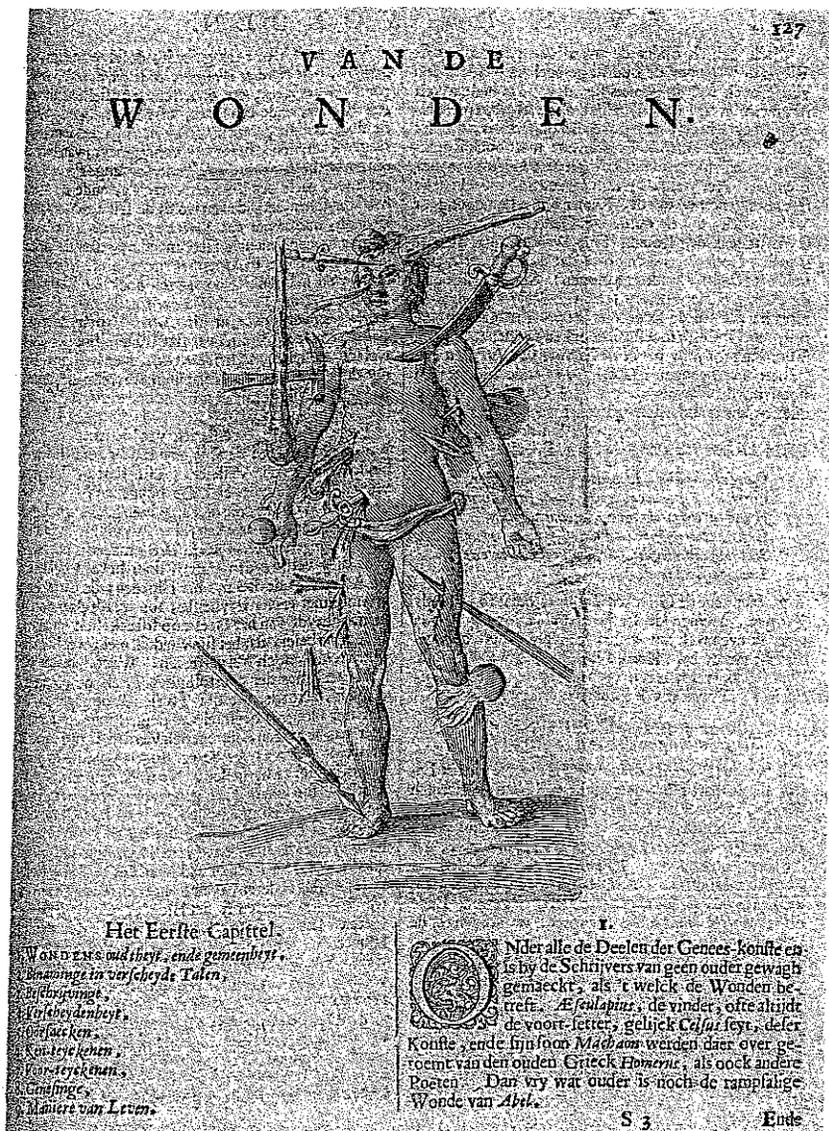


Fig. 2. First page of the book on wounds in *Heel-konste*. In: Johan van Beverwijck, *Wercken der genees-konste bestaende in den Schat der gesontheit, Schat der ongesontheit, Heel-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664) 127.
 Private copy.

always based on a basic Galenic system, with four degrees to indicate the potency of a particular medicine, and detailing the wet, dry, cold or hot qualities of the remedy (always opposed to those of the ailment). He also frequently informs the reader where he gets his ingredients, for example in the vicinity of Dordrecht. Such topographical details point to Van Beverwijck's views on the ideal geographical origins of medical ingredients. In his treatise *Introduction to Dutch Medicines (Inleydinge tot de Hollantsche genees-middelen)* he argues that, thanks to God's providence, every region in the world contains the remedies for the ailments that are specific to it. Jacob Cats summarized this view as follows: 'Although sickness and pain may strike us,/ The entire country is a medicine'.¹³ This principle applies everywhere: in Greenland, sailors find scurvy grass and sorrel as a remedy for scurvy (it was unknown, of course, that this was related to the vitamin C content of both plants). Holland itself has a plentiful supply of medicinal herbs, such as daisies, dandelions and eyebright ('Ogentroost' in Dutch, a cure for eye conditions). Van Beverwijck remarks that indigenous medicines are to be preferred over exotic ones, since much more is known about their effects, and the chances of being deceived when purchasing them, therefore, are also lower. Moreover, they are considerably cheaper than medicines from abroad – the Dutch business sense never fails to show.

The mix of anecdotes and explanatory comments and the supporting literary passages result in a medical manual that is at the same time aimed at a general, cultivated bourgeois readership. The basic moral of Van Beverwijck's encyclopedia is evident on every page: illness and pain can to a certain extent be avoided by living prudently and simply. If pain still strikes, it forms a sign that both body and soul are in need of purification. The well trained doctor guides the patient reliably through this process.

¹³ 'Dan, al treft ons sieckt' en pijn,/ Gantsch het Lant is medicijn', in Van Beverwijck, *Treasure of Illness* I 101–124 (quotation Cats 106); see also Gemert L. van, "Johan van Beverwijck als 'instituut'", in *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992) 99–106, esp. 102 and Cooper A., "The Indigenous versus the Exotic: Debating Natural Origins in Early Modern Europe", *Landscape Research* 28 (2003) I, 51–60.

Pain as a Moral Incentive

Just as Van Beverwijck's medical trilogy has a number of literary aspects, seventeenth-century Dutch literature itself is frequently informed by medical discourse. Many texts refer to the Galenic system: humoral theory served as a template for characterization on the basis of the four human types (choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic and melancholic), and there are frequent allusions to the properties of matter (hot, cold, wet, dry). Literary texts also frequently reiterate the idea that illness and pain are a punishment from God, and that a well trained doctor is not only a welcome guide in the purification of the body, but also in fostering the understanding that the healing process requires a change in lifestyle. An example of this moralizing approach is Jan Luyken's emblem *The Doctor*. Luyken describes pain as a 'hellish venom' – this not only describes a physical observation, but also adds a moral dimension to the 'venom' of pain. The ultimate physician is God himself, while the earthly physician is his temporary representative; the diseased body has to suffer in order to obtain eternal life:

The Doctor

God is the medicine for deadly hellish venom.

When Life is feeble and diseased,

One takes a vile and bitter Drink,

So that the Body can be cured.

Why then not endure some temporary bitterness

So as to be healthy in eternity?¹⁴

In addition to this metaphysical connection between the worldly and the divine, seventeenth-century literary writers devote ample attention to the physical dimension of pain, for example Jan Six van Chandelier in his 1656 Spa poems, in which he describes a trip to a health resort in Belgium (then part of the Southern Netherlands). The Spa waters

¹⁴ 'DE DOCTER

God is de medicyn, voor doodlik hels fenijn.

Is 't Leeven machteloos en kranck

Men neemdt een vieze of bit're Dranck,

Of 't Lichaam, weeder mocht geneesen:

Waarom dan voor een korten tydt,

Niet aangevaard wat bitterheid,

Om eeuwiglyck gezond te weesen', in Jan Luyken, *Spiegel van het menselyk bedryf* (Amsterdam, Johannes en Caspaares Luiken: 1694). Facsimile edition ed. by L. de Vries (Amsterdam – Brussels: 1984).

De Docter.
 God is de Medecyn, Voor doodlik hels fenyn.



Is't Leeven machteloos en kranck
 Men neemdt een viese of bitre Dranck,
 Oft Lichaam weeder mocht geneesen:
 Waarom dan voor een korten tydt,
 Niet aangevaard wat bitterheid,
 Om ee.wiglyck gezond te weesen.

Fig. 3. Jan Luyken, "De docter". From Jan Luyken, *Spiegel van het menselyk bedryf* (Amsterdam, Johannes en Caspaares Luiken: 1694), pages not numbered. Private copy.

purify the entire body and free it of painful cramps: 'Delicious, freely given water that flows into the stomach, from which the body is nourished, creeps imperceptibly through the body from the head to the feet to cleanse it of dirt and tormenting spams'.¹⁵

In their descriptions of pain sensation, writers often draw on the characteristics of a specific disease: scurvy is described as 'tearing', while the pain caused by bladder and renal stones is characterised as 'hardened', 'stony', 'sharp' and 'stinging'. Even though stones did not always have to be surgically removed, and could be evacuated spontaneously, they did, of course, remain painful. In 1627, Constantijn Huygens wrote an ingenious poem for the funeral of Elisabeth Bax, who had suffered more pain in getting rid of stones than in giving birth. Bax herself speaks in the poem and describes the stone as her last infant:

I have given birth to four children and a stone,
But the last childbed was the toughest,
And the last child's cries were the loudest,
even though it was dumb as a stone.¹⁶

The dead Elizabeth complains that she would rather be in her stony grave than suffer from her stones any longer.

Death had relieved Elisabeth Bax of her pain, but what could one do if death did not arrive while at the same time there was no adequate remedy for pain? Huygens also offered an answer to this question. He urged his readers to reflect upon their moral sins, for instance in his poem *Ooghen-troost* (1647).¹⁷ The title, literally 'eye comfort', refers both to the analgesic plant eyebright that was used to cure eye conditions and to the poem's aim of providing moral support for the visually handicapped.¹⁸ Huygens – who suffered from a painful eye condition

¹⁵ 'Maar kostlik kostloos sap, dat vloeijende, in de kookken
Des boesems, en dan daar, waar 't lichaam werd gestookken,
Van 't hoofd, tot in den teen, onvoelik gaat door kruipen,
En suiveren van vuil, en martelende stuipen', in Jan Six van Chandelier, *Gedichten*, ed. A.E. Jacobs (Assen – Maastricht: 1991), vol. I 163–164.

¹⁶ 'Vier Kinderen en een' Steen gebeurde 't mij te baren;
Maer 't laatste kinderbedd' was 'tswaerste wedervaren,
En 't laeste kind riep luydt, all was het stom als steen', in Constantijn Huygens, *De gedichten*, ed. J.A. Worp (Groningen: 1893), vol. II 179.

¹⁷ Huygens Constantijn, *Ooghen-troost*, ed. Zwaan F.L. (Groningen: 1984).

¹⁸ Van Beverwijck also frequently refers to eyebright as an ingredient in medicines for eye conditions. On the distinction between surface and depth, external appearance and inward truth in this poem, see Pieters J. – Gosseye L., "Blindheid en inzicht. De

himself – wrote *Ooghen-troost* for a female friend who was in danger of becoming blind in one eye.

The poem also voices the notion that blindness is a punishment from God, a purifying scourge that will lead to spiritual insight. Huygens formulates this insight in a satirical and moralizing manner: many individuals are blind in a figurative sense since they greatly overrate themselves. A long list of these metaphorically blind (the miserly, the prodigal, the wrathful) serves to illustrate not only that mental blindness is worse than physical blindness, but also to demonstrate the limitations imposed on the human will. Only those who are fully aware of this are properly pious Christians; only they will 'see God'. Suffering can only be conquered by subjecting oneself to God's power.¹⁹

In Christian discourse, blindness often serves as a metaphor for human stubbornness towards God. A well known biblical example is Samson, who neglected his duties as a man of God because of his love of Delilah. His punishment was a painful blinding – his eyes were cut out.²⁰ Once he had become blind, Samson came to understand his sins and God restored his immense physical strength. Samson destroyed the Philistine temple, dying with those he killed (Judges 13–16). This Old Testamental episode leads us to the moral question of whether humans (as opposed to God) can legitimately inflict pain on others. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the answer to this question was dependent on context. It seems that in Old Testamental narratives the infliction of pain is justified, certainly if the victims are God's enemies.²¹

retoriek van het lezen in Constantijn Huygens' *Ooghen-troost*", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 123,3 (2007) 208–225.

¹⁹ 'Blind en onblind is een, de vrome sullen God sien', Huygens Constantijn, *Ooghen-troost* 148, l. 1002.

²⁰ The pain of Samson's blinding makes logical sense: it forms an atonement for his sins. Van Beverwijk remarks that he will not discuss Samson's case as his love story is well known enough (Van Beverwijk, *Treasure of health* 45).

²¹ This can be observed, for example, in two Dutch tragedies about Samson: Abraham de Koning's *Samson's tragedy* (Amsterdam, Abraham de Koning: 1618) and Joost van den Vondel's *Samson or Sacred Revenge* (Amsterdam, weduwe Abraham de Wees: 1660), included in *De werken van Joost van den Vondel* (Amsterdam: 1936), IX 173–239. See Gemert L. van, "Schuld en boete bij Vondel en De Koning", forthcoming; and: Gemert L. van, "De krachtpatser en de hoer. Liefde en wraak op het zeventiende-eeuwse toneel", in Bots Hans – Gemert Lia van (eds.), *Schelmen en prekers. Genres en de transmissie van cultuur in vroegmodern Europa* (Nijmegen: 1999) 15–37. The text of Van den Vondel's play is also online at <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/vond001dewe09_01/vond001dewe09_01_0001.htm>.

The Pain of Torture – Victims and Perpetrators

How did Dutch writers view the infliction of pain during judicial punishment and torture – as opposed to the pain of illness? Contemporary debates about the use of the rack provide a particularly useful starting point for answering this question. Even in the tolerant Dutch Republic, the rack was frequently used, although its application was bound to strict rules and regulations. A suspect could only be tortured on the rack if there were at least two depositions from reliable witnesses, or from one eye witness. The rack could only be used a limited number of times, and the torture could only be repeated if new evidence of guilt arose.

In spite of these regulations, the temptation to inflict the pains of the rack with little or no restraint could be strong, especially if political issues – often intermixed with religious ones – were at stake. The year 1575 witnessed a notorious episode of excessive torture during the aftermath of the alleged betrayal of the Northern Quarter (the peninsular area north of the IJ). In this year Spanish troops attempted to take back this part of Holland, which had been held by Protestant rebels since 1572. This attempt failed, yet there were suspicions that Catholic peasants had been about to betray the area to the Spanish, and a special committee was installed to investigate the matter. This committee far exceeded its competence: several prisoners were savagely tortured and died. One of the accused survived his ordeal and took legal action against the judges. The Northern Quarter episode forms the subject of a fascinating monograph by Henk van Nierop.²²

One of the important historical accounts of these horrendous events is Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft's detailed description, based on the judicial documents, in his magisterial work on the beginnings of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, *De Nederlandsche Historien* (*The History of the Netherlands* I, 1642).²³ Hooft relates, for instance, how one prisoner was

²² See Nierop H. van, *Het verraad van het Noorderkwartier. Oorlog, terreur en recht in de Nederlandse Opstand* (Amsterdam: 1999). An English translation of this excellent study will appear in 2009: *Treason in Holland: War, Terror and the Rule of Law in the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Princeton U.P.).

²³ I quote from the recent anthology in modern Dutch: P.C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historiën. Een keuze uit het grote verhaal van de Nederlandse Opstand*, ed. F. van Gestel – E. Grootes – J. de Jongste (Amsterdam: 2007) 168–173. In the 1642 edition of *Nederlandsche Historien* Hooft's account can be found in chapter X 422–425. For a complete overview of the historiographical tradition, see van Nierop, *Het verraad* 253–273.



Fig. 4. Arnold Nicolai (?), Prisoner on the rack. From Joos de Damhouder, *Practycke ende handbouvck in criminele zaeken* (Leuven, Wouters - Bathen: 1555) 56. Copy of Amsterdam University Library.

suspended from a ladder, with his arms twisted behind his back, and a two hundred-pound weight hanging from his big toe; another was covered in pieces of linen that were doused with brandy and set on fire so that his skin and soles were singed. This was only the beginning: one of the prisoners was tortured 22 or 23 times, Hooft states, not only by the usual means of the whip and the rack, but also by burning sulphur and candles on his shaven skin. Meanwhile, he was given only salted herring to eat, and nothing to drink. Then came digger wasps, who left their sting deep inside the prisoner's navel, and after that a heated stone bell with a rat inside it was placed on his belly, so that the animal tried to escape by biting its way into the prisoner's body. The prisoner's penis was covered in cream and sucked on by a calf; his groins were blown up by means of a cane that been inserted into his penis and beaten with branches. Small wonder that this prisoner confessed the crimes he had been accused of. He was sentenced to death but revoked his confession on the scaffold and professed his innocence until the executioner strangled him.

This was too much even for seventeenth-century writers who had lived through the Spanish-Dutch war. Hooft notes that the events on which he reported brought tears to his eyes and stiffened his fingers and that he is aware that his readers feel pain and grief too. His only reason for going into so much detail was a didactic one: eventually the judges were made to suffer for their crimes, and for Hooft, the episode reveals how the power of reason and justice eventually triumph over cruelty and inhumanity.

Another contemporary source that offers a detailed description of the Northern Quarter episode, and condemns the excessive violence, is Daniel Jonktys' *De pyn-bank wedersproken en bematigt* (*The Rack Disputed and Tempered*), which first appeared in 1650, and was frequently reprinted. Joachim Oudaan wrote an accompanying poem. Both writers follow Hooft's description; Oudaan's poem is an interrogation by Justice, addressed to the rack. Justice's questions are in italics:²⁴

²⁴ Daniel Jonktys, *De pyn-bank wedersproken en bematigt* (Rotterdam, Joannes Naeranus: 1651; private copy). This edition also contains the poem by Oudaan: 'Op de tijtel-print, van de wedersproke pyn-bank, in-gesteld door den achtbaren, hoog-geleerden heere Daniel Jonktys, artzeny-geleerde, oud-schepen der stede Rotterdam', 2v-3v (see the appendix to this article). Jonktys' tract is an adaptation of the Latin *Tribunal reformatum, in quo sanioris et tutioris justitiae via, judici Christiano in processu criminali commonstratur, rejecta et fugata tortura, cujus iniquitatem, multiplicem fallaciam, atque illicitum inter Christianos usum, libera et necessaria dissertatio* (1624) by Joannes Grevius. Grevius does not refer to the

Rack, report on your instruments of affliction:

[...]

One [suspect] was tied to a ladder,
 Many hundreds of pounds hanging
 From the thumbs of his feet,
 Where no bath of sweat can be staunched.
 The gang of torturers greedily drinks the blood
 And get thirstier the more blood is shed.

The windlass pulls at the limbs,
 The midriff is no longer covered by skin.
 Jugs full of brandy poured into strips of linen
 Scorch the flesh from the head down to the footsoles.

Candles, pitch and coals burn armpits and soles,
 And each limb is pulled loose.
 Crushing and stretching the elbows to a yard's length
 Do not stop until the torturer is tired of it.

What else? Sulphur smoke,
 Insects planted on the navel
 Bore their sting into it.
 They pour boiling oil,
 Or tie split canes
 Onto the exposed muscles.

Go on! They put hot dishes
 On the flesh of the belly,
 And heat them further with a fire from above;
 The rat inside, suffocating in the heat,
 Bites and rips with teeth and claws
 Deeply into the belly underneath the stone jar.

This is not all! Must I add
 What they gave a calf to suck on,
 Where they inserted thin canes?
 What bodily member they blew up in this manner?
 Or what (who would not become enraged!)
 the entire body was suspended from?

Does the pain lessen after the unwinding?
 In order to banish sleep,
 The rod comes down on the flesh,
 They offer only salted herring as food,
 And no drink, no matter how much this is begged for,
 The heart so dry, the mouth so hoarse.

What evidence did they find?
 High treason, but only on flimsy grounds.
 Greed for your possessions

events in the Northern Quarter; for his information about this episode, Jonkty's relied on Hooft and a second historical source by Pieter Bor Christiaensz.

(Poor people, without intercessors)
 Was the only guilt, and the only cause
 Of the blood that was shed.

Jonktys was both a physician and sheriff, and in the 231-page tract that follows Oudaan's poem, he pleads for the abolishing of the rack, or at least for a limiting of its use, since it cannot guarantee a fair judicial process. According to both Jonktys and Oudaan, the rack is ineffective as a judicial instrument, since it does not prove or disprove innocence; it is also unreasonable, and even inhuman, because of the excessive pain that it causes. Jonktys emphasizes that judges and other authorities are duty-bound to use their power responsibly, and they should realize that only God knows the truth about a criminal case, and that judgment ultimately belongs only to Him.

The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic saw another example of excessive violence – this time it occurred after the judicial process had been completed. In 1672, the brothers Johan and Cornelis de Witt were lynched by a frenzied crowd. This murder was the result of a deep-running political conflict between republicans and Orangists. Yet the lynching of the De Witt brothers has been remembered especially as a savage slaughter in which the brothers' bodies were horrendously mutilated. Among the bewildered bystanders was Joachim Oudaan, who had written the poem to Jonktys' *The Rack*. This time, he recorded his experiences in a diary, but felt inadequate to the task: 'in short, the frenzy has been so extreme that I am unable to express it adequately with the pen, or even with the mouth'.²⁵ In spite of this, he did write a tragedy on the De Witt murder, *Fratricide in The Hague or Frenzied Mirth*, only six months after it took place. This play does not present the lynching directly but in a report written for the De Witt family.²⁶

In the case of the Northern Quarter episode, it is worth asking why the authorities condoned the excesses committed by the judicial committee. Van Nierop offers some plausible explanations for their behaviour.²⁷

²⁵ 'Int kort de dolheijd is zoo groot geweest, dat ik niet magtig genoeg ben, die genoegzaam uit te drukken, met de penne, zelfs niet met de mond', in Joachim Oudaan, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord of Dolle Blydschap Trauspel*, ed. Werkgroep Utrechtse neerlandici (Utrecht: 1982) 139.

²⁶ Oudaan, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord of Dolle Blydschap* 108–118. This fiercely anti-Orangist play was not printed until 1712, at the beginning of the Second Stadtholderless Era.

²⁷ Van Nierop, *Het verraad*, esp. 166–178.

The atrocities served in part to show the prisoners' dishonourableness (and hence to show that they could not be entrusted with the rebels' cause), while the fact that the war was not going well for the Protestant rebels may also have been a factor. In addition, the judges would lose face if none of the prisoners confessed. That the judges often drank heavily during the proceedings, and frequently kept away from the actual tortures may indicate that they did realize how morally objectionable their behaviour was. We have already seen that Hooft, Jonktys and Oudaan also stressed the importance of a clean conscience.²⁸

In addition to judges, torturers formed a second group involved in the judicial process. They had a reputation for being in league with the devil, since they operated in a shadowy zone between life and death; they were also often seen as having no honour, since they tortured defenceless, potentially innocent people. Torturers were frequently foreigners and often formed a more or less closed, socially marginalized group; the job was passed on from father to son. How did these professionals view the suffering that they inflicted? In the case of the Northern Quarter, we have one fascinating, if perhaps not entirely reliable, testimony from Stijn Jansdaughter, the wife of the torturer Jacob Michielsz. This 22-year-old Luxembourger (officially a countryman since Luxembourg was one of the provinces of the Netherlands) had the usual reputation for cruelty, yet his wife claimed that Michielsz was a sensitive soul: during the trials, he would come home tired and in a bad mood, the skin of his hands peeling off as a result of the manual force needed in stretching and torturing. He would often cry out of pity for his victims and say: 'I cannot torture them any longer, yet I have to do it, otherwise I will be fired'.²⁹

In the case of the De Witt episode, there is a similar testimony, whose reliability is also uncertain, but whose symbolic significance is

²⁸ This view had been expressed before, during the trial of pensionary of state Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who was accused of high treason and was executed in 1619. Joost van den Vondel, the most famous Dutch poet of the period, wrote a bitter complaint against the judges, the *Geuse Vesper of Siecken-troost voor de Vierentwintigh* ('Evening prayer of a "Geus" or "comfort" for the 24 judges'). God will punish you, he predicts, and until then a worm will gnaw your heart; your conscience will torment you. Vondel Joost van den, *Geuse Vesper of Siecken-troost voor de Vierentwintigh*, in: *De werken van Joost van den Vondel* (Amsterdam: 1929) III 339–340. Also on: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/vond001dewe03_01/vond001dewe03_01_0050.htm

²⁹ '[...] ick en can die gevangens niet langer pijnigen; nochtans moet ick sulcx doen oft ick worde geslagen'. See Van Nierop, *Het verraad* 167–170; quotation on 169.

nevertheless considerable. In 1673, De Witt's torturer, the inexperienced Jan Christiaens/Corstyaense, wrote a note to De Witt's widow, Maria van Berckel; it was included in the 1712 edition of Oudaans tragedy *Fratricide in The Hague*. Christiaens was consumed by remorse, and begs Van Berckel for forgiveness. He confesses to having tortured De Witt out of fear (probably of losing his job), even though the latter was innocent, and claims that he wants never to torment anyone in this manner again. De Witt maintained his innocence and even summoned his judges to God's tribunal. In the midst of his tortures he exclaimed: 'O God, now I feel that You are a mighty God, since now I have ceased to feel pain'.³⁰ These two men, then, do not conform to the stereotype of the cruel and insensitive torturer: they did their job, but their conscience troubled them. It is not unlikely that some members of the crowd that murdered De Witt also later felt ashamed about their behaviour.

In 1623 Constantijn Huygens wrote a character sketch in verse entitled *A Torturer*.³¹ It is an example of the classical genre of the *charactère*, one of whose first practitioners was the Greek writer Theophrastus (371–287 BC). As in the other poems by his hand that I have discussed so far, Huygens bombards his reader with a range of ingenuous leaps of thought, couched in subtle, deliberately arcane language that is both serious and comic in effect. Surprisingly, Huygens initially avoids any associations with cruelty, and emphasizes the technical skills which a torturer needs to carry out his work. He presents the torturer as a respectable killer, trained according to the traditions of his profession. The torturer has to operate in a cool-headed manner: some hesitation is allowed since any sign of technical failure will elicit fury from the crowds present at an execution. In other words, a sense of professional duty is paramount. This also applies to judicial torture in the service of truth-finding: untruth must be 'pierced through and through' by

³⁰ 'O Godt, nu gevoel ick dat ghy een groot godt syt want nu gevoel ick geen pyn meer [...]'. Oudaan, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord* 119. The note is listed under no. 11411a in J.A.N. Knuttel's catalogue of pamphlets. For Christiaens see Panhuysen L., *De Ware Vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam – Antwerpen: 2005) 452; 501 n. 129. Panhuysen assumes that the note is genuine.

³¹ Constantijn Huygens, "Een Beul", *Zes zedeprinten* ed. Werkgroep van Utrechtse neerlandici (Utrecht: 1976²) 80–91. Also at: www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Huygens/HUYG23.html#CH1623038 and www.fransmensonides.nl/beul_hoofd.htm (with a translation in modern Dutch).

'beating and whipping' it, and by 'squeezing it with ropes, tongs and branches'.³²

If the poem at first suggests that a torturer's job is a purely technical affair, in the final 8 of the 54 stanzas of the poem, Huygens suddenly addresses the ethical dimension of his subject: a vengeful torturer commits a moral error and is unjust. Ultimately, the torturer represents every human being: only very few are able to withstand the torment of their conscience, and the pain of remorse is worse than bodily pain.

Beyond Pain

'O God, now I feel that You are a mighty God, since now I have ceased to feel pain' – according to his torturer, Cornelis de Witt spoke these words on the rack.³³ They suggest that De Witt had gone beyond pain, and that his faith in God had enabled him to do so. This may also apply to the torture victims in the Northern Quarter episode, who frequently professed their faith in God. The question of whether it is physically possible not to experience pain was investigated in the seventeenth century by René Descartes in his *Traité de l'homme*, which he probably wrote in 1633–1634, but whose publication he postponed since he feared persecution.³⁴ It eventually appeared at Leiden in 1662, twelve years after his death, in a Latin translation. The original French manuscript was published in Paris in 1664.

In the *Traité de l'homme* Descartes expounded the revolutionary view that the soul is immaterial, and that the body is a machine created by God. Descartes saw body and soul as two separate substances that function independently yet are also connected internally. He realized that this was a paradoxical view of the relation between body and mind,

³² 'Soo boort hy door en door en door der logenen beklem;/ En legt sy [de waarheid] diep en dwers, en kan sy qualick rijsen,/ Slaet, geesselt nijtpe 'r uyts met Touw en Tangh en Rijsen [...]', in Huygens, "Een Beul" 84, vs. 42–44.

³³ 'O Godt, nu gevoel ick dat ghy een groot godt syt want nu gevoel ick geen pyn meer [...]', in Oudaan, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord* 119.

³⁴ For the issues discussed here, see especially Verbeek Th., "Een Ziel in een Lich-aam", in idem, *De wereld van Descartes. Essays over Descartes en zijn tijdgenoten* (Amsterdam: 1996) 101–117; idem, "Crisis te Utrecht: 1641–1642", in Koops W. – Dorsman L. – Verbeek Th. (eds.) *Née Cartésienne – Cartesiaansch Gebooren. Descartes en de Utrechtse Academie 1636–2005* (Assen: 2005) 22–38; Gijn J. van, "Descartes en de geneeskunde", in ibidem 83–101. The date of *Traité de l'homme* has been inferred from a letter to Mersenne from 1646. See Van Gijn, "Descartes en de geneeskunde" 85.

but explained the connection between the two as a divinely ordained fact. The link between body and mind serves to enable humans to respond adequately to real-life situations. Man is a machine but not an automaton; he can adapt to his surroundings. The machine is set in motion when the body transmits signals via the nervous system to the pineal gland.³⁵ The pineal gland, in turn, stimulates muscular movement. The drawing of the kneeling boy by the fire illustrates Descartes' argument:

Thus, if fire *A* is near foot *B*, the particles of this fire (which move very quickly, as you know) have force enough to displace the area of skin that they touch; and thus pulling the little thread *cc*, which you can see to be attached there, they simultaneously open the entrance to the pore [or conduit] *de* where this thread terminates [in the brain]: just as pulling on one end of a cord, one simultaneously rings a bell which hangs at the opposite end. Now the entrance of the pore or small conduit *de*, being thus opened, the animal spirits from cavity *F* enter and are carried through it – part into the muscles that serve to withdraw this foot from the fire, part into those that serve to advance the hands and bend the whole body to protect it.³⁶

Descartes referred to this process as automatic movement (he did not yet use the word 'reflex').

Descartes approached pain from a purely analytical, philosophical perspective, and was uninterested in the ethical dimension of pain. He posited a direct relation between bodily damage and physical pain, and assumed that pain can be stopped by removing its cause or by manipulating the reception of pain signals by the brain. Cutting nerves seemed a theoretical option, but in practice this turned out to cause new pain (we saw earlier that Van Beverwijck warns against touching the nerves directly), and Descartes' theory could not account for this new pain (just as it could not explain the workings of emotional pain).

The question of whether seventeenth-century Dutch writers knew about and made use of Descartes's views on pain is an open one. Descartes's theory of pain sensation was not published during his lifetime, but he may have discussed it informally, for example in a circular

³⁵ Zie Verbeek, "Een Ziel in een Lichaam" 109–110 and Van Gijn, "Descartes en de geneeskunde" 92–93.

³⁶ Translation from René Descartes, *Treatise of man*. French text with translation and commentary by Th. St. Hall (Cambridge MA: 1972) 34–35 (in the French original 26–28).



Fig. 5. Gerard van Gutschoven, The perception of pain according to Descartes. From René Descartes, *Traité de l'homme* (Paris, Claude Clerselier: 1664) 27. Copy of Amsterdam University Library.

letter. Van Beverwijck and Huygens corresponded with Descartes, yet it seems that they did not discuss Descartes' ideas about pain.³⁷

Conclusion

According to his torturer, Cornelis de Witt spoke the following words on the rack: 'O God, now I feel that You are a mighty God, since now I have ceased to feel pain'.³⁸ They suggest that De Witt had gone beyond pain, and that his faith in God had enabled him to do so. This may also apply to the tortured victims in the Northern Quarter episode, who frequently professed their faith in God. In investigating the possibility of eliminating the physical sensation of pain altogether, Descartes seems to have occupied an isolated position within seventeenth-century Dutch pain discourses. Descartes approaches pain from an amoral, purely analytical perspective, whereas the dominant medical, literary, historiographical and judicial conceptions of pain proceeded from Galenic and Christian models. In the Galenic approach, pain is a sign that the balance between the four humours has been disturbed, while in Christian conceptions, pain could be seen as a punishment for the Fall, and therefore a necessary part of each human life. Yet this punishment does not mean that human beings are entirely powerless to do anything about their pain. Both in the Galenic and Christian approach, pain serves as a sign that both body and mind are in need of purification. Dutch writers of the seventeenth century often combine the two frameworks: there is often a seamless transition from descriptions of physical pain to moral lessons about the change in moral behaviour that is necessary to alleviate the pain. God can inflict pain, and in some cases man has the right to inflict pain on his fellow human beings, provided this is done in the service of God, and is aimed at purification. Yet early modern Dutch writers roundly condemn the infliction of pain without restraint and out of self-interest, and see this as a form of arrogating an authority that belongs only to God.

³⁷ See for example the "Aenhangsel" [Appendix] in Van Beverwijck, *Wercken der genees-konste* 204–205, followed by letters to and by Descartes from 1637, 205–213.

³⁸ 'O Godt, nu gevoel ick dat ghy een groot godt syt want nu gevoel ick geen pyn meer [...]'. Joachim Oudaan, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord* 119. The situation is comparable to that of Samson in Vondel's play *Samson*, referred to earlier in this article: 'I have conquered my blindness, my sorrow; strike me further if you wish', Samson says to his warder ('k Heb mijne blindheit, mijn verdriet/ Verwonnen. wiltge, sla me stijver' [*Samson* 1077–1078]).

Appendix

Joachim Oudaan: "Op de tijtel-print, van de wedersproke pyn-bank, in-gesteld door den achtbaren, hoog-geleerden heere Daniel Jonktys, artzeny-geleerde, oud-schepen der stede Rotterdam", in Daniel Jonktys, *De pyn-bank wedersproken en bematigt* (Rotterdam, Joannes Naeranus: 1651) fol. 2v-3v.

[...]

Pijn-bank, meldt uw' teyster-stukken.

[...]

Aan een ladder, vast gebonden,
 Bindm'er een; veel honderd ponden
 Aan de duymen van zijn voet,
 Daar geen zweet bat is te stulpen.
 Dorstig wordt, in bloed te gulpen,
 't Pijnders-rot na meerder bloed.

't Wind-as moet de leden trekken,
 Dat de huyl geen rif kan dekken.
 Brandewijn, met kannen vol,
 Weg-geplengt in lijnwaat strooken,
 Hoofd-waard af, om 't vleesch te schrooken,
 Brandt tot onder 't voeten-hol:

Teffens kaarssen, pek, en kolen,
 Koken oxelen, en zolen,
 Dat geen lid een lid en bindt:
 Weer aan 't trekken, en aan 't knellen,
 Elle-bogen tot een elle,
 Tot de beul zig beu bevindt.

Wat al meer? Een smook van zwavel:
 Torren plant men op de navel,
 Die 'r een angel trekken uyt:
 Ziedend' oly doet men gieten,
 Of men bindt gesplete rieten
 Op de spieren zonder huyl.

Vaar al voort. Gebakke testen
 Doet m' op 't weeke buyk-vleesch vesten.
 Vuyr daar boven, en een rat,
 Die door hitt' in naar benauwen
 Bijt en rijt, met tand en klauwen,
 Diep ter buyk in, onder 't vat.

Dat's 't noch al niet. Zal ik tuygen
 Wat m' een zog-kalf dede zuigen?
 Waar men schibbens hout in dreef?
 Welk een lid men op dee blazen?
 Of waar aan (wie zouw niet razen!)

't Gansche lichaam hangen bleef?

Suft de weedom na 't ontspannen?

Om de slaap voorts weg te bannen,

Girst de garde door het vleesch;

Geeft men pekcl-haring i'eten;

Laaft geen dronk (hoe zeer bekreten)

't Hart zoo droog, de mond zoo heesch.

Wat wierd hier door wyt-gevonden?

Land-verraad, op losse gronden.

'k Acht verlekk'ring op uw' goed,

(Arme menschen, zonder voorspraak)

Was alleen de schuld, en oorzaak

Van het zoo geplengde bloed [...].

Selective Bibliography

- BEVERWIJCK JOHAN VAN, *Wercken der genees-konste, bestaende in den Schat der gesontheyt, Schat der ongesontheyt, Heel-konste* [...] (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664).
- , *Schat der gezondheid*, ed. L. van Gemert (Amsterdam: 1992).
- COOPER A., "The Indigenous versus the Exotic: debating natural origins in early modern Europe", *Landscape Research* 28 (2003) I, 51–60.
- DESCARTES RENÉ, *Treatise of man*. French text with translation and commentary by Th.St. Hall (Cambridge MA: 1972).
- GEMERT L. VAN, "De krachtpatser en de hoer. Liefde en wraak op het zeventiende-eeuwse toneel", in Bots H. – Gemert L. van (eds.), *Schelmen en prekers. Genres en de transmissie van cultuur in vroegmodern Europa* (Nijmegen: 1999) 15–37.
- , "Johan van Beverwijck als 'instituut'", *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992) 99–106.
- , "Johan van Beverwijck", in Bynum W.F. – Bynum H. (eds.), *Dictionary of Medical Biography* (Westport – London: 2007) I 203–204.
- , "Schuld en boete bij Vondel en De Koning" (forthcoming).
- GIJN JAN VAN, "Descartes en de geneeskunde", in Koops W. – Dorsman L. – Verbeek Th. (eds.), *Née Cartésienne – Cartesiaansch Gebooren. Descartes en de Utrechtse Academie 1636–2005* (Assen: 2005) 83–101.
- HOOFT P.C., *Nederlandse Historiën. Een keuze uit het grote verhaal van de Nederlandse Opstand*, ed. F. van Gestel – E. Grootes – J. de Jongste (Amsterdam: 2007).
- HUYGENS CONSTANTIJN, *De gedichten*, ed. J.A. Worp, 9 vols. (Groningen: 1893).
- , "Een Beul", in *Zes zedeprinten*, ed. Werkgroep van Utrechtse neerlandici (Utrecht: 1972³) 80–91. Also at: www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Huygens/HUYG23.html#CH1623038 and www.fransmensonides.nl/beul_hoofd.htm.
- , *Ooghen-troost*, ed. F.L. Zwaan (Groningen: 1984).
- , *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen*, ed. E.R.E. Blom, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 2003).
- JONKTYG DANIEL, *De pyn-bank wedersproken en bematigt* (Rotterdam: Ioannes Naeranus, 1651, private copy).
- KONING ABRAHAM DE, *Simons Treur-spel* (Amsterdam, Abraham de Koningh: 1618).
- LUYKEN JAN, *Spiegel van het menselyk bedryf* (Amsterdam, Johannes and Caspaares Luiken: 1694) facsimile edition by L. de Vries (Amsterdam – Brussel: 1984).
- NIEROP H. VAN, *Het verraad van het Noorderkwartier. Oorlog, terreur en recht in de Nederlandse Opstand* (Amsterdam: 1999).
- OUDAAN JOACHIM, *Haagsche Broeder-Moord of Dolle Blydschap Treurspel*, ed. Werkgroep Utrechtse neerlandici (Utrecht: 1982).
- PANHUYSEN L., *De Ware Vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam – Antwerpen: 2005).
- PIETERS J. – GOSSEVE L., "Blindheid en inzicht. De retoriek van het lezen in Constantijn Huygens' *Ooghen-troost*", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 123,3 (2007) 208–225.
- SIX VAN CHANDELIER JAN, *Gedichten*, ed. A.E. Jacobs (Assen – Maastricht: 1991).
- VERBEEK TH., "Een Ziel in een Lichaam", in idem, *De wereld van Descartes. Essays over Descartes en zijn tijdgenoten* (Amsterdam: 1996) 101–117.
- , "Crisis te Utrecht: 1641–1642", in Koops W. – Dorsman L. – Verbeek Th. (eds.), *Née Cartésienne – Cartesiaansch Gebooren. Descartes en de Utrechtse Academie 1636–2005* (Assen: 2005) 22–38.
- VONDEL JOOST VAN DEN, *Gaue Vesper of Siecken-troost voor de Vierentwintigh* submitted in: *De werken van Joost van den Vondel* (Amsterdam: 1929) III 339–340. Also at: www.dbnl.org/tekst/vond001dewe03_01/vond001dewe03_01_0050.htm.
- , *Samson of Heilige Wraeck* (t'Amsterdam: weduwe Abraham de Wees, 1660); submitted in: *De werken van Joost van den Vondel* (Amsterdam 1936) IX 173–239. Also at: www.dbnl.org/tekst/vond001dewe09_01/vond001dewe09_01_0001.htm.