

Portraying a *homo universalis*; images of Anna Maria van Schurman

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Summary

As a seventeenth century celibate woman, Anna Maria van Schurman excelled in philosophy, theology, art and languages. She engraved self-portraits and sent prints to correspondents. Van der Stighelen studied these (1987), but the images by other artists have not been coherently discussed before. With the idea of the era, that faces of learned persons became important for the recognition of their authority in a literary or scientific field, an attempt is made to analyze her portraits and their contexts. She has neither written about the sittings, nor about the artists or commissions. A small irregularity at her left cheek is used as a mark for the sitting and thus for the artist's sincere attempt to portray her. Modern admirers may not read directly the savant's spirituality or authority from her contemporary portraits, but imagining face and entourage may facilitate the interpretation of her writings.

Introduction

A tiny painting surfaced recently of Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678; fig. 1) and was added to the Rijksmuseum collection.¹ It shows how this iconic woman in the Golden Age painted herself in miniature. She was called the Miracle or Star of Utrecht, because of her



multi-talent that she developed despite the masculine spirit of the time. Men admired and cheered her, not only because she excelled in philosophy, theology and languages, poetry, calligraphy, engraving, but especially because she exposed it as a woman, unmarried. She corresponded with intellectuals in the Dutch Republic and beyond, both men and women.²

Fig. 1. Anna Maria van Schurman, Miniature self-portrait, plm. 1650. Gouache, 8.3 x 6.7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.no. NG-2018-302

Few contemporaries knew her personally and rarely described her appearance. The savant Claude Salmasius from Leyden wrote in 1639 to a friend in Paris: ‘There are women more beautiful than she, but also more ugly ones; she is a brunette and has a bit of a melancholic face with dark eyes’. Another scholar, reverend Anthonie Clement opined that “she coupled eye-blinding beauty to great education”.³ Meanwhile, universities exposed images of their professors. Faces of learned persons represented the recognition of their authority in a literary, theological or scientific field, as the face was seen as the reflection of underlying qualities.⁴ Interpreting images of a person may look like an instinctive approach, but arousing emotions is the very reason why people had themselves pictured. People appreciated it if the painter or engraver could express the inner feelings, ‘the passions of the soul’.⁵ Schurman began to draw



her own image and developed her new craft of engraving and printing in 1633 (fig. 2). She added a justification in Latin: ‘it was not pride or beauty, but a step towards more important engagements’. Sending prints to many (pen-)friends, like André Rivet, Claude Salmasius and Constantijn Huygens, and showing off with her Latin, was audacious for a young woman, as it could provoke unseemly reactions of men.⁶

Fig. 2. Anna Maria van Schurman, Self-portrait, 1633, print of an engraving; paper, 19.9 x 15.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. RP-P-OB-59.344

Some background may illustrate the context of her portraits. Schurman became a pupil of Gijsbert Voetius, theologian and classicist in Utrecht, who helped her to remain firm in faith and the Calvinistic interpretation of it, as taught in the Dutch Reformed Church. Her aim was to combine scientific theology with practical religious life. Voetius mentored her in the Greek and Hebrew languages of the Bible. She was able to correspond with others who also mastered these languages, and therewith she participated in a group of scholarly people, the so-called Republic of Letters. Writing with other learned women became part of “the cultural imaginary and provided the necessary symbols for other women to self-determine and self-define in enabling ways”.⁷

In 1636 the University of Utrecht was founded, and at the instigation of Voetius, Schurman made poems for the occasion, in Latin and in Dutch. Subsequently, she was allowed to follow lectures, unseen by other (male) students. After her provocative outcry that ‘these sacred halls are inaccessible to women!’, she encouraged women to rather build up inner beauty instead of wasting too much time on mirroring outer beauty.⁸ Yet, a mirror was indispensable for making self-portraits. She also sat for other artists, probably on invitation, as will be discussed. Art historians have commented on separate portraits, but a comparative study of portraits by others has not been done before. It could contribute to better understanding of Schurman and her context, in analogy to Van der Stighelen’s study of her self-portraits. In the present study, the portraits are presented and discussed, as it were a catalogue for a virtual exposition. The likeness and allusions to her context are addressed, i.e. her social status, learnedness and piety over a period of two decades of her adult life. This endeavor is not self-evident, because she never wrote anything on artists, occasions, commissioners, or whether she sat for a portrait. And that is telling about her character.

It is through access to high quality copies of these works of art that students of Schurman’s writings benefit. We tend to regard the pictures as photographic stills that reflect historic reality, but impressions of artists are not always a direct representation of the sitter at that moment. This reserved appreciation is required, both for the present study and for those, who study her writings.

To decide whether the artist has seen her in person, or that she sat for the picture, a natural unevenness next to her left nostril is used as a mark: a mouche (fly) or in old-Dutch a ‘moesje’. It was an inconspicuous, little blemish, not disfiguring, and she did not try to ignore it in her self-portraits.⁹ Yet, an artist might have omitted the mouche deliberately. But in the absence of sources, some certainty is helpful.

Nine portraits made in her quarter-century as savante are discussed, to show her pursuits, context and development in style. The artists are Van de Passe sr. and jr., Van Mierevelt, Lievens plus engraver, Van Ceulen and two engravers. In passing, several particularities are mentioned that were not recognized before.

As Anna Maria van Schurman has become an icon of exposing her talents in a man’s world, and her correspondence and publications nowadays being studied worldwide, mainly by women, there is a certain urgency to share these deliberations.

Crispijn van de Passe



The earliest portrait of Schurman that she did not make herself, is a drawing in brown ink by Crispijn van de Passe (ca. 1564-1637, the elder). He was a prolific engraver in Utrecht. She regularly visited the Van de Passes, because daughter Magdalena taught her the craft of engraving, which resulted in the above-mentioned self-portrait. She posed with the left side of her face turned towards the artist.

Fig. 3. Crispijn van de Passe sr., Portrait in brown ink, 163?, paper, 18.2 x 13.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. RP-T-1898-A-3987

The mouche on her left cheek is clearly visible. The richly embroidered dress and hairstyle (curly, with pony) resemble other (self-)portraits of that time (below). It reflects no erudition (though her learnedness already was widely spread), but rather piety (hand on a Bible with silver clasps), as well as elegance and wealth, with her jewels, dress with large back-collar, lace and fan (fig. 3). It is likely made in 1636 (the last number is not visible), which coincides (accidentally or not) with the establishment of the Utrecht University, an event that she poetically described.

Later, Crispijn junior (1594-1670) composed a series of engravings of important Christian women, disguised as shepherdesses, each with a quatrain alongside (1640). Among them Apollinea N.S.M.A. with a laurel wreath 'In this honest damsel, with her sweet face, lives the greatest wisdom' (initials reversed, fig. 4).

Schurman is very recognizable, with her small mouth and somewhat pronounced lower lip, big eyes and curly hair with pony. She did not sit for the picture (no mouche), and she was probably not amused by it, because Crispijn's previous series of women was about courtesans.¹⁰



Fig. 4. Crispijn van de Passe jr., Portrait as a shepherdess, 1640, paper, c. 10 x 8 cm. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. BI-1946-663-

Michiel van Mierevelt

Schurman's well-being radiates from the painting, made in the so-called portrait factory of Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641) in Delft (fig. 5). He was the most popular portraitist of the time, but nothing is known about the occasion or commission. Also her visit to Delft and the artist's studio are nowhere mentioned. Mierevelt experts Jansen and colleagues date it 1637-'38, thus directly after the opening of the University, and a portrait was fitting.¹¹ It is not unlikely that her (pen-)friend and highly placed Constantijn Huygens was instrumental, as he had his own portrait made in the Mierevelt factory. After his wife passed away in 1637, he kept attracting the attention of Anna Maria. She responded scantily and he wondered if he, as



a widower put her off, because of her motto 'My love is crucified'.

Constantijn wrote to a friend in 1639: 'My love is also crucified and I am only interested in the beauty of her spirit'.¹²

Implicitly, he recognized her physical beauty that would be worthy a portrait.

Fig. 5. Michiel van Mierevelt, Portrait half-figure, 1637-8, oil on panel, 63 x 52 cm. Martena Museum, Franeker

The painting shows her, turned to the left, in stately dress: a black damask robe with bows of silver brocade, a broad collar of Flemish lace, rich jewels and pearls. In general, there is no doubt that Van Mierevelt made portraits of superb likeness, but is this also true for this one,

a woman thirty years of age? In his painting, she looks oldish, with rather course features. He gave her blue, instead of brown eyes and a mouche is not visible. If he has not tactfully omitted the mouche, it must be assumed that he saw her only shortly, made a sketch and completed the image from memory. The mediocrity of the resemblance has not been noted before.¹³ The portrayal is static and shows only status, nothing of the celebrity she had become at that time. The painting remained in her possession (and estate), not mentioned by any of her visitors.

A decade of self-portraits

Some thoughts are in place about two engravings of her, published in the *Trou-Ringh* (Wedding Ring) of Jacob Cats (1637).¹⁴ The famous poet dedicated his book with recommendations for partner choice and marital pitfalls, illustrated with anecdotes, to ‘Juffrouw Schuermans’, his unmarried friend since their first contact in 1620. The book is decorated with a portrait of Schurman, standing. The dress is similar to the ones in the portraits of Van de Passe senior and Van Mierevelt (fig. 6). The Dom-church of Utrecht is seen, which refers to the new University, and thus the engraving was made shortly after her inaugural publications of 1636; study books and pens point to her already well-recognised level of scholarship.¹⁵



Fig. 6. Adriaen van de Venne (?), Portrait knee-length, 1637, after unknown self-portrait, paper, 16.8 x 12 cm. In Cats’ *Trou-Ringh*. Rijksmuseum inv.no. RP-P-OB-23.263; later stand-alone, embellished and signed states by Theodor Matham in several collections

A parallel printing of the *Trou-Ringh* (also 1637) has a different portrait (fig. 7).¹⁶ In both editions, Cats stated in his eulogy that the portrait was done ‘naer het leven’ (lifelike) and done by herself, drawn after her mirror image, and that he had given the drawing to an engraver. The mouche on the ‘right’ cheek in both portraits means that she had the left side of her face turned to the mirror; the turned-over print was the mirror image of the engraving.



Fig. 7. Adriaen van de Venne (?), Portrait half-figure, after self-portrait of Anne Marie, copper engraving, paper, 14.2 x 8.7 cm. In Cats' *Trou-Ringh* 1637; separate prints in British Museum and other collections

Cats's poem under both images reads:

*Whoever will watch this pretty image /
May realise that you see here a praise for all women*

The Utrecht events and statements, plus the publication of the *Trou-Ringh* had to settle for a while, before she tried to make new self-portraits. One of these she sent to a French correspondent and artist, Madame Coutel, '*Matrone nobili*', as a more or less obliged return gift (1639). She wrote in French: 'I ensure you of my friendship, by giving myself to you with this 'petit tableau'. It is only a painting, ... but it will lead your mind to the original that is represented'.¹⁷ Indeed, studying the features of a portrait could, according to the practice of physiognomy, reveal the person's thoughts and temperament.

The exchange with Coutel initiated an intention to make new self-portraits ('it is now a sure, fixed and immovable idea in my mind to fashion new ones, more accurately').¹⁸ One outcome was a charming self-portrait in pastel, with the right side of her face in the mirror (*'Hanc sui ipsius effigiem creta colore variegata depinxit 29 June, 1640, aetatis suae 33'*; fig. 8). At close observation, the mouche is visible.

Meanwhile, the fashion of clothing and hairstyle had been changing, reflected in this pastel that was kept in her estate.

Fig. 8. Anna Maria van Schurman, Self-portrait in pastel, 1640, 28 x 23 cm. Wooden gilded frame with



family crest is of a later date. Martena Museum, Franeker

Producing another engraved self-portrait in 1640 made it possible to present herself in print to many more people. She adapted the engraving over the years ('to make it as lifelike as possible', 1645; the copper plate required some fixing, as it shows signs of wear and tear', 1647).¹⁹ Professor Salmasius and his wife considered the likeness 'their approbation worthy' (1648) and she was also pleased with it. She kept the addition: An^o Aetat. XXXIII MDCXL and her modest subscript, but in the fourth state, the mouche on the 'right' cheek disappeared.²⁰ We support the view that the miniature portrait, now in the Rijksmuseum, was also created by herself during this period (with the left side in the mirror and the mouche faintly visible), and not by some anonymous person, half a century after her death (note 1).

Jan Lievens

Her letters to peers were so special that Frederik Spanheim, rector of the Leyden University, started to collect (copies of) those, with the idea of compiled a book with her publications. Schurman hesitantly agreed. After it was published, the Amsterdam painter Jan Lievens (1607-1674) was commissioned to portray her (fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Jan Lievens, Portrait, 1649; oil on panel, 87 x 68.6 cm. London, National Gallery, inv.no. NG1095

In 1649, Anna Maria was 42 years old, and she shows as a woman with a young appearance, looking up from her book. The sitter had her left face turned to the painter, with the mouche clearly visible. Her hair with two partings is taken together in a chignon that is kept by a string of pearls and a cap. The rest of the curly hair hangs loosely along her temples. An

overcoat or tabard of black silk, bordered with broad bands of fur drapes from her shoulders. As this was often the outfit of male savants (as shown in Lievens's engraved portrait of Professor Daniel Heinsius from 1639), it suggests that she considered herself worthy. The likeness of the painting, her self-portraits in pastel and oil and most of the engravings is striking. It looks like she hardly changed in the past nine years. The painting is described as that of a gracious savante with a poised and dignified expression,²¹ but also self-confident and aware of the recognition of her talents. Her active piety that would require modesty and unpretentiousness, had no place in the way Lievens saw her, nor how she permitted herself to be portrayed.

Before her is a silver 'schriftoortje' (writing set) that refers to her publications and letters.²² Virginia Treanor supposed that the book was an album amicorum.²³ Schurman has indeed written in several alba (often in calligraphed Greek, Arab or Hebrew, and the signature together with her Greek motto 'ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρος ἐσταυρώται', my love is crucified), but such booklets were mostly in oblong format and not so thick. It is more probable that she had her just published *Opuscula Prosaica et Metrica* (Minor work in prose and poetry) in her hands, with which she was very pleased and that had stirred the Republic of Letters.²⁴ The pages are



not completely painted blank and faintly suggest text through the blueish shades. The book bears the above-mentioned engraving of her self-portrait of which the original appeared in 1640 (the portrait in the oval is reversed, with the mouche again on the left cheek; fig. 10). She stated: "never to have seen such a resemblance with the original (herself) and that it has the least presumptuous appearance".²⁵

Fig. 10. Anna Maria van Schurman, Self-portrait after engraving in 1640 in *Opuscula*, 1648 (reversed), paper, 20.0 x 15.2 cm. London, British Museum, inv.no. 1841,0612.23

Daniel Heins, classicist (hence Heinsius) and poet from Leyden (1580-1655), with whom Schurman corresponded since she was fifteen, gave a praiseful judgement of the painting: "The portrait by the famous painter Jan Lievens shows her with a vivid expression".²⁶ Instantly, he also composed a eulogy, 'Work of a divine painter, heavenly image &&', 'ex

tempore’ as he added (off the cuff). The portrait could only be admired by visitors of the Lievens studio, and Heinsius must have been one of the few.

The proficient craftsman Jonas Suyderhoef from Haarlem (1614-1686), who also had portrayed acquaintances of Schurman (Heinsius, Rivet, Spanheim, Descartes, Huygens, Salmasius and Voetius), made an engraving after Lievens’s painting, or possibly after a preliminary study, as some details differ substantially. The mouche seems to be on the right cheek, but naturally, the print is reversed (fig. 11).

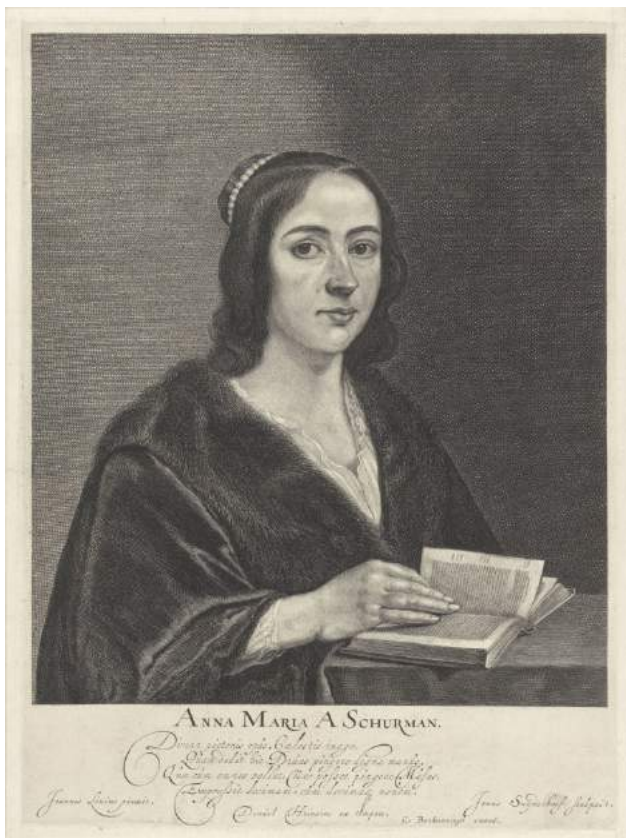


Fig. 11. Jonas Suyderhoef, Print of an engraving after Lievens, paper, 35 x 26 cm. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. RP-P-OB-60.763

The engraver more clearly accentuated the suggestion of text in the open book, with obvious notes in the margin, just as occurred in the *Opuscula*. The ode of Heinsius was placed under his engraving and the prints spread through Europe; of course, nobody was aware that it lacked the expressiveness of the original.

By that time, Heinsius had become grumpy and failed to perform in his work at the university. His involvement in the portrait and the engraving of Anna Maria’s image

may have been a ray of light in the professional complications. His close relations to Lievens and Suyderhoef can be considered as circumstantial evidence that professor Heinsius was the likely commissioner, and the first owner of the painting until he died in 1655.²⁷

A Swedish dig

The Nationalmuseum Stockholm has in its collection a small portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman that may have been inspired by Lievens’s portrait (fig. 12). The brown eyes, the hairdo, the fur lining of the (blue) coat and the white chemise below, are strikingly similar. The head is a bit tilted, and her face looks more relaxed, even frisky. This portrait miniature,

likely made by the German painter and art teacher Joachim von Sandrart, is a gouache, rarely mentioned in studies on Schurman and if at all illustrated, without colour.

Fig. 12. Joachim von Sandrart (?), Miniature portrait, gouache, 6 x 4.5 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NMGrh 2643k



On the back is written: “Anna Maria von Schurman, Mal.vnd Bilt. von Utrecht”. It belongs to a series of miniatures of German, Italian and Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, of which Sandrart made drawings and had Philip Kilian from Augsburg make engravings for his book *Teutschen Academie der Bau-Bild- und Malerey-Künste* (Augsburg, 1675). The connection with the portrait of Lievens is through the engraving of Suyderhoef with whom Sandrart had collaborated during his years in the Republic (1637-1645). Thus, he never saw the original, nor had he met Schurman during his years in Amsterdam. The miniature is made as an artistic interpretation (without the mouche). Thus, the initial idea that it might date from around 1649 is overtaken, and the full story will be dealt with elsewhere.²⁸

Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen



The artist Cornelis van Ceulen (1593-1661) was much in demand after moving from England back to Holland in 1652 and settling in Utrecht. In 1657, he painted a portrait of Anna Maria. It was a “grisaille” (or “grauwtje”, in Dutch) (fig. 13), a monochrome executed in various tones of brown.

Fig. 13. Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen, Grisaille, 1657, oil on panel, 31 × 24.4 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv.no.2002.35.1

As it is the only known grisaille of Van Ceulen, it was apparently meant to be the example for an engraving, which was executed by the Amsterdam engraver Cornelis van Dalen junior (1638-1664).²⁹

Anna Maria is depicted in an oval, glancing at the observer; the mouche is clearly visible. She must have agreed to sit for this portrayal. Her hairdo is still the same, but she now wears a wide dress with puffed sleeves and a shawl, without jewels or adornments (only a small ring on her left little finger). Her look is deliberate and assured, even eager; the portrait conveys erudition, but also grace, femininity, and attractiveness.³⁰ The book indicated her erudition, but the view of the Dom-church does not reflect her growing disappointment about current religious practices in Utrecht, as she would lament: ‘Corrupted Christianity! where is your former luster?’.³¹

Around the oval, Van Ceulen has illustrated the attributes of the arts and sciences in which Anna Maria excelled (palette, T-square, drawing and embroidery, globe and caduceus, lute, music-book; note: no penknife or scissors³²). In none of his oeuvre, such contextual additions are added: the painting was meant as example for an engraving. There are two winged putti standing at the base of the oval; the left one bearing the coat of arms of the Van Schurman family (an oak tree, not a laurel or some emblematic tree, as some have assumed).³³ The right putto has a piece of blank paper in his hand and the broad banner between the two is left blank. The addition of texts was left to the engraver, but the first print by Cornelis van Dalen



has still no text (fig. 14). Only later, a poem of Huygens (‘Constanter’, 1661) was added. The art dealer Clement De Jonghe in Amsterdam published the print (‘excudebat’). In his estate this print was registered as no. 131 Juffr. Schuermans by C. van Dalen (Laurentius 2010, p. 131); thus, it was not the original grisaille of Van Ceulen, as was suggested earlier.³⁴

Fig. 14. Cornelis van Dalen jr., Print of an engraving after Van Ceulen, after 1657, paper, 30.5 x 24.5 cm. First state. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. RP-P-BI-6761

However, it is plausible that Van Ceulen’s painting had been in the possession of a Utrecht lady, Sophia Susanna d’Estrabourgh de Bellevigne (1620-1676). In 1667, then 47 years old

and still unmarried, she fell ill and had her will made up by a notary in Utrecht.³⁵ In it, she destined ‘an Effigie of the noble borne miss Anna Maria van Schurman, painted [‘geschilderd’] by Van Ceulen’ to the Utrecht reverend minister Cornelius Gentman, an acquaintance of both. The will was not put into action, because the testatrix recovered, but it indicates that Schurman was the first owner of Van Ceulen’s *grauwtje*. It is likely that the two ladies may have known each other as spinsters in the same neighbourhood or met after Sunday services in the Dom or the nearby Eglise Wallonne at the Pieterskerkhof; Anne Marie, already under the spell of Jean de Labadie, and loosening herself from vanities, may have given the portrait to Sophia. Her stepson Marcus Mamuchet may have inherited the portrait, but his belongings went astray after he died without a will.

It is remarkable that Van Ceulen’s *grisaille* was made in the same year 1657 as the publication of a portrait of Schurman by the engraver Steven van Lamsweerde (1620-1686) in Utrecht. Three states are known, the second was meant for the market through a colleague engraver and art dealer Jasper Specht, the third, more refined one (fig. 15) served as illustration in *Alle de Wercken* by Jacob Cats (All the Works, 1657-‘58).



Fig. 15. Steven van Lamsweerde, Print after an engraving, 1657, paper, 30 x 23 cm. Third state in *Alle de Wercken* of Jacob Cats. Rijksmuseum, inv.no. RP-P-1906-1528

Van Lamsweerde knew his fellow townsman well and drew the sketch himself, with the *mouche* clearly visible. But the likeness is not strong; maybe she did not sit for him and he used an engraving of a self-portrait from 1640 as example. A comparison with Van Dalen’s engraving gives some new insights. Van Ceulen or the art dealer Clement de Jonghe may have judged that the learned woman at her fiftieth year was worthy a portrait, more

current and with better likeness. Van Ceulen painted the *grisaille*, directly after the prints of Van Lamsweerde and Cats’s collected works came on the market. Yet, he maintained the

style of Van Lamsweerde. Indeed, the similarity between the designs is striking. Both show a sight on the Dom-church and the attributes of her abilities are the same, except that Van Ceulen and Van Dalen had them much clearer. The two putti are present in both engravings, but Van Lamsweerde was aware of Anna Maria's Greek motto, which he added to the sheet of paper held by one of the putti. Van Dalen was not personally acquainted with her and when he completed the engraving in 1661, he did not copy the motto from Van Lamsweerde's print. Whether Van Dalen's engraving, widely distributed in print by Clement de Jonghe, adjusted the image of the famous woman is not known, but it certainly was merchandise. Meanwhile, pious Anna Maria, disappointed with the quarrelsome religious atmosphere in Utrecht, grew also further away from her cultural image and fame, turning to a more quiet and modest style of life. Most of her friends dropped her, when she became a follower of the preacher Jean de Labadie and renounced all her intellectual publications.

Conclusion

Nine portraits of Anna Maria van Schurman by different artists show her in her public life (1633-1655). Comparison with her self-portraits attributes to the knowledge of her context and broadens the understanding of her character and erudition, as it appears already from her correspondences and publications. It allows us to call into mind how she looked during her years of fame. But it was impression and representation through the eyes of men who may have been all too eager to portray her.

Van de Passe accentuated her elegant dress and piety. The large portrait by Van Mierevelt is most probably her, but with Schurman in her thirtieth year, it is not very striking. His supposedly fleeting impression of her was not enough to give her face the freshness that is apparent from her other images. This is the more striking, when considering a critical judgement by the famous renaissance poet and historian Pieter C. Hooft on Van Mierevelt's tendency to paint ladies with a profusion of resemblance that exceeded the lifelike observation (1638).³⁶ Her subsequent, livelier self-portraits may have been a compensation and improvement, suited to be distributed. They also fit in more closely with Lievens's portrait. Heinsius' remark that Lievens had portrayed her *ad vivum expressam*, tells quite a bit of her personality as well, and suggests that it was not overdone. The likeness with her self-portraits is striking and, while ageing, she seems not to look her age, i.e., the recently re-discovered miniature.

Suyderhoef's engraving lacks the sparkling of Lievens's original, but it certainly helped spreading Schurman's fame.³⁷ The same holds for the engraving by Van Dalen after the grisaille by Van Ceulen, through which his fellow townswoman would be known with a good likeness. It was a reaction to the engraved portrait by Van Lamsweerde that figured in the complete works of poet Jacob Cats. The many editions of Cats may have influenced the demand for another portrait.

Considering the then current idea that the outside reflects the inside, Lievens and Van Ceulen have wanted to strike the liveliness of her face, and especially that of her eyes. Next to her countenance, the portraits tell something of her context, whether she followed the fashion in dresses, ornaments, and hairstyle. References to her learning are the view at the Dom-church of Utrecht (recalling her plea to allow women to study, or perhaps pointing to her piety), the Bible, her *Opuscula*, the fur coat and her writing set. The prints of her engraved portraits and self-portraits alike gave an impression of the face to the readers of her epistles that, as she expected, would help focusing on her ideas. Art-historian Martha Peacock calls her portraits "mirrors of skills and renown" and states that Schurman contributed this way to her "public fashioning" in a pertinent and propagandistic way.³⁸ It parallels her presentation of calligraphed texts in several *alba amicorum*, as a *poeta docta*. In contrast with most learned people, Schurman was multi-talented and thought it proper to show her God-given gifts, but humbly, and less expressly as how Peacock makes it appear.

Indeed, prints caused her illustriousness to spread through Europe, as is proved by Joachim von Sandrart, who described and portrayed her after the engraving of Suyderhoef, not with the serene smile of a devote Calvinist, but frisky, naughty: an artist's impression.

Anna Maria may well have actively dealt with the engraving for her *Opuscula*, arranging that her self-portrait from 1640 no longer mentioned her age in the third edition of 1652. Her text was replaced by a caption of the Utrecht professor Antonius Aemilius, who described the efforts to portray her: 'When only half the face of the damsel is visible, it is because even the largest canvas cannot grasp it whole'.³⁹ In other words: an image is only a shade of the reality. Nevertheless, it had its value. The many amazed utterances of contemporaries are telling how the prevalent societal relationships steered the appreciation of her images. There may be even a sexual trait in the way the men looked at these portrayals.⁴⁰

Our emotions are possibly different from those of her time ('la face [de AMvS] qui ravit tout coeur humain', Colvius). Anna Maria's Latin poem to the portrait of queen Christina of Sweden is rhetorical and beyond our perception: 'My hand has dared to depict not only an exterior visage ..., But the brilliance of her elevated heart'.⁴¹ Examining a rare portrait in

those days caused feelings of both magic, reality, and authority. Her clarification for sending a self-portrait to another lady: '[it] will lead your mind to the original that it represents', would appeal more to twenty-first-century people.

Cats's statement that she was 'an example for all women' holds in our time. With women surpassing men in several branches of science, arts and letters, present day scholars all recognize and admire Anna Maria as a handsome woman, on equal footing with theologians, doctors of medicine, and philosophy of her time. In the trail of the University of Louvain study project 'Female faces, intellectual identities; author portraits and the shaping of female intellectual authority in the early modern Dutch Republic', mainly women now study the uniqueness of Anna Maria van Schurman.⁴² But as much as she often depicted her mirror image, she allowed other artists to portray her as they saw her. She once stated: 'the painters' impertinence/liberty be forgiven'.⁴³ That aspect of the learned woman deserved a supplementary effort. This additional emphasis may contribute to bringing her closer as 'feminine face of erudition' than how she is known from her writings and self-portraits.

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The authors were a wedded couple; the first author (*1945) passed away in December 2020; the second author (*1942) made it his mission to wind up their studies. They got interested in Anna Maria van Schurman, because she was supposed to be one of the first known paper cutters in the Netherlands. The Verhaves have published several books on the subject, as well as articles in leading journals on (art-) history (note 12)

Endnotes

¹ The authors rediscovered the miniature painting in the possession of a distant relative of J. Philip van der Kellen, director of the Print Cabinet at the Rijksmuseum. The owners recently donated it to the Rijksmuseum.

On the back is written: ‘*Anna Maria Schurman hanc suam effigiem ipsa pinxit aetatis suae anno 44 1652*’, not in her handwriting. Van der Stighelen (1987b, note 9, pp. 71-73) had no doubt that the miniature portrait was a self-portrait, ‘a small masterpiece’, but considered that it should be antedated more than ten years (based on a black and white reproduction in Una Birch’s biography, 1909; the catalogue of an exhibition of miniatures in Rotterdam in 1910 had the photo as well). Van der Kellen died in 1906 without children, and a nephew Van der Kellen must have presented it to the exhibition. Larsen and Maiullo used it for the front cover of their recent book (2021, note 17) and, like the authors, they tend to agree with Van der Stighelen (note 18). The Rijksmuseum however, describes it, very cautiously, as ‘Portrait of a woman, possibly Anna Maria van Schurman’, and dates it ‘c.c. 1725’: Maria Holtrop, ‘Acquisitions’. *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 68 (2020), pp. 82-83 and reply by Van der Kellen, Schenk and Van Beek 2023 (via LinkedIn, P. van Beek)

² Recently, much has been published in English about Anna Maria van Schurman: De Baar, 1996; Van Beek 2010; Larsen, 2016, 2021; Moffit-Peacock 2020

³ Pieta van Beek, *De Eerste Studente, Anna Maria van Schurman*. Utrecht 2004; edition in English 2010, pp. 171-2

⁴ Rudi Ekkart and Quentin Buvelot, *Hollanders in Beeld. Portretten uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2008).

Lieke van Deinsen, ‘Spiegels van Sophia. Geleerdenportretten en de verbeelding van vrouwen als wetenschappelijke autoriteit’, *Nieuwe Tijdingen* (2020), pp. 63-78

⁵ Exhibition catalogue *Emotions, painted feelings in the Dutch Golden Age*, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem 2014

⁶ Lieke van Deinsen, 'Een vrouwelijk gezicht van geleerdheid. Auteursportretten en de constructie van intellectuele autoriteit in de Nederlandse Republiek', *Jaarboek Zeventiende Eeuw* (2019a), pp. 129-32

Ibid., 'Visualising Female Authorship. Author Portraits and the Representation of Literary Authority', *Quaerendo* 49 (2019b), pp. 283-314

⁷ Martha Moffitt Peacock, 'The Maid of Holland and Her Heroic Heiresses', In: *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1500 - 1750*, (2019), pp. 68-127

⁸ Van Beek 2010 (note 3), p. 187; *Dissertatio* (1641)

⁹ Katlijne Van der Stighelen, *Anna Maria van Schurman of 'Hoe hooge dat een maeght kan in de konsten stijgen'*, Leuven 1987b, p. 120. She was the first to study Schurman's self-portraits in depth; the mouche is mentioned but considered as an adornment. The mouche did not occur in a portrait by Paulus Lesire in Beverwijck's *Van de uutnemenheit* (1639)

¹⁰ Crispijn vd Passe Jr., *Les vrais pourtraits de quelques-unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestiente, desguisees en bergeres* (True images of some of the greatest ladies of Christianity, disguised as shepherdesses) 1640. Rijksmuseum. Van der Stighelen mentioned this publication (1987b, note 9, pp. 129-30), but claimed that it does not contain Schurman's portrait. A more detailed description in Van Deinsen, 2020 (note 4), 68-70, and Lieke van Deinsen, 'Female Faces and Learned Likenesses: Author Portraits and the Construction of Female Authorship and Intellectual Authority'. In: *Memory and Identity in the Learned World*. (Leiden, 2022), pp. 81-116

¹¹ Anita Jansen, Rudi Ekkart and Johanneke Verhave, *De Portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*, Zwolle 2011, pp. 198-200

¹² 'Il est escrit: *nihil invita dices faciesve. Denique tam amor meus crucifixus est que le sien, et n'en voudray jamais qu'à la beauté de son esprit*'. Huygens eruditely cited a line from Horacius' *Epistles*, epistle 1, book 2, line 385 (thanks to Anne Larsen).

Katlijne Van der Stighelen, 'Constantijn Huygens en Anna Maria van Schurman: veel werk, weinig weerwerk...'. *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 3 (1987a), pp. 138-46

Because of her vow to remain unmarried, Anna Maria had borrowed the expression of church father Ignace of Antioch and used it as a Greek symbolon: Joke and Jan Peter Verhave, ‘Geknipt, gedicht, gekruisigd; kunstzinnige activiteiten door of voor Anna Maria van Schurman’. *Jaarboek De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 2017, pp. 153-64

¹³ Two sides of Mierevelt’s painting were later shortened and the original text was in part lost, which makes the identification less obvious. The authors of *The portrait factory* (Jansen et al., 2011, note 11) have no doubt and point to the hairdo that is depicted in several of her engraved self-portraits of that time (figs. 2-7). Convinced by the circumstantial evidence, we do not challenge the identification, but confine to the poor likeness

¹⁴ Edition printed by Hendrick van Esch, Dordrecht 1637

¹⁵ In the kneepiece of Anna Maria ‘Schuirmans’, in Cats’s *Trou-Ringh* of 1637 (engraving not signed), the mouche is visible and therefore, it is considered the first version. Van der Stighelen believed that Adriaen van de Venne was the original engraver (1987b, p. 138). This is endorsed, because Cats added to his commission: “a lion is judged by his claws” and Van de Venne drew a portrait of Cats with a monkey-eating lion as an emblem. Hans Luijten, ‘Een aap-etende leeuw als devies? Adriaen van de Vennes getekende portret van Jacob Cats’, *Bulletin Rijksmuseum* 47 (1999), pp. 126-43

Theodor Matham adapted, embellished the engraving of the kneepiece, and signed it, to make prints marketable; the mouche got lost in the process

¹⁶ The replaced breast piece, with her first name as Anne Marie, may have been of the hand of Van de Venne (Van der Stighelen 1987b, p. 138). She stated that the *Trou-Ringh* version with this little portrait was the first, and that with the knee piece was second

¹⁷ Letter 25-12-1639, after consulting her confidant Andreas Rivet, professor of theology in Leyden, and to Claude Salmasius, classicist at Leyden, the in-between to Mme Coutel, 28 May and 14 December 1639. Anna Larsen and Steve Maiullo: *Anna Maria van Schurman. Letters and Poems to and from Her Mentor and Other Members of Her Circle*. New York, Toronto 2021, pp. 169, 173, 321-3; *Opuscula* 1648, pp. 288-9

¹⁸ Letter to Rivet, 4 October 1640 (Larsen & Maiullo 2021 (note 17), pp. 177-8

¹⁹ ‘*Cernitis hic picta nostros in imagine vultus / Si negat ars formam, gratia vestra dabit*’ (You see my face here in a painted image / when art denies beauty, your benevolence will add it). See fig. 10. Her penfriend, the Nijmegen reverend Smetius made a positive variant on the distich below her engraved self-portrait: ‘*Contulit ars formam, gratia corda rapit*’ (Art has contributed to beauty, benevolence will touch hearts). (Van Beek 2010, note 3, p. 136). Letters to Rivet, 14 August 1645 and 13 September 1647 (Larsen & Majullo, 2021 (note 17), pp. 205, 215); Letter to Mme Saumaise, 18 March 1648, *Opuscula* 1648, p. 373-4

²⁰ Van der Stighelen 1987b (note 9), p. 120

²¹ Anne R. Larsen, *Anna Maria van Schurman, ‘The Star of Utrecht’. The Educational Vision and Reception of a Savante*, New York 2016, p. 268

²² Writing set, ‘schriftoerie’. Constantijn Huygens jr. used the diminutive ‘schriftoerijtje’. A wooden writing set of Anna Maria is kept in Museum Martena, Franeker. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Jan Lievens. A Dutch Master Rediscovered*. National Gallery of Art, Washington 2008, pp. 166-7

²³ Wheelock, 2008 (note 22), p. 10

²⁴ In his preface, Spanheim stated (in Latin), ‘Reader, you are now holding a book in your hands that is like no other you have ever held before’. *Opuscula* (Elsevir Leyden, 1648) contained 374 numbered pages, too much for an album amicorum

²⁵ In a French letter to Spanheim, 15 August 1648, added in the next printing: *Opuscula* 1650, pp. 375-6

²⁶ ‘*in Effigiem Annae Mariae à Schurman, à Celeberrimo pictore Joanne Livio, ad vivum expressam*’

²⁷ It would require a specific search to find out whether the Heins children had inherited the portrait. It was bought by a British collector Sir Hans Sloane before 1753 from an unknown owner. He left his collection to the British Museum (National Gallery)

²⁸ J.P. Verhave, ‘Miniatures of A.M. van Schurman and other European artists in the Nationalmuseum’, in preparation

²⁹ Arthur K. Wheelock, ‘Nothing Gray about Her. Cornelis Janson van Ceulen’s Grisaille of Anna Maria van Schurman’. In: *Face Book. Liber Amicorum for Rudolf E.O. Ekkart* (Leiden, 2012), 325-30

Ibid, Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen, 1593 - 1661 Anna Maria van Schurman 1657. National Gallery of Art Online Editions, Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, 2014

³⁰ Larsen, 2016 (note 21), p. 267

³¹ Van Beek, 2010 (note 3), p. 208

³² Anna Maria hardly pursued her paper cutting, and Cats does not mention it in his account of her many abilities in his *Trou-Ringh*. Verhave & Verhave 2017 (note 12)

³³ Wheelock, 2012 (note 29)

³⁴ F. Laurentius, *Clement de Jonghe (ca. 1624-1677). Kunstverkoper in de Gouden Eeuw* (Middelburg, 2010), p. 131; Wheelock 2012, 2014 (note 29)

³⁵ Notary E. van Rhee, Utrecht 1667, Notarieel archief 34-4-500-152. She married in 1670 and died in 1676. Van Rhee was also Schurman’s notary, and neighbour.

³⁶ Jansen et al., 2011 (note 11), p. 191

³⁷ Peter Aubry from Strasburg († 1666) used Suyderhoef’s engraving to make his own; likewise, Sandrart/Kilian in Augsburg 1675. Christian August Vulpius, chief librarian of the Weimar library, published in 1812 an engraving after that of Kilian, in his “Pantheon berühmter und merkwürdiger Frauen”

³⁸ Martha Moffitt-Peacock, 'Mirrors of Skill and Renown: Women and Self-Fashioning in Early-Modern Dutch Art', *Mediavistik* 28 (2015), pp. 325-52

Ibid., *Heroines, Harpies, and Housewives: Imaging Women of Consequence in the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden, 2020).

³⁹ 'Non nisa dimidia spectatur imagine virgo, maxima quod totam nulla tabella capit', *Opuscula*, 1652 (third edition, J. van Waesberge); Aemilius had also written the subscript for the engraving of Van Lamsweerde

⁴⁰ Van Deinsen, 2020 (note 4)

⁴¹ Van Beek, 2010 (note 3), p.158

⁴² Van Deinsen, 2022 (note 10)

⁴³ Schuman to Spanheim 1648 (*Opuscula*, p. 375)

