LANGUAGES AND CULTURE IN HISTORY

Edited by Rick Honings, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout

Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)

Amsterdam University Press

Languages and Culture in History

This series studies the role foreign languages have played in the creation of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Europe, both western and eastern, and at the individual, community, national or transnational level.
At the heart of this series is the historical evolution of linguistic and cultural policies, internal as well as external, and their relationship with linguistic and cultural identities.
The series takes an interdisciplinary approach to a variety of historical issues: the diffusion, the supply and the demand for foreign languages, the history of pedagogical practices, the historical relationship between languages in a given cultural context, the public and private use of foreign languages – in short, every way foreign languages intersect with local languages in the cultural realm.

Series Editors
Willem Frijhoff, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Karène Sanchez-Summerer, Leiden University

Editorial Board Members
Gerda Hassler, University of Potsdam
Douglas A. Kibbee, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, Utrecht University
Joep Leerssen, University of Amsterdam
Nicola McLelland, The University of Nottingham
Despina Provata, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Konrad Schröder, University of Augsburg
Valérie Spaëth, University of Paris III: Sorbonne Nouvelle
Javier Suso López, University of Granada
Pierre Swiggers, KU Leuven

Amsterdam University Press

Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)

Edited by
Rick Honings, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

The publication of this book is made possible by grants from Stichting Fonds voor de Geld- en Effectenhandel, Stichting dr. Hendrik Muller's Vaderlandsch Fonds, the Stichting Gilles Hondius Foundation and the Stichting Professor Van Winter Fonds.

Cover illustration: E. Maaskamp, *Geschiedkundige kaart der Nederlanden*, 1830
Collection Leiden University Library

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University Press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN 978 90 8964 827 3
e-ISBN 978 90 4852 675 8
DOI 10.5117/9789089648273
NUR 620

© Rick Honings, Gijsbert Rutten & Ton van Kalmthout / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2018

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Amsterdam University Press

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 7

Introduction 9
Cultural Nationalism and the Rise of Dutch Studies
Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout

1 Matthijs Siegenbeek in Defence of Dutch 25
Gijsbert Rutten

2 Barthold Hendrik Lulofs 49
A 'Learned Dilettante'
Francien Petiet

3 Poet and Professor 73
Adam Simons
Rick Honings

4 Johannes Kinker 97
A Kantian Philosopher Teaching Dutch Language, Literature, and Eloquence
Marijke van der Wal

5 Caught Between Propaganda and Science 119
Ulrich Gerhard Lauts, the Forgotten Father of Dutch Philology in Brussels
Wim Vandenbussche

6 Pieter Weiland and his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* 145
Jan Noordegraaf

7 Moralist of the Nation 167
Johannes Henricus van der Palm
Ellen Krol

8 'I am Revived as a Belgian' 187
The Work of Jan Frans Willems
Janneke Weijermars

Amsterdam University Press

9 Adriaan Kluit 205
Back to the Sources!
Lo van Driel and Nicoline van der Sijs

10 'Can Grander Skulls be Crowned?' 229
Jacob van Dijk's Posthumous Literary History
Peter Altena

11 Hendrik van Wijn 253
Pioneer of Historical Literary Studies in the Netherlands
Ton van Kalmthout

12 The Founding Father of Dutch Literary History 277
Jeronimo de Vries
Lotte Jensen

Afterword 297
Gert-Jan Johannes

Index 305

Amsterdam University Press

Acknowledgements

Thanks are first and foremost due to the authors of the chapters in this book, who enthusiastically embraced the idea of a volume devoted to the rise of cultural nationalism in the Low Countries in the eighteenth century, and its significance for the institutionalization of Dutch studies as an academic discipline. In particular, we thank Gert-Jan Johannes, who kindly agreed to write an epilogue based on the draft versions of the individual chapters. Thanks are also due to the colleagues involved in the peer review process, whose help was of great importance, but who have to remain anonymous.

In the preparation of this book, many people have been of indispensible help. We wish to express our gratitude to Hielke Vriesendorp, Helen Bilton and Wim Vandenbussche. Finally, we thank the staff at Amsterdam University Press for their support, and Willem Frijhoff and Karène Sanchez-Summerer for accepting the volume for the series Language and Culture in History.

The publication of this volume would not have been possible without the generous support of the Stichting Fonds voor de Geld- en Effectenhandel, Stichting dr. Hendrik Muller's Vaderlandsch Fonds, the Stichting Gilles Hondius Foundation and the Stichting Professor Van Winter Fonds.

Rick Honings, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout
Leiden and Amsterdam, November 2017

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

Introduction

Cultural Nationalism and the Rise of Dutch Studies

Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/INTRO

1 Cultural Nationalism and Agency

De taal is de ziel der natie, zij is de natie zelve; that is, 'language is the soul of the nation, it is the nation itself'. So reads one of the mottos of what is often considered to be the largest dictionary in the world: the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* or 'Dictionary of the Dutch Language'. From the first instalment (1864) through the first volume (1882) to, finally, volume XXIX (1998), the dictionary's opening pages were adorned with this motto.[1] The dictionary itself is one of the great achievements of nineteenth-century linguistic nationalism, not unlike Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* or the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is thus no coincidence that one of the mottos chosen for it captured the ethnolinguistic essentialism of the age.

One useful framework for analysing eighteenth and nineteenth-century scholarly activities in the fields of language and literature has been proposed by Leerssen.[2] Following Hroch's well-known tripartite division of the development of national movements into the phases A, B and C, which roughly correspond to the respective cultural, social and political concerns of the nationalists involved, Leerssen argues that 'nationalism is always, in its incipience at least, cultural nationalism'.[3] In this volume, we focus

1 The motto is attributed to the Frisian linguist Joast Hiddes Halbertsma (1789-1869). See, among others, Breuker, 1994 and Dykstra, 2011. For the history of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* or *WNT*, see van Sterkenburg, 1992.

2 Leerssen, 2006.

3 Leerssen, 2006, p. 562. See also Hroch, 1968, 1985.

Amsterdam University Press

on early 'phase A' cultural nationalism in a specific place and time: the Low Countries in the final decades of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. From c. 1750 onward, the study of the Dutch language and of the literary history of the Low Countries intensified, and was increasingly justified as a *national* enterprise. There had been calls, for example, for a dictionary comprising all the words of the Dutch language since the 1760s. The publication of the first instalment of the national dictionary in 1864 was the long-awaited result of more than a century of nationalistically-inspired lexicographical debates.

What, then, is cultural nationalism? In the context of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe, its core activity is the *cultivation of culture*: 'the new interest in demotic, vernacular, non-classical culture, and the intellectual canonisation process that constitutes such vernacular culture, not merely as a set of trivial or banal pastimes, or as picturesque 'manners and customs', but as something which represents the very identity of the nation, its specificity amidst other nations.'[4] Intellectual activities typically associated with the cultivation of culture include grammar-writing, lexicography, etymology, rhetoric or eloquence, literary history, the collection and study of fairy-tales, myths, legends and proverbs, and the study of antiquities. The brothers Grimm can be cited as exemplary proponents of the cultivation of culture. An eighteenth-century Dutch term that covers all of these seemingly divergent scholarly enterprises is *letterkunde,* 'the study of letters'. An alternative label, more characteristic of the nineteenth century, is *filologie,* 'philology'.

From the list of activities, it becomes immediately clear that language and literature are the central concerns of many cultural nationalists. Other aspects of culture subject to cultivation are artefacts such as paintings and monuments, and cultural practices such as manners and customs.[5] The dominant approach to all such expressions of the supposedly national culture is historical.[6] Studies of national literatures, for example, are generally historical overviews.

One implication of this concept of eighteenth and nineteenth-century cultural nationalism is that it is an elite phenomenon. A small layer of socio-economically privileged people, mostly men, was engaged in the study of cultural products; high culture, but also mass or popular culture,

4 Leerssen, 2006, p. 568.

5 Joseph, 2004; Leerssen, 2006, pp. 567-569.

6 See e.g. Jensen, Leersen & Mathijsen, 2010; Mathijsen, 2013.

Amsterdam University Press

giving rise to the formation of folklore studies.[7] The issues raised by having a relatively small group of identifiable 'cultivators of culture' are linked to issues of agency, used here in the sociological sense of the individual capacity to make choices and take action. Who were these cultivators? What ideas did they have and how did they disseminate them? In what kinds of social, intellectual and institutional networks did they participate?[8] Given that cultural nationalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was primarily the concern of a handful of historical actors, it makes sense to map out these actors and their publications, ideas, attitudes and networks. The *Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms* (SPIN) aims to do this at the broad European level.[9] In the present volume, we focus on the incipient phase of Dutch cultural nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, focusing on a range of both well-known and lesser-known historical actors who formed part of contemporary efforts to cultivate Dutch culture.

As such, the present volume ties in with many studies published in recent years that are more or less situated within the framework of cultural nationalism, such as the studies by Jensen, Leersen and Mathijsen on the intersection of historicism and nationalism, and the studies by Rock and Petiet on Dutch literary history and text editions in the context of nationalism.[10] A recent volume by van Kalmthout & Zuidervaart discusses philology in the Low Countries in the broad nineteenth-century sense of the term, mainly focusing on case studies from the middle and the end of the century.[11] In this context, 'national' is obviously a crucial concept, too. With the present volume, we shift back a few decades in time, and focus on what preceded mid- and late-nineteenth-century national philology.

The crucial role played by language and language-related disciplines in periods of nationalism is widely acknowledged, though not uncontested.[12] Historically, however, it is extremely difficult to distinguish metalinguistic reflection from the developing cultural nationalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[13] In fact, from the times of John Locke (1632-1704), Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780), Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791) and, perhaps more famously, Johann Gottfried Herder

7 Burke, 1992, 2009; Bendix, 1997; Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 2010.
8 Leerssen, 2006, pp. 556-567; de Jong, 2009.
9 See http://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/. See also Leerssen, 2010.
10 Jensen, Leersen & Matthijsen, 2010; Mathijsen, 2013; Rock, 2010; Petiet, 2011.
11 Van Kalmthout & Zuidervaart, 2015. See also Turner, 2014, for the concept of philology.
12 Joseph, 2006.
13 Cf. e.g. Benes, 2008.

Amsterdam University Press

(1744-1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) onward, the intrinsic relationship between language and nation has formed a stable element of both metalinguistic and nationalist discourse.[14] The key cultural position of language during the rise of cultural nationalism and the formation of modern European nation-states led to intensified interest in the study of the 'national' language and literature, and to the rise of the new discipline of national philology across Europe.

Bringing together many of the actors involved in the cultivation of Dutch culture, this volume charts the individuals engaged in the construction of Dutch studies as a national philology.[15] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries not only witnessed the nationalisation of language and literature; in addition to this process of discipline formation, institutional and political developments advanced the rise of Dutch studies. First, Dutch entered the universities as an academic discipline, and professors of Dutch were gradually appointed throughout the Netherlands. Furthermore, a national language policy was developed, resulting in official regulations for orthography and grammar. In section 2, we present a brief historical overview of the period under discussion. In section 3, we take up the topic of the rise of Dutch studies, and explain the structure of this volume.

2 The Low Countries, 1750-1850

With respect to the construction of a national philology, the Dutch case is particularly interesting. In the decades around 1800, the Netherlands underwent several profound upheavals and transformations, not only in a cultural sense, but also socially and politically.[16] Unlike simultaneous events in North America and France, however, these changes took place in a relatively peaceful manner.

Since 1588, the northern part of the Low Countries had been formed by the Republic of the United Netherlands, a federation of seven sovereign states or provinces, which also exercised control over nearby regions outside their own territory.[17] The Republic developed into a political and economic world power in the seventeenth century, a position that was partly achieved

14 See a.o. Bauman & Briggs, 2003.

15 Cf. Johannes, 2015.

16 For some more detailed surveys of political and social-cultural developments in the decades around 1800, see Schama, 1992; Kloek & Mijnhardt, 2004.

17 Israel, 1998.

Amsterdam University Press

through its colonies in South America and South East Asia. From 1747, executive power over the provinces was held by Prince Willem IV, the hereditary stadtholder from the House of Orange-Nassau, and (after an interim regency by army commander Ludwig-Ernst von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel), from 1766, by his eldest son, Willem V. Both stadtholders behaved as though they were absolutist monarchs, while they ruled over an empire that was increasingly living on past glory.

Before they had taken office, the Republic had already fallen into economic decline. Moreover, it was wedged between the allied powers of Britain and Prussia on the one hand, and the allies France and Austria on the other; a situation that led to a constant threat of war. In 1780, the British defeated the Dutch in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, as a result of which the Republic had to cede several colonised territories. After some time, the bourgeois 'Patriot' movement arose. Encouraged by the successful North American struggle for independence, the Patriots demanded more freedom and power for the civilian population.[18] When, in 1787, there was a risk that this egalitarian movement would gain ascendancy over the 'Orangists' supporting the stadtholder, Prussia invaded the Republic and restored Willem V to power. Many Patriots fled to France, where they would soon be joined by insurgents from the South.

The Southern Netherlands, comprising ten to eleven Belgian provinces, had been ruled by an Austrian emperor from the House of Habsburg since 1715, but enjoyed a fairly high degree of autonomy.[19] Nevertheless, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the successive rulers Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Leopold II implemented a series of enlightened reforms, some of which, for instance, reduced the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of revolts against the measures, the Austrians largely succeeded in holding political power until 1794. In this year, the French First Republic, which had arisen after the French Revolution of 1789, defeated Austria and went on to annex the Southern Netherlands a year later.[20] The French moved on to the Dutch Republic, where some Patriots proclaimed the Batavian Republic (1795-1801) a satellite state and French colony. The stadtholder fled to England and ordered the overseas territories to subject themselves to British authority. Thus the Republic once again lost part of its colonial empire, and would lose even more when the French conducted peace negotiations with the British.

18 Grijzenhout & van Sas, 1987.
19 Billen et al., 1987.
20 Craeybeckx & Scheelings, 1990.

Amsterdam University Press

The Batavian Republic was named after the Batavians; a Germanic tribe that was thought originally to have inhabited the main province of Holland and to have passed on its characteristics to the Dutch people over the generations. The Republic, set up in accordance with the French departmental model, obtained a parliament in 1796 and a constitution in 1798, and was thereby turned into a democratic unitary state.[21] A constitutional amendment would turn the Batavian Republic into the Batavian Commonwealth (1801-1806), but after Napoleon Bonaparte was elected French emperor in 1804, he transformed the Commonwealth, in turn, into the Kingdom of Holland (1806-1810), ruled by his brother Louis Napoleon I.[22] Unpopular measures such as heavy taxes and conscription frequently incited the population to various forms of resistance, which were often harshly suppressed by the French ruler.[23]

King Louis Napoleon failed to meet Napoleon's expectations, however: according to the emperor, he was too self-willed and allowed Dutch interests to prevail over French concerns. For this reason, Napoleon incorporated the kingdom into his empire.[24] Three years later, the allied powers forced him to resign as emperor and the Northern and Southern Netherlands regained their independence. The French Period had not only brought conscription, censorship and great economic damage, but also, for instance, the separation of Church and State, a centralised polity with modern legislation, a land registry and a civil registry. Furthermore, Louis Napoleon had founded national institutions such as the Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts, the Royal Library and the Royal Art Gallery.

After the departure of the French in 1813, the Northern Netherlands welcomed the eldest son of Stadtholder Willem V, Prince Willem Frederik, as their sovereign, in an Orangist restoration-attempt based on the idea that a state should be rooted in the past. One year later, when Napoleon escaped from his exile on Elba and seemed likely to return to the European stage, the prince proclaimed himself King of the Netherlands. King Willem I managed to gain sovereignty over both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, which were joined in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in 1815.[25] Luxemburg was connected to this unitary state in a political and personal union until 1839

21 Van Sas, 2011; Grijzenhout et al., 2013; Rutjes, 2013.
22 Hallebeek & Sirks, 2006; Tibbe et al., 2006.
23 Joor, 2000; Jensen, 2013.
24 Uitterhoeve, 2012.
25 Judo & Van de Perre, 2016.

Amsterdam University Press

and 1890, respectively, as Willem I was also Grand Duke of Luxemburg. An enlightened despot with great constitutional powers, he was committed to the advancement of prosperity and literacy in his kingdom.

In the South, this could not prevent growing discontent about the administrative underrepresentation and financial disadvantaging of the region. What is more, this part of the country, with its predominantly Roman Catholic culture, felt alienated from the mainly Calvinist and liberal culture of the North, whereas Willem I's attempts to make Dutch the official language of his kingdom encountered strong resistance from the French-speaking elites and the Walloon population. All this led to a southern revolt in 1830, resulting in a declaration of independence by the Belgians. One year later, they appointed Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha as their own king. Willem I responded with a Ten Days' Campaign against the rebellious provinces, but he finally had to acquiesce in the splitting of his territory into a Kingdom of the Netherlands and a Kingdom of Belgium.[26]

As we have seen, the Northern and Southern Netherlands experienced a very unstable political situation in the decades around 1800, in which efforts to achieve political and cultural unity stagnated time and again. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that purveyors of culture in both regions, in the wake of similar cultural-national tendencies elsewhere in the Western world, were in search of what distinguished them from competing powers. In addition, the need to recover the Republic's former economic and cultural efflorescence was felt intensely; a need that strengthened historical awareness and stimulated a historiography at the service of a respectable national identity. This nurtured national thought around the turn of the century, an ideology based on a shared illustrious past and a common vernacular language and culture as repositories of the national character. These repositories should be unveiled, codified, standardised and taught in order to unify the nation, to cultivate patriotism, and to guard against foreign and hostile influences.[27]

For an important part, reflection about the Dutch nation found its expression in print and in oral debates in cultural and reformist associations. There were close ties between the two forms of communication; associational treatises and recitations of poetry were often released in print, whether or not in affiliated series or journals. These circuits mobilised a public of readers and listeners from the upper layers of the urban bourgeoisie, whose literacy rate was high, especially in the North. As a result, the number of

26 Judo & Van de Perre, 2007.

27 Bank, 1990; Kloek & Dorsman, 1993; Deprez & Vos, 1998; Stengers, 2000; Bemong et al., 2010.

Amsterdam University Press

Dutch-language works published in print – books, pamphlets, periodicals and journals – increased exponentially in the course of the eighteenth century. Journals in particular were on the rise.[28] In the final decades of the century, they made a significant contribution to the dissemination and popularisation of topical scientific and cultural information in the vernacular. In addition to general cultural magazines, journals for specific interests or disciplines, also in the vernacular, emerged around 1800. A considerable part of what was read in the Netherlands originated from abroad, whether or not in translation. This made it difficult for Dutch and Flemish journals and magazines to survive. They had to compete, among other things, with imported periodicals and proceedings of foreign societies.

Similar to elsewhere in the Western world, Dutch cultural and scientific life in the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century was to a great extent organised in the abovementioned associations: a form of private sociability focused on social intercourse, on the spiritual development of their own members or the outside world, and in many cases also on the promotion of certain social interests.[29] By means of competitions, debates, treatises and readings, as well as the construction of scientific collections and other activities, learned societies contributed in their own way to the national and international exchange of new scientific insights. In the decades around 1800, the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen ('Holland Society of Sciences'; 1752), the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'; 1766), the Zeeuwsch Genootschap ('Zealandish Society'; 1769), the Bataafsch Genootschap voor Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte ('Batavian Association for Experimental Philosophy'; 1769) and the Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap ('Provincial Utrecht Association'; 1773) were among the most important learned societies in the Low Countries. Partly because of double memberships, they had a total of no more than 700 members between 1770 and 1806;[30] scholars who were often also involved in less specialised associations, such as general cultural or poetic societies.

For many people, these societies offered a useful opportunity for social mobility. Their members – almost exclusively men – not only trained themselves in writing poetry, but also in recitation, they judged each other's work, and held discourses on literary and related topics. Just like the major learned societies, smaller associations could therefore devote themselves to

28 Johannes, 1995.
29 Eijssens et al., 1983; Mijnhardt, 1987.
30 Kloek & Mijnhardt, 2004, p. 123.

Amsterdam University Press

the study of Dutch language and literature, something that the universities were still hesitant to do. It is particularly thanks to the involvement of larger and smaller private societies – a topic that Gert-Jan Johannes will discuss in more detail in his concluding chapter – that, in the years around 1800, the field of study emerged that we nowadays call *Neerlandistiek*.

3 The Rise of Dutch Studies

Neerlandistiek, which we translate as 'Dutch studies', is the study of Dutch language and literature. Until recently, all Dutch universities offering *neerlandistiek* called their study programmes *Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde;* the 'study of the Dutch language and of Dutch literature'. This has now been changed to *Nederlandse taal en cultuur,* 'Dutch language and culture'. Despite this, the content of the study programmes still falls largely within the realm of what we call Dutch studies; that is, the combined study of cultural phenomena created in the Dutch language, in the past or in the present, and of the Dutch language itself. This inherently diverse intellectual field, which also encompasses rhetoric or eloquence, became a focal point of cultural nationalism in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Scholarly and pedagogic interest in the Dutch language dates back to the sixteenth century, when printers, booksellers, schoolteachers and rhetoricians began to write orthographies, grammar books and dictionaries. There was great diversity, however, with respect to aims, target audiences and meta-language. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, grammar and spelling were primarily conceptualised as distinctive elements in an elite culture of poetry and stylised prose and sermons. From around the middle of the eighteenth century, a gradual nationalisation can be perceived in contemporary meta-linguistic discourse. In the second half of the century, grammatical and orthographical expertise in the Dutch language was increasingly demanded of members of the entire Dutch language community – that is, of the members of the Dutch nation and the citizens of the Dutch state.[31]

The institutional rise of Dutch studies also began in the second half of the eighteenth century. Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825) was the author of two seminal essays, written in 1761 and 1762, which addressed the importance of a national 'mother tongue' and the need to impose this on

31 Rutten, 2009, 2016.

Amsterdam University Press

a nationally-organised educational system.[32] In 1764, Tydeman took up a chair in history, rhetoric and Greek at the University of Harderwijk. In his 1765 inaugural address, he repeated his arguments for the cultivation of the national *vernaculus sermo* or 'native tongue'.[33] Tydeman also intended to teach Dutch grammar, but in view of his departure to Utrecht, where he would become professor of law in 1766, it is unlikely that he ever taught Dutch at the university level.[34]

Tydeman's successor in Harderwijk was Herman Tollius (1742-1822), whose intention to teach Dutch at university level was approved in 1773. He taught a Dutch course in 1773, and perhaps also in 1774, to students of law and theology. Several sets of lecture notes have been preserved, as well as a manuscript grammar written by Tollius himself in the same period.[35] The grammar, well-rooted in the eighteenth-century metalinguistic tradition, remained unpublished until de Bonth's edition in 2007.

In 1790, Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742-1826), professor of Greek at the University of Franeker from 1771, asked permission to teach a course on Dutch language and literature. His request was granted by the board of curators. It remains unclear whether Wassenbergh actually started teaching Dutch in 1790, but he certainly did so from 1797 onward, when his teaching commitment was officially extended to include Dutch, to which several sets of lecture notes testify.[36]

Matthijs Siegenbeek is traditionally considered to have been the first professor of Dutch. Although there were a few predecessors, Siegenbeek was the first to have a chair solely devoted to Dutch.[37] He was appointed extraordinary professor of Dutch rhetoric at the University of Leiden in 1797. His professorship was transformed into a regular chair in 1799, which included the fields of Dutch linguistics and literature. Siegenbeek's appointment in the 1790s is generally considered a prime example of cultural nationalism, and it therefore seems appropriate that Siegenbeek is the topic of the next chapter, written by Gijsbert Rutten.

For many years, Siegenbeek would remain the only professor with a chair exclusively devoted to Dutch. Soon after the establishment of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, however, King Willem I developed a policy to introduce chairs in Dutch throughout the Netherlands. In 1815, Barthold

32 Published in 1775, see Tydeman, 1775a and 1775b.
33 Noordegraaf, 2012, p. 90.
34 Noordegraaf, 2012, pp. 91-92.
35 Cf. de Bonth in the introduction to his edition of Tollius, 2007, pp. IX-XXX.
36 Noordegraaf 1997.
37 Vis [2004], p. 10.

Amsterdam University Press

Hendrik Lulofs was appointed in Groningen; Francien Petiet will discuss Lulofs in chapter 2. Similarly, the poet Adam Simons took up the chair in Dutch studies at the University of Utrecht in 1816; for Simons, see chapter 3 by Rick Honings. In 1817, Johannes Kinker, a Kantian philosopher, accepted the chair in Dutch in Liège; chapter 4 by Marijke van der Wal discusses his activities in the field of Dutch studies. Likewise, chairs in Dutch studies were created in Amsterdam, Deventer, Ghent and Louvain.[38] In the same spirit, Ulrich Gerhard Lauts was appointed at the Brussels Athenaeum in 1822, and Lauts is the topic of chapter 5 by Wim Vandenbussche.

As was mentioned above, the same period also saw the rise of an official language policy. In 1804 and 1805, an orthography and a grammar were published on behalf of the national government, to be used for administrative and educational purposes. The author of the orthography was Siegenbeek. The Rotterdam-based clergyman Pieter Weiland wrote the official grammar, which will be discussed in chapter 6 by Jan Noordegraaf. The first official codification of the 'national' language was carried out under the authority of the Minister of Education, Johan Hendrik van der Palm. In chapter 7, Ellen Krol focuses on van der Palm and his extensive contributions to Dutch studies.

The label 'Dutch' is not easy to define in this period; the national culture that historical actors were aiming to cultivate varied individually and regionally, as well as under the influence of the national political situation. The term 'Dutch' was often used to refer to the language and culture of the northern parts of the Netherlands; that is, of the Dutch Republic. It could also refer to the entire language area, including the southern parts of present-day Belgium, particularly in the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. At the same time, cultural nationalism also affected areas within larger political units such as Friesland, a province of the Northern Netherlands.[39] Furthermore, emancipatory efforts such as those of the Flemish movement drew attention to the importance of Dutch areas *within* a larger Dutch framework. Focusing on the southern and the northern parts of the Low Countries, a few crucial figures stand out for their foundational contributions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition to those already mentioned, this volume discusses Jan Frans Willems and Adriaan Kluit. Willems, discussed by Janneke Weijermars in chapter 8, was the so-called father of the Flemish movement and an extremely active scholar in the field of Dutch studies. Kluit was a prominent member

38 See Vis, [2004].

39 Cf. de Jong, 2009.

Amsterdam University Press

of many learned societies in the north in the second half of the eighteenth century. As such, he wrote influential treatises about the Dutch language that would greatly influence Siegenbeek's spelling rules of 1804. Kluit is the topic of chapter 9 by Lo van Driel and Nicoline van der Sijs.

The many societies and periodicals that existed throughout the Netherlands formed key cultural and social structures in the second half of the eighteenth century. These learned circles had promoted the study of the 'national' language and literature since the 1760s. For example, Tydeman made his plea for the 'mother tongue' within the Utrecht-based society Dulces Ante Omnia Musae. The Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'), worked on a national dictionary from the 1770s. The national spelling and grammar rules of 1804/1805 were first approved by representatives of various learned societies before being accepted by and printed for the government. Towards the end of the century, the need for normative control of language was accompanied by an interest in historical overviews of linguistic and literary heritage. Around 1800, various people were working on a literary history of the Netherlands, all of whom can be considered 'fathers' of Dutch literary history-writing.[40] In addition to Siegenbeek, they include Jacob van Dijk, Hendrik van Wijn and Jeronimo de Vries, discussed in chapters 10, 11 and 12 by Peter Altena, Ton van Kalmthout and Lotte Jensen.

Many more 'cultivators' of Dutch culture could have been included, of course, such as the omnipresent intellectual Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), the intriguing professor of Dutch at the University of Ghent, Johannes Schrant (1783-1866), and the author of the first history of the Dutch language, Annaeus Ypeij (1760-1837).[41] Nevertheless, with the present selection of historical actors who played a crucial role in the development of Dutch studies in a period of intense cultural nationalism, we hope to paint a more fine-grained and coherent picture of what are in themselves familiar changes and developments, but ones that are often addressed only in a global manner. We are delighted that Gert-Jan Johannes agreed to write a concluding chapter offering insightful generalisations and reflections, bringing together many of the themes and threads that the next twelve chapters have in common.

40 Van den Berg, 1989.

41 For Bilderdijk, see van Eijnatten, 1998; Honings & van Zonneveld, 2013. For Schrant, see Weijermars, 2009. For Ypeij: van Rossem, 1994.

Amsterdam University Press

References

J.Th.M. Bank, *Het roemrijk vaderland. Cultureel nationalisme in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw* (The Hague: Sdu, 1990).

R. Bauman & C.L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity. Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

N. Bemong, M.G. Kemperink, M. Mathijsen & T. Sintobin (eds.), *Naties in een spanningsveld. Tegenstrijdige bewegingen in de identiteitsvorming in negentiende-eeuws Vlaanderen en Nederland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010).

R. Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity. The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

T. Benes, *In Babel's Shadow. Language, Philology, and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008).

W. van den Berg, 'Over het vaderschap van de Nederlandse literatuurgeschiedschrijving', *Literatuur*, 6 (1989), 320-324.

C. Billen et al., *Oostenrijks België, 1713-1794. De Zuidelijke Nederlanden onder de Oostenrijkse Habsburgers* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1987).

Ph.H. Breuker, 'De vriendschap tussen Bilderdijk en Halbertsma', *Het Bilderdijk-Museum*, 1 (1994), 1-14.

P. Burke, 'We, the People: Popular culture and popular identity in Modern Europe'. In *Modernity and Identity*, ed. by S. Lash & J. Friedman (Oxford & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 293-308.

P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009 [3rd ed.]).

J. Craeybeckx & F.G. Scheelings (eds.), *De Franse Revolutie en Vlaanderen. De Oostenrijkse Nederlanden tussen oud en nieuw régime / La Révolution française et la Flandre. Les Pays-Bas autrichiens entre l'ancien et le nouveau régime* (Brussels: VUB Press, 1990).

A. de Jong, *Knooppunt Halbertsma. Joast Hiddes Halbertsma (1789-1869) en andere Europese geleerden over het Fries en andere talen, over wetenschap en over de samenleving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009).

G.L. Deprez & L. Vos (eds.), *Nationalism in Belgium. Shifting identities, 1780-1995* (Basingstoke etc.: Macmillan / New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

A. Dykstra, *J.H. Halbertsma als lexicograaf. Studies over het Lexicon Frisicum (1872)* (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy & Afûk, 2011).

J. van Eijnatten, *Hogere sferen. De ideeënwereld van Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998).

H. Eijssens et al. (ed.), *Genootschapsleven in Nederland 1800-1850*, special issue of *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 7 (1983).

F. Grijzenhout & N. van Sas, *Voor vaderland en vrijheid. Revolutie in Nederland 1780-1787* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1987).

Amsterdam University Press

F. Grijzenhout, N. van Sas & W. Velema (eds.), *Het Bataafse experiment. Politiek en cultuur rond 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

J. Hallebeek & A.J.B. Sirks (eds.), *Nederland in Franse schaduw. Recht en bestuur in het Koninkrijk Holland (1806-1810)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006).

R. Honings & P. van Zonneveld, *De gefnuikte arend. Het leven van Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013).

M. Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas. Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1968).

M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998 [reprint, 1st ed. 1995]).

L. Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

L. Jensen, J. Leerssen & M. Mathijsen (eds.), *Free Access to the Past. Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010).

G.-J. Johannes, *De barometer van de smaak. Tijdschriften in Nederland 1770-1830* (The Hague: Sdu, 1995).

G.-J. Johannes, 'Dutch Language and Literature' (and other 'national philologies') as an example of discipline formation in the humanities. In *The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands*, ed. by Ton van Kalmthout & Huib Zuidervaart (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 37-52.

J. Joor, *De adelaar en het lam. Onrust, opruiing en onwilligheid in Nederland ten tijde van het Koninkrijk Holland en de inlijving bij het Franse keizerrijk (1806-1813)* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2000).

J.E. Joseph, *Language and Identity. National, Ethnic, Religious* (Houndmills etc.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

J.E. Joseph, 'The grammatical Being called a Nation'. History and the Construction of Political and Linguistic Nationalism. In *Language and History. Integrationist Perspectives*, ed. by Nigel Love (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 120-141.

F. Judo & S. Van de Perre (eds.), *De prijs van de Scheiding. Het uiteenvallen van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (1830-1839)* (Kapellen: Pelckmans, 2007).

F. Judo & S. Van de Perre (eds.), *Belg en Bataaf. De wording van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Antwerp: Polis, 2016 [2nd ed.]).

T. van Kalmthout & H. Zuidervaart (eds.), *The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-century Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).

E. Kloek & L. Dorsman (eds.), *Nationale identiteit en historisch besef in Nederland* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Geschiedenis, 1993).

Amsterdam University Press

J. Kloek & W. Mijnhardt, *1800. Blueprints for a National Community* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Basingstoke etc.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *De ontdekking van de Nederlander in boeken en prenten rond 1800* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2010).

J. Leerssen, 'Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture', *Nations and Nationalism*, 12 (2006), 559-578.

J. Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

M. Mathijsen, *Historiezucht. De obsessie met het verleden in de negentiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

J. Noordegraaf, 'Het begin van de universitaire neerlandistiek: Franeker 1790?' In *Voorlopig verleden. Taalkundige plaatsbepalingen, 1797-1960* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1997), pp. 14-27.

J. Noordegraaf, 'Over taal en maatschappij in de achttiende eeuw. Het werk van Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825)', *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia*, 21 (2012), 87-100.

F. Petiet, *'Een voldingend bewijs van ware vaderlandsliefde'. De creatie van literair erfgoed in Nederland, 1797-1845* (Unpublished PhD dissertation Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2011).

J.A.T. Rock, *Papieren monumenten. Over diepe breuken en lange lijnen in de geschiedenis van tekstedities in de Nederlanden 1591-1863* (Unpublished PhD dissertation Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2010).

C. van Rossem, 'Annaeus Ypeij and the Frisian language'. In *Wat oars as mei in echte taal*, ed. by Ph.H. Breuker, H.D. Meijering & J. Noordegraaf (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 1994), pp. 186-199.

M. Rutjes, *Door gelijkheid gegrepen. Democratie, burgerschap en staat in Nederland* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

G. Rutten, 'Grammar to the people. The Dutch Language and the Public Sphere in the 18th Century. With Special Reference to Kornelis van der Palm', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 19 (2009), 55-86.

G. Rutten, 'Standardization and the Myth of Neutrality in Language History', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 242 (2016), 25-57.

N. van Sas, *Bataafse Terreur. De betekenis van 1798* (Nijmegen: Vantilt & Amsterdam: Stichting Daendels, 2011).

S. Schama, *Patriots and Liberators. Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (London: Fontana, 1992 [2nd ed.]).

J. Stengers, *Histoire du sentiment national en Belgique des origines à 1918*, T. 1: *Les racines de la Belgique jusqu'à la Révolution de 1830* (Brussels: Racine, 2000).

P.G.J. van Sterkenburg, *Het Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal. Portret van een taalmonument* (The Hague: Sdu, 1992).

Amsterdam University Press

L. Tibbe et al. (ed.), *Het Koninkrijk Holland (1806-1810)*, special issue of *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 30 (2006), 3-4.

H. Tollius, *Proeve eener Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche Letterkunst*, ed. by Roland de Bonth (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU & Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2007).

J. Turner, *Philology. The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

M. Tydeman, 'Betoog der nuttigheid en noodzakelijkheid van de beoeffening onzer moedertaal', *Proeve van oudheid-, taal- en dichtkunde, door het genootschap Dulces ante omnia musae*, 1 (1775a), 1-14.

M. Tydeman, 'Vertoog over de dienstige middelen ter verbetering der Nederduitsche taal', *Proeve van oudheid-, taal- en dichtkunde, door het genootschap Dulces ante omnia musae* 1, (1775b), 15-20.

W. Uitterhoeve, *Koning, keizer, admiraal. 1810: de ondergang van het Koninkrijk Holland* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2012 [3rd ed.]).

G.J. Vis, *Van Siegenbeek tot Lodewick. Verkenningen naar de geschiedenis van de studie der Nederlandse letterkunde, speciaal in het onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, [2004]).

J. Weijermars, 'Neerlandistiek als bindmiddel van de natie. Hoogleraar Schrant in Gent 1817-1830', *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 33 (2009), 4-19.

Amsterdam University Press

1 Matthijs Siegenbeek in Defence of Dutch

Gijsbert Rutten

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH01

Abstract
Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854) was the first to hold a chair solely devoted to Dutch. While young at the time of his appointment in 1797, he would soon occupy a central position in many cultural networks of the Netherlands. He authored the first official spelling of Dutch (1804) and was one of the first historians of Dutch literature. This chapter discusses Siegenbeek's activities in the field of Dutch studies, particularly his linguistic publications. These are interpreted within the framework of cultural nationalism, and against the background of the formation of the Dutch nation-state. Throughout his career, Siegenbeek was in defence of Dutch, where *Dutch* should be interpreted as a cultivated, normalised, and uniform variety modelled after the written language of well-known authors, symbolically representing the Dutch nation.

Keywords: Matthijs Siegenbeek, Dutch, Dutch linguistics, cultural nationalism, linguistic nationalism

1 Introduction

Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854), who was inaugurated as an extraordinary professor of Dutch rhetoric at the University of Leiden in 1797, has long had the reputation of being the very first professor of Dutch. When his old acquaintance Johan Hendrik van der Palm passed away in 1840, Siegenbeek published a eulogy in which he introduced himself as the 'oldest, that is,

Amsterdam University Press

the first professor of Dutch language and literature in our fatherland'.[1] Noordegraaf, however, shows that already in 1790 Everwinus Wassenbergh, who had been appointed professor of Greek at the University of Franeker in 1771, was granted the right to teach Dutch language and literature by the Franeker board of curators.[2] It is unclear whether Wassenbergh actually taught these subjects in the following years, but he certainly did from 1797 onward, when the study of Dutch was officially added to his job responsibilities. When Wassenbergh passed away in 1826, he too was honoured by Siegenbeek in a brief biography, in which Siegenbeek commemorates the fact that Wassenbergh had combined the teaching of Greek language and literature with Dutch linguistics over the past 25 years, so only from 1801 onward.[3] As discussed in the introduction to this volume, even before 1790 several academic professors were involved in the teaching of Dutch at universities across the Netherlands. Vis argues that Siegenbeek was still the first to hold a chair *solely* devoted to Dutch.[4]

Whether deliberately or not, Siegenbeek actively contributed to the collective memory of himself as the first professor of Dutch. It is perhaps understandable that he is remembered as such until the present day given his prominence as a cultural agent in the first half of the nineteenth century. While very young at the time of his appointment in 1797, he would soon occupy a central position in many cultural networks of the Netherlands. He was given the task of creating the first official spelling of Dutch, which was published in 1804. He is remembered as an important, and in fact as one of the first historians of Dutch literature. From 1803 to 1822, he was the secretary of the Leiden-based Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'), one of the first

1 Siegenbeek, 1840, pp. 4-5: 'oudste Hoogleeraar der Nederlandsche Letterkunde in ons Vaderland'. For van der Palm, see the chapter by Krol, this volume.

2 Noordegraaf, 1997.

3 Cf. Siegenbeek, s.d. [1827], p. 14: 'In de laatste vijf en twintig jaren vereenigde hij met het onderwijs der Grieksche taal en letterkunde ook dat in de Nederduitsche taalkunde, waartoe hij eene uitnemende bevoegdheid had' ('Over the past 25 years, he united, with the teaching of Greek language and literature, that in Dutch linguistics, for which he had an excellent competence'). Note that when Herman Tollius died, one of the earlier academics who taught Dutch at the university level (see the introduction to the present volume), Siegenbeek (s.d. [1822], p. 20) did mention Tollius' academic activities in the field of Dutch studies: 'Van zijne Jongelingschap zelf een vriend en kenner der Nederlandsche Letterkunde geweest zijnde, vond hij zich opgewekt tot het geven van lessen over onze Vaderlandsche Taal, welke anders te veel veronachtzaamd was, vooral op onze Akademiën' ('Having been a friend and expert of Dutch language and literature from his youth onward, he felt like teaching the language of the fatherland, which had been too strongly neglected, particularly at our academies').

4 Vis, [2004], p. 10.

Amsterdam University Press

and most well-known learned societies in the Netherlands, founded in 1766, and active to the present day. From 1822 to 1847, he was the chair of the Maatschappij. He published numerous books, essays, editions, and lectures, some of which will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, and was an important contributor to cultural magazines such as the *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde* ('Proceedings of the Batavian Society for Linguistics and Poetics', 1804-1810), *Museum* (1812-1817) and *Mnemosyne* (1815-1828). A quick glance at Siegenbeek's correspondence as kept in Dutch archives and libraries reveals that he occupied a central place in various partly overlapping social and cultural networks.[5]

In the present paper, I will discuss Siegenbeek's activities in the field of Dutch studies, focusing on the main themes in his linguistic publications (section 4). His linguistic work, though quite diverse and not as voluminous as, for example, his work on literary history, should be interpreted within the framework of cultural nationalism and should be seen against the background of the formation of the Dutch nation-state.[6] Throughout his career, Siegenbeek was in defence of Dutch, where *Dutch* should be interpreted as a cultivated, normalised, and uniform variety modelled after the written language of well-known authors, symbolically representing the Dutch nation. There is a close connection between Siegenbeek's linguistic output and his efforts in the fields of literary history and rhetoric (section 3). I will begin, however, with a few notes on Siegenbeek's life and work (section 2).

2 Matthijs Siegenbeek[7]

Siegenbeek was born in Amsterdam on 23 June 1774 in a Mennonite family. After having finished Latin school, he attended the theological seminary of the Mennonite community in Amsterdam, where he was made ordinand in 1795. He subsequently moved to Dokkum in the province of Friesland, where

5 The Leiden University Library, for example, holds letters to/from Siegenbeek by/to well-known cultural, literary, academic and political agents such as Jeronimo de Bosch, Arie de Jager, Cornelis Felix van Maanen, Johan Hendrik van der Palm, Laurens van Santen, Meinard and Hendrik Willem Tydeman, Jan Frans Willems, to name but a few.

6 See the introduction to this volume on cultural nationalism and the nation-building processes in the decades around 1800.

7 This section is based on the entries on Siegenbeek in volume 17 (1874) of the *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* by A.J. van der Aa, and in volume 5 (1921) of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (*NNBW*), edited by P.J. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, as well as the biography by S. Muller, published in the *Handelingen der jaarlijksche algemeene vergadering van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, gehouden den 21 Junij 1855* (s.l., s.d.).

Amsterdam University Press

he became the minister of the local Mennonite community. Already in 1796, however, he was contacted by Laurens van Santen, a member of the town council of Leiden and a curator of the local university, inquiring whether Siegenbeek would be interested in the newly established chair of Dutch rhetoric at Leiden University. Van Santen had had this plan at least since the fall of 1795, when he made a similar proposal in the board of curators.[8] Siegenbeek accepted the offer and on 23 September 1797, he delivered his inaugural lecture on *Openbaar onderwijs in de Nederduitsche welsprekendheid* ('Public education in Dutch rhetoric'), testifying to the fact that he was first and foremost appointed to improve the rhetorical competence of the students, particularly those in theology and law. In 1799, his extraordinary chair was changed into a regular chair, and the description of its theme was widened to Dutch language and literature, which included rhetoric (cf. section 3). He would remain in office until 1844, when he was 70 years old, but continued to teach sporadically until 1847, when he celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as a university professor. He also served twice as the rector magnificus of Leiden University (1809-1810 and 1823-1824).

As was mentioned in section 1, one of Siegenbeek's most significant activities outside the university was his long-term membership of the board of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, first as its secretary for almost twenty years, then as chair for 25 years, in which capacity he was responsible for dozens of so-called *levensberichten* ('biographies') of deceased members of the Maatschappij. Apart from his publications on literary history, rhetoric and linguistics discussed and mentioned in the present chapter, Siegenbeek's work includes such diverse publications as a two-volume history of the University of Leiden (*Geschiedenis der Leidsche Hoogeschool,* 1829-1832), a translation of Longinus' essay on the sublime (*Longinus over de verhevenheid*, 1811), a French version of his 1826 history of Dutch literature, translated by J.H. Lebrocquy (*Précis de l'histoire littéraire des Pays-bas*, 1827) as well as a tragedy (*Willem de Derde, Koning van Engeland*, 1832). Finally, Siegenbeek was a school inspector in the province of South Holland, serving from 1815 to 1852.

3 Literary History and Rhetoric

Siegenbeek's activities as a historian of Dutch literature and as a teacher of rhetoric have been studied more extensively than his linguistic works.

8 Molhuysen, 1924, p. 16; Wiskerke, 1995, p. 201.

Amsterdam University Press

In the present section, I will summarise recent studies of his literary and rhetorical publications in as far as they are of immediate relevance for a good understanding of Siegenbeek the linguist, the topic of section 4.

Siegenbeek's main task as the newly appointed professor of Dutch was to teach Dutch rhetoric to university students, particularly, though not exclusively, to the next generation of ministers and lawyers in the faculties of theology and law. Not uncommon for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of *welsprekendheid* ('rhetoric') that Siegenbeek adopted encompassed the study of language and literature.[9] Siegenbeek, in need of study materials, used both classical sources such as Longinus and Quintilian, but also the works of the well-known Scottish professor of rhetoric at Edinburgh, Hugh Blair, whose focus on style as a crucial part of his so-called *belletristic* approach to rhetoric was by and large adopted by Siegenbeek.[10] The study of language and literature was part of Siegenbeek's style-oriented approach to rhetoric. In lecture notes made by students kept in the University Library in Leiden, Siegenbeek always stresses the importance of a preceding analysis of the grammar of Dutch, as well as of the Dutch literary and oratorical *exempla* that are needed to illustrate the rhetorical principles. He considered knowledge of the grammar of Dutch to be required in order to reach a high level of stylistic refinement, and examples of famous authors who had reached a high stylistic level would help students in their development. This means that Siegenbeek's rhetorical lessons began with an overview of the grammar of Dutch.[11] Furthermore, he taught the history of Dutch literature focusing mainly on seventeenth-century examples representing a good style and a good taste.[12] Based on his courses at Leiden University, Siegenbeek published a history of Dutch literature.[13] His rhetorical lessons have survived in the aforementioned lecture notes.[14]

In another set of lecture notes, Siegenbeek said that his lessons deserve 'the name of Lessons in Dutch rhetoric in as far as they are specifically

9 Vis, [2004], pp. 43-44.

10 Sjoer, 1996, pp. 61-63, 169-180.

11 Sjoer, 1996, pp. 169-170.

12 Sjoer, 1996, p. 175; Vis, [2004], pp 43-46.

13 See Siegenbeek, 1826.

14 The Leiden University Library holds, for example, a manuscript called *Lessen over de Nederduitsche welsprekendheid* ('Lessons in Dutch rhetoric'), counting 133 pages on grammar and 277 pages on rhetoric (signature LTK 137), as well as a manuscript called *Lessen over den Nederduitschen stijl* ('Lessons in Dutch style'), counting 292 pages (LTK 136). Cf. Sjoer, 1996, pp. 169-170.

Amsterdam University Press

organised to train the Dutchman in the rhetoric of his mother tongue',[15] a phrase which also occurs in other lecture notes.[16] With this preliminary remark, Siegenbeek showed that he was well aware of the fact that the sheer existence of his dedicated chair should be interpreted in the ideological light of the Batavian revolution, which means that the chair was a cultural tool in the ideological construction of a united and homogeneous Dutch nation.[17] In this context, the aforementioned Laurens van Santen has been called a *vurig unitaris* ('fiery unitarist, advocate of a centralised Dutch nation-state').[18] After having stated the general goal of his lecture, Siegenbeek explained the interrelatedness of rhetoric with the study of language and literature as follows, claiming that rhetoric encompassed

> in my view, in the first place an explanation of the nature, firmness and extensiveness of our mother tongue. After all, an accurate linguistic knowledge is without any doubt the foundation of rhetoric. This is all the more necessary with respect to our language, because it is extremely carelessly spoken and written by many, being learnt through usage only, and hardly through the prescription of a purified grammar, and because the neglect of the products of our oldest and most honourable writers renders unknown most of them with their full firmness and extensiveness.[19]

Siegenbeek thus signalled two problems that had to be solved before a full introduction to Dutch rhetoric would be possible: lack of knowledge of the grammar of Dutch, and lack of knowledge of the literary tradition. He immediately added that an introduction to the grammar of Dutch and an anthology of the best writers would therefore be part of his course on rhetoric.[20]

15 *Academische voorlezingen* s.d., p. 2: 'deze lessen [...] den naam van Lessen over de Nederduitsche Welsprekenheid geven, voor zo verre zy byzonderlyk ingericht zyn om den Nederlander tot Welsprekenheid in zyne Moeder Taal opteleiden'.

16 Sjoer, 1996, p. 170.

17 Honings, 2011, p. 156; cf. Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 201-203.

18 In the entry on Siegenbeek in the *NNBW*, see footnote 4.

19 *Academische voorlezingen*, s.d., pp. 5-6: 'behoort daartoe myn 's inzien 's, in de eerste plaats eene Ontvouwinge van de Eigenschap, kracht en uitgebreidheid onzer Moeder Sprake. Immers is eene naauwkeurige Taalkennis buiten tegenspraak de grondslag der Welsprekenheid. – dit is met betrekking tot onze Taal des te noodzakelyker, omdat zy door 't gebruik alleen, zelden door het voorschrift eener gezuiverde Spraakkunst geleert wordende, door veelen ten uitersten onachtzaam gesproken & geschreven wordt en de verwaarlozing van de voortbrengselen onzer oudste & Achtbaarste Schryveren, de meeste met hare volle Kracht & uitgebreidheid onbekend doet blyven'.

20 *Academische Voorlezingen*, s.d., p. 6.

Amsterdam University Press

These concerns with the history of Dutch literature have made Siegenbeek into an important literary historian. Usually, his involvement in literary history is explained with reference to cultural nationalism as well. Wiskerke comments that for Siegenbeek, 'nationalism was [...] the motive for exercising his duties' as a professor of Dutch.[21] The national literary history, then, as developed by Siegenbeek, also encompassed socio-political history and linguistic history, and resulted in an approved story of the rise, greatness and fall of the national culture.[22] As such, Siegenbeek contributed strongly to the Dutch myth of the Golden Age, according to which the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of unprecedented, and since then unrepeated, economic and cultural excellence (cf. section 4.2 below). He considered the literature of the seventeenth-century to be the *point de la perfection* of Dutch literary history, in which the works of the authors P.C. Hooft (1581-1647) and Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) played a crucial role.[23] In his earlier overviews of the history of Dutch literature, made in the years 1800-1802, Siegenbeek located the beginning of the Golden Age in the early seventeenth century, with Hooft and Vondel, and let it persist up until his own days.[24] In other words, he talked about the rise and flourish of Dutch literature, but not about its decay or fall. A few years later, however, in 1806, his ideas changed to what would become the traditional nineteenth-century view according to which the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century were marked by decay. This decay was not caused by the sudden absence of knowledge of genre conventions and normalised language in the period 1650-1800, which persisted, but by the lack of exceptional talents such as Hooft and Vondel instead.[25] Jensen offers a political explanation of why authors such as Siegenbeek increasingly viewed the early seventeenth century as the Golden Age of Dutch literature and the subsequent period as one of decay.[26] The year 1806 marks the end of Dutch independence, as the Netherlands were incorporated into the French state, which gave rise to an increase of anti-French sentiments, and which fuelled the search for a national cultural heritage of unsurpassable quality. In section 4, I will show that Siegenbeek's changing view of literary history ties in neatly with his ideas about the linguistic history of Dutch.

21 Wiskerke, 1995, p. 203 [my translation].
22 Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 199, 207-208.
23 Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 199, 208, 215-216.
24 Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 219-220.
25 Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 260-264.
26 Jensen, 2012.

Amsterdam University Press

4 Linguistics

4.1 Siegenbeek's Linguistic Heritage

In addition to his literary and rhetorical studies, Siegenbeek also worked on Dutch linguistics. He is well-known for his 1804 landmark publication *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling* ('Treatise on the Dutch spelling'), the first official spelling regulation, published, as the subtitle says, *in naam en op last van het Staats-bewind der Bataafsche Republiek* ('published in the name of and by order of the government of the Batavian Republic'). Its counterpart was the official *Nederduitsche spraakkunst* 'Dutch grammar' by Pieter Weiland, which was published in 1805.[27] Siegenbeek's spelling saw several reprints, for example a fourth one in 1827, and moreover an abridged version *ten dienste der scholen* ('for the benefit of the schools') came out in 1805 and 1822. At the request of the important so-called reformist society Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen ('Society for Public Advancement'), Siegenbeek wrote a *Syntaxis* and a *Grammatica*, which were published anonymously in 1810 and 1814.[28] For both the syntax and the grammar, Siegenbeek heavily relied on Weiland's grammar of 1805.[29]

In the same period, Siegenbeek also wrote three extensive linguistic essays. In 1804, he published an essay discussing the question *in hoe ver behoort de spelling der Nederduitsche taal geregeld te worden naar de welluidendheid en gemakkelijkheid der uitspraak* ('to what extent should the spelling of the Dutch language be regulated according to the euphony and the ease of pronunciation'). His *Betoog van den rijkdom en de voortreffelijkheid der Nederduitsche taal, en eene opgave der middelen om de toenemende verbastering van dezelve tegen te gaan* ('Essay on the affluence and the excellence of the Dutch language, and statement of the means to counter its increasing corruption') came out in 1810. In 1814, Siegenbeek published an essay on *het verband tusschen de taal en het volkskarakter der Nederlanderen* ('the connection between the language and the national character of the Dutch').

In later years, fewer linguistic publications came out. When Johannes Kinker published a critical discussion of the 1826 *Nederlandsche spraakleer* ('Dutch grammar') by Willem Bilderdijk, he added a lengthy letter Siegenbeek had written to him on the same matter.[30] A few years later,

27 See Noordegraaf, this volume.
28 Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 227-230.
29 Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 232-252.
30 Kinker, 1829, pp. 341-370. For Kinker, see van der Wal, this volume.

Amsterdam University Press

Siegenbeek published a short essay on 'some current corruptions of the pronunciation of the mother tongue'.[31] In 1847, the year of his retirement, he published a *Lijst van woorden en uitdrukkingen met het Nederlandsch taaleigen strijdende* ('List of words and expressions adverse to the Dutch idiom'). Finally, some of the lecture notes kept in manuscript form also comprise extensive linguistic parts, for example the *Aantekeningen van M. Siegenbeek* and the *Academische voorlezingen* are largely devoted to an overview of Dutch normative grammar.[32]

Due to the aforementioned inherent interrelatedness of language, literature and rhetoric, Siegenbeek often also commented upon linguistic issues in publications on rhetoric and literary history, for example in his essay on the seventeenth-century poet Vondel, in his concise history of Dutch literature, and in his two inaugural lectures of the late 1790s, when he first became an extraordinary professor, and in 1799 a full professor.[33]

Despite the fairly wide variety of linguistic themes discussed in Siegenbeek's works, he is first and foremost associated with and still remembered for his 1804 spelling regulation, which was part of what is generally known as the *Schrijftaalregeling* ('lit. written language regulation'). These official regulations for the written language, which also included Weiland's grammar, were the end point of the eighteenth-century development towards 'nationalization' of the language.[34] In the first half of the eighteenth century, language planning activities were quite restricted and focused regarding their target audience and target varieties, as normative grammar was mainly meant for an elite audience of poets and ministers.[35] Towards the end of the century, metalinguistic discourse was reconceptualised in nationalist terms, which led to the official national language policy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From about 1770 onward, normative grammar was essentially *national grammar*, characterised by a whole different conceptualisation of the intended readership. Normative grammar became a matter of national concern,[36] and the idea gained ground that supposedly *civilised* and *educated* language should be the hall-mark of society as a whole, and should therefore be taught in schools.

The *Schrijftaalregeling* entailed the first official codification of Dutch, initiated by the minister of national education, Johan Hendrik van der

31 Cf. Siegenbeek, 1836.
32 Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 283-242.
33 Siegenbeek, 1807, 1826, 1800.
34 Burke, 2004, p. 166.
35 Rutten, 2009.
36 Noordegraaf, 2004.

Amsterdam University Press

Palm. Siegenbeek's spelling was officially approved of by van der Palm, after having consulted a few other eminent language experts, notably Adriaan Kluit and Meinard Tydeman.[37] The Leiden University Library holds letters from Siegenbeek to Tydeman and van der Palm that accompanied parts of the spelling proposals that he sent to them for comments and approval.[38] Siegenbeek, in his turn, was one of the members of what could be called the advisory board of Weiland's grammar, along with Tydeman, Kluit and van der Palm.[39]

The uniform spelling promoted by the national government was founded on a limited set of principles, the most important one of which was to write in accordance with the pronunciation.[40] Intuitive as this may sound, Siegenbeek was probably well aware of many regionally and socially conditioned phonetic differences, and rephrased the principle in terms of following the most pure and most polite pronunciation, where *polite* refers to the language characteristic of the most polite people,[41] and, as Daan comments, of the region of Holland.[42] *Purity* refers to the need to give the letters, as Siegenbeek says, the sound that characterises it, as well as to the prerequisite to pronounce all the letters that belong to a word fully and in an unmixed way.[43] The latter definition along with the assumed but probably non-existent familiarity with the social dialect of the Holland elite among the average schoolteacher, who was supposed to teach the national language and its spelling, sparked off a lot of spelling pronunciations. These were immediately commented upon by language experts.[44] One of these was Siegenbeek, who stumbled upon them in his profession as a school inspector, and subsequently published an essay on 'some current corruptions of the pronunciation of the mother tongue' in an educational journal.[45] While it remains uncertain to what extent all the features he discussed should be considered spelling pronunciations, it is clear that some of them were, as they involved the pronunciation of silent

37 For Kluit, see van Driel & van der Sijs, this volume. For Tydeman, see the introduction and Noordegraaf (2012).

38 The letters are from 1803, signatures LTK 997 (to Tydeman) and LTK 1567 (to van der Palm). Siegenbeek, in the introduction to his spelling, also explained the various stages in the genesis and officialisation of the spelling (1804a, pp. 5-20).

39 Weiland, 1805, p. VI.

40 'write as you speak', cf. Siegenbeek, 1804a, p. 13.

41 Siegenbeek, 1804a, pp. 18-19.

42 Daan, 1989, p. 199.

43 Siegenbeek, 1804a, p. 18.

44 Daan, 1989, pp. 199-200.

45 Siegenbeek, 1836.

Amsterdam University Press

graphemes, or 'letters', which were only written for etymological reasons. These include the realisation of *menschen* ('people') as [mɛnsχən] instead of [mɛnsən], where <ch> should remain silent, and the realisation of the final vowel in *duidelijk* ('clear') and *sterfelijk* ('mortal') as [ɛI] instead of schwa. Siegenbeek wrote this short essay for schoolteachers who were unfamiliar with the targeted pronunciation and used spelling pronunciations instead, and ultimately, as he declared in the final sentence,[46] to preserve the purity and the euphony of *de Vaderlandsche taal* ('the language of the fatherland').

4.2 The Myth of the Golden Age

Siegenbeek may count as a representative of the ardent supporters of the myth of the Golden Age. In a thoughtful overview of the concept of the Golden Age as it functions in a variety of nineteenth-century histories of Dutch literature meant for schools and/or home study, Johannes discusses the obvious problems the authors of these handbooks encountered.[47] One example is the supposedly close connection between the Golden Age and Protestantism, and the prevailing image of the seventeenth century as the period of the rise of the Dutch nation as a Protestant nation. In reality, quite a few of the famous poets were Catholics, including Vondel. Another example is the general depreciation of the Early Modern chambers of rhetoric and the view of their members as frenchified poetasters, while many seventeenth-century writers such as Hooft and Vondel were in fact members of such chambers of rhetoric.

In the case of language, the problems were at least as pervasive. As Siegenbeek acknowledged in the introduction to his spelling proposal, the spelling differences between the most admired authors of the Golden Age, Hooft and Vondel, were great in many respects, and in the absence of general regulations, there were almost as many spelling systems as there were authors, and many writers presented themselves as language experts without having any authority to do so.[48] The obvious linguistic differences between the Golden Age and the early nineteenth century were pointed out by Siegenbeek on various occasions, for example in his second inaugural lecture about Hooft as a poet and historian, as well as in the preface to an edition of the main historical works of Hooft[49] – and this comparison did

46 Siegenbeek, 1836, p. 53.
47 Johannes, 2002.
48 Siegenbeek, 1804a, pp. 2-6; cf. Rutten, 2016.
49 Siegenbeek, 1800, p. 75; Siegenbeek et al., 1820, p. III.

Amsterdam University Press

not always work out to Hooft's advantage, whose language was sometimes *uncivilised*, *unnatural* and *lacking euphony*.[50] Nevertheless, this did not prevent Siegenbeek from setting up the Golden Age scheme, also with respect to language. In his essay on the affluence and the excellence of the Dutch language, he hailed Hooft as an author beyond compare for both the contents and the language of his works.[51] In an essay on the literary merits of Vondel, he claimed that Hooft and Vondel were the first to expose *den rijkdom en de schoonheid onzer moedertaal* ('the affluence and the beauty of our mother tongue').[52] Similar claims are made in Siegenbeek's history of Dutch literature.[53]

The inherent tension outlined above was easily solved, as Siegenbeek provided hardly any concrete linguistic examples taken from Hooft and Vondel showing their linguistic perfection vis-à-vis earlier or more recent authors. He simply described their linguistic excellence in fairly abstract terms, claiming that their works stood out for their affluence and beauty. When Siegenbeek did engage with more concrete linguistic matters, as in his spelling proposal and in his lecture notes on the grammar of Dutch, he actually followed the *eighteenth-century* tradition of normative grammar.[54] As Siegenbeek must have known, eighteenth-century metalinguistic discourse was heavily influenced by the written language of the seventeenth century, particularly by the language of Vondel and to a slightly lesser extent, of Hooft, for which reason it has been called *vondelianism*.[55] This means that there was an indirect link from Siegenbeek back to the seventeenth century, to the Golden Age. Nevertheless, he readily acknowledged that the eighteenth century was far more advanced than the seventeenth century in terms of linguistic normalisation, while even in his days, orthographic uniformity was still lacking, which was, of course, one of the reasons behind his spelling proposal.[56] In spite of the greater uniformity in spelling and grammar characteristic of the eighteenth century, the general claim that the Golden Age constituted the period to which nineteenth-century language users should turn remained unproblematic as it fed on the intrinsic and inseparable relationship of literature and linguistics (section 3). Vondel and Hooft were the best language users, simply because they were the best

50 Siegenbeek, 1800, p. 75.
51 Siegenbeek, 1810, p. 261.
52 Siegenbeek, 1807, p. 97.
53 Siegenbeek, 1826, p. 346.
54 See, for example, Noordegraaf, 1985, p. 252; van der Wal & van Bree, 2008, p. 241.
55 Rutten, 2006; Simons & Rutten, 2014.
56 Siegenbeek, 1804, pp. 1-2, 1826, p. 230.

Amsterdam University Press

authors. In sum, the linguistic perfection of Vondel and Hooft was primarily a discursive construction relevant in the context of early nineteenth-century nationalism, and we can assume Siegenbeek was aware of this.

On many occasions, Siegenbeek referred to the revival of Dutch language and literature in the first half of the seventeenth century, identifying this period as the Golden Age and limiting himself to the abstract claim that the language of Vondel and Hooft was the best language. In one respect, however, he made the Golden Age scheme linguistically slightly more concrete. The Golden Age of Vondel and Hooft brought an end to the widespread use of loans, particularly from French. Without discussing which loans specifically were replaced by endogenous forms, Siegenbeek described the Golden Age as one of lexical purism, and Hooft and Vondel were forerunners in the purification of Dutch.[57] Schematically, the impure period of the sixteenth century was succeeded by the Golden Age, which then gave way to another impure period from the second half of the seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century. The lack of purity, both before and after the Golden Age, was closely tied to the use of French loans, and the eighteenth century in particular, has often been viewed as a time of vehement *frenchification*. Here, the myth of the Golden Age connects with the position of Dutch as a neighbour of French and German.

4.3 Dutch in Contact with French and German

Johannes describes how nineteenth-century historians of Dutch literature built up the image of the Golden Age, particularly the first half of the seventeenth century, as caught between two periods of *verfransing* ('frenchification').[58] Traditionally, the eighteenth century has been considered the period in which the Low Countries were heavily influenced by France, politically, socially, culturally and linguistically. The idea of the frenchified eighteenth century has been criticised in more recent times, at least from Frijhoff's seminal study onward.[59] The supposedly increasing frenchification from the second half of the seventeenth century onward created a convenient *terminus ad quem* for the Golden Age. In their search for a *terminus a quo*, literary historians proposed the second half of the sixteenth century, when a purified form of Dutch literature replaced the preceding stage characterised by *Burgundian corruption* and the heavily frenchified

57 Siegenbeek, 1807, p. 96.
58 Johannes, 2002.
59 Frijhoff, 1989.

Amsterdam University Press

chambers of rhetoric.[60] In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, large parts of the Low Countries came under Burgundian rule, and subsequently under Habsburg/Spanish rule. These political circumstances would have brought about the frenchification of Dutch language and literature, most strongly visible in the widespread use of loans, as in the poems and plays created within the various chambers of rhetoric. The Golden Age of purified Dutch from the second half of the sixteenth century to c. 1650 was more or less coterminous with the Dutch Revolt or Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), and with the political and economic success of the Dutch Republic.

Throughout Siegenbeek's work, anti-French sentiments can be found. The linguistic publication that delves deepest into the matter is the 1810 'Essay on the affluence and the excellence of the Dutch language, and statement of the means to counter its increasing corruption'. In this essay, Siegenbeek laments the general neglect of Dutch literature and the Dutch language among the Dutch people of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, particularly among the upper ranks, who appropriate French manners and cultural products, and who prefer the French language, considering Dutch as *eene plompe en boersche spraak* ('a rude and lumpish language').[61] In the first chapter, he then demonstrates the affluence of Dutch by discussing its extensive lexicon, well-suited to communicate all the small nuances of human thought, and all the stylistic shades one could possibly need, which he illustrates with examples mainly taken from seventeenth-century authors.[62] In addition, he argues for the morphological uniqueness of Dutch, which he considers to comprise a remarkable number of monosyllabic words, testifying to its old age, and an equally remarkable capacity to create compounds of these monosyllables. Here, Siegenbeek explicitly ties in with Grotius' views on the architecture of the Dutch lexicon, which were in turn dependent on Stevin's views.[63]

In the second chapter, devoted to the excellence of Dutch, Siegenbeek again discusses the old age of the language, connecting this also with a notion of purity.[64] As an ancient and pure language, Dutch has kept its original lexicon comprising monosyllables as well as compounds and derivations with the accent on the original root, i.e. on the semantically most important

60 Johannes, 2002, p. 32.

61 Siegenbeek, 1810, p. 6.

62 Siegenbeek, 1810, pp. 13-119.

63 Hugo Grotius, *Parallelon rerum publicarum* (manuscript c. 1602, published 1801-1803 by Johan Meermann); Simon Stévin, 'Uytspraek van de Weerdigheyt der Duytsche Tael', published in *De Beghinselen der Weeghconst* (1586). Cf. van der Wal (1997).

64 Siegenbeek, 1810, pp. 119-223.

Amsterdam University Press

morpheme. As such, Dutch is said to differ sharply from French, the lexicon of which mainly consists of loans from Latin and Greek. Here, Siegenbeek again relies on Grotius, but also on early eighteenth-century linguists such as ten Kate and Huydecoper.[65] In sum, Siegenbeek creates an image of the Dutch language as one that stands out for its lexical and morphological properties, which are supposedly immediately linked to its old age and purity, and which demonstrate its superiority when compared to French.

Less prominent in Siegenbeek's works are references to German, despite the fact that his grammatical works were influenced by Adelung, particularly the *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der deutschen Sprache* of 1782.[66] In Siegenbeek's 1810 essay, the relationship between Dutch and French dominates, but German is not entirely absent. In the second chapter on the excellence of Dutch, Siegenbeek praises the euphony of Dutch consonants when compared to their German counterparts.[67] In the following pairs, Dutch has voiced stops and fricatives, while German has unvoiced ones, and Siegenbeek considers voicing to be 'softer': *vuil-faul* 'dirty, (Gm.) rotten, lazy', *vroom-fromm* 'pious', *moeder-Mutter* 'mother', *dal-Thal* 'valley'. Siegenbeek also criticised the 'harsh and rude' affricate *pf-* as in German *pflicht* 'duty'.[68] Siegenbeek's 'List of words and expressions adverse to the Dutch idiom', published in 1847, predominantly comprises and criticises German loans. The apparent change of orientation from anti-French to anti-German in Siegenbeek's linguistic writings may signal wider changes in international cultural contacts and their discursive representation, and merits further investigation.

Siegenbeek's criticism of French loans and his conceptualisation of particularly the long eighteenth century as a period of frenchification is entirely traditional, and fits in well with contemporary and more recent discourses on French dominance and francophilia in this period.[69] Characteristic of Siegenbeek, who was a professor of Dutch and a school inspector, is perhaps his focus on a remedy and even more so, his insistence that the supposed frenchification can be countered through mother-tongue education. After having established 'the general neglect of and contempt for the language and literature of the fatherland', which is supposed to be the result of the decreasing love of the fatherland, Siegenbeek argues that

65 Lambert ten Kate, author of *Aenleiding totde kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (1723); Balthazar Huydecoper, author of *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* (1730).
66 Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 235-237.
67 Siegenbeek, 1810, pp. 119-223.
68 Siegenbeek, 1810, p. 140.
69 Vogl, 2015; Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal, 2015.

Amsterdam University Press

to cure this 'evil', a new kind of mother-tongue education will be necessary in order to teach 'the polite Dutchman' knowledge of the Dutch language as well as to excite 'the spirit of love of the fatherland'.[70] This new kind of mother-tongue education should encompass schoolbooks with historical and literary texts, particularly from the seventeenth century, as well as anthologies of poets such as Vondel and Hooft.[71] He also calls for a new purist dictionary.[72]

The educational solution offered by Siegenbeek in his essay on 'the means to counter the increasing corruption' of Dutch neatly ties in with his first inaugural lecture 'on public education in Dutch rhetoric'.[73] This lecture has a strong apologetic undertone, reflecting Siegenbeek's position as the first professor with a chair solely devoted to the study of Dutch. Noordegraaf calls it an *oratio pro domo*, as Siegenbeek takes half of his lecture to explain that Dutch rhetoric is equally well possible as Greek and Latin rhetoric, illustrating this by identifying a respectable Dutch tradition including Vondel and Hooft[74].

He ends his lecture by paying special attention to three societal domains that he apparently considers crucial in the context of his chair, viz. the University of Leiden, the arts and sciences generally, and finally, the fatherland.[75] The whole line of reasoning of the lecture is framed in a nationalistic discourse, indicating not only the necessity of teaching Dutch rhetoric – which encompasses both literature and linguistics, cf. section 3 – but also the advantages that an advanced level of rhetoric will have in the legal and religious domains, and above all in parliament.[76] Clearly, Siegenbeek was well aware of the symbolic relevance of his academic position for the Dutch nation as an ethnic and political body.

4.4 Language and Nation

In 1814, Siegenbeek published an essay 'on the connection between the language and the national character of the Dutch'. The relationship between

70 Cf. Siegenbeek 1810, p. 243: 'die algemeene verwaarloozing en geringschatting der vaderlandsche letterkunde', p. 250: 'het kwaad', 'de beschaafde Nederlander', 'ter vroegtijdige opwekking van dien geest van vaderlandsliefde'.

71 Siegenbeek, 1810, pp. 259-264.

72 Siegenbeek, 1810, pp. 266-267.

73 Siegenbeek, 1800, pp. 1-52.

74 Noordegraaf, 1985, p. 221; cf. Vis, [2004], p. 44.

75 Siegenbeek, 1800, p. 52.

76 cf. Noordegraaf, 1985, p. 221.

Amsterdam University Press

language and *nation* had been a common theme throughout the previous century[77], and by the time Siegenbeek wrote his essay, many of his ideas had become common knowledge, including the three principles from which he developed his argument, viz. that man is primarily and uniquely defined by his language, that his language is a mirror of the soul, and that his language is also a mirror of the cognitive and moral character of the nation he is part of.[78] From the third, 'Humboldtian' assumption, it follows that the basic characteristics of a nation must be strongly and significantly present in its language.[79] With this 'Humboldtian' approach to the interrelationship of language and nation, Siegenbeek took up a theme well-known across eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, including Germany and the Low Countries.[80] The remainder of Siegenbeek's essay is devoted to an inventory of characteristics of the Dutch people, and the way in which these are represented in the Dutch language.

The first characteristic of the true and pure Dutchman is that he is calm and sensible – a myth that lives on until the present day – which is in contrast with *fire* and *liveliness* ('vuur', 'levendigheid'), but also with the *frivolity* and *fickleness* ('wuftheid, ligtzinnigheid en onbestendigheid') of the southern peoples ('de meer zuidelijk gelegene volken').[81] Here, Siegenbeek evokes an opposition of Germanic and Romance that he will return to a few times. Linguistically, the moderate character of the Dutch is reflected in the phonology of the language, which has neither too many vowels nor too many consonants. Languages that have many vowels may sound pleasantly and harmoniously, but are also a little bit too 'melting, tender, and, if I may say so, effeminate'.[82] Languages that combine too many consonants in difficult clusters 'hurt the ear with an unpleasant coarseness'.[83] Dutch, then, is located between these stereotypical images of Romance and Germanic languages. In 1779, in a poetical essay, Cornelis van Engelen had contrasted

77 Cf. Rutten, 2007 for a brief overview focussed on Dutch.

78 Siegenbeek, 1814, pp. 89-90.

79 Siegenbeek 1814, p. 93: 'Het kan derhalve niet anders zijn, of ook de hoofdtrekken van het karakter van eener natie moeten in de taal, van welke zij zich, als de haar eigene en door haar zelf gevormde, bedient, krachtig en sprekend zijn ingedrukt'.

80 Noordegraaf, 1999.

81 'den echten, onverbasterden Nederlander', Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 96.

82 Siegenbeek 1814, p. 101: 'Talen, in welke klinkletters, vooral zachte en lieflijke, de overhand hebben, streelen wel het oor door eene aangename en harmonieuse opvolging van klanken; maar hebben tevens iets al te smeltends, teeders en, mag ik zeggen, verwijfds in haren toonval'.

83 Siegenbeek 1814, p. 101: 'Zulke talen daarentegen, waarin doorgaans eene vereeniging van zware en harde medeklinkers, zonder behoorlijke afwisseling van vloeijende klinkers, wordt waargenomen, kwetsen het oor door eene onaangename ruwheid'.

Amsterdam University Press

the vowelly Italian with the much less vowelly German, claiming that the number of vowels and consonants determines a language's softness and hardness, respectively.[84]

Another characteristic of the Dutch is their sincerity and love of the truth, which strangers often mistake for rudeness and impoliteness.[85] Linguistically, this characteristic is manifest in the impossibility to flatter in Dutch without overstating it. Again, this is in opposition to 'the French language of flattery, in which even the strongest expressions have lost almost all of their force as a result of their daily use'.[86] Similarly, the Dutch love of independence is reflected in a relatively flexible syntax, as opposed to the French language, which has a much more fixed syntax, according to Siegenbeek.[87] Siegenbeek then criticises the equally strong rules of French classicism, and adds that the free Dutch spirit has regained its independence, *also in this respect*.[88] This remark is probably a reference to the recent defeat of Napoleon and the end of the French reign of the Low Countries, which have freed themselves from the tyranny of both French classicism and French politics.

A final characteristic of the Dutch is the moral and religious character of their language.[89] Here, Siegenbeek refers to the lexicon, specifically to the absence of endogenous euphemisms for *mistress*, and criticizing the French for having and apparently needing such words as *galant* and *coquette*. The irony is, of course, that these words are also French loans in Dutch, indicating that the Dutch are familiar with the concepts just as well.

In his final remarks, Siegenbeek explains that the Dutch language is the essence of the Dutch nation, recalling that the foreign rulers had tried to bring this language to decay and depreciation.[90] Here, he is probably referring to Napoleon's efforts to frenchify the administrative and legal domains, and to prescribe the teaching of French in schools.[91] The French were well aware that they would never be able to fully rule the Dutch as

84 Van Engelen, 1779, p. 197.

85 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 112.

86 Siegenbeek 1814, p. 101: 'de Franse vleitaal, waarin ook de sterkste bewoordingen, door het dagelijksch gebruik, schier alle kracht verloren hebben'.

87 Siegenbeek, 1814, pp. 115-116.

88 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 118: 'Niet lang echter heeft de vrije Nederlandsche geest zich door deze banden laten kluisteren, maar integendeel zijne onafhankelijkheid, ook in dit opzigt, loffelijk gehandhaafd'.

89 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 118.

90 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 123.

91 Kloek & Mijnhardt, 2001, p. 437.

Amsterdam University Press

long as the linguistic wall that kept them apart had not been broken down.[92] Tearing down this wall, would have led to 'the entire corruption of our national character', to 'the extinguishing of the final spark of love of the fatherland', and to 'the irreparable completion of our slavery and our fall'.[93] He concludes by calling for intergenerational transmission of the Dutch language until the last descendants, that is, through education.[94]

5 Final remarks

In this paper, I have singled out the most important themes that can be gleaned from the various publications and manuscripts by Matthijs Siegenbeek in the field of Dutch studies, paying special attention to his linguistic works. An important preliminary observation is that for Siegenbeek, as for many of his contemporaries, linguistics, literary history and rhetoric are interconnected parts of what we now call Dutch studies. Different from present-day academic practice, Siegenbeek integrated these three domains, and argued that to focus on one necessarily implied taken into account the others.

Throughout Siegenbeek's works, the cultural nationalism is found that also inspired Laurens van Santen to create Siegenbeek's dedicated chair of Dutch. Thus, asking Siegenbeek to design the national orthography was clearly the right choice. An important theme in Siegenbeek's studies of the history of Dutch language, literature and rhetoric is the Golden Age myth, according to which the history of these fields can be told in a narrative about their rise, greatness and fall. The period of greatness was the Golden Age, situated in the first half of the seventeenth century, coinciding with the political and economic success of the Dutch Republic. The authors Vondel and Hooft represent the concomitant literary success. Linguistically, Siegenbeek's main argument to consider this period the Golden Age appears to be the interest in lexical purism, which replaced the previous love of loans from French.

In the same vein, the position of the Dutch language area close to the French and German language areas is another major theme in the work of

92 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 124: 'zoo lang de scheidsmuur, die, in het behoud onzer tale, ons van hen verwijderde, niet geheel was omverre geworpen'.

93 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 124: 'geheele verbastering van ons volkskarakter', 'uitdooving ook van den laatsten vonk van vaderlandsliefde', 'onherstelbare voltooijing van onze slavernij en onzen val'.

94 Siegenbeek, 1814, p. 125: 'tot de laatste nakomelingschap'.

Amsterdam University Press

Siegenbeek. Particularly the relationship with French, and the influence of French literature and of the French language on the Dutch culture is a matter of great concern, giving rise to an at times vehement anti-French discourse. A Dutch national and cultural identity is built in competition and contrast with other European cultures, and particularly the French. This also means that the Dutch culture and the Dutch language as conceptualised by Siegenbeek are homogeneous entities at the national level. There is hardly any reflection on internal linguistic variation, for example, on regional and social variation within the language area. External linguistic variation is conceptualised in terms of national languages such as Dutch and French that need to remain unmixed and pure, leaving no room for language contact. Subscribing to the well-known nationalist axiom that language and nation are intertwined, Siegenbeek moreover took the interesting effort to link the national auto-image of calmness, sincerity and religiosity to specific linguistic levels such as the phonology, syntax and lexicon of the Dutch language.

The defence of Dutch, a leitmotiv in Siegenbeek's works, can be summarised as the nationalistic effort to discursively construct a homogeneous and unmixed Dutch language, symbolising the Dutch nation, and modelled after the writings of the famous poets of the Golden Age, often in the fullest awareness of the empirical invalidity of many of the assumptions and claims involved in this effort.

References

Aantekeningen van M. Siegenbeek by de Nederduitsche spraakkunst van P. Weiland. Manuscript University Library Leiden, LTK 49.

Academische voorlezingen over de Nederduitsche tale en welsprekenheid van den hoog geleerder heer M. Siegenbeek. Gewoon hoog leeraar in dezelven aan s lands universiteit te Leyden. A° 1797 & 1798. Manuscript University Library Leiden, BPL 3363.

P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

J. Daan, 'Als niet komt tot iet... Nederlands van hoog tot laag', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (1989), 168-245.

C. van Engelen, 'Antwoord op de vraag, van de Maatschappy der Nederlandsche Letterkunde. Welke zijn de algemeene oogmerken, die een dichter moet bedoelen? Welke zijn derhalven de eigenaartige onderwerpen voor de dichtkonst?

Amsterdam University Press

En welke zijn derzelver algemeene regelen?', *Werken van de Maetschappy der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 4 (1779), 63-224.

W. Frijhoff, 'Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 104 (1989), 592-609.

R. Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel, Hollands roem! Het literaire leven in Leiden 1760-1860* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2011).

L. Jensen, 'De Gouden Eeuw als ijkpunt van de nationale identiteit. Het beeld van de Gouden Eeuw in verzetsliteratuur tussen 1806 en 1813', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 28 (2012), 161-175.

G.-J. Johannes, '"Zoo is overdrijving de ziekte van elke eeuw." Het beeld van de 17de eeuw in 19de-eeuwse literatuurgeschiedenissen voor schoolgebruik en zelfstudie', *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 7 (2002), 28-60.

J. Kinker, *Beoordeeling van M. W. Bilderdijks Nederlandsche spraakleer* (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey en zoon, 1829).

J. Kloek & W. Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague: Sdu, 2001).

P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit*. Volume 7 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924).

J. Noordegraaf, *Norm, geest en geschiedenis. Nederlandse taalkunde in de negentiende eeuw* (Dordrecht & Cinnaminson: Foris, 1985).

J. Noordegraaf, 'Het begin van de universitaire neerlandistiek: Franeker 1790?', in *Voorlopig verleden, Taalkundige plaatsbepalingen* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1997), pp. 14-27.

J. Noordegraaf, 'Vaderland en moedertaal. Een constante in het taalkundig denken', in *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*, ed. by N.C.F. van Sas (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), pp. 343-363.

J. Noordegraaf, 'A Matter of Time. Dutch Philosophy of Language in the Eighteenth Century', in *Janus at the Millennium. Perspectives on Time in the Culture of the Netherlands*, ed. by T.F. Shannon & J.P. Snapper (Dallas etc: University Press of America, 2004), pp. 211-225.

J. Noordegraaf, 'Over taal en maatschappij in de achttiende eeuw. Het werk van Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825)', *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia*, 21 (2012), 87-100.

G. Rutten, *De Archimedische punten van de taalbeschouwing. David van Hoogstraten (1658-1724) en de vroegmoderne taalcultuur* (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU & Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2006).

G. Rutten, 'The Nationalist turn. Dutch Linguistics and German Philosophy in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in *History of Linguistics 2005*, ed. by D.A. Kibbee (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 288-307.

Amsterdam University Press

G. Rutten, 'Grammar to the People. The Dutch Language and the Public Sphere in the 18th Century. With Special Reference to Kornelis van der Palm', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 19 (2009), 55-86.

G. Rutten, 'The Myth of the Golden Age and the Construction of Dutch as a National Language', in *Metalinguistic Perspectives on Germanic Languages in Europe: Case Studies from Past to Present*, ed. by G. Rutten & K. Horner (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2016), pp. 13-39.

G. Rutten, R. Vosters & M. van der Wal, 'Frenchification in Discourse and Practice: Loan Morphology in Dutch Private Letters of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *Past, Present and Future of a Language Border: Germanic-Romance Encounters in the Low Countries*, ed. by C. Peersman, G. Rutten & R. Vosters (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 143-169.

M. Siegenbeek, *Twee redevoeringen* (Leiden: L. Herdigh, 1800).

M. Siegenbeek, *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling, ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve, door Matthys Siegenbeek, hoogleraar in de Nederduitsche Letterkunde te Leyden: uitgegeven in naam en op last van het Staats-bewind der Bataafsche Republiek* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1804a).

M. Siegenbeek, 'Antwoord op de vraag, in hoe ver behoort de spelling der Nederduitsche taal geregeld te worden naar de welluidendheid en gemakkelijkheid der uitspraak?', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde*, 1 (1804b), 1-108.

M. Siegenbeek, 'Verhandeling over de dichterlijke verdiensten van Joost van den Vondel', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde*, 2 (1807), 35-108.

M. Siegenbeek, 'Antwoord op het voorstel der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde, vorderende een Betoog van den rijkdom en de voortreffelijkheid der Nederduitsche taal, en eene opgave der middelen om de toenemende verbastering van dezelve tegen te gaan', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde*, 5 (1810), 1-273.

M. Siegenbeek, 'Over het verband tusschen de taal en het volkskarakter der Nederlanderen', *Museum, of verzameling van stukken ter bevordering van fraaije kunsten en wetenschappen*, 3 (1814), 89-125.

M. Siegenbeek, [The life of Herman Tollius], *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1822* (S.l., s.d. [1822]), 18-32.

M. Siegenbeek, *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* (Haarlem: Erven François Bohn, 1826).

M. Siegenbeek, [The life of Everwinus Wassenbergh], *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1827* (S.l., s.d. [1827]), 11-19.

Amsterdam University Press

M. Siegenbeek, 'Waarschuwing tegen eenige in zwang gebragte verbasteringen van de uitspraak onzer moedertaal', *Nieuwe bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding* (1836), 42-53.

M. Siegenbeek, *Hulde aan de nagedachtenis van den hoogleeraar J.H. van der Palm* (Leiden: D. du Mortier en Zoon, 1840).

M. Siegenbeek, *Lijst van woorden en uitdrukkingen met het Nederlandsch taaleigen strijdende* (Leiden: S. en J. Luchtmans, 1847).

M. Siegenbeek, A. Simons & J.P. van Capelle (eds.), *P.C. Hoofts Nederlandsche Historien*. (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey, 1820).

T. Simons & G. Rutten, 'Language Norms and Language Use in Eighteenth-Century Dutch. Final *n* and the Genitive', in *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600-1900. A Sociolinguistic and Comparative Perspective*, ed. by G. Rutten, R. Vosters & W. Vandenbussche (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014), pp. 49-72.

E. Sjoer, *Lessen over welsprekendheid. Een typering van de retorica's van de eerste hoogleraren in de vaderlandse welsprekendheid in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1797-1853)* (Amsterdam: IFOTT, 1996).

G.J. Vis, *Van Siegenbeek tot Lodewick. Verkenningen naar de geschiedenis van de studie der Nederlandse letterkunde, speciaal in het onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, [2004]).

U. Vogl, 'Standard Language Ideology and the History of Romance-Germanic Encounters', *Past, Present and Future of a Language Border: Germanic-Romance Encounters in the Low Countries*, ed. by C. Peersman, G. Rutten & R. Vosters (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 61-87.

M. van der Wal, 'Grotius' taalbeschouwing in contemporaine context', *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 1 (1997), 14-34.

M. van der Wal & C. van Bree, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands* (Houten: Spectrum, 2008).

P. Weiland, *Nederduitsche spraakkunst* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1805).

E.M. Wiskerke, *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780 en 1813* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

About the Author

Gijsbert Rutten (1977) is a Senior Researcher in Historical Sociolinguistics and a University Lecturer of Dutch Historical Linguistics at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. He leads the research project *Going Dutch. The Construction of Dutch in Policy, Practice and Discourse, 1750-1850*, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

2 Barthold Hendrik Lulofs

A 'Learned Dilettante'

Francien Petiet

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH02

Abstract
Barthold Hendrik Lulofs (1787-1849) was appointed Professor of the new chair of Dutch literature and rhetoric at the University of Groningen in 1815. He became a well-known man of letters and orator. He was a member of several learned societies and corresponded with the leading national and international literary scholars of his time. During his professorship, Lulofs wrote several handbooks for his students, on the history of language, etymology, rhetoric, grammar and national history. In this chapter the focus lies on his writings on language, rhetoric and literature in relation to the to the construction of a Dutch identity, starting with his inaugural lecture delivered by him in 1815.

Keywords: rhetoric, linguistics, literary heritage, Vondel, Golden Age

1 Introduction[1]

Barthold Hendrik Lulofs[2] was born in Zutphen (Gelderland), on 17 March 1787. He grew up in an upper-middle-class home. His father, Johan Lulofs, was a local and provincial statesman. His mother, Constantia Drijfhout, was a daughter of Abraham Jacob Drijfhout, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Harderwijk. Lulofs attended the Latin School of Zutphen, where he developed a special interest not only in the study of

1 I would like to thank Dorien Scheerhout for helping me with the translation of the text and Emily Fox who assisted me with the revision of the text.

2 This brief biography is based on Aerts, 1982, and van Herwerden, 1850.

Amsterdam University Press

language and classical literature, but also in poetry and rhetoric. In 1804, he moved to Groningen to study at the University of Groningen. During his studies, he stayed with his uncle, Herman Muntinghe, a well-known Professor of Theology at the University of Groningen. In his first years at the university, he attended lectures in classical literature, philosophy, and history, but as the years went by, he specialised in law. In 1809, he defended his dissertation about the freedom of the judiciary, titled *De libertate*.

After completion of his studies, Lulofs returned to Zutphen and became a lawyer. However, he did not find this profession very satisfying; it was during this period that Lulofs began writing poetry and translating literature (including his 1810 translation of *Louise,* by Johann Heinrich Voss). He also became interested in Dutch language and literature, inspired by the turbulent politics of his time. It is very likely that Lulofs was appointed Professor of the new chair of Dutch literature and rhetoric at the University of Groningen in 1815 because of his poetic and other literary activities.[3] Lulofs held this chair from 1815 until his death in June 1849. He became a well-known man of letters and orator. He was a member of several learned societies and corresponded with the leading national and international literary scholars of his time. In 1841, he was knighted by King Willem II with the Order of the Netherlands Lion (Knight's Cross).

During his professorship, Lulofs wrote several handbooks for his students, on the history of language, etymology, rhetoric, grammar, and national history. In this chapter, I would like to focus on Lulofs's writings on Dutch language, rhetoric, and literature in relation to the construction of a Dutch identity. To what extent did he write in service of the nation-building language policy of Willem I[4], to whom he owed his chair?

2 1815: The Start of Lulofs's Academic Career

On 15 November 1815, Lulofs delivered his inaugural lecture. He was the first of the newly appointed professors in literature and rhetoric to present his vision of the new chair in a lecture. The title of his speech was *Over de noodzakelijkheid van de beoefening der eigene taal en letterkunde voor de zelfstandigheid en roem van eene Natie* ('About the necessity of using its

3 Huizinga, 1951, p. 95.

4 For more information about the language policy of William I, see: Janssens & Steyaert, 2008.

Amsterdam University Press

own language and literature[5] for the independence and fame of a nation'). By 'using' he meant practical (authorship, e.g., poets, orators) as well as theoretical (study of language and literature) aspects. Lulofs believed that a nation's language and literature and the nation's prosperity were related. In his lecture, Lulofs tried to prove this thesis by providing examples. He referred to the great Greek and Roman authors, orators, and scholars, and the prosperity of Greece and the Roman empire in their early days. According to Lulofs, his thesis could also be proven by looking at the history of Holland, in particular the seventeenth century, the 'Golden Age',[6] in which the power and independence of the Dutch nation reached their peak. It was during this age that the true Dutch identity came into being, according to Lulofs:

> We are industry and trade, without being narrow-minded and without a soulless merchant's character. We see thrift without miserliness. We see calmness without cold-bloodedness, without indolence and indifference. We see distinction, without stiffness. In a word: we are discovering, as we have said before, a truly original national character, not spoiled and degenerated by the ridiculous imitation of strangers and with an elegance and laxity that are not ours.[7]

Following other literary scholars of his time such as Jeronimo de Vries and his fellow professor in Dutch language and rhetoric, Matthijs Siegenbeek (appointed at the University of Leiden in 1797), Lulofs situated the prospering of the Dutch language and literature in the seventeenth century[8]; it was in the Dutch Golden Age that Dutch language and literature reached its highest peak. Authors such as Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel and Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert were seen as the pioneers who paved the way for literary prosperity in the seventeenth century. According to Lulofs, an

5 The term *letterkunde* or 'literature' refers not only to literature in the strict sense of the word, but also to other disciplines from the humanities and social sciences, e.g. history, philosophy, and jurisprudence.

6 Lulofs,1815, pp. 17-18: 'glorierijk tijdperk'.

7 Lulofs, 1815, p. 21: 'We zijn nijverheid en handelzucht, zonder lage bekrompenheid van geest, en eene ziellooze koopmansgeaardheid. We zien zuinigheid, zonder vrekheid. We zien bedaardheid zonder koelbloedigheid, zonder loomheid en onverschilligheid. We zien deftigheid, zonder stijfheid. Met één woord: wij ontdekken, gelijk wij hier boven reeds gezegd hebben, een regt oorspronkelijk volkskarakter, niet bedorven en ontaard door de bespottelijke nabootsing van vreemden, en van eenen zwier en eene losheid, die onzer Natie niet eigen zijn.'

8 In 1810, de Vries published a history of Dutch poetry. It is the first published history that covers the literature from hundreds of years. See also: Petiet, 2011, and Jensen, this volume. For Siegenbeek, Rutten, this volume.

Amsterdam University Press

important role in the increasing prosperity and glory of the nation was played not only by great admirals such as Michiel de Ruyter and Cornelis Tromp, who achieved international fame, but also by literary figures such as Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Joost van den Vondel, Constantijn Huygens, Johannes Antonides van der Goes, Jacob Cats, and Gerard Brandt.

> Yes, again: splendid age of use and blooming of our language and literature! When the eloquent, gracious, sensitive Hooft, the illustrious, naughty Vondel, the witty and ingenious Huygens, the great Antonides, the eloquent, but flattering Cats, the graceful Brandt and so many others all worked to construct the edifice of their language and literature with the greatest diligence. All competed together with great Men in other areas to enhance the bloom of our nation with jewel after jewel.[9]

Along with trying to prove his point by giving examples, Lulofs also tried to explain his thesis by linking the use of language and literature to the history and character of a nation. According to Lulofs, the history of the Dutch language and nation proved that the Dutch people were also an independent and authentic nation, with its own language and its own customs. Lulofs claimed that the Dutch language was not a *bastaardtelg* ('illegitimate child') of the German language and the Dutch nation was not an *aanslibsel* ('deposit') from France:

> No! Let the High German not look upon us with disdain and think we are a nation that speaks the coarse language of its peasants! His pride be damned if he dares call our language a bastard child of his, instead of an honorable, perhaps older sister that drank from the same breast! Eternal shame be on the head of the mad and furious Gauls who were so arrogant as to call this respectable nation a deposit of France; as if Nature itself had not drawn the eternal boundary in between by the difference in language of both Nations dating from ancient times![10]

9 Lulofs, 1815, pp. 23-24: 'Ja, nog eens: glansrijk tijdperk van beoefening en bloei der Vaderlandsche taal en Letterkunde! toen de zinrijke, bevallige, fijngevoelige Hooft, de verhevene, stoute Vondel, de geestige en vernuftige Huygens, de grootsche Antonides, de woordenrijke, maar zoetvloeijende Cats, de sierlijke Brand, en zoo veel anderen, allen, met den onvermoeidsten ijver, aan het optrekken van het gebouw dier taal en Letterkunde arbeidden; allen, met sieraad op sieraad, hetzelve verfraaiden, en met de groote Mannen, in andere vakken, wedijverden, in de bevordering van den bloei en den luister des Vaderlands.'

10 Ibid, p. 28: 'Neen! Dat de Hoogduitscher niet smadelijk op ons nederzie, en ons een Volk wane, bij hetwelk men de platte taal zijner boeren spreekt! Dat zij gevloekt zij, zijne trotschheid, als hij

Amsterdam University Press

Lulofs also noted the importance of using a nation's own language and literature in order to improve its art of poetry. According to Lulofs, the art of poetry is necessary for a nation's glory. Not only is it one of the crown jewels' on 'the nation's crown of glory', but poetry (and also historiography and rhetoric) can also ignite 'the spirit of independence and patriotism', as shown by contemporary authors such as Jan Frederik Helmers and Willem Bilderdijk.[11]

To further ground his thesis, Lulofs finally referred to the preventive role involved in using the nation's own national language and literature, which diminishes the influence of foreign language and literature. If a nation neglects its own language and literature or does not want to make use of it, that 'appetite' will be satisfied somewhere else.[12] Lulofs did not want the Dutch to close their eyes to the arts and sciences of other nations, but he wanted to make them aware of the fact that the language and literature of a nation 'are the reflection of the nature and customs of that Nation, to which they belong'.[13]

In particular, Lulofs wanted to warn against the influence of nations that possessed a *kwaad* ('bad') nature, behavior, and mentality:

> The foreign written works will blur the souls with a vapor of contaminating moral pestilence and soon spread a deadly venom in the hearts.[14]

To strengthen his words, Lulofs pointed to the scars of the French oppression, which he thought were still noticeable across the whole of Europe. The influence of the French language and literature in the eighteenth century, or the 'pestilence of Frenchification',[15] as he called it, had destroyed the independence of many European nations. However, this did not mean that

onze Sprake eene bastaardtelg der zijne durft heeten, in stede van derzelver eerbare, misschien oudere, zuster, die met haar aan eene borst gezogen heeft! Dat eeuwige schande op het hoofd diens dollen en razenden Gaulers ruste, die de onbeschaamdheid had, om dit zoo eerwaardige land eene aanspoeling, een aanslibsel van Frankrijk te noemen; als of de Natuur zelve niet, door het onderscheid der talen van beide Natien, reeds van oudsher, de eeuwige scheidslijn tusschen derzelver grenzen had afgebakend!'

11 Ibid., pp. 33-36: 'edelste juweelen'; 'de kroone des roems'; 'de geest van zelfstandigheid en Vaderlandsmin'.

12 Ibid., p. 44.

13 Ibid., p. 45: 'Elke vreemde taal en Letterkunde toch zijn het afschijnsel van den aard en de zeden van die Natie, waartoe dezelve behooren.'

14 Ibid., p. 46: 'De uitheemsche Schriften zullen met eenen walm van zedelijke pestbesmetting de zielen benevelen, en spoedig een doodelijk venijn in de harten verspreiden.'

15 Ibid., p. 47: 'pestziekte der verfranschtheid'.

Amsterdam University Press

Lulofs looked down upon other nations. On the contrary, Lulofs believed that one could learn and benefit from other nations, as long as the admiration did not become excessive. He looked up to the English and German peoples, because they took pride in their own language and literature. He wished that the Dutch people would be more interested in this, and that they would consider their own language and literature to be something valuable. Lulofs considered the limited territory of the Netherlands to be an important reason why Dutch people read so much foreign literature (original works as well as translations into Dutch). The Dutch market was too small to satisfy all readers and Dutch authors got no encouragement from outside, because the Dutch language was scarcely known in foreign countries.

Lulofs saw the possibility that this situation would improve, because Belgium became part of the United Netherlands; the Dutch territory had expanded. He pointed out the contributions to the Dutch language and literature by famous Belgian literary figures of the past, such as Jacob van Maerlant (Flemish poet from the Middle Ages) and Cornelis Kiliaan (well-known linguist from the sixteenth century). Lulofs expected that the reunited compatriots would work together to promote Dutch language and literature, as in the old days. He wanted the French-speaking inhabitants of Belgium no longer to look down upon the Dutch language, but to consider the Dutch language as their original language and as essential for the independence of the Dutch people.

In his inaugural lecture, Lulofs expressed his cultural nationalistic ideas. According to him, literature and language were representatives of a nation's identity. Neglecting them had negative consequences for a nation's prosperity. It was of national importance for people to embrace and appreciate their own language and literature, which were part of their own identity. In the following paragraphs, Lulofs's works and his thoughts on language, rhetoric, and literature will be discussed in the context of his inaugural lecture.

3 Lulofs's Promotion of the Dutch Language

Lulofs gave lectures on linguistics and rhetoric at the university, and published several books on Dutch linguistics. He wrote about the history of the Dutch language, grammar, style, and etymology. He wanted to make people more aware of the richness and age of the Dutch language. However, this did not mean that Lulofs lacked interest in other languages. Lulofs believed that it was important not to close one's eyes to the use of other languages; to

Amsterdam University Press

know them could be useful, as he mentioned in his inaugural lecture. Lulofs repeated this message in several of his writings about the Dutch language. In these writings Lulofs emphasised the qualities of his mother tongue, by calling attention to its age, originality, flexibility, and the possibility of enriching/enlarging its vocabulary, as by using prefixes and suffixes.

3.1 The History of the Dutch language

In 1819, Lulofs published his *Schets van een overzicht der Duitsche taal, of der Germaansche taaltakken, in derzelver oorsprong en tegenwoordige verdeeling in het Hoogduitsch, Nederlandsch, Deensch, Zweedsch, Engelsch en andere soortgelijke verwantschapte talen en tongvallen* ('Sketch of a survey of the German language or of the Germanic linguistic branches, in their origin and in their present division into High German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, English, and other similarly related languages and dialects'). The *Schets* presented a brief history of Germanic languages and dialects, such as (standard) German, Dutch, English, Danish, and Swedish, which, according to Lulofs, were all derived from the same source. In his prologue, Lulofs wrote that it was not his intention to write an exhaustive comparative overview of all Germanic languages; he just wanted to briefly indicate the origin of the Germanic languages and their present partition. The *Schets* was mainly meant for his students, to be used at his lectures. His aim was to increase the use of Dutch linguistics and to make people more aware of their linguistic roots.

Lulofs's *Schets* was largely based upon the work of Johann Christoph Adelung, an eminent German linguist, who was well-known for his works on German grammar, lexicography, and history of language.[16] Adelung published his *Mithridates oder: allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, a comparison and classification of all known languages of the world, between 1806-1817. Lulofs also referred to other sources, such as Ernst Moritz Arndt's *Über den Ursprung und die verschiedenartige Verwandtschaft der europäischen Sprachen* (1818), Matthijs Siegenbeek's *Betoog van den rijkdom en de voortreffelijkheid der Nederduitsche taal* (1810), and *Beknopte Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Tale*, published by Annaeus Ypey (1812).

Lulofs began by explaining that the European languages could be divided into three branches. In his *Schets*, he focused on the division of the Germanic languages. According to Lulofs, the Germanic languages were respectable because of their origin, purity, and age. Following Adelung's

16 Noordegraaf, 1997, pp. 30-32.

Amsterdam University Press

Mithridates, Lulofs stated that all Germanic languages were derived from one and the same language and belonged to the same family tree. Early on, this tree divided into two main branches: *Opperduitsch* ('High German') and *Nederduitsch* ('Low German'). Low German was considered to be the older and more extensive of the two main branches. The distinction between High and Low German was based upon differences in accents rather than differences in grammar. The Dutch language belonged to the Low German languages. Lulofs used the terms *Nederlandsch* or *Hollandsch* when he wrote about the Dutch language, instead of the often-used term *Nederduitsch*. Lulofs considered *Nederlandsch* to be just one of the Low German languages, which was why he did not want to use the broader term *Nederduitsch*, thereby following Annaeus Ypey, who published his *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederduitsche tale* ('Brief history of Low German') in 1812.

The Dutch language of that time had developed from different tongues and languages, such as Old Frisian, Franconian, and Low Saxon, and partly also from Latin and French. Lulofs placed the beginning of *Nederlandsch* as a written language in the thirteenth century. At the end of the thirteenth century, writers including Jacob van Maerlant, Melis Stoke, and Jan van Heelu were active. Their writings passed down through the ages and are the first proofs of the existence of the Dutch language. It was from that point on, according to Lulofs, that the Dutch language was in use and was distinguishable from the neighbouring German language:

> We owe it therefore to the Natural and Political autonomy of our nation and thereby our national character that we possess a language of our own and that the ancient Low German has found shelter and approval with us, which in vain it tries to find in Germany.[17]

In his *Schets*, Lulofs emphasised the age of the Dutch language as well as its autonomy. Dutch was to be considered equal to the German language and not just an offshoot of it. In this way, Lulofs tried to improve the image and status of the Dutch language and therefore indirectly also emphasised the independence and legitimacy of the Dutch nation.

17 Lulofs, 1819, pp. 107-108: 'Aan de Natuur- en Staatkundige zelfstandigheid dus van ons land, en hierdoor mede ons volkskarakter hebben wij het dank te weten, dat wij eene eigene taal bezitten, en dat het aloude Nederduitsch bij ons die schuilplaats en hulde gevonden heeft, naar welke het in Duitschland vruchteloos omziet.'

Amsterdam University Press

3.2 Characteristics of the Dutch Language

In his writing, Lulofs not only emphasised the age and autonomy of the Dutch language, but also pointed out its typical characteristics. His *Vlugtige woorden over Nederlandsche taalzuivering en taalverrijking* ('Brief words on Dutch language purity and language enrichment') was published in 1826, in which he claimed that the Dutch language is very rich, in that it is easy to compound words and enlarge its vocabulary. He compared the Dutch language with a distinguished lady who already has enough clothes and furniture, but yet becomes richer and richer every day. He pointed to the fact that the Dutch language contains many primitives, suffixes and prefixes, which makes it easier to create new words or to couple separate words and form one new word. This was not a very novel idea by the way. Scholars from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, like Simon Stevin, already referred to these characteristics in their linguistic studies. According to Lulofs, the Dutch language therefore outstrips the French language, in which this is more difficult. New French words are mainly based on Latin and Greek, and are understandable for scholars, but not for common men.

Lulofs believed that foreign words were difficult to assimilate into the Dutch language. If someone wanted to enrich the Dutch language, he thought it would be best to use Dutch words or German sources:

> But exceptions will not put rules aside and this one will always be: it is difficult for foreign words to merge into our language and that if one wishes to enrich our Dutch in a gracious way this has to be done by using our own or in general Germanic sources *as much as* possible.[18]

According to Lulofs, this use of Dutch sources for new words was already occurring. Many foreign words and borrowed words had already been replaced by Dutch words. Although Lulofs claimed that he was not prejudiced against other languages, his focus on language purity was also present in his other works on rhetoric and style. He considered language purity to be an essential element of good style.

Lulofs's focus on adopting the Dutch language for the well-being of the Dutch nation was not innovative. As early as the second half of the

18 Lulofs, 1826, p. 12: 'Maar uitzonderingen werpen geen' regel om ver, en deze blijft altijd: dat vreemde woorden zich moeijelijk met onze taal verbroederen laten, en dat, zoo men ons Nederlandsch op eene gepaste, sierlijke en bevallige wijze verrijken wil, men zulks, *zoo veel mogelijk*, uit deszelfs eigene, of in het algemeen, uit Duitsche bronnen doen moet.'

Amsterdam University Press

eighteenth century, literary scholars such as Meinard Tydeman (professor of history, rhetoric and Greek literature at the University of Harderwijk) and Everwinus Wassenbergh (professor of history, rhetoric, and Greek language at the Athenaeum Illustre in Deventer) already believed it was the patriotic duty of every citizen to cultivate the Dutch language, and made this part of their lectures.[19] King Willem I translated these ideas into politics, by introducing his nation-building language policy. The newly appointed professors, like Lulofs, endorsed the importance for a nation of using one's mother tongue in their inaugural lectures and other writings.[20] Unlike some of his colleagues, such as the aforementioned Siegenbeek, Lulofs did not try to standardise the Dutch language, nor did he publish dictionaries or similar products. His focus was mainly on the origin of his mother tongue, to indicate the age and greatness of Dutch. His linguistic works were mainly based on the works of others and therefore did not add much to the general linguistic knowledge of the times. The added value of his work must be sought in his efforts to transfer this knowledge to his students and to others who wanted to gain knowledge of their own language.

4 Lulofs's Works on Rhetoric and Style

Besides lectures on grammar, etymology, and (the history of) language, Lulofs also taught his students the rules of rhetoric. Lulofs, who would receive much credit as an orator himself during his lifetime, published several works on rhetoric, and stood out among his fellow professors as having the most publications related to rhetoric.[21] He wrote books on invention, style and declamation. His most important book on rhetoric was his handbook, *Redekunst, of grondbeginselen van stijl en welsprekendheid voor Nederlanders* ('Rhetoric, or fundamental principles of style and rhetoric for the Dutch'), published in 1820.

4.1 Lulofs's Manual on Rhetoric (1820)

Lulofs's *Redekunst* was a manual on rules of rhetoric to be used by his students. Although there were already many books on rhetoric, there were none for a Dutch audience, according to Lulofs. He considered style to be of great

19 Noordegraaf, 1997, pp. 18-19.
20 Petiet, 2011, pp. 50-56.
21 Sjoer, 1996b, p. 176.

Amsterdam University Press

importance. He defined style as the way in which words express thoughts. He claimed *zuiverheid* ('purity'), *duidelijkheid* ('clarity'), and *fraaiheid* ('beauty') to be important elements of a good style. By purity, he meant the use of the mother tongue, without contamination by borrowed words.

> A Dutch writing unnecessarily filled with foreign and bastard words and in which the rules of rhetoric are abused, we call stylistically impure. In that respect a number of writings dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, before the age of Hooft, our great linguist, are highly impure.[22]

In his *Redekunst* he repeatedly warned against the use of foreign words, but also against archaisms and dialects, which he also considered to be impure. By clarity, he meant the expression of thoughts in Dutch words in an understandable way, and by beauty, he meant pleasantness and suitability, as in the writing of Hooft:

> For example we call Hooft's style beautiful in many ways, because it reflects in itself power and liveliness and is therefore very picturesque, which fills us with a pleasant mood in the way all things beautiful do. – Historians however cause us to be bored by the dry, cold and lifeless way in which they report their comments or tell some event.[23]

In his *Redekunst*, Lulofs described the general rules of rhetoric and characteristics of good style.[24] Lulofs illustrated the basic rules by examples drawn from different authors. Lulofs thought it very important to read good examples to improve one's style; notably, the works of poets were suitable in that regard. He mentioned the works of classical authors such as Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (Quintilian), but also Dutch

22 Lulofs, 1820, p. 7: 'Een Nederlandsch geschrift dus, met uitheemsche en bastaardwoorden buiten noodzaak vervuld, en waarin telkens tegen de regelen der Spraakkonst gezondigd wordt, noemen we onzuiver van Stijl. In dien zin zijn een aantal schriften uit de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw, vóór den leeftijd van Neêrlands grooten Taalopbouwer, HOOFT, hoogst onzuiver.'

23 Ibid. p. 8: 'Wij noemen dus bijv. den Stijl van HOOFT in vele opzigten fraai, omdat dezelve door kracht, levendigheid en iets ongemeen schilderends uitmunt, en die aangename aandoeningen bij ons verwekt, waarmede alles, wat Schoon is, den mensch gewoon is te vervullen. – Sommige Geschiedschrijvers integendeel veroorzaken ons verveling door de dorre, drooge, koude en levenlooze wijze, waarop zij ons hunne aanmerkingen mededeelen, en de eene of andere gebeurtenis verhalen.'

24 For more information about *Redekunst* see Sjoer, 1996a.

Amsterdam University Press

authors and foreign authors as well. Lulofs seemed to have a preference for Dutch authors from the seventeenth century. He used Hooft as an example several times, but he also referred to the works of Vondel, Cats, and Brandt, and also to contemporary authors such as Jan Frederik Helmers, Hendrik Tollens, Lord Byron, Johan Heinrich Voss, Friedrich Schiller, and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. It is worth noting that it was not very common to bring in foreign examples, except for examples drawn from the ancient Greek and Roman authors. On this point, this work (and others of Lulofs's works) can be seen as quite modern. Lulofs seemed to have a special preference for the works of German authors, as he also demonstrated in his other works. It would be interesting for further research to look into the reason for this preference and into the extent to which his romantic thoughts were influenced by the German poets.

Lulofs's *Redekunst* was based on the belletristic rhetoric work of the Scottish professor Hugh Blair, who published his *Lectures on rhetoric and belles-lettres* in 1783. He wrote 47 lectures about taste, language, style, eloquence, and composition. He made use of consisting theories and ideas drawn from ancient authors as well as from modern theorists. In his preface he emphasised that his lectures were, however, not just a compilation of existing ideas, but also illustrated his own thoughts.[25] This work became very popular in Europe and was translated into Dutch by professor Herman Bosscha in 1804, titled *Lessen over de redekunst en fraaie letteren*.[26] Lulofs republished the Dutch translation between 1832 and 1837 at the request of his publisher, J. Oomkens. This translation has already been discussed by others[27], so it will only be mentioned briefly here. A remarkable feature of this translation is that more than half of the edition actually consists of notes made by Lulofs. Gert-Jan Johannes made a comprehensive analysis of these comments.[28] Johannes concluded that Lulofs tried to modernise the edition, by discussing new views on such matters as aesthetics and by using examples drawn from modern authors and not only from the Anglo-Saxon world. Lulofs also added comments on Blair's approach to some aspects of classical rhetoric. However, these annotations seem to clash a bit with his

25 Noordegraaf, 1980a, p. 8; Noordegraaf, 1980b, p. 47.

26 Sjoer, 1996b, pp. 175-185. In this article, Sjoer compares Lulofs's *Redekunst* with Blair's work, but also with the philosophical rhetoric works of, for example, Aristotle and Quintilian, as well as contemporary rhetoricians such as George Campbell and Richard Whately.

27 A more detailed comparison of the rhetorical views of Lulofs and Blair is provided in the works of Ellen Sjoer. Gert-Jan Johannes wrote an article about Lulofs's translation of Hugh Blairs *Lectures*, see Johannes, 1999.

28 Johannes, 1999.

Amsterdam University Press

modernising agenda, especially when he blamed Blair for having too little regard for the classical rhetoricians. According to Johannes, though, the most important meaning behind all of Lulofs's comments was his desire to prove himself as a true man of letters.[29]

Lulofs's *Redekunst* was reprinted in 1831 and was reprinted again twice after his death by Arie de Jager in 1859 and 1878. It became the standard work on rhetoric in the nineteenth century in Holland.

4.2 Academic Lectures (1822)

In 1822, Lulofs published a sort of supplement to his manual, titled *Akademische voorlezingen* ('Academic lectures'). This work contained several lectures on rhetoric by Lulofs to his students and was specifically focused on invention. Lulofs wrote a few paragraphs about invention in his *Redekunst*, but because this was a very difficult subject, he decided to reprint those paragraphs with the addition of extra explanation.[30] In these lectures Lulofs taught his students the rules of invention based on the works of classical authors such as Cicero, Aristotle, and Quintilian. In his preface, Lulofs explained why he considered it to be important to follow the classical authors. For example, one could learn from their simplicity, accuracy and picturesque language, which according to Lulofs were general characteristics of good rhetoric. However, he also indicated that the time in which they lived differed from the present time. Literary forms and subject matter could change over time. According to Lulofs one could not claim the tragedies of William Shakespeare, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich Schiller to be barbaric, just because they did not follow the rules of the classical tragedies.

In his introduction, Lulofs made an excursion into modern literature. He quipped that the Dutch *volksaard* ('character') was not sensitive to the 'Romantic Play of Imagination'.[31] According to him, the Dutch people had a preference for realism. He introduced the character of Pieter Realiteit ('Peter Reality'), who detested the use of imaginary beings, such as giants, ghosts, dwarfs, and fairies, to show how narrow-minded the taste of the Dutch public really was.[32] Lulofs was in favour of a literature in which realism would be combined with imagination. He wanted more recognition of

29 Johannes, 1999, p. 239.
30 Sjoer, 1996a, p. 136.
31 Lulofs, 1822, p. xv: 'volksaard'; 'Romantische Spel der Verbeelding'.
32 See for more details: Berg, 1973; Brandt Corstius, 1953; Oosterholt, 2004.

Amsterdam University Press

irrational aspects in literature. J.C. Brandt Corstius rightly described Lulofs as a proponent of a more romantic literature.[33]

Lulofs observed a difference in literature between the Netherlands, Germany, France, and England. Contemporary Dutch poetry was characterised by its common sense and lack of imagination, according to Lulofs. He wanted to make people more aware of the differences in taste between nations as well as differences over time. This view, together with Lulofs's use of examples taken from foreign literature in his publications, indicates his cultural relativistic attitude.[34] This will be further evident when taking a closer look at Lulofs's writings about the history and development of Dutch literature.

5 Lulofs's Use of the Dutch Literary Heritage

Lulofs wrote primarily about language and rhetoric, and to a lesser extent about literature. In many of his writings on language and rhetoric, however, Lulofs quoted Dutch authors, mainly to demonstrate his claims. He published a few works on Vondel, whom he admired the most of the ancient Dutch poets. He unsuccessfully tried to publish a new edition of Vondel's works. At the end of his career, he also published a history and anthology of Dutch mediaeval history, which would be criticised severely by Willem Jozef Andries Jonckbloet, who reviewed this publication for the magazine *De Gids*. This review has often been seen as the breaking point between the Old School (the first generation of literary historians, to which the first appointed professors of Dutch belonged) and the New School to which Jonckbloet belonged.

5.1 Imitation as a Condition for Good Authorship

Like other literary scholars of his time, Lulofs believed that the education of a writer required reading and imitating good examples.[35] He embraced the imitation-principle re-introduced by Latin poet Jeronimo de Bosch, who published a thesis about the imitation of classical literature in 1783.[36]

33 Brandt Corstius, 1853, pp. 245-247.

34 Oosterholt, 1998, pp. 170-171.

35 Petiet, 2011, pp. 21-25.

36 *Dichtkundige verhandeling over de regelen der dichtkunde* ('Poetical thesis about the rules of poetry'). For more information about this thesis see Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 129-150.

Amsterdam University Press

De Bosch claimed that a poet should imitate good examples, to improve his style, taste and sense of beauty. His ideas were adopted by other literary scholars. However, where de Bosch ventured that only the works from the ancient Greek and Roman writers were suitable for imitation, others, such as Siegenbeek, believed that the Dutch authors from the seventeenth century were also appropriate. Lulofs went a step further. He not only quoted the ancient poets and the poets of the Golden Age, but he also used the works of contemporary poets such as Bilderdijk, Tollens, and Helmers, and also foreign (mainly German) poets of his time. Moreover, he did not even link the poets of the seventeenth century to the classical literature. Many literary scholars, like Siegenbeek, emphasised the use of classical examples by poets such as Vondel, Hooft, and Huygens. According to them the writing skills of Vondel and others were formed by studying the works of the ancient Greek and Roman authors: Vondel became a better poet when he started reading the works from Vergilius, Ovidus, and Horatius. Therefore they reasoned that the works of Vondel, Hooft, and other great poets of the Golden Age could be used as good examples well; their writings matched the works of the ancient writers.[37]

In his writings Lulofs often pointed out suitable models. For example, in his *Over Nederlandsche spraakkunst, stijl en letterkennis* ('About Dutch grammar, style, and letter knowledge') (1823), a handbook on Dutch grammar and style written primarily for his students, he gave many excerpts from works of Dutch authors as examples of excellent style and rhetoric. He especially quoted from the works of authors from the Golden Age, including Vondel, Huygens, Hooft, Cats, and Antonides van der Goes. Although some expressions in their works seemed a bit odd and the contemporary taste differed from that of the seventeenth century, so that their writings were perhaps old-fashioned, Lulofs considered their works to be exemplary:

> The literary products of the famous geniuses of the seventeenth century can be compared – more or less – with some pieces of furniture from our grandparents, which are not fashionable anymore, but which fill the perceptive spectator with awe because of their clever cuttings and gildings and the solid, firm and long lasting fabric, albeit that they will be sniffed at contemptuously by empty-headed persons and fools.[38]

37 Petiet, 2011, pp. 131-141.

38 Lulofs, 1823, p. viii: 'De Letterkundige voortbrengselen van de beroemde Vernuften der zeventiende Eeuw laten zich meer of min bij sommige stukken Huisraad, uit den tijd onzer Vaderen, vergelijken, die, ja, wel niet naar de tegenwoordige Mode zijn, maar echter door het

Amsterdam University Press

A striking aspect of the way in which Lulofs used the Dutch poets of the Golden Age is the lack of a nationalistic way of thinking. While other literary scholars of his time used Dutch literature to encourage patriotic feelings and to validate the Dutch identity, Lulofs rarely explicitly linked literature to his national goal as mentioned in his inaugural lecture: the use of the nation's own literature to promote its independence and fame.[39] Although he often complained about the disregard of Dutch literature at home as well as abroad, he rarely emphasised its importance for the Dutch nation. When he referred to writers from the past in his publications, it was generally to illustrate his thoughts and reasons. His goal was to give good examples of writing style and rhetoric in his lectures on language, grammar, style, and rhetoric, and not to teach national virtues. Other professors in Dutch language and literature, including Matthijs Siegenbeek, Cornelis Fransen van Eck, and Gerrit Joan Meijer, stressed the importance of using Dutch authors like Vondel, Hooft, and Cats because of their national value.[40] In particular, reading the works of the writers of the seventeenth century would contribute to constructing the Dutch identity by spreading patriotic sentiments. Although Lulofs often complained about the lack of interest in Dutch literature, he hardly ever explicitly claimed that knowledge of the great Dutch poets of the Golden Age was essential and necessary for the Dutch nation. He did find it valuable to study their works from a rhetorical perspective, but not because of their possible contribution to a national goal.

5.2 Lulofs's Admiration for Vondel

Of all the old Dutch poets, Lulofs admired Vondel the most. In several of his writings about Vondel, he expressed his admiration for the seventeenth century poet. He compared Vondel with his English contemporary, Shakespeare, who in Lulofs's time was widely recognised all over Europe. According to Lulofs, Vondel was not inferior to Shakespeare, but was rather a more versatile and ingenious talent than Shakespeare.[41] Lulofs defended Vondel against criticism from literary scholars such as Pieter

kunstige snijwerk en verguldsel, hetwelk dezelve siert, door de stevige, hechte en duurzame stoffe, waaruit zij, vervaardigd zijn geworden, door het doelmatige van derzelver vorm en zamenstel, elken oplettenden Beschouwer met verwondering vervullen moeten, al trekken voor het overige nieuwmoodsche Ledighoofden en Zotten smadelijk over dezelve den neus op.'

39 Petiet, 2011, Chapter 4.

40 Ibid.

41 Lulofs, 1837, p. 6.

Amsterdam University Press

Gerardus Witsen Geysbeek, author of *Biographisch anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters* ('Biographical anthological and critical dictionary of Low German poets') (1821-1827)[42] and the Englishman John Bowring.[43] In 1829, Lulofs published a critical work on Bowring's *Sketch of the language and literature of Holland*, titled *Eenige toelichtingen en bedenkingen op des geleerden dr. John Bowring's uit het Engelsch en in onze moederspraak vertaalde aanmerkingen over sommige onzer oudere en nieuwere Nederlandsche dichters, redenaren en andere schrijvers*,[44] in which Lulofs defended Dutch literature against Bowring's criticism. Lulofs wanted to make some key distinctions. Although he claimed to appreciate Bowring's work, he also believed that Bowring was at times a bit simplistic and jumped to conclusions, and his claims were not always correct. He considered Bowring's judgment of Vondel to be too negative. Bowring described Vondel as a second-rate Shakespeare. According to the Englishman, Vondel's poetry was characterised by its beauty, but also by its deficiencies, and Vondel's thoughts were not very philosophical. Lulofs called Bowring's opinion of Vondel a 'bitter almond macaroon', 'a very sugary and gilded pill, but yet not sweet enough to swallow without twisting your mouth'.[45]

Lulofs believed that Bowring, like many other readers, did not understand Vondel well enough, due to his distance in time. That is why in 1830, Lulofs launched his *Drie proeven van opheldering over den grootsten der oud-Nederlandsche dichters, J. van den Vondel* ('Three examples of clarification of the greatest of old Dutch poets, J. van den Vondel'), a proposal for a new edition of Vondel's works. Lulofs admired Vondel, but Vondel's written

42 Witsen Geysbeek accused the contemporary critics of parroting each other in their admiration of Vondel. According to him, Vondel's talent was overrated. In his *Drie proeven*, Lulofs referred to Witsen Geysbeek's accusation, without mentioning his name. He believed the claim that Vondel did not deserve all the appreciation to be absurd. According to Lulofs, this accusation was as ridiculous as calling De Ruyter and Tromp *onbeduidende vlootvoogdjes* ('insignificant admirals') (p. 5).

43 In 1824, the Englishman John Bowring published an English anthology of Dutch literature, titled *The Batavian anthology, or specimens of the Dutch poets*, followed by a sequel in 1829, *Sketch of the language and literature of Holland*. Bowring wanted to introduce Dutch literature into English society. His efforts were appreciated in the Netherlands; for example, he received a gold medal from King Willem I.

44 *Some clarifications and objections to the comments made by the learned dr. John Bowring on some of our older and newer Dutch poets, literary scholars and other authors, as translated from English into our native language.*

45 Lulofs, 1829, p. 25: 'bitterkoekje' 'eene sterk gesuikerde en vergulden pil, maar toch niet sterk genoeg, om ze zonder mondverwringing te slikken'.

Amsterdam University Press

works were too difficult to comprehend for current readers, and therefore his value could not be estimated rightly, according to Lulofs:

> The time in which he lived will seem more and more distant. Old Dutch customs and morals to which he refers, old Dutch events and heroic deeds, old Dutch persons that he tells about, will seem more and more strange to the present audience. Poetry and theatre from that time and the taste of his contemporaries will be more and more unknown to us. We apply our French-based notions of poetry far too much, we muddle his style and expression. In short, we stick far too much to the bark, without penetrating to the kernel hidden inside the bark.[46]

Vondel was misunderstood and sometimes wrongfully accused of platitudes, principally because people had lost the habit of using the language in which he wrote. Lulofs also believed that understanding Vondel's work demanded much knowledge of history and mythology. Lulofs wanted to publish a new edition of his works, with historical, philosophical, critical and aesthetic annotations, to clarify his verses and to let people experience the beauty of his poetry. He wanted the reader to judge Vondel in relation to the time in which he lived; to consider his work from an aesthetic point of view. He considered this project to be difficult, yet important for building the Dutch language and literature and the independence and fame of the Dutch nation, and therefore appropriate for him as a professor of Dutch literature and rhetoric.[47] However, this is the only time in this proposal that Lulofs addressed Vondel's importance for the Dutch nation.

Lulofs hoped to get approval for this project. His *Drie proeven* was meant as a sample of the future edition. People who were interested could sign up for the new edition. Unfortunately, Lulofs's enterprise was unsuccessful, most likely due to the arrival of the Belgian Revolution, which took away the zest for such projects.[48] Many years later, in 1838, the first and

46 Lulofs, 1830, pp. 2-3: 'Wij verwijderen ons hoe langer hoe meer van het tijdperk, waarin hij leefde. Oud-Hollandsche gebruiken en zeden, waarop hij zinspeelt, oud-Hollandsche gebeurtenissen en heldendaden, die hij bezingt, oud-Hollandsche personaadjen, van welke hij melding maakt, worden aan het thans levend geslacht telkens vreemder. Van den dicht- en toneeltrant zijner eeuw en den smaak zijner tijdgenooten worden wij hoe langer hoe onkundiger. Verfranschte begrippen van poëzij, viezevazerijen over stijl en uitdrukking passen wij veel te veel op hem toe. Kortom, wij blijven veel te veel aan de schors bij hem hangen, zonder dat de pit, in dien bast besloten, door te dringen.'

47 Lulofs, 1830, p. 9.

48 Van Herwerden, 1850, pp. 84-85.

Amsterdam University Press

only volume was published, titled *J. van den Vondel, door Geschiedkundige inleidingen, omschrijvingen in Proza en aanteekeningen, in eenige zijner kleinere gedichten opgehelderd*.

5.3 Lulofs's Handbook of Mediaeval Literature

Towards the end of his life and career, Lulofs became more interested in the origins of Dutch literature. In 1843, he published a work about the *Zutphens Handschrift*, a collection of handwritings from Jacob van Maerlant, including his *Rijmbijbel* and a few short poems. He had inherited this collection from his good friend, the poet and literary scholar A.C.W. Staring. It was this inheritance that awoke Lulofs's interest in mediaeval literature.[49] Two years later, in 1845, Lulofs published his *Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederlandsche letterkunde, of proeven uit Nederlandsche schriften der dertiende en veertiende eeuw. Met inleidingen, aanstippingen over de uitspraakleer en den stijl van dien tijd, een klein Woordenboek enz* ('Handbook on the earliest bloom of Dutch literature, or examples from Dutch writings from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. With introductions, annotations on pronunciation and style of the period, a small dictionary etc.'). In the preface of this handbook, Lulofs admitted that in his early days he did not have much interest in the oldest Dutch literary products. He said that he changed his mind, inspired by scholars from Belgium, Germany, France, and England, who no longer looked down on literature from the Dark Ages.

Lulofs believed that the earliest literature deserved to be studied for several reasons. He claimed it was important for the study of Dutch language and mediaeval history, the traditions, customs, and the way of thinking in those days, in short 'the entire nationality of our ancestors'.[50] He did not find it interesting to study the old texts from an aesthetic point of view, as he felt that the old works had little aesthetic value.

His handbook was criticised by Jonckbloet, who wrote a destructive review in *De Gids* in 1846.[51] He accused Lulofs and his fellow literati (Jonckbloet did not mention any other name) of being unscientific and uncritical. He referred to them as members of the 'Old School', *dilettanten* ('dilettantes') who were just pursuing a hobby.[52] He denounced their focus

49 Rinzema, 1997, p. 30.

50 Lulofs, 1845, p. 26: 'de gehele nationaliteit van onze voorouders'.

51 Jonckbloet, 1846.

52 See for more details about the differences between the Old and the New School: van Boven, 1980.

Amsterdam University Press

on the national goal. Dutch literature demanded to be treated as a science. He criticised Lulofs's motivations for writing the handbook. He also pointed at inaccuracies in Lulofs's handbook, such as the starting point of mediaeval literature, which according to Jonckbloet began much earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. Lulofs reacted to this review with an essay published in 1847,[53] in which he defended the so-called Old School. By that time, however, most of the members of the Old School were finished. Two years later, in 1849, Lulofs died, followed a few years later by Siegenbeek (1854) and Jeronimo de Vries (1853). Other literary historians such as Nicolaas van Kampen and Willem de Clercq had already preceded Lulofs in death. However, their writings would survive and would still be of use in the next decades, despite Jonckbloets attack.

Jonckbloet's review is often seen as the starting point of the so-called 'New School' in the Netherlands, the beginning of the scientification of the study of language and literature.[54]

6 Lulofs's Heritage

Lulofs held his chair at the university until his death in 1849. Matthias de Vries, one of the leaders of the New School, became his successor. Lulofs is primarily appreciated for his work on rhetoric. Many of his works on rhetoric were reprinted in the second half of the nineteenth century and became standard reference books for teaching rhetoric. However, during and after his lifetime Lulofs did not receive much credit for his contributions to the study of Dutch language and literature. In general, many of his publications were criticised as being superficial, too comprehensive, less innovative and without any methodology.[55] For example, Johan Huizinga described him as a 'a learned dilettante'.[56] Huizinga did point out Lulofs's influence on the appreciation of the philological works of Jacob Grimm and comparative linguistics.

Lulofs wrote primarily for his students and for people who were interested, and not so much for scholars, as can be read in his prefaces. His

53 *Verhandeling over den tijd van den eerst regten aanvang en vroegsten bloei onzer oude bepaaldelijk gezegde Nederlandsche letterkunde, en wel inzonderheid over het ongegronde van het gevoelen diergenen, welke op stout beslissenden toon dien bloei voor een deel reeds in de twaalfde eeuw stellen.*

54 Van Oostrom, 1989, p. 327.

55 Aerts, 1982, p. 18.

56 Huizinga, 1951, p. 98: 'veelwetend dilettant'.

Amsterdam University Press

great virtue was to transmit knowledge about Dutch language, literature, and rhetoric. Lulofs therefore genuinely deserves a chapter in the present volume; the anonymous critic responsible for the quotation below got it wrong when he wrote:

> The late Professor Lulofs lives on to be honorably remembered in our literary world. He well deserves this because of the great diligence and remarkable activities by which he distinguished himself in our linguistics. Who is not aware that by thorough scientific work and an excellent gift for rhetoric he gave a new life to the students at the University of Groningen. Who does not know the many, often voluminous books by which he attempted to promote the use of our language to a wider audience! And yet we doubt whether his activities will prove to last forever; yes, we even doubt whether he will be able to claim his position among the men who truly contributed to the development of the Dutch language.[57]

References

[Anon.] Review of *Mr. B.H. Lulofs' Taalkundige Werken, herzien door Dr. A. de Jager, Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1857), 570-573.

R.A.M. Aerts, 'Een biografische schets', in *B.H. Lulofs 1787-1849, Een Pallas' zoon aan Gruno's academie*, ed. by I.J. Botke and others (Groningen: Universiteitsmuseum, 1982), pp. 3-28.

J.C. Brandt Corstius, 'Als de romantiek nadert', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 46 (1953), 241-247.

J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde werken*, vol. VIII (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1951).

G. Janssens & K. Steyaert, *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies en Luxemburg onder koning Willem I (1814-1830): niets meer dan een boon in een brouwketel?* (Brussels: VUB Press, 2008).

57 [Anon.], 1857, p. 571: 'Wijlen Prof. lulofs leeft in onze letterkundige wereld nog in eervolle gedachtenis. Hij verdient dat ook om den grooten ijver en de ongemeene werkzaamheid waardoor hij zich op het gebied van onze taalstudie onderscheidde. Wie weet niet, dat hij door grondige wetenschap en uitnemende gaven voor de uiterlijke welsprekendheid een nieuw leven onder de kweekelingen der Groningsche Hoogeschool wist op te wekken; en wien zijn de vele, meestal lijvige, boekdeelen onbekend, waardoor hij de beoefening van onze taal ook in ruimer kring zocht te bevorderen! En toch meenen wij het er voor te moeten houden, dat zijne werkzaamheid niet veel blijvende vruchten zal opleveren; ja wij twijfelen zelfs, of hij op den duur eene plaats zal innemen onder de mannen die in waarheid kunnen gezegd worden opbouwers van het Nederlandsch geweest te zijn.'

Amsterdam University Press

W.J.A. Jonckbloet, review of *Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, *De Gids* 1846, 1-56.

B.H. Lulofs, *Over de noodzakelijkheid van de beoefening der eigene taal en letterkunde voor de zelfstandigheid en roem van eene Natie*. (Groningen: Oomkens, 1815).

B.H. Lulofs, *Redekunst, of grondbeginselen van stijl en welsprekendheid voor Nederlanders* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1820).

B.H. Lulofs, *Akademische voorlezingen, in den aanvang dezes jaars 1822 gehouden, over eenige paragrafen mijner Nederlandsche redekunst, welke handelen over de vinding der welsprekendheid, naar de denkbeelden der ouden* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1822).

B.H. Lulofs, *Over Nederlandsche spraakkunst, stijl en letterkennis* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1823).

B.H. Lulofs, *Vlugtige woorden over Nederlandsche taalzuivering en taalverrijking* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1826).

B.H. Lulofs, *Eenige toelichtingen en bedenkingen op des geleerden dr. John Bowring's uit het Engelsch en in onze moederspraak vertaalde aanmerkingen over sommige onzer oudere en nieuwere Nederlandsche dichters, redenaren en andere schrijvers* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1829).

B.H. Lulofs, *Drie proeven van opheldering over den grootsten der oud-Nederlandsche dichters, J. van den Vondel* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1830).

B.H. Lulofs, *Lofdicht op den oud-Nederlandschen dichter J. van den Vondel* (Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1837).

B.H. Lulofs, *Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederlandsche letterkunde of Proeven uit Nederlandsche schriften der dertiende en veertiende eeuw* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1845).

J. Noordegraaf, 'Hugh Blair en zijn lessen over de redekunst en fraaie letteren', *Onze Taal* 49 (1980a), 8-9.

J. Noordegraaf, 'Schotse Verlichting en Nederlandse grammatica: Weiland en Blair', *Voortgang* 1 (1980b), 46-52.

J. Noordegraaf, *Voorlopig verleden: Taalkundige plaatsbepalingen, 1797-1960* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1997).

J. Oosterholt, *De ware dichter. De vaderlandse poëticale discussie in de periode 1775-1825* ([s.l.: s.n.], 1998).

J. Oosterholt, 'De smaak voor het "reële": Opvattingen over de nationale smaak in een aantal poëticale verhandelingen uit de laatste decennia van de achttiende eeuw', *Nederlandse Letterkunde* 2 (1997), 338-349.

F.P. van Oostrom, 'Jonckbloet, de grondlegger', *Literatuur* 6 (1989), 325-328.

F. Petiet, *'Een voldingend bewijs van ware vaderlandsliefde': De creatie van literair erfgoed in Nederland, 1797-1845* ([s.l.: s.n.], 2011).

Amsterdam University Press

A.J. Rinzema, 'Groninger hoogleraren uit de periode 1614-1876 en hun belangstelling voor de geschiedenis der middeleeuwen', in *De geschiedenis van de Middeleeuwen aan de Groningse universiteit*, ed. by Catrien Santing (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 11-38.

E. Sjoer, *Lessen over welsprekendheid: Een typering van de retorica's van de eerste hoogleraren in de vaderlandse welsprekendheid in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1797-1853)* (Amsterdam: IFOTT, 1996a).

E. Sjoer, 'Barthold H. Lulofs and "The New Rhetorics": The Influence of Eighteenth-century British Rhetoric in the Netherlands', in *Linguistics in the Low Countries: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Roland de Bonth & Jan Noordegraaf (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1996b), pp. 175-185.

E. van Boven, 'Lulofs en Siegenbeek contra Jonckbloet en De Vries. Een wedstrijd in "scholen"?', in *Wie veel leest heeft veel te verantwoorden... Opstellen over filologie en historische letterkunde aangeboden aan prof.dr. F. Lulofs*, ed. by M.M.H. Bax, K. Iwema and J.M.J. Sicking (Groningen, Nederlands Instituut, 1980), pp. 190-215.

W. van den Berg, *De ontwikkeling van de term 'romantisch' en zijn varianten in Nederland tot 1840* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1973).

C.H. van Herwerden, 'Levensberigt van Mr. Barthold Hendrik Lulofs', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 48 (1850), 71-91.

E.M. Wiskerke, *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780-1813* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

About the Author

Francien Petiet (1977) studied Dutch Language and Literature at the University of Amsterdam. In 2011 she gained her PhD at the University of Amsterdam with a thesis on the construction of the Dutch literary past. Since 2008, she works as a policy officer at the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. She's a member of the supervisory board of the Zeeuws Museum and editor of the annual yearbook of the Royal Zeeland Society of Sciences.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

3 Poet and Professor

Adam Simons

Rick Honings

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH03

Abstract
Relatively little is known about Adam Simons (1770-1834), professor of Dutch Literature and Rhetoric at the university of Utrecht since 1815. That is not so surprising, as Simons wrote no literary history or any other type of monograph. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why, despite his being part of the first generation of professors of Dutch language and literature, virtually no attention has been paid him. In this chapter, Simons' work is examined, both his poetry and his treatises. Simons was known primarily as a poet. Even after becoming professor, he remained predominately a poet. It was from this perspective that, on various occasions, he articulated his thoughts about the essence of poetry, but he also declaimed various essays on literary history, which are studied in this chapter.

Keywords: Adam Simons, literary history, Dutch poetry, Vondel, romanticism

1 Introduction

In the spring of 1821, the German student August Heinrich Hoffman von Fallersleben crossed the border into the Netherlands. He intended to travel around while at the same time immersing himself in Middle Dutch literature. He went first to Utrecht, where he paid Professor Adam Simons (1770-1834) a visit. When Simons learned what the German's plans were, he responded: 'Sir, it is not the custom in our country to go on a literary journey'. After a little while, once he had determined that Hoffmann was neither an adventurer nor vagabond, he warmed to him, and wanted to show him just

Amsterdam University Press

how well-acquainted he was with the older Dutch literature, but Hoffman was unimpressed, claiming that what he heard were 'things so widely known, that anyone might know them'. When Simons started about the *Rhymed Chronicle of Klaas Kolijn* and its author, Hoffmann understood that Simons was trying to catch him out. Balthazar Huydecoper had, after all, already proven in 1772 that this chronicle was a seventeenth-century hoax and therefore not a mediaeval manuscript. The visit came subsequently to a close, Hoffmann noting: 'We parted as good friends, and never saw one another again'.[1]

This is a rare eye-witness account of the Utrecht Professor Adam Simons. Who was this man? Although he is listed in a number of biographical dictionaries and reference books, we know very little about him.[2] Other than a handful of letters scattered over various collections, he has left us few clues. In the recent literary history of the nineteenth century, *Alles is taal geworden,* by Willem van den Berg and Piet Couttenier, his name is mentioned but once. They characterise Simons as a vicar-poet since he was not only a poet but a clergyman to boot.[3] Information on Simons' poems can be found in Jan te Winkel's literary history *Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*.[4]

Adam Simons achieved some acclaim as the opponent of the Leiden librarian and professor Jacob Geel. In 1830, at the Utrecht Leesmuseum, of which Simons was a member, Geel gave a lecture entitled 'Lof der proza' ('In Praise of Prose'), an appeal in defence of prose, which to his mind was being neglected, when compared to poetry. Piqued, Simons responded with the lecture 'Over de poëzij, bijzonder in Nederland' ('On Poetry, Particularly in the Netherlands') in which he defends the value of the art of poetry.[5] This professorial duel has received some attention in literary histories.[6]

In his book *From Siegenbeek to Lodewick* (2004), which explores and charts the history of the academic study of Dutch language and literature, George Vis takes a more deliberate look at Simons, but he, too, has little to

I would like to thank Gwynne van Zonneveld for her help with the translation of this chapter.

1 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, 1868, vol. 1, p. 260: 'Mein Herr, es ist nich Gebrauch in unserem Lande, eine litterarische Reise zu machen'; 'das waren aber so allgemein bekannte Dinge, die jeder wissen konnte'; 'Wir schieden als gute Freunde und sahen uns nie wieder'.

2 Available through: http://www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=simo008.

3 Van den Berg & Couttenier, 2009, p. 220.

4 Te Winkel, 1925, pp. 336-337, 573-574.

5 Geel & Simons, 1830.

6 *Het proza van Geel en de poëzie van Simons* [1899]. On this subject: Knuvelder 1964, vol. 3, pp. 263-264; van den Berg & Gebrandy in Geel, 2012, vol. 2 ('Commentaar'), pp. 31-35.

Amsterdam University Press

offer: 'Compared to others, there is relatively little known about Simons'.[7] That is not so surprising, as Simons, apart from several poetical works and treatises, wrote no literary history or other type of study. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why, despite his belonging to the first generation of professors of Dutch language and literature, virtually no attention has been paid him. In this chapter, Simons' work will be examined, both his poetry and his treatises. What were his ideas on literary history? In what measure did his being a poet influence his academic work? And what was his place within the study of Dutch literature?

2 Biographical Sketch

The facts known about his life are soon told. Adam Simons was born in Amsterdam on 25 February 1770, the son of Pieter Simons and Neeltje van der Sluis. We know practically nothing about his youth. According to him, it was his mother who introduced him to the older poetry and history:

> She rested Vondel in my hand
> And helped me learn his song,
> And told of our dear native land,
> Forgot no hero strong.[8]

After completing Latin grammar school, Simons studied theology in order to become a Reformed clergyman. This he did by first attending Athenaeum Illustre in his place of birth, then Leiden University to complete his studies. Early on he was active on the literary front. In 1790 he won honourable mention with a prize poem submitted to the poetry society Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen ('Art is Attained through Labour).[9] The Rotterdam society Studium Scientirarum Genitrix also published a poem from his hand.[10]

7 Vis, [2004], p. 12: 'Vergeleken met de anderen is van Simons nog betrekkelijk weinig bekend'.

8 Simons, 1805, p. 87: 'Zij gaf mij Vondel in de hand, / En leerde mij zijn lied; / En sprak van 't lieve vaderland, / Vergat zijn' helden niet'.

9 *Leydse courant*, 28 May 1790.

10 *Rotterdamsche courant*, 30 November 1790. This is de poem 'Israëls triumfzang', which was originally published in the first part of the third volume of the *Werken van het dicht- en letterlievende genootschap, onder de spreuk: Studium Scientiarum Genetrix* (Rotterdam 1792), pp. 66-72. Also published in Simons, 1805, pp. 13-18.

Amsterdam University Press

Simons was ordained in 1792, and a year later he was called to the small community of De Vuursche, on the Utrecht Ridge. In 1799 he took a post in the church town of Thamen, near Uithoorn, where he was to continue preaching for more than fifteen years.[11] He had married Johanna Maria Keer in 1793. Around this time he wrote a high-flown love poem for her in which he sings the praises of his dear 'Mie', with her friendly eyes; in her presence he was the richest man on earth.[12] She gave him three sons: Dirk, Piet, and Gerrit.[13] Contemporary Willem de Clercq, a man of letters, characterised her as a woman whose appearance was 'Guelders, home-loving & friendly & moreover in no way uncivilised'.[14]

Domestic life was rather complicated. Simons informed a friend in 1801 that he had taken his parents into his home because they suffered from 'lung consumption' and were soon to die.[15] His young children were continually getting fevers. This letter also makes it clear that Simons' ambitions at that time went beyond the clergy. Referring to Professor Johannes Henricus van der Palm, Minister of Education, he wrote: 'If he were to make me scholarch [headmaster] now, then I would be exultant; he has spoken of it before; would it be wrong, to remind him of it?'[16]

Nothing came of that initially. It was only years later, when king Willem I ascended the throne after the French occupation, that Simons took a new position. In 1815 it was determined by royal decree that three of the five universities would be kept: Groningen, Leiden, and Utrecht; those in Franeker and Harderwijk had been closed in 1811 and were not to be reopened. Furthermore, chairs in Dutch Literature and Rhetoric were to be created, following Leiden's example, where the first professor in Dutch Language and Literature, Matthijs Siegenbeek, had already been appointed professor back in 1797.[17] For the position in Utrecht, the renowned grammarian and lexicographer Petrus Weiland was the preferred candidate.[18] He had constructed a Dutch Grammar at the request of the Batavian government in 1805. Due to health problems, however, he was forced to decline the

11 Molhuysen & Blok (ed.), 1911-1937, vol. 5, p. 742.

12 A. Simons, 'Aen J.M.K.' [circa 1793]. University Library Amsterdam, hs. As 89.

13 *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Instituut van Ingenieurs*, 1870, p. 68.

14 *Online Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, 1823, vol. 10, p. 34: 'Geldersch[,] huislijk & hartelijk & daarbij geenszins onbeschaafd'.

15 His parents died on 9 July and 24 August 1801, according to the poem 'Goeden nacht aan mijne ouders. Ontslapen den 9 Julij en 24 Augustus 1801', published in: Simons, 1805, pp. 58-61.

16 Letter to an unknown person, possibly Jacobus Kantelaar, 25 June 1801. University Library Leiden, LTK 1567. For van der Palm, see the chapter by Krol, this volume.

17 For Siegenbeek, see the chapter by Rutten, this volume.

18 For Weiland, see the chapter by Noordegraaf, this volume.

Amsterdam University Press

honour.[19] Apparently the new chair was then offered to Simons, for in 1816 he delivered his inaugural lecture. By that time Simons had established his reputation as a poet, but had no academic publications to his name. Nor did he have a dissertation – the reason he received an honorary doctorate (doctoratus honoris causa) from Utrecht University. He would remain a professor the rest of his life.

Simons died on 6 January 1834. He was visiting one of his sons in Amsterdam, where he had a stroke. Several hours later he passed away.[20] Thus the professor became, as he had written more than forty years previously, 'prey for the grave with which the worms are fed'.[21]

After his death, Simons was variously commemorated. Matthijs Siegenbeek did so during the 1834 annual meeting of the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'). He sketched his former colleague as a scholar who, despite his time at the Latin grammar school, had remained a stranger to classical literature, but who conversely had a great breadth of knowledge when it came to German and Dutch literature. According to Siegenbeek, Simons was popular as a professor: 'By his inherent liveliness of mind and rich ingenuity, he was able to make his teaching, as well as his interaction, extremely pleasant, and win the affection of his pupils'. He was the kind of person who bubbled over with 'banter and jest'. Lastly, Siegenbeek typified him as a good friend, husband, and father, who enjoyed domestic life, and held faith in God to be the highest good. In regard to Simons' poetry, he remarked that it did not possess much exalted intensity, but that it did have many fine metaphors and well-chosen comparisons, and was written in a pure kind of Dutch. Simons' verses may have contained a few small shortcomings, Siegenbeek nonetheless was confident that 'impartial posterity will certainly assign him an honourable place among the jewels on the Dutch mountain of poetry.[22]

Simons never became a jewel on the national Parnassus, and as a professor he has been forgotten. Even in Utrecht, no street has been named after

19 Noordegraaf, 2004.

20 Siegenbeek, 1834, p. 28.

21 A. Simons, 'Aen mijnen vriend J.A. Streso' (1792). University Library Amsterdam, hs. 20 Cb11-2: 'een prooij voor 't graf waer meê men wormen voedt'.

22 Siegenbeek, 1834, p. 28-33: 'Door de hem eigene levendigheid van geest en rijkdom van vernuft, wist hij zijn onderwijs, gelijk zijnen omgang, grootelijks te veraangenamen, en de genegenheid zijner leerlingen te winnen'; 'scherts en jokkernij'; 'de onpartijdige nakomelingschap zal hem gewisselijk onder de sieraden van den Nederduitschen zangberg eene eervolle plaats toewijzen'.

Amsterdam University Press

him. His name only lives on in the name of a series of lecture booklets irregularly published by the Dutch Department of Utrecht University.

3 Simons as a Poet

As mentioned earlier, Adam Simons was known primarily as a poet when he took the Dutch Literature and Rhetoric chair at Utrecht's university in 1816. How had he positioned himself in the years prior to his appointment, so that he became the ideal candidate for the professorship? A survey of his works immediately reveals that he let political developments dictate what key he played in. His first verses he wrote as a student in Leiden. There in 1791 he published *Aen de Leydsche burgers, op den 3den october* ('*To Leiden's Citizens, on the Third of October*'), on the occasion of the celebration of the Liberation of Leiden in 1574. In it he calls on the people of Leiden to honour their valiant forefathers.[23]

It was not until 1805, during his time in Thamen, that Simons published his next work: the collection *Gedichten* ('*Poems*'). Most of its works are of a religious nature and address the theme of mortality. He included a number of occasional poems in with these, as well as translations of poems by German authors, such as Ludwig Hölty, Gottfried August Bürger, and Friederich von Matthisson, that he had previously published in journals. In the preface he writes: 'And so I venture to bring a few Poems out in to the light, which step the request of my friends, and – why should I pretend otherwise? – my own vanity have for some time convinced me to take'. That he had not done so before, was linked to the sad state of the nation; the time had, in his opinion, long been inopportune for leading the nation to the peaceful domain of the Muses. He reports that many of his poems had come about by chance. He had been careful expressing political opinions and his feelings of patriotism during these turbulent times, he states. There was, however, one exception: when 'Grand Pensionary' Schimmelpenninck took office, he could not help himself and had written a poem in which he predicted that the Netherlands would rise again.[24] Reading between the lines, one can infer that Simons had patriotic sympathies. Referring to Stadtholder Willem V, he writes:

23 Simons, 1791.

24 Simons, 1805, pp. iii-vi: 'Ik waag het dan, eenige Gedichten in het licht te geven, waartoe het verzoek mijner vrienden, en, waarom zou ik dit ontveinzen? mijne eigenliefde mij sedert een' geruimen tijd deden besluiten'.

Amsterdam University Press

Nay! never again may a tyrant return here,
Though he pompously tower like a cedar,
I'd rather slump down dead before him,
Than be his slave enchained in fear!'[25]

The arrival of the French and the Batavian Republic in 1795 he most likely applauded. Also of note is the last paragraph of his preface to the collection, in which Simons extensively thanks his exceptional friend 'the renowned Professor M. Siegenbeek', whose spelling he reports having followed.[26] Simons presumably had attended Siegenbeek's lectures; Siegenbeek was after all responsible for educating theology students in rhetoric. Their friendship will undoubtedly have helped Simons attain his appointment ten years later.

In the ensuing years, Simons the poet continued to attract attention. In 1809 the The Hague society Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt ('Love of Art is not Frugal with Diligence') awarded him a gold medal for his lengthy submission *De lof der welsprekendheid* ('*In Praise of Rhetoric*'). The work contains an ode to the power of the spoken word, which had so often been of service to politicians and scholars. In the third canto, Simon goes into the importance of rhetoric in Dutch history. It was rhetoric which gave Herman Boerhaave the ability to proclaim his theories and findings to all of humanity. Yet it is above all the historian-poet P.C. Hooft who deserves to be recognised for his language: 'Whom, O Rhetoric! did you lend more of your flourish and grace, / Than noble Hooft, exalted by virtue and place!'[27]

From that moment on, Simons expressed himself more and more politically. King Louis Napoleon, who had been placed on the Dutch throne in 1806, was forced to relinquish it again on 1 July 1810 when his brother Napoleon Bonaparte annexed the Netherlands to France. Criticism of France was from then beyond the pale; preventive censure was practised.[28] It was not without risk that Simons, before the actual annexation, addressed the Dutch in the poem 'Aan mijne landgenooten' ('To My Countrymen'), starting with the line: 'Forget your origins, O Batavians!'[29] The once so flourishing and free country of the Netherlands with its fertile ground, home of sea hero Michiel de Ruiter, was now humiliated and in shackles. The French

25 Simons, 1805, p. 94: 'Neen! nooit komt hier een' dwing'land weder, / Hij prale trotsch, gelijk een ceder, / Ik val 'er liever dood voor neder, / Dan ooit zijn bange slaaf te zijn!'

26 Simons, 1805, p. vi: 'den beroemden Hoogleeraar M. Siegenbeek'.

27 Simons, 1822, pp. 30, 34: 'Wien meêr, welsprekendheid! gaaft gij uw zwier en leven, / Dan aan den edlen Hooft, door deugd en staat verheven!'.

28 Cf. Mathijsen, 2011.

29 Simons, 1815, p. 100: 'Vergeet uwe afkomst, ô Bataven!'.

Amsterdam University Press

annexation was like the plague, which filled cities and towns with fear and spread misery everywhere:

> Razed are your ramparts and your walls,
> Having now to jump when your near-neighbour calls,
> To ridicule at home you give rise!
> Used to foreign ways and accent,
> In th' unpeopled cities you may now lament,
> Your doleful remnants and demise![30]

The poem promptly made Simons famous and accorded him the status of resistance poet.[31] Actual publication of the poem was not possible at first; that came only after liberation from the French. For decades thereafter it would appear in poetry collections and school books.

In 1814, Simons published a religious poem in three cantos on *De waarde van den mensch* ('*The Worth of Man*'), in which he discusses the stages of human life.[32] After Napoleon was beaten at Waterloo in 1815, Simons once more took up his pen. This time he published an ode to *Alexander, keizer aller Russen* ('*Alexander, Emperor of All the Russians*'). In the preface he looks back on the annexation years, when truth, freedom, and virtue were trampled upon. Napoleon, who thought himself a deity, had since been brought down once and for all by intervention of the Omnipotent. Yet Simons also wanted to honour tsar Alexander I, who had broken Napoleon's power.[33] When in 1815 the doors of Utrecht University reopened, Simons cheerily penned: 'Rejoice, rejoice, Batavians do! / The night of horrors now is past'.[34]

Simons' appointment as professor followed that same year. Although we no longer can reconstruct how exactly that came to be, we may assume that his renown as a poet played some part in it. Because of his opposition to Napoleon and to French domination, and his exceptional command of the Dutch language, he was – once Pieter Weiland turned out not to be available – a well-suited candidate. Simons undoubtedly had reason for remarking that the art of poetry had led him to the 'school of humanities'.[35]

30 Simons, 1815, p. 101: Gesloopt zijn uwe vest en muren, / Afhankelijk van nageburen, / Wordt ge, in uw eigen land, bespot! / Gewend aan vreemde taal en zeden, / Beschreit ge, in uwe ontvolkte steden, / Uw' val en droevig overschot!'.

31 Cf. Jensen, 2013.

32 Simons, 1814.

33 Simons, 1815, p. 82.

34 Simons, 1822, p. 36: 'Verheugt, verheugt u, ô Bataven! / De nacht der rampen is voorbij'.

35 Simons, 1816, p. 9: 'school der wetenschappen'.

Amsterdam University Press

Becoming a professor did not cause Simons to renounce poetry. In 1822 his collection *Verstrooide gedichten* (‘*Scattered Poems*’) appeared.[36] Worth mentioning, too, is Simons’ great work *Het huisselijk leven* (‘*Domestic Life*’, 1823), in which he argues for a return to homeliness as it had existed in the seventeenth century, the Golden Age, providing husband and wife with the greatest possible happiness, and causing prosperity to increase. This was aimed against the French, who had corrupted the native language and national morals.[37]

Contemporary politics continued to leave their impression on his poetry. In 1830, at the outbreak of the Belgian Revolution, for example, he joined the chorus of patriotic Dutch poets. For him, the happenings had a personal aspect, for he writes to a friend: ‘The fear in which I, and thousands with me, now live, the fear for my youngest son, who since a little more than three weeks has been serving in the militia at Bergen op Zoom, has made me push everything aside and forget about it’.[38] A year later he published an ode to the ‘heroic deed’ of Captain Jan van Speijk and praised the ‘heroic courage’ of the Dutch by the siege of the citadel of Antwerp.[39] When he died in 1834, Simons was just about to bring out a new collection of verse. It was published later that same year by his three sons under the title: *Verzamelde poëzij van Adam Simons* (‘*The Collected Poetry of Adam Simons*’).[40]

4 Simons as a Professor

Being a professor, Adam Simons was expected to give his opinion on the literature of the nation. This he did for the first time on 25 March 1816 when he held his inaugural lecture *Redevoering over den waren dichter* (‘*Oration on the True Poet*’). Following Siegenbeek’s example, he spoke in Dutch. Here he articulated not an academic vision, but rather one based on an individual’s own subjective experiences. This was not so surprising, seeing as he called poetry ‘an art which I have always practised more than contemplated’.[41] Even in his academic gown, Simons spoke as a poet.

36 Simons, 1822.

37 Honings, 2011, p. 200; Krol, 1997, pp. 76-77.

38 Letter of A. Simons to W.P. Kluit, 19-11-1830. University Library Amsterdam, hs. Ga 24: ‘De angst, waarin ik met duizenden thans verkeer, over mijn’ jongsten zoon, die onder de schutterij te Bergen op Zoom ligt, sedert ruim drie weken, doet mij alles ter zijde stellen en vergeten’.

39 Simons, [1831]; Simons, [1833].

40 Simons, 1834b.

41 Simons, 1816, p. 8: ‘eene kunst, die ik altijd meer beoefende, dan beschouwde’.

Amsterdam University Press

Jan Oosterholt has pointed out that the topic of the lecture was bound up with political circumstances; during the years of French rule, the popularity of national poets, particularly resistance poets (including Adam Simons himself), had gone way up.[42]

From Simons' words there arises an exalted, romantic view of being a poet. The true poet is someone 'bolder than an eagle', which rises to the heavens and soars through higher spheres, 'creates a new world and brings us there'. He is 'a priest of the Most High'. Simons opposes the idea that writing poetry is a skill. It is a gift from birth and can be developed through refinement, but cannot be acquired. Above all, the true poet is characterised by originality: he 'dares to take leave of his examples, when they are no longer of service to him, and he has gained a sense of his own strength. Just as a child, who has outgrown the harness, has no more need of a lead, and moves ahead unshackled; in the same way he distances himself from his guide, who previously gave him direction, and continues on his own way; he carves out a path himself, upon which others before him have never set foot'.[43]

Critical for a poet is feeling, according to Simons. It is his task to pour out individual feelings into his public. Compared to 'normal' people, he has a more refined nervous system, causing him to feel differently. Perhaps alluding to his own activities as a resistance poet, Simons relates: 'Is the Nation in danger? His heart swells […] he is the first to raise his voice, even if death and destruction were awaiting him; and his bard's song leads the hero into battle, to make, if necessity demands it, a bloody sacrifice for King and Country'. But the true poet must also give vent to other exalted feelings, like love and the awareness of mortality. The sensibility of the true poet has an exalted origin, according to Simons; it is as though he is stirred up by a Divinity. This makes the poet a seer, even if he be blind, capable of seeing more than regular mortals: it is 'as though he, in his rapture, has reached the top of a high mountain, which has extended his horizon'.[44] This

42 Oosterholt, 1998, p. 3.

43 Simons, 1816, pp. 5-6, 20, 43: 'stouter dan een adelaar'; 'een nieuwe wereld schept en ons daar henen voert'; 'een priester des Alleshoogsten'; '[hij] durft zijne voorbeelden verlaten, zoodra zij hem niet meer dienen, en hij zijne eigen kracht gevoelt. Gelijk het kind, den leiband ontwassen, geen' teugel meer behoeft, en ongeboeid daar henen loopt; ook alzoo verwijdert hij zich van zijn' gids, die hem voorheen geleidde, hij vervolgt zijn' eigen weg; hij baant met vasten tred zich zelven een spoor, dat anderen, voor hem, nooit betraden'.

44 Simons, 1816, pp. 20, 22: 'Is het Vaderland in gevaar, zijn hart bruist op […] hij is de eerste, die zijne stem verheft, al zou verderf en dood hem wachten, en zijn bardenzang geleidt den held ten strijde, om, als de nood het eischt, aan Vorst en Vaderland een bloedig offer te geven'; 'als of hij, in zijne vervoering, den top heeft bereikt van een' hoogen berg, die zijn' gezigteinder verruimde'.

Amsterdam University Press

is somewhat reminiscent of William Wordsworth's typification of poetry as 'Heaven's gift, a sense that fits him to perceive / Objects unseen before'.[45]

Not only feeling, but also the imagination, is essential for the poet. Unlike philosophers, the poet need not adhere to laws, but can open up new worlds: 'with the magic wand of the imagination he takes the most daring of flights, rushes ahead of us on the wings of eagles, and, unafraid of the depths over which he, lighter than a butterfly, glides, carries us up out of a world whose boundaries it would not be granted us, without his help, to go beyond'.[46]

Nonetheless, the true poet – whom Simons compared to an uncut diamond – needed to subject his ideas to the 'test of reason'. If he refuses to do so 'feeling is exaggerated, ingenuity contrived and the imagination degenerates'.[47] Feeling and imagination both are involved in the writing of true poetry, according to Simons, but at the same time, both need to be kept within bounds.[48] In the Netherlands examples could be found of authors who had in this way refined their genius, particularly those from the golden age of literature, the seventeenth century, such as Cats, Hooft, and Vondel.

With this lecture, Simons took a stand in an ongoing early nineteenth-century debate.[49] On the one side there was Willem Bilderdijk, champion of expressing feeling without any hindrance. On the other side were scholars like Siegenbeek and van der Palm, who were of the opinion that rules governing art were necessary for preserving civilised culture and morality. These rules could be obtained from the classics. Simons' lecture shows that he largely sided with Bilderdijk. It is with good reason that literary historian G. Knuvelder calls Simons a 'faithful student of Bilderdijk', and C. de Deugd notes that, other than Bilderdijk, Simons was perhaps the one to profess the romantic creed in the most passionate of terms in the Netherlands.[50] Unlike Bilderdijk, however, he ends up taking a more moderate in-between position, thinking as he did that the poet ought to let reason rein in his feelings and imagination. This stance fits in with what Jan Oosterholt terms

45 Cf. De Deugd, 1966, p. 71.

46 Simons, 1816, pp. 29-30: 'met de tooverroede der verbeelding, neemt hij de stoutste vlugt, snelt ons voor uit, op arendsvleugelen, en onbevreesd voor den afgrond, waar over hij, ligter dan een vlinder, henen zweeft, voert zijne kracht ons op, uit eene wereld, die, zonder zijne hulp, ons niet vergunt, buiten hare grenzen te treden'.

47 Simons, 1816, p. 32: 'toets der rede'; 'dan wordt het gevoel overspannen, het vernuft is valsch en de verbeelding verwildert'.

48 Johannes, 1992 calls this the 'standaardbetoog'.

49 Cf. Oosterholt, 1998.

50 Knuvelder, 1964, vol. 3, p. 264: 'een getrouwe leerling van Bilderdijk'; de Deugd 1966, p. 55: 'in Nederland naast Bilderdijk het romantische credo wellicht in de meest hartstochtelijke termen heeft beleden'.

Amsterdam University Press

'common sense-poetics'.[51] Simons would continue to defend this position for the remainder of his career. In 1830, fourteen years after his inaugural lecture, he read aloud an essay on poetry in which he declared: 'What I said at the time was as I thought and felt, and since that time my thoughts and feelings have not altered in the least'.[52]

What is known about Simons the professor? We know that, in contrast to most of his colleagues, he gave his lectures in Dutch. In addition to Dutch language and literature, he taught aesthetics and Nordic mythology. In this latter topic there was much interest at the time; it fit in with a shift in emphasis from classical to Germanic culture. It is not unthinkable that anti-French sentiment played a role here. Simons put it like this:

> It is better to consider the importance of this mythology for all the peoples of Germanic descent and of the Teutonic tribe, for the study of history and language – and for poetry. Russians, Danes, Swedes, Brits, Germans, and Dutchmen have in it a unifying factor, one common inheritance from their forefathers, a thing that ought – in language and form, in ideas and morals – to distinguish them more from Latin Europe.[53]

In his opinion, this mythology could further serve as a source of information for Germanic history: it 'fills in the gap which would otherwise remain between unwritten and written history'.[54] That this topic was considered important, is apparent from the fact that the Society of Dutch Language and Literature held a competition asking for a 'concise lecture on Nordic Mythology, taken from the original sources, indicating the use which may be made of these in Dutch poetry'.[55] This was certainly right up Simons' alley, for in 1824 he was to read a treatise aloud for the Society of Dutch Language

51 Cf. Oosterholt, 1998, chapter 3; Vis, [2004], p. 79.

52 Geel & Simons, 1830, p. 64: 'Wat ik toen zeide, was, zoo als ik dacht en voelde, en sedert zijn mijne denkbeelden en mijn gevoel niet in allerminste veranderd'.

53 Simons, 1834a, pp. 118-119: 'Beter is het, de belangrijkheid dezer fabelleer voor alle volkeren van Germaansche afkomst en van den Teutonischen stam te beschouwen, voor geschied- en taalkunde, – voor poëzie. Russen, Deenen, Zweden, Britten, Duitschers en Nederlanders hebben in deze leer een punt van vereeniging, één gemeen erfgoed van hunne vaderen, een goed, dat hen door spraak en gedaante, door denkbeelden en zeden van het Latijnsch Europa meer behoorde te doen onderscheiden'.

54 Simons, 1834a, p. 119: '[zij] vult de gaping aan, die er anders over blijft tusschen de onbeschreven en beschreven geschiedenis'.

55 Honings, 2011, p. 197: '[een] beknopte voordragt van de Noordsche Mythologie, ontleend uit de oorspronkelijke gedenkstukken, en met aanwijzing van het gebruik, dat hiervan in de Nederlandsche Dichtkunde zou kunnen gemaakt worden'.

Amsterdam University Press

and Literature in Leiden 'on the nature and chief characteristics of Nordic mythology', but unfortunately he did not venture to enter the competition.[56]

Four sets of students' lecture notes have been preserved in Utrecht for Simons' lectures on aesthetics, folk tales and the history of Dutch poetry.[57] In the Dutch Royal Library there are Simons own lecture notes on style and rhetoric.[58] That he also gave lectures on national history, is apparent from what one student wrote upon Simons' death:

> He lit in every breast a spark,
> When he of the first *Willem* spoke;
> How, deep in the abyss, our land,
> With him did break the Spanish yoke;
> When he of *Fred'rik Hendrik* told,
> Of *Maurits*' deeds, great and bold,
> In battle or in government.
> How the country lost its truest friends,
> When the *De Wits* met their mournful ends,
> Likewise *Barneveld*, to all's detriment.[59]

Simons must have been a well-liked teacher.[60] The later-to-be national archivist L.P.C. van den Bergh, who had attended Simons' lectures, remembered: 'One needs to have belonged to the circle of his trusted pupils to be able to form a clear idea of how he managed to reach all with the study of Dutch history and letters at the University, but above all, how he, at his beloved debate class and in his personal interaction with his pupils, was entirely their friend, was – in alternating between earnestness and jest – able to win their trust, and use his influence to further Dutch letters and history'.[61]

56 *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Leiden s.n. 1825), p. 62: 'over den aard en de hoofdtrekken der Noordsche mythologie'.

57 Van der Horst, 1994, p. 82.

58 *Lessen over de Nederlandsche stijl en welsprekendheid*. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 74 F 28.

59 D.M., 1834, p. 2: 'Hij, hij wist aller borst te ontvonken, / Als hij van d'eersten *Willem* sprak; / Hoe Nêerland, schier in 't niet gezonken, / Met Hem, het Spaansche juk verbrak; / Als hij ons *Fred'rik Hend'rik* maalde, / Van grooten *Maurits* daân verhaalde, / In 't staatsbestuur of oorlogsveld; / Hoe 't land zijn' hechtsten steun moest derven, / Bij der *de Witten* droevig sterven, / En bij den dood van *Barneveld*'.

60 Vis, [2004], p. 12.

61 Van den Bergh, 1837, pp. 46-47: 'Men moet zelve tot den kring zijner vertrouwde leerlingen behoord hebben, om zich een regt denkbeeld te kunnen vormen hoe hij de beoefening der Vaderlandsche geschiedenis en letteren aan de Hoogeschool algemeen wist te maken, maar

Amsterdam University Press

Simons' former student Barend Glasius also stated: 'In his interaction, as well as in his classes and writings, he was characterised by his broad and sound knowledge, by ingenuity and taste, by merry light-heartedness and a cheerful humour. His affability and friendliness won the love of many, and his good heart the true respect of many'.[62]

Others were not so unequivocal in their judgement. In 1823 Willem de Clercq went to stay with Simons in Utrecht. He was warmly welcomed in Simons' home in Ambachtstraat. From his account we know that the professor had two students living in rooms at his residence. In the afternoon de Clercq attended one of Simons' lectures that dealt with the second act of Vondel's *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel.* De Clercq was astonished that one could fill a lecture with so little material.[63]

As a professor, Simons had a number of honours conferred on him. He was made a member of various societies: the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, for which he regularly was asked as a speaker, the Hollandse Maatschappij van Wetenschappen ('Dutch Society of Sciences') in Haarlem, the Gezelschap ter Beoeffening der proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte ('Society for the Practise of Experimental Philosophy') in the Hague, and societies for arts and humanities in Utrecht and Zeeland. He was moreover Correspondent, Second Class, of the Royal Dutch Institute, member of the Provincial Education Commission in Utrecht, and he filled the office of School Inspector. In the year 1832-1833 he served as Rector at Utrecht University. Even though he had been honourably discharged from active preaching duties upon his appointment as a professor, he kept on preaching now and again for special occasions, or to fill in for colleagues.[64]

Together with fellow professors Matthijs Siegenbeek from Leiden and Johannes Pieter van Cappelle from Amsterdam, he edited and annotated the eight-volume, standard edition of P. C. Hooft's *Nederlandsche historien* ('*Dutch History*', 1820-1824). They considered that work to be of great importance after the liberation from the French, seeing that now 'the spirit of the people has been awakened from its sleep and begins once more to live'.

vooral hoe hij op zijn geliefkoosd dispuutcollegie en in den vertrouwelijken omgang met zijne leerlingen geheel hun vriend was, onder scherts en ernst vertrouwen wist te winnen, en dien invloed ter bevordering van vaderlandsche leterteren en geschiedenis aanwendde'.

62 Glasius, 1851-1856, vol. 1, p. 359: 'Zoowel in zijne lessen en geschriften, als in zijnen omgang kenmerkte hij zich door veel en degelijk weten, door vernuft en smaak, door blijmoedige opgeruimdheid en vrolijken luim. Zijne minzaamheid en vriendelijkheid wonnen veler liefde en zijn goed hart veler wezenlijke achting'.

63 *Online Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, 1823, vol. 10, pp. 34-35.

64 *Algemeene Konst en Letterbode*, 1834, pp. 17-18.

Amsterdam University Press

In the preface they write: 'We desire to bring this book from the writing desk of scholars into the hands of many, so that its superb content may become more generally known, and provide food for the growing appetite for reflections on the nation'.[65] So there was more of a nationalistic motive behind the publication of this work than an aesthetic-literary one. In that same period Simons remarks: 'Nay, the high House at Muiden, aged by time, may soon be torn down and no trace of the Bailiff's former residence remain there, yet his works, more enduring than blue stone, will continue to speak right down to the last Progeny in the Netherlands'.[66] Simons also contributed to the *Uitlegkundig woordenboek op de werken van Pieter Korneliszoon Hooft* ('*Explanatory Dictionary of the Works of Pieter Korneliszoon Hooft*'), which was published in 1825 under the auspices of the Royal Dutch Institute of Sciences.

For the rest, with the exception of a few essays, Simons did not add any academic publications to his name. He was, however, an active figure in the literary societies of his day, and there he rarely minced his words. Furthermore, we know him to be strongly opposed to the reactionary views of Willem Bilderdijk and Isaäc da Costa, while at the same time admiring their work as poets.[67] Nonetheless, he was not the type to air his views as publicly as others did.

5 Simons and Literary History

In the course of time, Simons published various essays which he had read aloud for literary societies.[68] A collection of some of these, relating to literature and history, was published posthumously in 1834 under the title *Verhandelingen* ('*Treatises*').[69] He wrote, for example, on the topics of lyrical and dramatic poetry, Nordic mythology, Hooft's literary style, the

65 'Voorrede', in: Siegenbeek, Simons & Cappelle (ed.) 1820-1824, vol. 1, pp. iii-iv: 'de geest des volks, uit zijne sluimering opgewekt, op nieuws begint te herleven'; 'Wij verlangen het boek, van de schrijftafel der geleerden, te brengen in veler handen, ten einde zijn voortreffelijke inhoud meer algemeen bekend worde, en tot voedsel verstrekke voor den toenemenden lust tot vaderlandsche overdenkingen'.

66 Simons, 1834a, p. 180: 'Neen, het hooge Huis van *Muiden* moge, door den tijd verouderd, worden gesloopt en geen spoor van 's Drossaards voormalig verblijf aldaar achterblijven, maar zijne werken, duurzamer dan arduin, zullen blijven spreken tot de laatste Nakomelingschap in Nederland'.

67 Cf. *Online Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, 1823, vol. 10, p. 28.

68 Cf. Honings, 2011, pp. 201-203; Honings, 2012, pp. 187-190.

69 Simons, 1834a.

Amsterdam University Press

character of king Philip II , and Johan de Witt's time in power. These essays are significant in determining which viewpoints Simons propagated; we may assume that they correspond with what he taught his students. Is it possible to tell from these what his vision was on Dutch literary history?

In the winter of 1818, Simons read a treatise aloud at the Society of Dutch Literature and Language in Leiden, entitled 'Herinnering aan het tijdvak van Frederik Hendrik, bijzonder met betrekking tot de Nederduitsche poëzij' ('Recollection of the Time Period of Frederik Hendrik, Particularly in Relationship to Dutch Poetry'). Frederik Hendrik succeeded his half-brother Maurice in 1625. He was Stadtholder during what Simons considered the 'Golden Age' of Dutch literature: the first half of the seventeenth century. In his inaugural lecture he had already characterised this as the most glorious period, 'when everything in this land was magnificent and excellent'.[70]

In his treatise, Simons emphasised that a nation's happiness is bound up with the practise of letters. In other words, literature could contribute to the prosperity of the country. The seventeenth century, the time of Rembrandt, was, according to Simons, preceded by a barren period in which the poetry mounted to no more than 'the croaking of ravens'. An appreciation of the Middle Ages and the literature of that time is not to be found with Simons: 'What a difference between that jolting song of the olden days, and the melodious tones in the celebrated age of Frederik Hendrik!' In the seventeenth century, true poetry arrived and replaced the earlier poetry, as though spring had come, full of spirit and life. Poets succeeded in attaining a measure of excellence never before seen in the nation; what is more, they were all well-versed in the classics. Their goal was mainly to teach and to inspire piety through their own pious ideas.[71] Their works encouraged readers to emulate them in language and virtue. The greatest poet in Simons' estimation was not Jacob Cats, P.C. Hooft, or Constantijn Huygens, but Vondel.[72]

In 1820, he devoted a separate treatise to that last author, 'Over de aanleg van *Vondel* en zijne poëzij' ('On the Aptitude of Vondel and his Poetry'), in which he explicitly goes into the differences setting him apart from Cats and Hooft. Once more Simons makes it clear that he considers the seventeenth century an age when art flowered; the 'night of the Middle Ages and barbarism' had given way to a 'happy sunrise, that wakened the arts and letters from their deep sleep'. And once more he points to Vondel

70 Simons, 1816, p. 36: 'toen alles, in dit land, reusachtig en voortreffelijk was'.

71 Simons, 1834a, pp. 128, 156: 'gekras der raven'; 'Welk een verschil tusschen dat stroef gezang van den ouden tijd, en die welluidende toonen in het beroemde tijdvak van Frederik Hendrik!'.

72 Cf. Honings, 2012.

Amsterdam University Press

as the greatest poet in the history of the land. He is comparable to the evening star, which, through its clear light, 'dims the lustre of all the stars, that twinkle in the heavens'. Hooft and Cats came from well-to-do families and held distinguished positions of societal importance. Vondel did not have this good fortune, yet he rose up 'higher in his eagle's flight, than either of those poets'.[73] Jacob Cats, who in his day was praised for having expressed the nation's virtues in his work, was seen by Simons as a not very original poet.[74] His poetry pleased the reader by providing him with wise lessons, but lacked true exaltedness. Cats did not write lyrical poetry – the measure of true poetry. Though his work was capable of moving the soul, it could not enchant it. He was no eagle, but sooner 'a stately swan, which, on a tranquil stream, drifts calmly to the bank.[75] This image he had borrowed from the eighteenth-century poet Jacobus Bellamy.[76] Cats' work was like a quiet brook; that of the true poet a turbulent river, 'that with a ferocious rush crashes down into the valley'. Cats was, moreover, a poet who could work easily and at any time. Contrary to the true poet, he was not dependent upon 'divine impulse' or inspiration.[77] So the slow destruction of Cats reputation (a process that the famous critic Conrad Busken Huet would later complete) began at this time with Simons.

P.C. Hooft was, in Simons' opinion, no more a true poet than Cats; his poems are 'more the products of art, than a pouring out of the feelings of the heart'. He wrote elaborate rather than simple poetry, and used archaic language and affected metres.[78] On the whole, however, Hooft had not had much opportunity to refine his poetry, due to his sizeable *Nederlandsche Historien* ('*Dutch History*'). That important work, in a superior style, was his greatest accomplishment.

Vondel on the other hand was a true poet; his poetry is not characterised by imitation of nature or his predecessors, but by originality. Affected poetry degrades the writer from poet to rhymer, in Simons' estimation: 'Nay! the true poet pours out his initial impression, before he has considered a certain

73 Simons, 1834a, pp. 145, 147, 155: 'nacht der middeleeuwen en barbaarschheid'; 'blijden dageraad, die letteren en kunsten uit haren vasten slaap deed ontwaken'; 'hooger in zijne arendsvlugt, dan die beide dichters'.

74 Cf. Oosterholt, 1998, pp. 70-72.

75 Simons, 1834a, p. 156: 'eene zwaan, die op den vlakken stroom statelijk drijft naar den oever'.

76 Bellamy, 1790, p. 167.

77 Simons, 1834a, pp. 157, 160: 'die met woest gedruisch in het dal nederstort'; 'goddelijke aandrift'.

78 Simons, 1834a, p. 162: 'meer gewrochten der kunst, dan wel eene uitstorting van 't gevoel des harte'.

Amsterdam University Press

metre, and his first surge of feeling tunes his song to the only tone that is true music, which touches us to the core, and which no art, but Nature alone, can give it.[79] In short, the true poet, had only to follow Vondel's example and pour out his feelings in simple poems. Artifice and wise lessons, as found in Hooft and Cats, did not belong to the essence of true poetry. The poetics of the Utrecht professor prove to champion the literary ideal of authenticity, which he associated with seventeenth-century literature.[80]

This take on Vondel was not unique, though; as early as 1807, Siegenbeek had, in an essay, labelled him a true poet, who gave evidence of an innate exaltedness of spirit, that was not gained by practice. Vondel had Providence to thank for his gift, according to Siegenbeek. He belonged to those 'rare mortals' who had been formed by nature 'into something exalted, something excellent'. Both Vondel as a writer and his work were defined by 'boldness', 'originality of genius', 'liveliness', 'strength of feeling, fire', and 'agility of the power of the imagination'.[81]

On 9 November 1821, Simons came to a similar conclusion when he compared the poet Anthony van der Woordt, who had met an early death, with the German author Johann Gottfried Seume. Both he designated as true poets. Van der Woordt had typified poetry societies as 'poetic hospitals'. The essence of poetry was to be found, according to Simons, in 'a strong drive to represent bold thoughts arrestingly, with a deep sense of what is good and beautiful, and to pour out for others the most intense sensations of joy and sadness'. He praised van der Woordt for his 'originality, feeling, genius, imagination, sagacity'. At the same time he held him in high esteem for propagating national virtues such as love of truth, freedom, independence, and strength.[82] The true poet, therefore, needed to be both an original genius and a poet for the nation. He valued Seume for meeting these same criteria.

In 1829, Simons read aloud a treatise 'Over de laatste helft der vorige eeuw, met betrekking tot den staat der Nederduitsche poëzij' ('On the Second

79 Simons, 1834a, p. 163: 'Neen! de echte dichter stort zijne eerste gewaarwording uit, eer hij aan een bepaalde maat gedacht heeft, en de eerste opwelling van zijn gevoel stemt ook zijn lied in dien eenigen toon, die ware muzijk is, welke ons door merg en beenderen dringt, en die geene kunst, maar alleen de Natuur hem moet geven'.

80 Cf. Oosterholt, 1998, p. 62.

81 Siegenbeek, 1807, pp. 57-58: 'zeldzame stervelingen, welke, door de natuur tot iets verhevens, iets uitstekends'; 'stoutheid', 'oorspronkelijkheid van vernuft', 'levendigheid', 'sterkte van gevoel, vuur' en 'snelheid van verbeeldingskracht'.

82 Simons, 1834a, pp. 218, 222: 'dichterlijke gasthuizen'; 'eene hooge aandrift, om stoute gedachten, in diep gevoel van het goede en schoone treffend voor te stellen en de hevigste gewaarwordingen van vreugde en droefheid voor anderen uit te storten'; 'oorspronkelijkheid, gevoel, vernuft, verbeelding, wijsheid'.

Amsterdam University Press

Half of the Last Century, Regarding the State of Dutch Poetry'). He believed that there was a connection between the decline of the economy in the eighteenth century and the quality of the literature. From the end of the seventeenth century and through the course of the eighteenth, constructing poetry took over from writing poetry, just as the intellect took over from feeling: 'That daring representation and those original images, that powerful language and lilting tone, that sweet reverie and noble flourish, that rich abundance and pleasing abandon, in a word, that feeling, genius and that imagination which distinguished the earlier ones so very well: these qualities were more rarely found in the later ones, and continued gradually to wane until they all but disappeared'.[83]

The mid-eighteenth century marked the appearance of a new phenomenon in the Republic: that of poetry societies. Simons looked down contemptuously on these literary societies, where poetry was endlessly refined by art judges until nothing of the original remained: 'So every stillborn child was brought forth, and, year upon year, every society, rightly called a poetic hospital, delivered its collection, containing the winning *prize poems* and so-called *miscellanies,* which had undergone the necessary refinement and been improved upon by the Aristarchs'. This was of little benefit to poetry. After all, 'who dared to diverge from the orthodoxy of the acclaimed brothers-in-art and question their dogmas'? When someone became a member, he no longer could pour out his feelings. Imitation had become law: 'his originality disappeared in the generality of the whole poetic-prosaic body, what he *thought* and *felt* was in service to the same, was itself again *thought about* and *felt,* and so he never learned to go his own way, so, woefully, his independence was lost.[84] With good reason he refers to Willem Bilderdijk, who, in his acclaimed poem, *De kunst der poëzy* ('*The Art of Poetry*'), had already in 1809 criticised the poetry societies,

83 Simons, 1834a, pp. 235-236: 'Die stoute voorstelling en oorspronkelijke beelden, die krachtige taal en zangerige toon, die zoete mijmering en edele zwier, die rijke weelde en behagelijke losheid, in één woord, dat gevoel, vernuft en die verbeelding, welke de vroegeren zoo uitstekend onderscheidden, werden bij de lateren zeldzamer gevonden, tot dat zij, hoe verder, hoe minder, bijna geheel verdwenen'.

84 Simons, 1834a, pp. 237-238: 'Zoo kwam elk misgeboorte ter wereld, en jaar op jaar, gaf ieder genootschap, met regt een dichterlijk gasthuis geheeten, zijn bundel uit, waar in bekroonde *prijsvaarzen* en zoo genaamde *mengelingen*, die de noodige beschaving hadden ondergaan en van de Aristarchen verbeterd waren'; 'wie waagde het, van de regtzinnigheid dier toegejuichte kunstbroeders te verschillen en hunne leerstellingen in twijfel te trekken'; 'zijne oorspronkelijkheid ging over in de algemeenheid van het geheele dichterlijk-prozaïsch ligchaam, wat hij *dacht* en *gevoelde* was in dienst van hetzelve, werd dáár weêr *overgedacht* en *overgevoeld*, en zoo leerde hij nooit zijn' eigen weg bewandelen, zoo ging zijne zelfstandigheid jammerlijk verloren'.

Amsterdam University Press

where uninspired 'delusional poets' in their role as judges of art had taken up 'burnisher, plane, and file' and ruined all true poetry.[85] They were but guilds in Simons' opinion, with originality and authenticity hard to find. The poetry of those years contrasted sharply with that of the previous century.

Simons was not alone in his appreciation of the seventeenth century. A number of scholars in his day unanimously pointed out the seventeenth century as a period of flowering, whereby they initiated the formation of a canon.[86] That age served 'as a nostalgic reminder of previous greatness and as a possible pointer to a new future'.[87] As mentioned previously, Simons never wrote a literary history himself. Others did. Matthijs Siegenbeek, for example, published his *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* ('*Short History of Dutch Literature*') in 1825, which later served as the basis for teacher Nicolaas Anslijn's publication for schoolchildren: *Schets van de Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* ('*Sketch of the Short History of Dutch Literature*', 1828). N.G. van Kampen published the three-volume *Beknopte geschiedenis der letteren en wetenschappen in de Nederlanden, van de vroegste tijden af, tot op het begin der negentiende eeuw* ('*Short History of Literature and Humanities in the Netherlands, from the Earliest Ages, to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*', 1821-1826). Based on his research of various nineteenth-century literary histories, Gert-Jan Johannes has isolated six common 'assumptions and deductions':

> 1) History can be divided into periods of decay and flowering; 2) The Golden Age was a period of flowering; 3) That Golden Age is more or less the same period as the seventeenth century; 4) After that Golden Age, there followed a century of decay, in which Frenchification and participation in societies went hand in hand. In the objections to Frenchification and participation in societies we can then identify moreover: 5) The 'national' language and culture have an intrinsic worth, which can be damaged by 'foreign' influences; and 6) The talent of the individual practitioner of art can be impeded by the formally organised, collective practise of art.[88]

85 Bilderdijk, 1995, p. 80: 'waanpoëeten'; 'met liksteen, schaaf, en vijlen'.

86 Wiskerke, 1995.

87 Johannes, 2002, p. 28: 'als nostalgische herinnering aan vroegere grootheid en als mogelijke wegwijzer naar een nieuwe toekomst'.

88 Johannes, 2002, p. 50: '1) De geschiedenis is te verdelen in perioden van verval en bloei; 2) De Gouden Eeuw was een bloeiperiode; 3) Die gouden 'eeuw' valt globaal samen met de 17de eeuw; 4) Na die Gouden Eeuw trad een eeuw van verval op, waarin verfransing en genootschappelijkheid hand in hand gingen. In die bezwaren tegen verfransing en genootschappelijkheid herkennen

Amsterdam University Press

From studying Simons' treatises it can be surmised that his vision corresponds with the standard argumentation of the period formulated by Johannes. Simons also regarded the seventeenth century as a period of literary flowering, after which a period of decay ensued which was partly related to the way people organised into societies. This hampered the originality of poetic genius. Only the fifth point is less clearly evident in Simons' case, although he did highlight the importance that Cats, Hooft and Vondel had for the nation.

6 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on Adam Simons, the first professor of Dutch Literature and Rhetoric at Utrecht University. A great scholar he was not. When he gave his inaugural lecture in 1816, he had not yet accomplished anything academically. He was first and foremost a nationally recognised poet. Even after becoming a professor, Simons remained predominately a poet. It was from that perspective that, on various occasions, he articulated his thoughts on the essence of poetry – a genre that he passionately defended as being the highest art form.

After his death, Simons was soon forgotten, until W.A.P. Smit drew attention to him. On 25 March 1946, 130 years after Simons had expounded on the true poet, Smit gave his inaugural lecture, *Reprise na 130 jaar: 'over den waren* dichter' (*'Reprise after 130 Years: 'On the True Poet'*).[89] This was no coincidence. Just as Simons had talked of the importance of writing poetry in the years following the French occupation, Smit commented: 'Once again our country has groaned and suffered under foreign domination. Again our love of our nation's past has been deepened and we have become more profoundly aware of pride in our national culture'. Smit had, parenthetically, little sympathy for the poet Simons; his work he found to lack 'passionate inspiration'.[90] That was precisely the criterion that Simons himself had set for true poetry.

Drawing up the balance, what was Simons' position within the field of Dutch language and literature? Though he never published a comprehensive

we dan bovendien: 5) De 'nationale' taal en cultuur hebben een intrinsieke waarde, die geschaad kan worden door 'vreemde' invloeden; en 6) Het talent van de individuele kunstbeoefenaar kan gehinderd worden door formeel georganiseerde, collectieve kunstbeoefening'.

89 Smit, 1946.

90 Oosterholt, 1998, p. 3: 'Weer heeft ons land jarenlang gezucht en geleden onder vreemde overheersing. Weer is daardoor de liefde voor ons nationale verleden verdiept en de trots op onze nationale cultuur ons inniger bewust geworden'; 'hartstochtelijke bezieling'.

Amsterdam University Press

work, we may conclude that his views corresponded with those of his contemporaries: nationalism, appreciation of the seventeenth century (Vondel being the greatest poet), the representation of the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century as periods of decay, the notion that literary societies were responsible for a loss of creativity, and so on. Once could disrespectfully say that Simons' vision attests to little originality. Formulating it more positively, one may state that he was jointly responsible for the early nineteenth-century discourse on literature; for nearly twenty years he propagated the above views to his students.

The one exceptional thing about him, when compared to fellow professors of the time, such as Siegenbeek, is that he added an aesthetic principle to this discourse; poetry was to him above all a matter of beauty, imagination, and the pouring out of feeling.[91] This notion may well have stemmed from his experience as a poet. It makes his poetics fit in closely with the poetics of Willem Bilderdijk, for whom he had much admiration, though Simons also pointed out the dangers of writing without rules. The poet Adam Simons and the professor Adam Simons were inextricably woven together.

References

J. Bellamy, *Gezangen mijner jeugd en naagelaaten gedichten* (Haarlem: Plaat en Loosjes, 1790).

W. van den Berg, & P. Couttenier, *Alles is taal geworden. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1800-1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009).

L.Ph.C. van den Bergh, *Gedenkboek van het tweede eeuwfeest der Utrechtsche Hoogeschool* (Utrecht: J. Altheer, 1837).

Bilderdijk W., *De kunst der poëzy*, ed. by W. van den Berg & J.J. Kloek (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 1995).

D.M., *Ter nagedachtenis van den hoogleeraar A. Simons* (Utrecht: C. van der Post, Jr. 1834).

C. de Deugd, *Het metafysisch grondpatroon van het romantische literaire denken. De fenomenologie van een geestesgesteldheid* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1966).

J. Geel & A. Simons, *Voorlezing gehouden in het lees-museum te Utrecht* (Utrecht: Joh. Altheer, 1830).

J. Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie*, 2 vols., ed. by W. van den Berg & P. Gerbrandy (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

91 Cf. Vis, [2004], p. 79.

Amsterdam University Press

B. Glasius, *Godgeleerd Nederland. Biographisch woordenboek van Nederlandsche godgeleerden*, 3 vols. ('s-Hertogenbosch: gebr. Muller, 1851-1856).

Het proza van Geel en de poëzie van Simons. Een onbloedig professoraal tweegevecht in de eerste helft dezer eeuw (Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse, [1899]).

A.H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Mein Leben. Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen*, 3 vols. (Hannover: C. Rümpler, 1868).

R. Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel, Hollands roem! Het literaire leven in Leiden 1760-1860* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2011).

R. Honings, '"Een ruwe diamant, maar van het eerste water". Het Vondel-beeld in de vroege negentiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 28 (2012), 176-195.

K. van der Horst, *Catalogus van de collectie collegedictaten van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1994).

E. Krol, *De smaak der natie. Opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997).

L. Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

G.J. Johannes, *Geduchte verbeeldingskracht! Een onderzoek naar het literaire denken over de verbeelding: van Van Alphen tot Verwey* (Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1992).

G.J. Johannes, '"Zoo is overdrijving de ziekte van elke eeuw." Het beeld van de 17de eeuw in 19de-eeuwse literatuurgeschiedenissen voor schoolgebruik en zelfstudie', *Nederlandse Letterkunde* 7 (2002), 28-60.

G. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde*, 3rd ed., 4 vols., ('s-Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malberg, 1964).

M. Mathijsen, 'Manuscriptkeuringen en boekverboden. Censuur rond de Franse tijd', in M. Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

P.C. Molhuysen & P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols. (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911-1937).

J. Noordegraaf, 'Weiland, Pieter', in K. van Dalen-Oskan, I. Biesheuvel, W. van Anrooij & J. Noordegraaf, *Het bio- en bibliografisch lexicon van de neerlandistiek*, available through http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/anro001bioe01_01/.

Online Dagboek van Willem de Clercq, available through http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/declercq.

J. Oosterholt, *De ware dichter. De vaderlandse poëticale discussie in de periode 1775-1825* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998).

M. Siegenbeek, 'Verhandeling over de dichterlijke verdiensten van Joost van den Vondel', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1807), 37-108.

M. Siegenbeek, 'Levensbericht van Adam Simons', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Leiden s.n. 1834), 28-33.

Amsterdam University Press

M. Siegenbeek, A. Simons & J.P. van Cappelle (eds.), *P. C. Hoofts Nederlandsche historien. Met aanteekeningen en ophelderingen*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam: J. van der Hey, 1820-1824).

A. Simons, *Aen de Leydsche burgers, op den 3den october* (Leiden: Abraham Honkoop, 1791).

A. Simons, *Gedichten* (Amsterdam: J. ten Brink Gz., 1805).

A. Simons, *Alexander, keizer aller Russen, in drie zangen* ('s-Gravenhage: Johannes Allart, 1815).

A. Simons, *Redevoering over den waren dichter. Gehouden den XXV Maart MDCCCXVI, bij de plegtige aanvaarding van den post van Hoogleeraar in de Nederd. Letterkunde en Welsprekendheid aan 's Lands Hooge School, te Utrecht* (Utrecht: O.J. van Paddenburg [etc.] 1816).

A. Simons, *Verstrooide gedichten* (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey, 1822).

A. Simons, *Bij de uitvaart van J.C.J. van Speyk, scheepsbevelhebber voor Antwerpen den 5den Februarij, 1831* (Utrecht: J. Altheer, [1831]).

A. Simons, *Aan Neêrlands dappere verdedigers, op 't kasteel van Antwerpen, bij hunne verwelkoming te Utrecht, den 24sten Junij 1833* (Utrecht: J. Altheer, [1833]).

A. Simons, *Verhandelingen* (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey, 1834a).

A. Simons, *Verzamelde poëzij* (Utrecht: J. Altheer, 1834b).

W.A.P. Smit, *Reprise na 130 jaar. 'Over den waren dichter'* (Deventer: Van Hoeve, 1946).

G.J. Vis, *Van Siegenbeek tot Lodewick. Verkenningen naar de geschiedenis van de studie der Nederlandse letterkunde, speciaal in het onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, [2004]).

J. te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, 2nd ed., 7 vol. (Haarlem: De erven F. Bohn, 1922-1927)

E.M. Wiskerke, *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780 en 1813* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

About the Author

Rick Honings (1984) is Assistant Professor in Dutch Studies at Leiden University. With Peter van Zonneveld he wrote a rewarded biography of the Dutch poet Willem Bilderdijk: *De gefnuikte arend* (2013). In 2016 he published his monograph on Dutch literary celebrity in the nineteenth century: *De dichter als idool. Literaire roem in de negentiende eeuw* (2016). With Gaston Franssen he is co-editor of *Celebrity Authorship and Afterlives in English and American Literature* (2016) and *Idolizing Authorship. Literary Celebrity and the Construction of Identity 1800-Present* (2017).

Amsterdam University Press

4 Johannes Kinker

A Kantian Philosopher Teaching Dutch Language, Literature, and Eloquence

Marijke van der Wal

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH04

Abstract
The cosmopolitan citizen and Kantian philosopher Johannes Kinker, who had played a leading role in many institutions and societies of the northern Netherlands, held the newly founded Dutch chair in Liège for more than a decade. The present chapter addresses the questions why he accepted this post, what his experiences were, and how he actually shaped the Dutch chair. Could he share his scholarly expertise on general language theory, philosophy, prosody and eloquence with his audience of students? By examining Kinker's correspondence and his, so far barely explored, lecture notes, I am able to present a clear view of his daily teaching practice in a French-speaking university town.

Keywords: Kantian philosophy, general language theory, language acquisition, codification, Dutch literature

1 Johannes Kinker: Lawyer, Literary Author, and Society Man

Who was Johannes Kinker (1764-1845) and why should we consider him one of the agents in the field of Dutch studies who deserves a chapter in the present volume? Arguing that he was the first professor to hold the chair in Dutch language and literature at the University of Liège seems a convincing, formal argument. In Kinker's case, however, I would like to add that his importance is not restricted to academic life and Dutch studies. Kinker was a multi-facetted and versatile spirit who participated intensively in social and cultural life and adopted an active stance in times of political

Amsterdam University Press

turmoil. A revealing example of the latter is his poem *Stille bemoediging na de inlijving van Holland in het Fransche keizerrijk* ('Quiet Encouragement after the Annexation of Holland into the French Empire'), which he wrote in response to Holland's occupation by the French. He starts this poem, which consists of twelve five-line stanzas, by stressing the relationship between fatherland or nation and language:

> The fatherland exists, whatever fate may befall us!
> As long as its beautiful language does not become lost;
> As long as we still hear its sound and full linguistic power;[1]

This evidently sounds like a strong voice of nationalism. At the same time, Kinker has been characterised as the foremost representative of the international Enlightenment around 1800 and as an advocate of universal cosmopolitism.[2] Another apparent contradiction is that initially he did not have strong Orangist feelings, but later welcomed Willem I's policy of creating a United Kingdom of the Netherlands and greatly appreciated the sovereign as a Monarch of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, Kinker was fully embedded in the social and cultural life of the northern Netherlands and played a leading role in many institutions and societies there. Yet, surprisingly, he accepted the newly founded chair in Liège in 1817 and moved to a francophone region, giving up what had to date been his main activities. One may wonder about these, at first sight, conflicting facts. Various questions arise such as *why* he accepted this post, *what* his experiences were, and *how* he actually shaped the Dutch chair and dealt with his audience of students. This chapter will address these and other questions in sections 4, 5, and 6 after presenting an overview of Kinker's networks and scholarly activities and subsequently focusing on his linguistic work in sections 2 and 3. In conclusion, section 7 evaluates Kinker's contribution to nation building and nationalism in language and literature.

2 Kinker's Networks and Scholarly Activities

Johannes or Jan Kinker was born on 1 January 1764 in the village of Nieuwer-Amstel, present-day Amstelveen (a suburb of Amsterdam). After graduating

1 Jensen, 2013, p. 20: 'Het Vaderland bestaat, wat lot ons zij beschoren! […]/ Zoo lang zijn schoone spraak voor 't oor niet gaat verloren; / Zoo lang wij nog haar' klank en volle taalkracht hooren'.
2 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 63; Hanou 1988, volume 2, pp. 39-42, footnote 83.

Amsterdam University Press

in law he became a lawyer, but his professional activities left him with enough free time to write a wide range of literary works and to devote himself to philosophy. Various inheritances gave him independence from financial concerns.[3] His marriage to Maria Eva Theodora Bain in 1793 ended in separation in 1802 (although there was no divorce), after which Kinker shared a happy life with Geertruy Margaretha de Clercq, his companion for four decades. Hanou gives a more detailed description of Kinker's life while Vis focuses on his literary work.[4]

Kinker had access to an elaborate political and literary network, complemented by extensive contacts in the order of freemasons, of which he became a member in 1805. Hanou convincingly demonstrates Kinker's interest in and commitment to social issues by referring to his active membership of at least twenty societies.[5] In 1800, he was one of the initiators of the Bataafsche maatschappij van taal- en dichtkunde ('the Dutch/ Batavian Society for Linguistics and Poetry'), which was renamed in 1806 the Hollandsche maatschappij van fraaije kunsten en wetenschappen ('the Holland Society of Arts and Sciences') and by this time also included history and philosophy.[6] This society aimed to promote excellence in literary theoretical, scholarly and societal thinking and endorsed prescriptive studies such as Siegenbeek's orthography and Weiland's grammar, which were initiated and published on behalf of the government.[7] Kinker's prosody study was also awarded an honorary gold medal by the Holland Society. For Kinker and the Amsterdam department of the society, the Enlightenment and critical philosophy should be the foundation of the new era.[8] As president of the society, Kinker stressed the task of educating *het volk* ('the general public') and during the period of his office the society also welcomed women into the audience when papers were presented.

Apart from these activities, Kinker had delivered an impressive number of literary, polemic and scholarly publications before he became a professor at the University of Liège. As a philosopher, he favoured Kant's philosophy, which he was assiduous in promoting, defending, and applying. His *Proeve eener opheldering' van de Critiek der zuivere rede* ('Essay to Clarify the

3 Hanou, 1988, pp. 19-20.

4 Hanou, 1988; Vis, 1967.

5 Hanou, 1988.

6 Hanou, 1988, p. 38.

7 Siegenbeek, 1804; Weiland, 1805. The society supported Minister of Education van der Palm in his plan for spelling reform. Siegenbeek's spelling was endorsed by the Batavian Society and subsequently in 1804 by the authorities (Hanou &Vis, 1992, pp.17-18).

8 Hanou, 1988, p. 39.

Amsterdam University Press

Critique of Pure Reason'), published in 1799, introduced Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* into the Netherlands. Its French translation (*Essai d'une exposition succincte de la Critique de la raison pure; traduit du Hollandais par J. le Fèvre,* Amsterdam, 1801) was a source for Kantian study in France.[9] Together with Paulus van Hemert (1756-1825), a steadfast advocate of critical philosophy, Kinker took his stance in the face of the controversy that was prevailing in the Netherlands at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The two men defended Kant's philosophy against opponents such as Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), Rhijnvis Feith (1753-1824), Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803), and Samuel Johannes van de Wijnpersse (1759-1842), for whom Kantianism was irreconcilable with their dogmatic theological view of life.[10]

We will see below (section 3) that Kinker also applied Kant's ideas to his own elaborate language theory. At the end of his life, he even tried to improve Kant's philosophy in *Le dualisme de la raison humaine*, published posthumously in 1850-1852.[11] Kant was clearly in Kinker's blood, not only in his scholarly work, but also in his daily life as a citizen: Kinker's cosmopolitanism and his patriotism have been linked to Kant's view that every cosmopolitan also has a patriotic duty in his own country.[12]

In sum, Kinker has been characterised as a representative of Kantian Enlightenment and his endeavours and ultimate aim have been described as follows:[13]

> Kinker's aim was to achieve his humanitarian and Kantian ideals mostly through particular societies. His overriding ambition was to create a tolerant society of global citizens, ultimately united in one global nation, in which the individual could develop all his talents.[14]

9 Van der Wal, 1977, p. 51; Wielema, 1988, pp. 456-457. The *Proeve eener opheldering' van de Critiek der zuivere Rede* appeared in *Magazyn voor de critische wijsgeerte* II, 1799, pp. 43-238. The translator Jean Lambert Joseph Lefèvre was a member of the Amsterdam freemason's lodge La Charité, as was Kinker (Hanou & Vis 1992, p.226, footnote 18).

10 Wielema, 1988, pp. 460-461.

11 *Le dualisme de la raison humaine; ou le criticisme de Em. Kant, amélioré sous le rapport de la raison pure, et rendu complet sous celui de la raison pratique,* publié par les soins et sous les auspices, et avec des notes de J.D. Cocheret de la Morinière, Amsterdam: Weytingh & van der Haart, 1850/52, 2 vols. See also Wielema (1988, p.465).

12 Jensen, 2013, pp. 180-181.

13 Hanou, 1988, p. 61; Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 22-28.

14 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 17: 'Kinkers streven was om vooral via bepaalde genootschappen zijn humanitaire en Kantiaanse ideaal dichterbij te brengen: het scheppen van een tolerante samenleving van wereldburgers, uiteindelijk in één wereldstaat verenigd, waarin het individu al zijn talenten tot ontplooiing kon brengen'.

Amsterdam University Press

Was this cosmopolitan citizen well equipped and eager to play a role in the field of Dutch studies? Before discussing the period of Kinker's activities as a professor of Dutch language, literature, and eloquence, I will elaborate on his language theory and his other linguistic publications.

3 Kinker's Language Theory and his Other Linguistic Publications

Kinker presented his *Inleiding eener wijsgeerige algemeene theorie der talen* ('Introduction to a Philosophical General Language Theory') at meetings of the KNI, the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van wetenschappen, letterkunde, en schoone kunsten ('the Royal Dutch Institute of Sciences, Literature, and Arts'). This institution, which was founded in 1808 by King Louis Napoleon, was the precursor of the present-day Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen ('Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences').[15] His language theory was debated at meetings held from 1810 to 1812, and ultimately published in the *Gedenkschriften* ('Memoirs') of the KNI in 1817. The starting point of Kinker's theory is that *een algemene theorie der talen* ('general linguistics') implies focusing on *thought language,* the interpreter of thoughts which, subject to the laws of thinking, arise in the human mind. This *thought language* is assumed to be present in all spoken languages, but it is in fact independent of all existing languages. Even if all languages were to become obsolete, *thought language* would still exist as long as thinking human beings exist. Kinker assumes that the *thinking mechanism* is identical and works in the same way in every human being. Consequently, *thought language* must be universal to all languages, and the goal of a general language theory must be to discover and describe the characteristics of this *thought language*. In order to achieve this aim, he rejects the method of comparing spoken languages, which would yield only the similarities between languages, not the reasons behind these similarities, and would thus not lead to knowledge of *thought language*. The only legitimate and appropriate method to reveal *thought language* is through an analysis of the *thinking mechanism*.

It is a broad and highly philosophical analysis of the *thinking mechanism* that Kinker offers in his treatise. His analysis ultimately results in a table of basic meanings, i.e. a survey of meanings shared by everyone, which must therefore also be the basic meanings in *thought language*. Kinker uses this table in his approach to the two linguistic aspects of concept and mechanism;

15 Van der Wal, 1977, p. 3; Hanou &Vis, 1992, pp. 18-20.

Amsterdam University Press

in modern terms these are the semantic and syntactic aspects of language. He distinguishes the internal and external meanings of words, which meanings belong either to the concept or to the mechanism part of language. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail Kinker's complex theory in which he, for instance, criticises the traditional divisions of parts of speech, while providing an extensive discussion of the characteristics of each of these parts of speech.[16] What is important for us here is that Kinker stresses the central function of the verb, which he characterises with the term *agere* 'acting'. In relation to the verb, nouns, and pronouns can function either as subjects or as objects, in Kinker's terminology either as *agens* 'the worker or person' or as *actum* 'that which is acted upon, the matter'. This analysis leads to the discovery of the *language mechanism*, the syntactic aspect, which appears to be based on the tripartition *agens-agere-actum.* This tripartition functions not only in single sentences, but also on different levels in compound and complex sentences and even between sentences. Ultimately, Kinker's ideal *thought language*, as presented in his language theory, should make it possible to assess the merits of every spoken language: the more a language resembles *thought language*, the better it will be. Kinker optimistically believes that all languages develop towards the ideal *thought language*. Assessing particular spoken languages, is, however, beyond the scope of his treatise, in which he only occasionally brings to light the defects of a particular language.

Kinker's at first sight idiosyncratic language theory fits into the rational language approach that had been gaining ground in Western Europe at least from the publication of the Port Royal Grammar in 1660 onwards.[17] His theory can be considered as a new and fascinating example of the idea that language is determined by the *ratio.* Unlike many authors of so-called general or philosophical grammars, Kinker, does not fall back on logical terms or logical analysis.[18] Making use of Kantian ideas and terminology, he independently developed his own original language theory.[19] Kinker's language theory thus appears to be a late representative of the old rational

16 For more detailed information I refer to van der Wal, 1977, pp. 4-41.

17 Harris & Taylor, 1989, pp. 94-107.

18 Juliard 1940, p. 14; van der Wal 1977, pp. 43-48; Maat 2013, pp. 404-407, 410-416.

19 As demonstrated in van der Wal 1977, 1985. There is, as far as I know, only one book before 1817 in which Kant is referred to for linguistic purposes: *Philosophische Principien einer allgemeinen Sprachlehre nach Kant und Sacy*, published anonymously in 1805 by Friedrich Nicolovius in Königsberg. The author identified, Stephan Wannowski (1749-1812), theologian and rector of the German Reformed Burgschule in Königsberg, concerns himself mainly with Sacy and merely applies Kant's categories in his treatment of the verb and of the compound sentence. Further details of Kinker's Kantian language theory, and of similarities and differences between Kinker and Kant, are to be found in van der Wal, 1977, pp. 51-55.

Amsterdam University Press

approach. It was published at a time when the new trend of historical comparative linguistics, focusing on actual differences between languages, had already begun to manifest itself.[20]

Kinker, who was a gifted and often invited speaker, also published on eloquence or rhetoric and on prosody. In his *Over de hoorbare voordracht van den redenaar* (1813; 'On the audible declamation of the orator'), adopting the well-known Ciceronian rhetorical division of *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronunciatio*, he elaborates in particular on the *pronunciatio*, using his earlier publication on prosody, the *Proeve eener Hollandsche prosodia* (1808; 'Specimen of a Dutch prosody'). Kinker argues that the orator should restore the neglected bond with musicians and actors. Pitch, tempo, and rest or interval in speaking can be indicated by staff notation, as in music; on a more visual note, gestures are important for actors and speakers alike.[21] He also extensively reviewed and evaluated Willem Bilderdijk's *Nederlandsche spraakleer* ('Dutch Grammar') in various articles, which were collected in the volume entitled *Beoordeeling van Mr. W. Bilderdijks Nederlandsche spraakleer* (Amsterdam 1829; 'Review of W. Bilderdijk's Dutch grammar'). Following the structure of Bilderdijk's grammar, Kinker had the opportunity to present his own views on orthography (pp.1-28), morphology (pp.29-123), syntax (pp.124-244), and prosody (pp.245-339).[22]

Bilderdijk and Kinker were old acquaintances, since Kinker started his career as a lawyer at Bilderdijk's law office (probably 1787-1792) and acted as his business representative when Bilderdijk left the country in 1795. In their correspondence, Bilderdijk also discusses his plans for linguistic publications, for instance on the gender of nouns.[23] However, in terms of their philosophy, Bilderdijk, as the representative of conservatism, and Kinker, as the representative of Kantian enlightenment, were worlds apart. In the end, this gap and Kinker's appointment as a professor at the University of Liège, while Bilderdijk was not appointed to a similar chair at the University of Amsterdam, caused the two men to drift apart.[24]

20 In 1830, Kinker once more concentrates on general language in his treatise *De Proeve eener beantwoording van de vraag: wat nut kan de empirische algemeene taalkennis aan de hoogere wijsbegeerte toebrengen?* (Specimen of an answer to the question: What benefit can the empirical general knowledge of language present to higher philosophy?), which was also published in the *Gedenkschriften* of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut.

21 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 15-16.

22 See De Vooys, 1947, for a general impression and Schultink, 2007, for a positive evaluation of Kinker as a morphologist.

23 Van der Wal, 1993, p. 152.

24 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 21-22.

Amsterdam University Press

4 Kinker's Appointment as a Professor at the University of Liège

Kinker was a prominent figure in the social and cultural life of the northern Netherlands; he was a well-known poet and had published on philosophy, eloquence or rhetoric, and language. It was therefore not surprising that he was offered one of the newly founded chairs in Dutch language and literature; what was surprising, however, is that he accepted the post. At the time, contemporaries, among whom Anton Reinhard Falck (1777-1813), wondered why Kinker left for Liège.[25] Hanou, discussing Kinker's appointment, also wonders why he opted for this French-speaking university town full of conservative Catholics.[26] Did he enjoy teaching Dutch and did he consider a chair to be a reward for his previous work? Apart from these suppositions, Hanou considers two other possibilities, one related to philosophy and the other to freemasonry.[27] In Liège Kinker became a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts. Both disciplines were mentioned in his letter of appointment, and Kinker repeatedly referred to himself as a professor of philosophy, for instance in a letter dated 25 May 1818.[28] In the edition of his *Gedichten* ('Poems', 3 volumes, 1819-1821, published by Johannes van der Hey in Amsterdam), he is also referred to as 'Mr. J. Kinker *Hoogleeraar in de Wijsbegeerte, enz. Aan de Hooge School te Luik, Lid van het Koninklijk Instituut*' ('J. Kinker, Professor of Philosophy, etc. at the University of Liège, member of the Royal Institute'). Could the task of spreading Kantian philosophy have attracted Kinker to Liège? In that case, the reality of academic life in Liège may have been disappointing. In his correspondence, Kinker often complained that he did not have as much opportunity to teach philosophy as he wished. His manuscript *Aperçu détaillé de la philosophie critique* is an example of a course he was able to teach only occasionally.[29] Or could it be that the reason was not academic, but rather that it was a future task in the order of freemasons that lured him to the southern Netherlands? Kinker was heavily engaged in freemasonry

25 Hanou, 1988, p. 364. A.R. Falck, Minister of Education from March 1818, was interested in Kantian philosophy. He was a member of the third class of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut (KNI) and was also a freemason (Hanou & Vis, 1993, p. 16). See Falck's remark in a letter, dated 14 July 1817, addressed to Fabius: 'Wat ziet Kinker toch voor heil in dat professoraat in Luik? Enfin, als hij maar te vreden is, mij is het wel' ('What benefit does Kinker see in that chair in Liège? Well, if he is content, it's all the same to me.') (Hanou, 1988, p. 364).

26 Hanou, 1988, pp. 362-365.

27 Hanou, 1988, pp. 364-365.

28 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 366.

29 Hanou, 1988, pp. 364-365.

Amsterdam University Press

and promoted his ideal of a joint enlightened freemasonry in the northern and southern Low Countries. He may have regarded his presence in Liège as an opportunity to play an active role in achieving this ideal.[30]

Whatever his motivation, after some delay Kinker travelled to Liège where he remained until 1830, when political developments forced him to leave.[31] The revolt against the rule of Willem I, which led to the splitting up of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands into the Netherlands and Belgium, meant a farewell for Kinker. Returning from his academic summer recess in Holland, Kinker was surprised by the rapid revolutionary developments in Liège. He was even taken hostage at the beginning of October 1830, but was exchanged for a hostage taken by the Dutch. He returned to Liège, but, after refusing to sign a document pledging loyalty to the Brussels preliminary government, he left for Amsterdam on 18 October 1830 and never saw Liège again.[32] It was more than a decade since he started his lectures and seminars in the autumn of 1818. I will focus on his experiences during that period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and will refer to different types of sources. Apart from secondary literature such as that of Hanou and Janssens & Steyaert,[33] I will rely on Kinker's own correspondence, edited in three volumes,[34] and his lecture notes which are preserved among his papers in the University library of Leiden and the Royal library in The Hague.[35] These lecture notes have been mentioned repeatedly, by Rutten and Vis, but have barely been explored.[36] Janssens compared part of the lecture notes on Dutch pronunciation with the notes made by one of Kinker's students.[37]

5 Kinker's Students, Lectures and Seminars

In a letter dated 4 November 1818 addressed to Gerrit van Lennep, a lawyer, poet, and translator and the author of a Dutch grammar in French, Kinker phrases his new experiences: 'I might be able to accommodate to my new

30 Hanou, 1988: pp. 25, 365.

31 On 5 July 1817 Kinker received the confirmation of his appointment, dated 24 June 1817. His task was described as teaching 'Nederduitsche letterkunde en welsprekendheid' (Dutch literature and eloquence) (Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 34).

32 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 194-195.

33 Hanou, 1988, Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp.181-195.

34 Hanou & Vis, 1992, 1993, 1994.

35 I did not consult his notes held in the library of the University of Amsterdam.

36 Rutten, 1962, p. 107; Vis, 1967, pp. 288-289, 291.

37 Janssens, 2012.

Amsterdam University Press

career, but Liège and a Dutch wife mean a tough job and misery'.[38] A few years later, in his letter dated 7 March 1821 addressed to the publisher J. Immerzeel Jr., Kinker conjures up the moment of being sent to pagan Liège to preach the Dutch gospel: 'Almost a year passed before I somewhat got in the way of what was needed in order not to preach as a voice in the wilderness'.[39] In the early days of his time in Liège, daily life was probably not easy; neither was teaching. In the letter to van Lennep, Kinker refers to his disparate audience consisting of 36 students, of whom eight or nine were fluent in Dutch, four or five understood half of what was said, and the remaining majority did not understand a single word of Dutch. He solved this problem by delivering his lectures one-third in Latin, one-third in French, and one-third in Dutch. All his preparatory work could be torn up and, much to his disappointment, not a single student enrolled for his lectures in 'philosophical linguistics'.[40] This last point shows that Kinker intended to present his language theory, as discussed in section 3, to his audience of students. However, given the lack of interest in the topic, he had to shift to the level of language acquisition and adapt his lecture topics accordingly. To support the students who did not understand Dutch or did not understand it well enough, Cicero and Tacitus were translated into Dutch and during the translation process Kinker also explained the syntactic part of van Lennep's *Grammaire hollandoise à l'usage des collèges et des institutions* (Bruxelles 1816, second print 1818), a grammar that he recommended to his students.[41]

A year later, according to the *series lectionum,* Kinker was teaching an introduction to Dutch grammar, Dutch literature and eloquence.[42] In his letter dated 29 October 1819 addressed to M. Stuart (1765-1826), secretary of the third class of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut, Kinker mentions the unexpectedly high level of interest in his lectures, both his introduction to Dutch grammar, where the lectures were given in French, and his Dutch lectures on eloquence and literature.[43] The latter course was offered on the condition that at least six participants committed to attend the course on a

38 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 372: 'Ik zou mij misschien in myne nieuwe loopbaan wel kunnen schikken; maar *Luik* en eene Hollandsche *vrouw*: hoc opus, hic labor'.

39 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 416.

40 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 372-373: 'in de wysgeerige taalkunde'.

41 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 373.

42 For the detailed *series lectionum,* see Rutten, 1962, pp.104-106, in particular the elaborate footnote 12.

43 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 383-388. The same courses were given by Kinker in the first half of 1819 (see his remark in the letter).

Amsterdam University Press

regular basis, a number that was even exceeded. Happily, Kinker mentions that it seemed likely that he would be able to give philosophy lessons in Dutch the following year. In passing, he admits the effort it costs him to teach in French: as part of the preparation, he has to write his lectures out in full.[44]

During his stay in Liège, Kinker regularly wrote to the politicians A.R. Falck, Minister of Education, and Justice Minister C.F. van Maanen (1769-1849) to keep them informed about the situation in the southern Netherlands and about such issues as the fluctuating number of students, the topics of his lectures and the opposition that he encountered.[45] From 1820 to 1823 he complained regularly about the anti-Dutch attitude in Liège. This opposition was aimed at the Dutch language and at King Willem's policy and ideas, which Kinker both defended and symbolised as holder of the chair in Dutch language and literature.[46] At the request of King Willem I, Kinker also gave advice on methods of second language learning and teaching, which were important issues for education in the non-Dutch speaking areas of Wallonia and Luxembourg. In his *Verslag aangaande de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot* ('Report on Mr Jacotot's Method', 1826), he evaluated Jacotot's universal method of memorising foreign language texts, carefully considering its advantages and disadvantages in daily practice.[47] A few years later, in 1829, Kinker was again consulted on educational matters, on this occasion on educational policy and the issue of whether the government should maintain its educational monopoly or allow private schools and colleges to be established.[48]

In the meantime, Kinker came to realise that his achievements in Liège might fall short of expectations. He argued repeatedly that the elementary tasks for which he was responsible could better be carried out by someone else.[49] Kinker nevertheless assured his friend notary Jan Fabius (1776-1850) that he was doing all he could to defend the national honour, although this was quite a burden.[50] However, we do not find only complaints; there are

44 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 386-387.

45 See Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 406 for the letter dated 2 September 1820 to Falck. Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 408-409 for the letter dated 12 November 1820. Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 444-447 for the letter dated 1 July 1922. For the numbers of students, see Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 424, the letter to his friend, notary Fabius.

46 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 184-185,187.

47 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 235-238, 241-243.

48 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 109-110.

49 See Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 438, 424, 428 for his letters to Falck and Fabius.

50 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 402-403.

Amsterdam University Press

also more optimistic messages in his correspondence. In a letter to Falck, dated 1 July 1822, Kinker mentions the start of a successful course on Dutch synonyms and etymology in Dutch attended by more than thirty students.[51] His evening lessons also attracted an increasing number of students. This *privatissimum* or tutorial, which Kinker started in 1820, developed into a kind of literary society that came to be known as Tandem.[52] It was Tandem that gave Kinker the opportunity to teach and coach his best and most motivated students. The maximum number of members allowed was ten and after graduation participants became honorary members.[53] During a weekly meeting at Kinker's home, selected advanced students had to give a speech of at least ten minutes in Dutch on a chosen literary, philosophical, linguistic, political, or other topic, which would be followed by a discussion. Speaking French was prohibited.[54] Every member had to prepare a speech on which another member, who had received the text a week earlier, was required to comment. Finally, Kinker added his own comments and returned the corrected texts a week later. If the student corrector had overlooked mistakes, he had to pay a fine. The end-of-year dinner, organised by a master of ceremonies, was paid for with these fines and additional funds from Kinker himself.[55] The Tandem meetings were highly nationalistic occasions. Based on the triad of sovereign, fatherland, and Dutch language, attention was paid to the political present and past of the Netherlands and to such political topics as slavery and Willem I's education law.[56] French, Latin, and German authors were translated and Dutch authors such as Bilderdijk, Vondel (1587-1679), Helmers (1767-1813), Feith, Tollens (1780-1856), van der Palm (1763-1840), and Kinker were read.[57] Tandem was also the birthplace of a manual for a history of Dutch literature: J.F.X. Würth's *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise* (1823).[58] As Tandem's minutes have been partly preserved (for the period May 1823 to July 1826), we are familiar with the proceedings of about one hundred meetings.[59]

51 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 444.

52 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 444-445. The name *Tandem* originated from the Latin phrase *Tandem fit surculus arbor* 'One day the cutting becomes a tree' (Janssen & Steyaert 2008, p.190).

53 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 190-195.

54 Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 34-35.

55 Rutten, 1962, pp. 121-122.

56 Hanou & Vis, 1993, p. 23; Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 192.

57 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 35. For van der Palm, see Krol, this volume.

58 See Steyaert, 2012, pp. 160-164 for a critical review of Würth's *Cours* which was interpreted as anti-Catholic in its selection of texts.

59 See Steyaert, 2012. For a detailed view of the Tandem practice, see Rutten, 1962, pp. 118-130.

Amsterdam University Press

Hanou & Vis conclude that Kinker's teaching during the decade from 1820 to 1830 comprised mainly language acquisition and stylistics.[60] In more detail, they mention the addition of the course on the etymology of Dutch (1821-1822).[61] Altogether, from 1823 Kinker taught three courses: Dutch literature combined with language acquisition and stylistics, etymology, and Dutch grammar.[62] In their view, this meant that Kinker's preferred topics, general theory of literature and art and general linguistics, disappeared from his lecture schedule and Dutch literature was combined with grammar and stylistics as supporting disciplines. In daily practice, however, these supporting disciplines predominated, and Dutch language acquisition became the main substance of his teaching. In these circumstances, Kinker needed assistance for his elementary courses, which were compulsory for candidates in the arts and for future lawyers.[63] He discussed this issue repeatedly in his correspondence and suggested that his most gifted pupil Jean François Xavier Würth should replace him part-time if he himself were to acquire a part-time job at the court of justice.[64] This exchange of duties did not materialise and Kinker continued to teach his full range of courses. Close scrutiny of Kinker's lecture notes reveals the precise content of his lectures and courses.

6 A View of Kinker's Daily Lecture Practice

It does not appear to have been Kinker's practice to carefully keep lecture notebooks with details of dates and audiences, at least that is not the impression we glean from the notes that have survived in the collections of the Leiden University Library and the Royal Library The Hague. Rather we have to reconstruct the function and context of his lectures from a mishmash of densely written papers. Only rarely is additional information available, such as the notes taken by student Jean-François Tielemans during the

60 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 34. After the course on Dutch literature, eloquence and the theory of poetry in the first year (1817-1818), two new courses were added in the second year: general linguistics and Dutch linguistics (partly applied to literary texts). However, the former course disappeared in 1820 and Dutch grammar was exchanged for language acquisition.

61 Hanou & Vis, 1993, p. 19.

62 See also Rutten, 1962, p. 106

63 Hanou & Vis, 1993, pp. 19-20.

64 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 34. In later letters to Falck, Kinker attempts to promote Würth, asking whether he may promise him the position of lecturer or professor by special appointment in Dutch language and literature at the University of Liège (Hanou & Vis, 1992, pp. 406-407, 446).

Amsterdam University Press

pronunciation part of Kinker's introduction to Dutch grammar.[65] To give an example of the problems of reconstructing the context of the lecture notes, I focus on what has been catalogued as *J. Kinker, Dictaten over taalkunde in het algemeen, in het Nederlandsch en Fransch, gegeven te Luik* (J. Kinker, Lecture notes on general linguistics, in Dutch and French, presented in Liège; UB Leiden LTK 3). On the second page Kinker mentions 'an honourable invitation by our president' to read a part of his introduction to general linguistics. On the following pages Kinker sometimes translates specific Dutch examples into French. He also elaborates on Dutch synonyms, for instance on page 16 verso where he discusses the difference between *onderwyzen, onderrigten,* and *leeren* and also mentions French *enseigner, instruire,* and *apprendre.* From these French translations and examples I conclude that these notes were used in Liège, but that Kinker evidently also re-used earlier notes taken, for instance, from his presentations at KNI meetings (see section 3). It is in general difficult to determine to which academic years and which audiences Kinker is referring in his notes. In LTK 17, a collection of French notes, for example, he states that his lectures will be given partly in French and partly in Dutch and that he will use Weiland's grammar *just as he did the previous year* (LTK 17, 6 recto).[66] The latter remark shows that the notes do not reflect his first course, but it remains unclear in which year the course was given.

Kinker's detailed lecture schedule is presented in various collections of notes. According to LTK 3, 18 recto, on Tuesday and Wednesday he would continue to explain Weiland's grammar in French, on Thursday he would continue with Montesquieu's Essay on Roman politics regarding religion (which work was translated from French into Dutch) and on Friday (just as he did the previous year) he would read the *proeven van Nederduitsche Dichtkunde uit de zeventiende eeuw, met eene voorrede uitgegeven door Matthys Siegenbeek* ('Examples of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Poetry, with an Introduction by Matthijs Siegenbeek').[67] After having translated Montesquieu's Essay, each Thursday he would discuss a publication of contemporary Dutch literature. A similar schedule can be found in LTK 29, 194 *Dictaten over Nederlandsche taal en woordvoeging* ('Notes on Dutch Language and Syntax') and in LTK 17, 16 recto *Lessen over Nederlandsche*

65 Janssens, 2012.

66 LTK 17 *Lessen over Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde en welsprekendheid* (Lessons on Dutch language and literature and eloquence) consists of 309 pages which seem to be arranged in a different order from the original.

67 Elsewhere he stresses the importance of Siegenbeek's Preface (see KW 73 F15, 65 recto).

Amsterdam University Press

taal- en letterkunde en welsprekendheid ('Lessons on Dutch Linguistics, Literature, and Eloquence').

Kinker's opinion of the importance and function of grammar is made clear in various lecture notes. He stresses that it is not possible to acquire good style without knowledge of the grammatical rules (KW 73 F15, 64 verso, 65 recto). Discussing his course on eloquence and Dutch literature, Kinker confirms the important role of grammar and characterise languages as instruments 'de la pensée et du sentiment' which resemble each other by the same mechanism (LTK 17, 1 recto, 1 verso). That mechanism, he explicitly states, is the object of the 'grammaire générale' (LTK 17, 5 recto). Kinker furthermore divides Dutch grammar into the familiar parts, i.e. pronunciation, orthography, etymology in the sense of morphology[68] and parts of speech. In his notes concerning the parts of speech, he frequently refers to sections in Weiland's grammar. For the benefit of his students, however, he also uses publications in French as is apparent from his intention to give an overview of the grammar rules according to Weiland, translated by G. van Lennep in his *Grammaire hollandaise*, already mentioned in section 5 (LTK 29, 68). From the subsequent pages I conclude that Kinker mainly discussed syntax, as he wrote to van Lennep (see section 5). Another French publication to which Kinker referred during his lectures on synonyms (see LTK 3, 17 verso) is the *Dictionnaire Universel des Synonymes de la Langue Francaise* (1816).[69]

The contents of Kinker's notes are not spectacular: they comprise grammar according to Weiland and Kinker's own comments on linguistics, literature, and eloquence, which can be understood clearly against the background of his publications. Occasionally, a number of notes reveal Kinker's opinion on particular issues such as loans. In LTK 4, 116-120, he deals with words of foreign origin such as *kleur, krant, prediker* which have become fully integrated in the Dutch language and have adapted to Dutch pronunciation and orthography (116 recto). He adds, however, that one should never use foreign terminology for philosophy in Dutch (119 recto). Also in LTK 29, 225 – 230, a touch of the familiar phenomenon of purism is found, in particular in the section entitled 'Betoog van den Rykdom en voortreffelykheid der Nederduitsche taal, en eene opgave der middelen, om de toenemende verbastering van dezelve tegen te gaan' ('A Demonstration

68 In this part Kinker discusses, for instance, morphological patterns such as that in *prikken – prikkelen*.

69 According to the subtitle, the dictionary comprised synonyms of famous authors among which Beauzée, D'Alembert and Diderot.

Amsterdam University Press

of the Richness and Excellence of the Dutch Language, and the Means to Fight its Increasing Corruption'), which title refers to Siegenbeek's essay, published in 1810.[70] Kinker also argues that the Dutch language has an elaborate *woordgronding* ('etymology' or 'morphology'): every original Dutch word has at least one syllable that expresses the root meaning.[71] Dealing with 'gelijkvloeiende en ongelijkvloeiende werkwoorden', that is regular, weak verbs, and irregular, strong verbs with vowel alternation, Kinker argues that all strong verbs are stem verbs, referring to authoritative linguists such as Ten Kate (1674-1731) and Bilderdijk.[72] We should note that in his *Aenleiding,* Ten Kate (1723), in particular, considered the strong verbs as core elements of the language.[73] Furthermore, Kinker stresses that the Dutch language is remarkably regular and analogous (KW 73 F 15, 47 recto) and that even children are already aware of the principle of analogy. This is apparent from their mistakes such as 'een koopmannin' ('a tradess/female trader') and 'ik heb gevind, ik heb gekoopt. Ik spinde' ('I have finded, I have buyed, I spinned (wool)'; KW 73 F 15, 50 recto).

In a series of notes Kinker presents the analysis of a sentence or a grammatical proposition, which in his view consists of at least three elements: *de dader, de daad*, and *het voorwerp, waarop de daad toegepast wordt* ('the agent, the action, and the object of the action'). The relationship between the action and the object of the action is either direct, i.e. without a preposition, or indirect, i.e. with a preposition, as in *die schutter/ mikt op/ het doel* ('the shooter/ aims at/ the target') (LTK 4, 60 and following). The tripartition resembles Kinker's *language mechanism* discussed in section 3, to which he appears to refer repeatedly, for instance, when discussing syntax (LTK 29, 19) and revealing 'the mystery of language and of general linguistics' (LTK 6, 16). For the topic of '*Woordgronding',* he presents his own remarks, aiming at teaching the most frequent and appropriate words and their usage. A glimpse of Kinker's educational methods is to be found in his

70 Matthijs Siegenbeek, *Antwoord op het voorstel der Bataafsche Maatschappij van taal- en dichtkunde, vorderende een betoog van den rijkdom en de voortreffelijkheid der Nederduitsche taal, en eene opgave der middelen om de toenemende verbastering van dezelve tegen te gaan*, (Amsterdam: Allart, 1810).

71 LTK 6, 53: 'Ieder echt hollandsch woord heeft ten minste één lettergreep, die de wortelbeteekenis uitspreekt'.

72 See his comment on ten Kate 'qui après une étude profonde du Liber argenteus de notre compatriote Junius nous a fait connaître le premier, cette vaste étymologie de notre langue, et qui m'a donné donné (sic) la première idée d'en composer un système complet de racines belges dont je donnerai l'esquisse dans le cours que je me propose d'ouvrir à cet effet' (LTK 17, 29 recto).

73 In KW 73 F15, 64 verso, 65 recto, Kinker also refers to ten Kate for the character and genius of language.

Amsterdam University Press

notes with deliberately inserted spelling and grammar mistakes and loans such as Germanisms and Gallicisms (LTK 6, 1-4). Students were apparently required to identify the errors.

Above, at the end of section 5, when discussing the level and contents of Kinker's teaching on the basis of the information in his letters, we concluded that language acquisition inevitably predominated. Scrutinising his lecture notes, I am able to establish that indeed his teaching practice was mainly elementary. Two simple publications used in his teaching provide additional proof of this: *De Nederlandsche Zeeloods Frans Naerebaut, een Schoolboek door Lastdrager* and *Aanteekeningen gehouden gedurende mynen Marsch naar, in en uit Rusland door Wagevier*, which Kinker characterises as 'simple publications written in a more or less common manner'.[74] It is noteworthy that Lastdrager's book was also used in secondary education, that is in the 'cours inférieur' of the Collège Royal in Liège.[75] For the lessons on grammar, Kinker explicitly mentions that he sometimes uses Wagevier, not to read or to translate, but in order to apply the grammatical rules (LTK 3, 18 recto) or to practise pronunciation (LTK 17, 16 recto).

7 Conclusions: Nation Building or Nationalism in Language and Literature?

The opportunity to adopt a position on the various issues of standardization, the literary canon, and rhetoric or eloquence largely depends on the audiences that a professor has to address. In Kinker's case, teaching in a francophone region, he had to overcome the opposition against the idea of one nation with one Dutch language, as Janssen & Steyaert stress.[76] He had to concentrate on language acquisition and needed French as a tool

74 KW 73 F15, 65 recto: 'makkelyke werkjes in eene meer of min gemeenzame wyze geschreven'. The bibliographical details are: A[braham] J[ohannes] Lastdrager, *De Nederlandsche zeeloods Frans Naerebout. Een schoolboek.* Amsterdam: Hendrik van Munster en Zoon [1820], 78 pp. or Amsterdam: J. van der Hey, 1820 and C.J.Wagevier, *Aanteekeningen gehouden gedurende mijnen marsch naar, gevangenschap in, en terugreize uit Rusland, in den jaren 1812, 1813 en 1814.* Amsterdam: J. van der Hey, 1820. Both books are listed in the catalogue of Kinker's library (Catalogus 1846, p.143). According to the description, these copies comprised elaborate linguistic notes made by Kinker. Neither Wagevier's copy in the Leiden University Library (UBL 2338 G33) nor the copy of Lastdrager in the TU Delft Library (1902 032) can be identified as having been annotated by Kinker. I would like to thank Ester Šorm for consulting Lastdrager's copy in the TU Delft Library.

75 See Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 161-163.

76 Janssen & Steyaert, 2008, p. 330.

Amsterdam University Press

for communication and clarification. Apart from a single remark on loans (see section 6), he therefore does not discuss regional and social linguistic variation or linguistic change and seems to avoid giving his opinion on other languages. He does make use of the official codified Dutch grammar, Weiland's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst* (1805), which is presented as the authority in grammar. In rhetoric or eloquence, Cicero is a general model, just as he was for all professors at northern and southern universities. Discussing sentences and different means of expressing the same content, Kinker mentions exemplary authors such as Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647), Geeraardt Brandt (1626-1683), Martinus Stuart, J.H. van der Palm, and Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773), and above all Simon Stijl (1731-1804) who as a second Hooft again presented the strong language and style of our ancestors.[77] The study of patriotic authors was an important element in the creation of a shared United Kingdom culture. Information on Kinker's literary preferences can be inferred both from occasional remarks and from the Dutch library that he started in 1819 in Liège. Apart from publications by the Bataafsche maatschappij van taal- en dichtkunde and the Hollandsche maatschappij van fraaije kunsten en wetenschappen, books were bought that were written by the main Golden Age authors Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft and Joost van den Vondel, by his eighteenth-century contemporaries Balthasar Huydecoper (1695-1778), Arnold Hoogvliet (1687-1763), Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831), Lucretia Wilhelmina van Merken (1721-1789), J.H. van der Palm, Jan Wagenaar, Jan Frederik Helmers, Cornelis Loots (1765-1834), Willem Bilderdijk, and Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854). Linguistic publications by Lambert ten Kate, Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807), David van Hoogstraten (1658-1724), and Petrus Weiland (1754-1842) are also part of the library.[78] In this respect Kinker does not differ from the contemporary literary and linguistic national canon, nor did he write an anthology or literary handbook to present his own preferences, as his pupil Würth did.[79]

Comparing Kinker's major publications on general language theory and on prosody with his teaching practice in Liège, the only conclusion to be drawn is that he was unable to fully share his scholarly expertise with his audience of students. This inability has been considered by Hanou & Vis as the tragedy of his professorship.[80] He may, however, have found

77 KW 73 F15, 57 recto: 'de gespierde taal en styl onzer voorouderen'.

78 Rutten, 1962, p. 111-112, footnote 20. For van Wijn, see van Kalmthout, this volume. For Siegenbeek, see Rutten, this volume. For Kluit, see van Driel & van der Sijs, this volume. For Weiland, see Noordegraaf, this volume.

79 See Würth, 1823.

80 Hanou & Vis, 1992, p. 36.

Amsterdam University Press

some compensation in sharing his poetic works and preferences with his advanced students in the Tandem society. At the Tandem meetings nationalism reigned, with the focus being on Dutch language, literature, and history, and on the Dutch nation and sovereign.

References

Catalogus, *Catalogus van drie hoogst belangrijke en zeer fraaye boekverzamelingen* (....) Alles nagelaten door wijlen de wel edele heeren Mr. Johannes Kinker, Mr. Johannes Willem Willekens...en Arend Horstman (Amsterdam: Radink & Muller, 1846).

A.J. Hanou, *Sluiers van Isis: Johannes Kinker als voorvechter van de Verlichting, in de vrijmetselarij en andere Nederlandse genootschappen, 1790-1845*, 2 vols. (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1988).

A.J. Hanou & G.J. Vis, *Johannes Kinker (1764-1845). Briefwisseling*, vol. 1: 1792-1822 (Amsterdam etc.: Rodopi, 1992).

A.J. Hanou & G.J. Vis, *Johannes Kinker (1764-1845). Briefwisseling*, vol. 2: 1823-1828 (Amsterdam etc.: Rodopi, 1993).

A.J. Hanou & G.J. Vis, *Johannes Kinker (1764-1845). Briefwisseling*, vol. 3: 1828-1843 (Amsterdam etc.: Rodopi, 1994).

R. Harris & T.J. Taylor, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought. The Western Tradition from Socrates to Saussure* (London etc.: Routledge, 1989).

G. Janssens, 'De uitspraakcolleges van Johannes Kinker aan de universiteit te Luik: Een eerste verkenning', in *Taal, cultuurbeleid en natievorming onder Willem I*, ed. by R. Vosters & J. Weijermars (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 2012), pp. 171-190.

G. Janssens & K. Steyaert (with the cooperation of Bernard Pierret), *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies en Luxemburg onder koning Willem I (1814-1830). Niets meer dan een boon in een brouwketel?* (Brussels: VUB Press, 2008).

G. Janssens (with the cooperation of K. Steyaert), *Tweehonderd jaar neerlandistiek aan de Université de Liège: Een geschiedenis van de oudste extramurale leerstoel Nederlands* (Leuven etc.: Acco, 2014).

L. Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

P.N. Juliard, *Philosophies of Language in Eighteenth-Century France* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970).

L. ten Kate, *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche Sprake*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rudolph & Gerard Wetstein, 1723; reprint ed. by Jan Noordegraaf and Marijke van der Wal, Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto/Repro Holland, 2001).

Amsterdam University Press

J. Kinker, 'Proeve eener opheldering' van de Critiek der zuivere rede', *Magazyn voor de critische wijsgeerte en de geschiedenis van dezelve*, *II* (1799), 43-238.

J. Kinker, *Essai d'une exposition succincte de la Critique de la Raison pure; traduit du Hollandais par J. le Fèvre* (Amsterdam: Changuion & den Hengst, 1801).

J. Kinker, *Inleiding eener wijsgeerige algemeene theorie der talen*, in *Gedenkschriften, in de hedendaagsche talen, van de derde klasse van het Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten,* vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1817).

J. Kinker, *Proeve eener Hollandsche prosodia, oordeelkundig gegrond op, en door het gehoor getoetst aan de uitspraak onzer taal, door het beschaafde gedeelte onzer natie, en toegepast op het rythmus en metrum der ouden, in zoo verre beiden in onze Hollandsche dichtkunde zouden kunnen worden ingevoerd* (Amsterdam: Allart, n.d.; 1808/1810).

J. Kinker, *Beoordeeling van Mr. W. Bilderdijks Nederlandsche spraakleer* (Amsterdam: van der Heij, 1829).

J. Maat, 'General or Universal Grammar from Plato to Chomsky', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, ed. by Keith Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 397-417.

M. Rutten, 'Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik: Johannes Kinker', *Tijdschrift voor levende talen – Revue des langues vivantes, 28* (1962), 99-133.

H. Schultink, 'Johannes Kinker (1764-1845) als praktiserend morfoloog', in *Leven met woorden. Opstellen aangeboden aan Piet van Sterkenburg bij zijn afscheid als directeur van het Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie en als hoogleraar Lexicologie aan de Universiteit Leiden,* ed. by F. Moerdijk, A. van Santen & R. Tempelaars (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 435-444.

M. Siegenbeek, *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling* (Amsterdam: Allart, 1804).

K. Steyaert, 'Het "mysterie" Tandem: Kinkers studentengenootschap te Luik', in *Taal, cultuurbeleid en natievorming onder Willem I*, ed. by R. Vosters & J. Weijermars (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 2012), pp. 153-168.

G.J. Vis, *Johannes Kinker en zijn literaire theorie* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1967).

C.G.N. de Vooys, 'Kinker als taalkundige naast en tegenover Bilderdijk', in *Verzamelde Taalkundige Opstellen* III (Groningen: Wolters, 1947), pp. 63-76.

M.J. van der Wal, *De taaltheorie van Johannes Kinker* (Leiden: Publikaties van de Vakgroep Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1977).

M.J. van der Wal, 'The Kantian Mentalism of Johannes Kinker (1764-1845)', *Topoi, 4* (1985), 151-153.

M.J. van der Wal, 'Recensie van *Johannes Kinker* (*1764-1845*). *Briefwisseling* (deel I: 1792-1822), eds. A.J. Hanou & G.J. Vis, Rodopi Amsterdam – Atlanta 1992', *Forum der Letteren, 34* (1993), 151-154.

Amsterdam University Press

P. Weiland, *Nederduitsche spraakkunst* (Amsterdam: Allart, 1805).
R.M. Wielema, 'Die erste niederländische Kant-Rezeption 1786-1850', *Kant-Studien, 79* (1988), 450-466.
J.F.X. Würth, *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise* (Liège: Collardin, 1823).

Manuscripts consulted

University Library Leiden (UBL):
UBL, LTK 3. J. Kinker, Dictaten over taalkunde in het algemeen, in het Nederlandsch en Fransch, gegeven te Luik.
UBL, LTK 4. J. Kinker, Opstellen en aanteekeningen over vergelijkende taalkunde.
UBL, LTK 6. J. Kinker, Taalkundige aanteekeningen. Vergelijking van de Nederlandsche met andere Indo-Germaansche talen.
UBL, LTK 17. J. Kinker, Lessen over Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde en welsprekendheid.
UBL, LTK 29. J. Kinker, Dictaten over Nederlandsche taal en woordvoeging.
UBL, LTK 31. J. Kinker, Over verschillende soorten van werkwoorden.
UBL, LTK 409. J. Kinker, Over ongelijkvloeiende werkwoorden.
UBL, LTK 572. J. Kinker, Woorden en spreekwoorden in de taal van Luik.

Royal Libray The Hague (KB):
KB Den Haag, KW 73 F11-12
KB Den Haag, KW 73 F15

About the Author

Marijke van der Wal (1949) is Professor in the History of Dutch (chair Merweborgh Foundation) at Leiden University. Her publications cover the fields of both historical linguistics and the historiography of linguistics. Her current research focusses on egodocuments and the language history from below. She directed the 'Letters as Loot. Towards a non-standard view on the history of Dutch' research programme, which explored the extraordinary source of Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century private letters, kept in the National Archives (Kew, UK). She is editor, together with Terttu Nevalainen (Helsinki), of the *Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics* book series (John Benjamins Publishing Company).

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

5 Caught Between Propaganda and Science

Ulrich Gerhard Lauts, the Forgotten Father of Dutch Philology in Brussels

Wim Vandenbussche

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH05

Abstract
Ulrich Lauts (1787-1865) qualified as one of the forgotten fathers of Dutch philology in the Low Countries. As the very first professor of Dutch language and literature at the Brussels Museum for Sciences and Letters, he wrote a series of linguistic reference works on Dutch in the 1820s, including grammars and dictionaries. In addition, he developed various lecture series on the history of Dutch literature. Despite his scholarly training and sound expertise, however, Lauts's works is permeated with overt nationalist and political undertones. Like many of his contemporary philologists, his linguistic and literary studies were explicitly intended to support the nation building enterprise of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Using both primary sources and hitherto unexplored archive materials, this contribution shows how Lauts embodied the token nationalist philologer of his time.

Keywords: U.G. Lauts, Brussels, Dutch philology, nation building

1 Introduction

When the Dutch King Willem I installed the advanced study of Dutch grammar and literature in the Southern Low Countries, Ulrich Gerhard Lauts was singled out to man the first chair of Dutch philology in Brussels ever. In less than a decade, Lauts compiled a series of authoritative handbooks

Amsterdam University Press

and dictionaries for language teaching purposes, developed one of the very first courses on Dutch literature, and secured himself a privileged position of silent advisor in the entourage of the highest state officials. With his combination of socio-political agency, scholarly excellence, and academic bravado, Lauts embodied the token nationalist philologer of his time. Standing by himself at the very cradle of the discipline in Brussels, moreover, his work and persona qualify for standard references in the annals of linguistic historiography.

And yet, Lauts soon became one of the many 'unknown celebrities'[1] in the early history of Dutch philology – acknowledged but sadly underresearched. Compared to the scattered but important body of work on the philological protagonists of his day in the university towns of Leuven, Ghent, and Liège, Lauts's personality, work, and output are largely clad in shadows. While many of his publications are readily available in printed and electronic form[2], no comprehensive study of his work has been written to date.[3] This chapter should therefor be read as a first attempt to compile the available information on the link between Lauts's philological work and the overall cultural nationalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the Low Countries. The focus will be on his activities during his stay in Brussels in the 1820s. In addition, I will try to illustrate how Lauts's linguistic practice in four of his early works from this period resonated with the enterprise of constructing a new Dutch identity.

2 Biographical Information[4]

Lauts was born in Amsterdam on the 19th of May 1787 as the son of a shopkeeper. His father's death in 1811 and the subsequent closing of the

1 Van Kalmthout et al., 2016.

2 Google Books offers free scanned versions of Lauts's four major linguistic works: *Elémens de la langue hollandaise* (1826 (2nd reprinted) edition), *Woordenboek van nederlandsche gelijkluidende en klankverwante woorden* (1826), *Woordenboek voor de spelling der nederlandsche taal* (1827), and *Voorlezingen over de Nederlandsche letterkunde* (1829).

3 Most notable among the scarce contributions on Lauts are Lousberg & Janssens, 2005, and Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, discussing Lauts's pedagogy and language-political activism in Brussels during the 1820s. Van der Horst, 2011, provides a detailed linguistic analysis of Lauts's normative views on word order in Dutch. Lauts's role in Dutch language education in Brussels has further been given due attention in overview works on the language-political history of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (most notably Blauwkuip, 1920; De Jonghe, 1967).

4 The main facts on Lauts's life and work are well documented through entries in various biographical overview works (cf. Blok & Molhuysen, 1930; ter Laan, 1952; van den Branden &

Amsterdam University Press

business urged him to go abroad; he is reported to have travelled through Germany, England, and Denmark. Although little is known about Lauts's exact whereabouts, this period is said to have been formative for his interest in both commerce and economy, as well as history and philology. He settled in Brussels after the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was founded; his appointment as a teacher of Dutch grammar and literature at the Brussels Athenaeum (secondary school) followed in 1822. He is listed as the founder of the Brussels branch of the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen in 1825 ('Society for Public Welfare')[5] and as a member of various cultural organisations including the literary circle Concordia.[6] In 1827 a royal decree bestowed the chair of Dutch literature at the newly founded Museum voor Wetenschappen en Letteren ('Museum for Sciences and Literature') upon Lauts, where he would teach a course on national literature in Dutch (see below). After the Belgian Revolution in 1830 he moved on to a language teaching post at the Royal Marine Institute in Medemblik (Netherlands) which he held until his pension in 1840. After moving back and forth between the Dutch towns of Kampen (1840, 1848) and Leiden (1843), he settled in Utrecht (1863) where he would die on the 25th of July 1865.

His early written production (before 1830) consisted of philological work, including two dictionaries, a grammar of Dutch for speakers of French, a sequel to a Dutch reading primer and a lecture series on Dutch literature. Virtually all later publications deal with politics, geography, diplomacy, and the Dutch colonial enterprise, comprising books and articles on the life of the Dutch King Willem III but also on Japan, Bali, Java, California, Anglo-Dutch colonial diplomacy, educational legislation, Dutch settlers in South Africa, and the politics and geography of the Dutch Indies. His necrology mentions that his contemporaries were underwhelmed by his work, due to alleged verbosity, incompleteness, and lack of precision.

Frederiks, 1888-1891, van der Aa, 1878). The extensive obituary in the 1867 instalment of the yearbook of the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Bergman, 1867) is the key reference, however, for most of the secondary literature referring to Lauts. Lauts joined the Maatschappij in 1826; he resigned in 1851 (Bergman, 1867, p. 141). This early resignation was unusual, given the fact that membership is granted for life. This paragraph is heavily indebted to (and paraphrases or literally translates much of) the information in these biographical sketches.

5 The Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen was founded in 1784 as a philantropical organisation favouring public education for all (and especially the lower) layers of society (Mijnhardt & Wichers, 1984).

6 On the 3rd of August 1823, a letter to Minister of Justice van Maanen reports: 'The society Concordia has supported today a previously agreed proposal from Mr. Lauts to establish a branch of the Nut van 't Algemeen in Brussels. As a consequence a sufficient number of financial supporters were immediately reached'. Colenbrander, 1905-1922, Volume 9, Part 2, Gs 37, p. 243.

Amsterdam University Press

Much of Lauts's later political engagement focused on the Boer- and Voortrekker-movements in South Africa,[7] which he fervently defended and which also figured in his scholarly work. Studies on the political relationship between the Netherlands and South Africa[8] contain frequent references to Lauts's active involvement in this 'colonial diplomacy': he became a diplomatic agent and consul of the new republic of South Africa (from 1852 onwards) and the Orange-Free State (1854).

3 Lauts in Brussels

When Lauts settled in Brussels, the language-political situation in the Southern Low Countries had fundamentally changed compared to the preceding two and a half centuries.[9] Ever since 1585 the Northern and Southern Low Countries had been divided: whereas the northern provinces (corresponding more or less to the present-day Netherlands) were united in the independent Republic of the United Provinces, the southern provinces (corresponding roughly to present-day Belgium and Luxembourg) fell under Spanish (1585-1714), Austrian (1714-1794), and French (1794-1815) rule. In 1815 North and South were 'reunited' by the Congress of Vienna in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, led by King Willem I. The king's wish to pursue a *réunion intime et complete* ('an intimate and total reunion') between both territories inspired a number of policy choices intended to support the construction of a common identity. The full 'redutchification' of the legal, administrative, and educational domains was a core element in this strategy. The 'enlightened' monarch further favoured the establishment of institutions for higher education, including initiatives specifically aimed at the popularisation of science for a broad public. Ulrich Gerhard Lauts played a key role in both endeavours.

The French rulers of the Southern Low Countries saw little room for Dutch in the educational domain after their take-over in 1794: primary schools were allowed to use Dutch next to French, but all secondary schools were to be exclusively French-speaking. Although the actual impact and implementation of these measures may not have been as

7 This concerns the inland migration from the Cape area in the 1830s by Afrikaner farmers ('Boers') which was a significant factor in the colonisation of Southern Africa (De Klerk, 2009).

8 Sicking, 1995, e.g.

9 For an extensive analysis in English of the external language history of Dutch, cf. Willemyns, 2013. The standard reference work on the history of Dutch in the Southern Low Countries is Willemyns & Daniëls, 2003.

Amsterdam University Press

severe as oft believed,[10] King Willem's redutchification policy of primary and secondary education did face the serious challenge of recruiting a sufficient number of competent language teachers in Dutch. Janssens & Steyaert show how Lauts functioned as one of those agents of redutchification in the Brussels athenaeum from 1822 onwards.[11] Their detailed discussion (based on De Jonghe, 1967) reveals the herculean difficulties that compromised the gradual reintroduction of Dutch in this secondary school.

Internal opposition from the French-favouring school principal and school board hampered the progress significantly. A substantial part of the teaching staff was (allegedly) unable to master Dutch sufficiently to dutchify their courses on general subjects (i.e. other than the specific Dutch language courses). Lauts further reports of the continuous struggle to teach Dutch to pupils that had already been Frenchified to a large extent. Battling the 'prejudices' (also among parents) against the Dutch language required the support of an assistant teacher and the diversification of language teaching between early and late learners of Dutch.[12] The actual accomplishment of the full redutchification by 1829 was not helped by Lauts's pedagogical qualities, it appears. De Jonghe mentions his lack of authority in the classroom as well as his repeated absence due to health problems.[13] While an evaluation from 1823 was still positive about Lauts's 'good pedagogy, especially for advanced pupils',[14] later inspection reports were highly critical of his teaching practices and characterise Lauts as grumpy, bad-tempered, and unable to teach in an understandable way. Commercial and ideological disputes with his principal further troubled his position at the athenaeum.[15]

The archive references listed by De Jonghe convincingly show that Lauts was more than a passive civil servant following instructions from higher authorities.[16] Next to his correspondence with minister of education Anton Reinhard Falck, Lauts wrote a report in August 1823 on the situation in his school and in higher education in general for the minister of justice Felix van Maanen, which was forwarded to King Willem himself in October

10 De Groof, 2004.

11 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 174-180.

12 Ibidem, pp. 176-177.

13 De Jonghe, 1967, p. 200, also quoted and commented upon in Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 179.

14 Quoted in Blauwkuip, 1920, p. 210.

15 De Jonghe, 1967, pp. 201-202.

16 Ibidem, p. 339.

Amsterdam University Press

that year. In that report Lauts explicitly informed against the francophone dominance in the athenaeum's boarding school:

> The boarding school's internal service [...] is completely governed by Walloons. The new principal Bayard, the almoner Berth, the vice-principal Decamp, the study masters and all lower-ranked employees are Walloons [...] It is suggested that [Bayard] [...] has fired the Flemish employees. As much is certain that he interferes with teaching (which is not within his competence), that he will never devote himself to the study of Dutch and that, under his supervision, the dutchification of the boarding school will always be obstructed.[17]

4 *Elémens de la langue hollandaise* (1821)

Next to his roles as teacher and governmental informant/advisor, Lauts marked his place during the short reunion of the Low Countries as a writer of philological reference works on the Dutch language for the use in secondary schools. His 1821 *Elémens de la langue hollandaise* was a grammar of Dutch written in French and dedicated to minister of education Falck, specifically intended to be used in the upper three years of secondary schools in the Walloon provinces.[18] The second and revised version appeared in 1825 (reprinted in 1826),[19] the third version was in the works for 1830 but never materialised due to the Belgian revolution.[20] Lauts used the book in his classes at the Brussels athenaeum.[21]

Janssens and Steyaert provide an extensive analysis of the 'Essay on the history of the language and the national literature of the Netherlands' which precedes the actual grammar and which is the most relevant for the purposes and focus of the present volume.[22] Rather than repeating their close reading of this text, I will summarise their main conclusions. The introduction is permeated by a nationalist undertone, through phrases like

17 Paraphrased in De Jonghe, 1967, p. 339, footnote N284; my translation. All translations in this article are mine.

18 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 179.

19 In the introduction to his 1826 dictionary, Lauts explains that he omitted a number of things in the second edition of the *Elémens* that bore 'less relation to grammar proper' in favour of more room for spelling and pronunciation matters (Lauts, 1826b, p. vi).

20 Bergman, 1867.

21 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 179.

22 Ibidem, pp. 291-297.

Amsterdam University Press

'the history of all these centuries shows that a free people never abandons its national language for another'.[23] Dutch is also foregrounded as a mature language of old: while the history of Dutch is dealt with in the shortest of terms (barely 5 pages), the first instances of Middle Dutch are characterised as 'pure, harmonious, and fully evolved'[24] and also as superior to German which only started evolving seriously during the eighteenth century and can boast documents from no earlier than the sixteenth century onwards. The projection of an idealised and perfect language is continued in Lauts's précis of Dutch literary history: mediaeval documents are said to be characterised by a 'harmonious style and an inimitable naiveté', whereas sixteenth and seventeenth century literary Dutch 'acquired a high degree of perfection that assigned Dutch for evermore a place amongst the most polished languages of Europe'.[25]

Janssens and Steyaert characterise this introduction as 'vague, confused, incoherent, full of irrelevant information and even pure nonsense', and attribute this to the lack of reference works in the domain of Dutch literary history at the time of writing.[26] Their main thesis, however, is that this introduction should not be read as a solid piece of academic work but as a language propaganda pamphlet defending and promoting his mother tongue, instead, in times of French dominance and overall contempt for Dutch in Brussels. In support of this view (and in addition to the many quotes already provided in their article), one might also refer to the fact that Lauts explicitly quotes Jean Paul F. Richter's characterisation of the Dutch as 'the biggest purists of Europe';[27] the phonology of Dutch is also repeatedly described as softer than the harsh sound system of German. As such, Lauts's introduction to the *Elémens* prefigures – both in terms of contents and activism – his far more elaborate lectures on Dutch literature from 1829 which will be discussed in detail below.

The 467-page grammar itself is, of course, far less of language-political interest (and was, accordingly, hardly ever analysed in detail, apart from van der Horst, 2011). Yet, it is a comprehensive, detailed, and skilfully composed

23 Lauts, 1825, p. xii: 'L'histoire de tous les siècles démontre qu'un peuple libre n'abandonne jamais sa langue nationale pour en choisir une autre'.

24 Ibidem, p. xiv: 'La langue employée dans ces écrits est pure, harmonieuse et entièrement formée'.

25 Ibidem, pp. xxii-xxiii: 'Un style harmonieux et d'une naïveté vraiment inimitable caractérise leurs écrits [...] le haut degré de perfection que la langue acquit, lui assigna dès lors une place parmi les langues les plus polies de l'Europe'.

26 Janssens and Steyaert, 2008, p. 293.

27 Lauts, 1826a, p. xxi.

Amsterdam University Press

piece of linguistic work that can easily compete with other traditional grammars of Dutch from the same era. Lauts should, in other words, not merely be seen as a nationalist propaganda figure who put his field of enquiry to language political use. The *Elémens* serves as convincing proof of his professional skill as a grammarian and language pedagogue. The work follows and prescribes the same Northern Dutch norms as the famous reference works by Siegenbeek and Weiland, which was normal practice at the time, also in the work of Southern grammarians after 1823.[28] There is no reference to typically Southern grammatical features like using the accusative form of the masculine definite article *den* in nominative position. The *-ke* diminutive suffix, still often used in the southern provinces at the time, is said to be 'often used in older times but now hardly used at all, apart from poetry'.[29] Lauts does acknowledge that the double negation is still in use in Flanders and Brabant, but adds that the feature has been abandoned from the seventeenth century onwards by good authors.[30] As orthography goes, all norms follow the Northern tradition and none of the southern shibboleth forms appear.[31]

The only 'hidden' ideological bias may appear in the paragraph on loan words and foreign graphemes. When mentioning 'several foreign words that have gained currency in the language', Lauts adds that 'the Dutch language can create, by means of its roots, all words the human intelligence may need'.[32] The very same idea is echoed in the passage on compound verbs: 'The Dutch language possesses, like any mother-language, the advantage of being able to form within its bosom and with its proper materials, all words that the progress of the human spirit may make necessary'.[33] The paragraph on foreign verbs (and derived forms) used in Dutch and requiring an accented

28 Vosters, Belsack, Puttaert & Vandenbussche, 2014.

29 Lauts, 1826a, p. 96: 'Jadis on employait beaucoup les diminutifs ke, ken, kijn, sien, lijn; mais ils ne sont plus guère en usage, excepté en poésie'.

30 Lauts, 1826a, p. 422: 'Anciennement on employait partout deux mots pour former la négation, savoir: *en … niet*, comme aujourd'hui encore en Flandre et dans le Brabant, aussi les plaçait-on de la même manière qu'en français. Dès le 17^{e} siècle cependant cette double négation a fait place à la simple négation *niet*, généralement usitée par tous les bons auteurs'.

31 Lauts prescribes no accented spelling for so-called sharp-long or soft-long /e:/ and /o:/, long /a:/ is spelled <aa> and not <ae>, /ey/ and /œy/ are spelled <ei> and <ui>, not <ey> or <uy>. For a full overview of Southern shibboleth features, cf. Vosters, 2011, pp. 174-177.

32 Lauts, 1826a, p. 82: 'Quoique la langue Hollandaise, puisse créer, au moyen de ces racines tous let mots dont l'intelligence humaine peut avoir besoin, cependant il y a plusieurs mots étrangers qui ont acquis droit de bourgeoisie'.

33 Ibidem, p. 263: 'La langue hollandaise possède comme toute mère-langue, l'avantage de pouvoir former dans son sein et avec ses propres matériaux, tous les mots que le procès de l'esprit humaine peuvent rendre nécessaires'.

Amsterdam University Press

spelling to assure a correct pronunciation (like *gravéren* 'to engrave' from French *graver* and *fatsoenéren* 'to make decent' from French *façonner*) ends with the clear advice: 'One must avoid the use of both these verbs and their derivations. It is also best to avoid *hantéren, regéren, boetséren*, [...]'.[34]

5 1826 and 1827 Dictionaries

In 1826 Lauts published the 75-page *Woordenboek van Nederlandsche gelijkluidende en klankverwante woorden* ('Dictionary of homophonic and sound-related words'), which was used as a handbook in his Brussels athenaeum, but also in schools in Namur and Boullion.[35] The publication reportedly resulted from a need felt in his everyday educational practice, where 'many youngsters, who had been deprived of the Dutch language during their first education, not only learned to appreciate the difference between various related sounds, but also to distinguish them by ear; even of sounds so closely related that distinguishing them required a very trained ear in certain areas of the Northern part of the Kingdom'.[36] Lauts points out that this was the first dictionary of homonyms to his knowledge, apart from one French work. While firmly rooted in the practice of teaching Dutch to francophone Belgians (and, as such, instrumental in the governmental education policy), this dictionary contains none of the language political agency found in the *Elémens*. The only element that may hint at criticism of his earlier work is this striking sentence: 'At this occasion it also be foremost said that all insincere resentment and pretentious pedantry will remain unnoticed and unanswered by me; because, in my opinion, modesty is inseparable from civilisation, while both testify to a good education'.[37]

The next year a second dictionary saw the light, the 214 page long *Woordenboek voor de spelling der Nederlandsche taal* (1827) ('Dictionary

34 Ibidem, p. 84: 'Mais il faut éviter l'emploi tant de ces verbes que de leur dérivés. Il est bon d'éviter également hantéren, exercer, manier; regéren, régner; boetséren, faire des ouvrages en relief'.

35 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, pp. 174, 268.

36 Lauts, 1826b, p. vi: 'menige jongeling, wiens eerste opvoeding hem aan de nederlandsche taal had vreemd doen blijven, het onderscheid van de verschillende verwante klanken leerde gevoelen niet alleen, maar ook op het gehoor onderscheiden, en in de uitspraak toepassen; zelfs van zoodanige verwante klanken, welke in sommige gedeelten van het noorden des rijks, een zeer geoefend gehoor vereischen, om wel te worden onderscheiden'.

37 Ibidem, p. vii: 'Bij deze gelegenheid zij tevens eens vooral gezegd dat [...] alle onheusche vitterij en met verwaandheid uitgesprokene betweterij door mij steeds ongeacht en onbeantwoord zal blijven; om dat, volgens mijn oordeel, bescheidenheid onafscheidelijk is van beschaafdheid, terwijl beiden van een goede opvoeding getuigen'.

Amsterdam University Press

for the spelling of the Dutch language').[38] The work was dedicated to Siegenbeek and the preface reads as a humble and servile glorification of Lauts's philological colleague and example. It is made very clear that the Siegenbeek norm for spelling is the only possible guideline in the Low Countries, which prefigures the explicit rejection on the following pages of all Southern attempts to secure some space for Flemish and Brabantic features in the official orthography (see below). It is interesting that Lauts explicitly does not attribute Siegenbeek's success at advancing the uniformity of spelling to the official character of his word list (which was 'published in the name and upon the demand of the state government of the Northern provinces') but rather to his (alleged) impartial and thorough linguistic approach that received popular support from literary societies and fellow linguists. In the actual introduction to the dictionary Lauts even frames the popularity of the Siegenbeek spelling as a consequence of regained national independence (after the French occupation of the Low Countries) and renewed national existence. This 'inflamed each true Dutchman with honourable patriotic love' and 'the urge to acquire and practice Dutch resulted in the wish for a uniform spelling, shared by all ranks of society'.[39] The attack on the Flemish particularists[40] follows seamlessly: 'Anyone who is not attached to the Flemish orthography devotes himself with the greatest precision to the application of the uniformity of spelling, following the principles developed in the treatise by Mr Siegenbeek' (id.).[41]

After repeatedly explaining that the present work seeks to remedy the limited mastery of (and higher reliance on) dictionaries in the Southern provinces, Lauts lists a catalogue of features that should not be included

38 Several book catalogues from the 1830s list this work with *Nederduytsche* instead of *Nederlandsche* in the title; Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, also use the former title. The copy we used has *Nederlandsche taal*.

39 Lauts, 1827, p. vii: 'Onze herkregen onafhankelijkheid en het vernieuwd volksbestaan van heel Nederland doorgloeide iederen waren Nederlander met een edele vaderlandsliefde [...] De zucht, tot aankweking en beoefening der nederlandsche taal, moest daardoor bij allen een nieuwe vlugt erlangen, en het gevolg was dat de wens tot behartiging van eenparigheid in de spelling, langs hoe levendiger werd, en tot alle standen doordrong'.

40 Particularists advocated 'a standard language development on the basis of the local varieties, i.e. domestic standardisation' and opposed the integrationists who insisted 'that the northern model should be followed and that the Flemings ought to take over as much as possible the standard language norm as it already existed in the North' (Willemyns, 1993).

41 Lauts, 1827, p. vii: 'Een ieder die niet aan de vlaamsche spelling bij uitsluiting verkleefd is, beijvert zich thans om stiptelijk, ja met de meeste nauwkeurigheid, de eenparigheid van spelling in acht te nemen, overeenkomstig de gronden in de opgemelde verhandeling van den Heer SIEGENBEEK ontwikkeld'.

Amsterdam University Press

in dictionaries.[42] He claims that these do not appear anymore in common teaching practice and 'will not be used by anyone' since there is a generally accepted consensus on different spelling norms. Lauts specifies that it concerns the spelling of long /a:/ and /y:/ in closed syllables which should always be written as <aa> and <uu> and never as <ae> and <ue>. 'Nobody', according to Lauts, writes diphtongs /ey/ and /œy/ as <eij> or <uij> instead of <ei> and <ui>. In the case of the sharp-short vowel /æ/, finally, an accented spelling is not tolerated in normal writing usage. Each of these features is part of the shibboleth set of Southern spelling variants that carried great symbolical value for the so-called particularist movement: 'There seems to be a solid group of spelling features of which all authors seem to agree that they represent a sharp North-South opposition. These are the spelling of /a:/ and /y:/ in closed syllables, the spelling of /ɛi/ from a West-Germanic monophthong in non-loanwords, the second grapheme in the spelling of the old diphthongs /ɛi/ and /oey/ […]'.[43] All listed variants were still used on a daily basis in the Southern provinces. As such, Lauts manifestly linked the nationalist enterprise of creating a common writing culture to the rejection of Southern particularist tendencies, with a fierceness that was not present in both previous works.

One further detail should be mentioned: while thanking Siegenbeek for his assistance with (and critical comments on) the *Elémens*, Lauts surprisingly writes that another manuscript for a *Woordenboek voor de geslachten* ('Dictionary on the genders') had been finished for over a year and would soon see the light.[44] The work was never published, however, and was not referred to in any of the secondary sources used for this article.[45]

6 Teaching at the Museum van Wetenschappen en Letteren

The Museum van Wetenschappen en Letteren opened in 1827 in Brussels. It served as a public educational institution, free of charge, offering courses in a variety of scholarly domains until 1834. Both its creation and location in

42 Lauts, 1827, pp. ix-xi.

43 Vosters, 2011, pp. 174-177: 'Er lijkt dus een stevige groep spellingkenmerken te ontstaan waarover alle auteurs het eens lijken te zijn dat ze in een scherpe Noord-Zuidoppositie staan. Dat zijn met name de spelling van /a:/ en /y:/ in gesloten syllabe, de spelling van /ɛi/ uit een Wgm. monoftong bij niet-leenwoorden, het tweede grafeem in de spelling van de oude diftongen /ɛi/ en /oey/'.

44 Lauts, 1827, p. ii.

45 The manuscript is now located in the Lauts archive in the Leiden University Library; it contains numerous hand-written annotations by Siegenbeek (shelfmark BPL 2245/12&13).

Amsterdam University Press

Brussels is usually interpreted as a compensation for the fact that Brussels was not assigned one of the new state universities in 1816 (which were located in Ghent, Leuven, and Liège instead). After its closing, it would actually provide one of the important foundations for the new Université Libre de Bruxelles in 1834, both in terms of professorial staff and resources. While scholarly contributions on the Museum are few and far between[46], a number of recurring facts in the scattered and fragmentary references to the institution provide sufficient information to assess Lauts's role in the enterprise.

The Museum was instrumental to King Willem's view on the role of public education. Vanpaemel points at the close collaboration between one of the Museum's founders, Alphonse Quetelet and the minister of education, Falck.[47] The latter (to whom Lauts dedicated his *Elémens*) was 'convinced of the use of decent education as an instrument to further the "national feeling" that had to perpetuate the union between the Northern and Southern Low Countries'.[48] 10 courses were to be offered and the professors were selected and appointed by the national administrator for education; there is no doubt, accordingly, that the full teaching staff had the support of the regime (and vice versa). Lauts was singled out as professor of national literature and was the only one to teach in Dutch; his address at the official opening ceremony in 1827 was the only Dutch contribution as well. While the language of instruction may explain the limited success of Lauts's classes (compared to the other courses[49]), Janssens and Steyaert quote an article by Masoin from 1902 stating that Lauts could not impose himself on his audience, either by talent or character; the growing opposition to the King would also have extended to those who served him too willingly.[50]

Lauts gave twelve lectures in all at the Museum, the first three of which were published in one volume in 1829. 'The remaining nine', according to Bergman, 'remain in his literary legacy, and would probable not be unworthy of publication'.[51]

46 Vanpaemel, 1997, is the only detailed article on the Museum to my knowledge; this paragraph is heavily indebted to that source. He mentions one previous study on the topic from… 1882.

47 Vanpaemel, 1997, p. 7.

48 Original text: 'overtuigd van het nut van degelijk onderwijs als een instrument ter bevordering van het 'nationaal gevoel' dat de unie tussen de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden moest bestendigen'.

49 Vanpaemel, 1997, p. 12.

50 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 289.

51 Bergman, 1867, p. 143. The Lauts archive in Leiden (shelfmark BPL 2245/7a&7b) contains the manuscripts of all lectures held in 1827, 1828, and 1829, including many unpublished ones, be it in various degrees of preparation. Next to fully finalised 'clean' texts, some lectures consist of draft versions and scattered notes. Further analyses of these sources are in the works.

Amsterdam University Press

7 *Voorlezingen over de Nederlandsche letterkunde* (1829)

Lauts introduces his 'lectures on Dutch literature, from the earliest times until the present day, with a simultaneous look on the High German, French, and English literature' with a short note on the history of the 'Museum for sciences and literature'. The emancipatory and positivist nature of the educational project is stressed in the most emphatic terms and echoes the image of its 'enlightened' royal founder from the very opening lines onwards: 'an institution destined to feed the more civilised ranks of society with science and knowledge of literature, suited for both genders, open to everyone, be it local or foreigner, and all of this without any condition or obligation, whatsoever'.[52] When quoting from his speech during the inauguration of the Museum in 1827, Lauts recalls how he mentioned 'the glory that pertained to the Netherlands, from which the civilisation was repeatedly spread over other countries, to dispel darkness abroad and kindle a new light'.[53] In the heat of swollen rhetoric, Charles the Great is even portrayed as 'the founder of the literary existence of the Dutch language'.[54] Lauts further praises the 'oft-denounced' but 'outstanding' Dutch literature in the best romantic tradition, blames both foreign pretention and local ignorance, and assures his public that the glowing love for his country and his heartfelt Dutch identity will urge him to spread brotherly love amongst all Dutchmen. The integrationist view is then once again underscored with an elaborate quote from a poem by M.C. van Hall, in which the following stanza stand out: 'May the King live! His peoples flourish!/ United be North and South/ Like oaks, jointly growing from the own root/ Like streams, flowing intertwined/ Like snares from the same lute'.[55]

The first lecture (from 1827?) foregrounds *vaderlandsliefde* ('love for the fatherland') as the prime motivation for the study of (and interest in) Dutch

52 Lauts, 1829, 'Voorrede', p. 5: 'Eene inrichting bestemd om de meer beschaafde standen der maatschappij met wetenschap en letterkennis te voeden, geschikt voor een ieder, het zij ingezeten of vreemdeling, en zulks zonder de minste voorwaarden of verplichtingen, van welken aard ook'. – After the 'Voorrede' ('Introduction') on pages 5 to 21, the page numbering of the actual lectures starts again from 1. Quotes from the introduction are therefore referred to as 'Lauts, 1829, 'Voorrede' whereas 'Lauts, 1829' is used for excerpts from the actual lectures.

53 Lauts, 1829, 'Voorrede', p. 15: '(D)en roem die Nederland toekwam, als hebbende zich van uit ons vaderland, de beschaving meermalen over andere landen verspreid, om elders de duisternis te verdrijven en een nieuw licht te ontsteken'.

54 Ibidem.

55 Ibidem, 'Voorrede', p. 19: 'De koning leev'! zijn volken bloeijen!/ Vereenigd zij het Noord en Zuid,/ Als eiken, die te zaam, uit d'eigen wortel groeijen;/ Als stroomen, die, gemengeld, vloeijen;/ Als snaren van dezelfde luit!'

Amsterdam University Press

literature and literary history.[56] Lauts consistently addresses his public in Brussels as *Nederlanders* ('Dutchmen') and explicitly mentions that even 'those who are more familiar with French or any other language through birth, education, or any other reason' feel the need to acquire a better mastery of Dutch which is 'the property of the larger part of Dutchmen by far'.[57] What follows is a vintage romantic nationalist definition of language as the carrier of a people's true nature and soul: it distinguishes the Dutch from other people, functions as a barrier against foreign manners and taste, preserves the national spirit, and works as an identifying force for 'children' and 'brothers' of the 'same family'.[58]

Lauts starts off with a short prehistory of Dutch (reminiscent of the introduction to the *Elémens*) and distinguishes between an upper and lower Germanic language (the latter roughly corresponding to North and West-Germanic), characterised as 'hard' versus 'soft'. The latter (including the antecedents of Dutch) is presented as preferable, with a (at the time not unusual) mixture of folk linguistic nonsense[59] and solid scholarly references.[60] While Lauts admits that there are no traces of Dutch literature before the 13th century[61], he does list a few earlier landmarks of Salic, Frisian, Low German and Nether/Lower Franconian origin, and explicitly mentions the *Nibelungenlied*, albeit German, as still pertaining to the Dutch language because of the important role played by a 'hero of the Netherlands' in the work.

56 Ibidem, p. 9.

57 Ibidem, p. 10.

58 Ibidem, p. 11.

59 Lauts quotes madame De Staël's view (from *De l'Allemagne,* 1813 – Lauts misquotes the title as *Sur l'Allemagne*) that differences in pronunciation can be attributed to varying qualities of soil and climate: mountainous areas cause speakers to use a 'stronger tone' to be understood by the people below, whereas the nearness of the sea results in a sweeter, weaker, and 'flowing' pronunciation. For a further contextualisation of this climatological theory in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thought, cf. Leerssen, 1999, pp. 36-38, 107.

60 Lauts refers to Leibniz and Klopstock. Throughout this publication Lauts proves to be well versed in both historical and contemporary philology. Key references include established scholars like Barthold Hendrik Lulofs and Annaeus Ypey (who both wrote a history of the Dutch language and were professors in Groningen under King Willem I, cf. Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 310 ff.), but also Johan Kinderling, Johan Schilter, Friedrich Schlegel, and many others. He further uses Lambert ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* and Hendrik van Wijn's *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* as background references in matters pertaining to Dutch literary history. For Lulofs and van Wijn, see the chapters by Petiet and van Kalmthout.

61 Lauts marks the onset of a written Dutch tradition with Hendrik I's *Keure van Brussel* from 1229, and refers to Jan Frans Willems's edition.

Amsterdam University Press

When next commenting upon the *beauty of the Dutch language*, Lauts states that Dutch stands out on the levels of 'euphony, richness, and excellence'.[62] The Dutch tendency towards 'soft' and 'melting' sounds is contrasted with the harsh 'raw gurgle tones' dominating High German[63], while arguments for the alleged richness are found in the word stock, the amount of synonyms and the morphology of Dutch. Excellence is framed in terms of purity and originality, and apparently reinforced through the wide territory covered by the ancestors of Dutch. Lauts also brings in the so-called natural tendency of Dutch towards euphony in syntax and its opportunities for nominalisation. These claims are larded with extensive quotations from famous authors such as Hooft and Vondel.

This glorification of Dutch is by no means exceptional, neither in the specific political context of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, nor in the broader tradition of metalinguistic literature on Dutch through time. Hagen illustrates the continuous flow of literary praise for Dutch ever since the sixteenth century – the genre extends to many other languages as well.[64] Many scholarly colleagues and contemporaries of Lauts engaged in similar treatises, including Matthijs Siegenbeek and Johannes Kinker.

Weijermars specifically discusses the incessant production of brochures and books on the excellence of Dutch (compared to French) in the Southern provinces of Willem's Kingdom and points at their crucial role in the nation-formation enterprise, however.[65] In this context Steyaert's appraisal of early philology at the Université de Liège can easily be extended to the rest of the Southern Low Countries: 'It can be argued that the academic study of Dutch in Liège during the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands conformed itself entirely to the king's politics of unification'.[66]

As such, Lauts most definitely leant his scholarly activities – as one of many – once again to the overarching process of creating (or inventing) a common linguistic (and broader cultural) identity bridging North and South.

62 Lauts, 1829, p. 23 ff.: 'Welluidendheid, rijkdom, voortreffelijkheid'.

63 Lauts refers to Siegenbeek's treatises on the orthography of Dutch (*Verhandeling over de spelling der Nederduitsche taal ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve, uitgegeven in naam en op last van het Staatsbewind der Bataafsche Republiek*) and on the influence of harmony on spelling (*Verhandeling over den invloed der welluidendheid en gemakkelijkheid van uitspraak op de spelling der Nederduitsche taal*) from 1804 (Lauts mentions 1805). See Rutten's chapter on Siegenbeek.

64 Hagen, 1999.

65 Weijermars, 2012, p. 139.

66 Steyaert, 2015, p. 213.

Amsterdam University Press

While Lauts's second lecture is not as permeated by nationalist discourse as the preceding pages, the author remains equally adamant when it comes to convincing the public that Dutch ranks among the first languages of Europe. Where all praise, so far, hinged upon the 'euphony, richness and excellence' of Dutch, Lauts now proceeds to an overview of Dutch literary history from the thirteenth century onwards. The landscape of the neighbouring German, French, and English literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth century is depicted as barren ground: 'Our countrymen needed only to deliver the slightest, to reach the same heights as the most developed of their closest neighbours'.[67] In that alleged literary wasteland, Lauts singles out a number of Dutch authors who stand apart for the 'purity' of their language. This quality is repeatedly defined as the (near) absence of loanwords. The 'unspoilt' character of Dutch and the superiority of its early literature is the complemented by the claims that Dutch was already relatively uniform across the language territory at the time. The alleged clarity of thirteenth century Dutch and its (questionable) present-day intelligibility is presented as convincing evidence of a long standing Dutch language practice that must have predated the Middle Ages for centuries. The wish to portray Dutch as a unified language (and hence, possibly, also as a very early national symbol) tempts Lauts (despite his solid philological training) to the (obviously false) claim that thirteenth century writings of Brabantic, Limburgian, or Hollandic nature were hard to distinguish from one another.[68]

The image of literary superiority is continued in Lauts's discussion of fourteenth century Dutch poetry and prose, where the Flemish and Brabantic literary societies (the so-called *rederijkerskamers*) are said to be older than (and hence, 'trump') their (far more famous) French counterparts. The apogee of literary triumph is reached in the fifteenth century with the invention of printing by Laurens Janszoon Coster, from… Holland. Lauts explicitly denounces claims of a common and simultaneous invention in Germany. Other transnational literary phenomena are equally re-annexed as Dutch in origin: the roots of fifteenth century theatre in the Low Countries were not French church performances, but autochthonous (and older) Dutch 'chamber plays' instead. Even when admitting that the origins of the popular Reynaert stories might not be Dutch, Lauts still stresses that their

67 Lauts, 1829, p. 51: 'Onze landgenoten behoeven slechts weinig te leveren, om op dezelfde hoogte te staan, als de verstgevorderden dier naburen, met welke wij ons in de meest onmiddellijke aanraking bevinden'.

68 Ibidem, p. 58.

Amsterdam University Press

European fame is due to two editions that were made by… Dutchmen. If the Dutch language was prone to include loan words at the time, much of the blame was to be bestowed on the Burgundian rulers who had an unfavourable influence on the 'pureness' of the language and who brought the French language and French manners to the Netherlands.

Once again, Lauts's messianistic drive to glorify Dutch is less surprising than could be imagined. Weijermars points out that there was a continuous flow of literary anthologies and histories of literature at the time, both by professors at the new universities and by other philologists and teachers.[69] She literally states that Lauts's link between national literature and civilisation was also found in the works of Schrant, the professor of Dutch at the university of Ghent who published two anthologies in 1827 that served exactly the same goals as Lauts's lectures.[70] He, too, tried to prove the richness of Dutch from the first literary sources onwards, an approach that was 'exemplary for the literary work of Dutch teachers in the South. Any self-respecting teacher published an anthology in which he testifies to the history of Dutch literature'.[71] Rock points out that this emancipatory change occurred very soon after the establishment of Dutch philology, both in the Northern and Southern Provinces: 'Young scholars […] emphasised the importance of their study for the nation-state being built, after the collapse of the Dutch Republic in 1795 and the unification of the former seven sovereign provinces into the kingdom of the Netherlands newly established in 1813'.[72] Raising the status of Dutch compared to French and other languages was the common goal that united these scholars and Lauts simply did as his contemporaries and colleagues did.

In his third lecture Lauts focuses on the sixteenth century, presented as an era of discovery and literary expansion (due to the invention of printing in the preceding century), but also as a time of a heroic clash between the 'old' and the 'new' from 1550 onwards. This implicit introductory reference to the ideological (and geopolitical) opposition between Protestants and Catholics prefigures a speech in which the benign effects of the Reformation dominate and determine each and every appraisal of literary quality. Lauts's literary exposé is nothing more than a guise for a highly biased account of sixteenth century history, consistently interpreted in favour of the Northern

69 Weijermars, 2012, p. 118.

70 Ibidem, p. 182. Tollet, 2008, provides a concise overview of Schrant's role in the development of Dutch philology at the University of Ghent.

71 Weijermars, 2012, p. 182.

72 Rock, 2015, pp. 150-151.

Amsterdam University Press

and Protestant view. The separation of the Low Countries after 1585 and the ensuing separate evolution of the Dutch language in North and South, is referred to as follows: 'Some [peoples of Europe] completely neglected the practice of the mother tongue, and in the Netherlands especially there existed from then onwards, during approximately two centuries, as two different nations, who did not care about each other's existence and progress or retreat, namely Netherlanders and Latins, the latter comprising almost all scholars in our home country'.[73] As the quality of Dutch literature goes, the first half of the sixteenth century is evaluated as moderate at best. Lauts lists a catalogue of noteworthy authors but mentions 'loan words and stiff clumsiness of meter' as the 'main faults of the century'.[74]

The glory years of Dutch were realised in the Northern Low countries after 1550, however, and are contrasted with the situation in Germany and France.[75] Luther is presented as the man who saved German from oblivion and as the only noteworthy author of literary value in German throughout the sixteenth century. The literary landscape in France is also portrayed as relatively poor. England stands out because of a number of literary greats, including Shakespeare, but is not discussed in the same detail. In the Northern Provinces, however, the regained independence prepares the country for the 'high step of glory' of seventeenth century Dutch literature in which the 'fatherland reaches the same glitter in literature as in matters of

73 Lauts, 1829, p. 85: 'Bij sommige werd de beoefening der moedertaal nu genoegzaam geheel verwaarloosd, en in Nederland inzonderheid bestonden van toen af, gedurende ongeveer twee eeuwen, als twee verschillende natiën, die zich aan elkanders bestaan en voortgang of teruggang geheel niet bekreunden, namelijk Nederlanders en Latijnen, onder welken laatsten bijna alle geleerden in ons vaderland behoorden'.

74 Lauts, 1829, p. 92: 'Bastaardwoorden en stroeve onbeholpenheid van maat, de hoofdgebreken van zijne eeuw'.

75 Lauts did make attempts to collect literary sources written in the South after 1550. The University Archive in Ghent contains a letter of his to Jan Frans Willems, dated 7th December 1829, in which Lauts asks for copies of theatre texts: 'I am busy with research on the history of theatre in the Netherlands and I have nothing from the second part of the 16th century. It is more than likely that the Antwerp theatre competition from 1561 could be supplied to me through your kindness. If other plays from 1540 onwards until the end of the century could be supplied to me, I would be much obliged to your honour'.
Original text: 'Met een onderzoek over de geschiedenis van het tooneel in Nederland ben ik bezig, en ik heb volstrekt niets uit de tweede helft der 16e E. Het is meer dan waarschijnlijk dat het Antwerpsche Landjuweel van 1561 mij door uwe vriendelijkheid kan verstrekt worden. Kunnen mij buiten dien andere Spelen van Sinne sedert 1540 tot aan het einde der eeuw bezorgd worden, dan zult UwEd: mij bijzonder verplichten'. Retrieved from http://adore.ugent.be/OpenURL/app?id=archive.ugent.be:E1FF379A-D66B-11E5-B958-9BB6D43445F2&type=carousel (last accessed 23rd May 2016).

Amsterdam University Press

politics, economy, commerce, and navigation'.[76] The victory of the Northern provinces is said to have had an effect on the gender of words, on the renewal of the lexicon and on the overall tone of Dutch:

> The written language lost much of its soft and sometimes perhaps dragging weakness [...] Serious events required serious language from the writers; and power, vigour, and pithy expressions replaced soft, dragging tones and melting finishes.[77]

These void characterisations of linguistic and literary qualities are the backbone for the remaining pages of the lecture, in which Lauts praises a selection of literary heroes who allegedly paved the way for the golden age of seventeenth-century literature. Virtually all of these authors were close allies of King Willem of Orange; the discussion of their influence is dominated by their political activities and the ideological contents of their publications. The author Coornhert is deemed worthy of two pages of praise, be it only for his political support of Willem of Orange. When his literary value is finally brought to the fore, extensive quotes from his poetry are given to support the conclusion that his style displays 'pureness of language, vigour of expression, clarity of tone, which, combined with friendliness, inspires the reader to conviction'.[78]

The same pattern applies to the discussion of Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, Willem's personal advisor. Marnix is repeatedly applauded for the pureness of his language but his literary masterpiece – a parody of the Catholic Church – should be remembered because 'in the moral and religious spheres this satire has contributed as much to the health and the stimulation of the human spirit, as the electrical fluid often to the purification of air impregnated with unhealthy substances'.[79] The extensive praise for the

76 Lauts, 1829, p. 93: 'den hoogen trap van luister, dien onze letterkunde in de 17e eeuw bereikt, en waardoor die eeuw voor ons vaderland in het letterkundige even schitterend zich vertoont, als in staat- en krijgskunde, in handel en zeevaart'.

77 Ibidem, p. 93: 'de schrijftaal, veel doen verliezen van die zachte, misschien hier en daar slepende weekheid, welke haar tot daartoe kenmerkte. Ernstige gebeurtenissen vorderden ernstige taal van de schrijvers; en kracht, gespierdheid en kernachtige uitdrukkingen vervingen zachte, slepende tonen en smeltende afrondingen'.

78 Ibidem, p. 99: 'Zuiverheid van taal, gespierdheid van uitdrukking, helderheid en bevattelijkheid van voordracht, die, met hartelijkheid vereenigd, bij den lezer overtuiging doen geboren worden'.

79 Ibidem, p. 104: 'In het zedelijke en godsdienstige heeft dit hekelschrift even zeer tot de gezondheid en opschorting van den menschelijken geest bijgedragen, als de elektrieke vloeistof vaak tot zuivering van een met ongezonde deelen bezwangerde lucht'.

Amsterdam University Press

national anthem supposedly written by Marnix is underscored by the quotation in full with all stanzas, and once more reinforces the overall doctrine behind Lauts's words.

The last literary hotshot to be praised for his 'sweet-flowingness, combined with force and intelligence' is Spiegel.[80] While his style is rough, his language hard to understand and the sentence structure defying what is proper Dutch, Lauts still highlights the 'richness of his ideas, the power of his diction and the honourable feelings he expresses'.[81]

Whereas the first two lectures were still balanced between philological insights and language political endeavours, the third blatantly gives in to the lure of nationalist propaganda. The symbolical victory of Protestantism over Catholicism, the adoration of the 'fatherland's father' (as Willem of Orange tends to be called) and his closest allies, the focus on texts of great nationalist importance like the anthem; each of these aspects leads to the conclusion that all sixteenth century glory was to be found in the North. The glow of this apogee of national history is then extended to the present day ruler and the newly reunited Kingdom. As argued before, this practice qualifies Lauts as a typical philologist of his generation, conforming to a blended 'grand narrative' of literary and national history, which was the rule rather than the exception in the Southern Low Countries at the time.

8 Desiderata for Further Research

As indicated above, this is but a modest first contribution to a full appraisal of Lauts's role and position in the study of the construction of a Dutch national identity. While some of the secondary sources used quote excerpts from the (apparently widely scattered) correspondence between Lauts and his contemporaries, much is to be expected from a close analysis of Lauts's personal archives, bequeathed to the University of Leiden archive.[82]

Two specific projects from his time in Brussels appeal to curiosity, because of their potentially instrumental function in the overall dutchification policy of King Willem's reign. The first concerns Lauts's attempts

80 Ibidem, p. 107: 'zoetvloeijendheid, gepaard met kracht en zinrijkheid'.

81 Ibidem, pp. 109-110.

82 The 'Archief Ulrich Gerard Lauts' (shelfmark BPL2245) contains 3 running meters of sources, including scholarly notes and texts of treatises concerning Dutch studies, national history, and geography, mainly of the Dutch colonies. Further detail studies of these sources are being prepared.

Amsterdam University Press

to dutchify theatre life in Brussels,[83] the second the establishment of a Dutch newspaper in the same town. Both elements appear in correspondence between Falck and van Maanen from 1823, reproduced *in extenso* by Colenbrander.[84] Lauts had sent a report on both issues to the King in 1823, which was then forwarded to both ministers in May 1823.

As to the creation of a Dutch theatre company, Falck indicates to van Maanen that he is inclined to recommend this to the King, and suggests Lauts as one of the people suited to lead the company. He declares to be less well informed when it comes to judging the newspaper project. In the formal reply to the King, the theatre project is indeed presented in a favourable light. Lauts had apparently suggested to appoint actors from the Southern provinces only, which leads both ministers to state that 'the theatre company may not be as good as could be wished.' It would be cheaper than recruiting Northern actors, however, and it might stimulate the practice of language (i.e. Dutch) and art among other amateur companies in the South. When it comes to the questions of being able to attract a sufficient number of competent actors and calculating the necessary funds, Lauts's confident answers to these matters are presented as a solid guarantee. The king is urged that the project will greatly benefit from Lauts's appointment and the ministers propose to allocate the necessary funds. De Jonghe refers to extensive files on the topic in the National Archives of The Hague,[85] which may help to provide a fuller picture of Lauts's role and activity in the theatre sphere.

The launch of a Dutch newspaper in Brussels under governmental control was met with caution and criticism, however. Both ministers were not convinced of the potential reading public, referred to the difficulties of Dutch newspapers in other Southern provinces and feared the whole undertaking would be a waste of money. It is unclear what further happened to this specific project. Lauts did remain involved in the newspaper branch in Brussels, for certain, as can be gleaned from Witte who lists him as one of the Northern Dutch publicists who contributed to *La Gazette des Pays Bas*, a newspaper supported by (and spreading the views of) the government.[86]

A fuller understanding of Lauts's role in the press and the theatre during his time in Brussels may complement the picture of a government-loyal

83 Cf. van den Berg & Couttenier, 2009, p. 177.

84 Colenbrander, 1905-1922, Volume 8, Part 3, Gs 30, pp. 609-612. This paragraph paraphrases the information on those pages.

85 De Jonghe, 1967, p. 196.

86 Witte, 2014, p. 94. The Lauts archive in Leiden contains (as yet unexplored) folders on both the theatre and the newspaper projects.

Amsterdam University Press

teacher and philologist who played a fairly traditional language political role in the specific context of the frenchified Brussels elite life. A further step could then be to assess the lasting impact of Lauts's activism during his formative years in Brussels on his production and agency in later life. It is already clear from his bibliography and references in secondary sources that Lauts's cultural-nationalist turn extended to the Dutch colonial enterprise in Africa and Asia.

Each of these pathways for further research would, of course, greatly benefit from an interdisciplinary embedding, taking into account notions of 'ethnolinguistic' or 'cultural nationalism' and 'imagined communities'.[87] Given this large array of research desiderata, it is too early to provide a conclusive characterisation of Lauts's impact on the development of Dutch philology and the nation building drive during the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and beyond. Lauts most certainly fits, however, Leerssen's appraisal of early nineteenth-century philology:

> The political usefulness of philologists was, then, explicitly conceived of in national or even nationalist terms. 'Love of the Fatherland' had by now become a categorical human and moral virtue, while to serve in the interests of the 'fatherland' was considered both an unquestionably good thing and something for which philologists [...] felt themselves to be eminently equipped [...] From the reader's present perspective, such a subordination of academic scholarship to politics is deeply suspect, but for the scholars themselves, it was a pure and unproblematic question of public usefulness.[88]

References

J.T. Bergman, 'Levensberigt van Ulrich Gerard Lauts', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1867), 141-152.

F. Blauwkuip, *De taalbesluiten van Koning Willem I* (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1920).

P.J. Blok & P.C. Molhuysen. 'LAUTS (Ulrich Gerard of Gerhard)', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, volume 8. (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1930), pp. 1014-1016.

H.T. Colenbrander, *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot* 1840, 22 vols. ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1905-1922).

87 Van Ginderachter, 2008, e.g.

88 Leerssen, 2008, p. 30.

Amsterdam University Press

J. De Groof, *Nederlandse taalplanning in Vlaanderen in de lange negentiende eeuw (1795-1914): Een linguïstische analyse met speciale aandacht voor de wisselwerking tussen status- en corpusplanning* (Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2004). Unpublished PhD thesis.

A. De Jonghe, *De taalpolitiek van Willem I in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1814-1830)* (Sint-Andries-bij-Brugge: Darthet, 1967).

P. De Klerk, 'Was die Groot Trek werklik groot? 'n Historiografiese ondersoek na die gevolge en betekenis van die Groot Trek', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe,* 49 (2009), 658-673.

A.M. Hagen, *O Schone Moedertaal. Lofzangen op het Nederlands 1500-2000* (Amsterdam: Contact, 1999).

G. Janssens & K. Steyaert with B. Pierret, *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies en Luxemburg onder koning Willem I (1814-1830): Niets meer dan een boon in een brouwketel?* (Brussels: VUBPress, 2008).

U.G. Lauts, *Elémens de la langue hollandaise*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: De Vroom, 1825).

U.G. Lauts, *Elémens de la langue hollandaise*, reprinted 2nd ed. (Brussels: Luneman, 1826a).

U.G. Lauts, *Woordenboek van nederlandsche gelijkluidende en klankverwante woorden (Homonymes), met de beteekenis in het Fransch* (Brussels: Luneman, 1826b).

U.G. Lauts, *Woordenboek voor de spelling der nederlandsche taal, opgedragen aan den hoogleraar M. Siegenbeek* (Brussels: Brest Van Kempen, 1827).

U.G. Lauts, *Voorlezingen over de Nederlandsche letterkunde sedert de vroegste tijden tot op onze dagen, met een gelijktijdige blik op de hoogduitsche, franse en engelse letterkunde, gehouden in het Muzeum van Wetenschappen en Letteren te Brussel* (Brussels: Tencé, 1829).

J. Leerssen, *Nationaal denken in Europa* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).

J. Leerssen, 'Linguistic Geopolitics and the Problem of Cultural Nationalism', in *The Beloved Mother Tongue: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism in Small Nations: Inventories and Reflections,* ed. by P. Broomans, G. Jensma, H. Vandevoorde & M. Van Ginderachter (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), pp. 15-36.

R. Lousberg & G. Janssens, 'Taalverdediging en taalpropaganda in de Elémens de la langue hollandaise van U.G. Lauts, leraar aan het atheneum te Brussel', in *Woord voor woord, zin voor zin: Liber Amicorum voor Siegfried Theissen*, ed. by P. Hiligsmann, G. Janssens & J. Vromans (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde, 2005), pp. 207-218.

W.W. Mijnhardt & A.J. Wichers. (eds.), *Om het algemeen volksgeluk: Twee eeuwen particulier initiatief 1784-1984: Gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van het tweehonderdjarig bestaan van de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Edam: Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, 1984).

Amsterdam University Press

J. Rock, '"Remember Dousa!" Literary Historicism and Scholarly Traditions in Dutch Philology before 1860' in *The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands*, ed. by T. van Kalmthout & H. Zuidervaart (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 148-178.

I. Sicking, *In het belang van het kind: Nederlandse kinderemigratie naar Zuid-Afrika in de jaren 1856-1860* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

K. Steyaert, 'Trifles for 'Unflemings': Teaching Dutch Literary History in Nineteenth-Century Wallonia', in *The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands*, ed. by T. van Kalmthout & H. Zuidervaart (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 210-230.

K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (The Hague: Van Goor, 1952).

R. Tollet, *Uit liefde voor de taal : 100 jaar Nederlandse taalkunde aan de universiteit van Gent* (Ghent: Universiteit Ghent, 2008). Unpublished MA-thesis.

W. van den Berg & P. Couttenier, *Alles is taal geworden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1800-1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009).

F. van den Branden & J.G. Frederiks, 'Lauts (Ulrich Gerhard)', in *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: Veen, 1888-1891), 456.

A.J. van der Aa, 'Lauts (Ulrich Gerard)', in *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, Bijvoegsel* (Haarlem: Van Brederode, 1878), pp. 345-346.

J. van der Horst, 'U.G. Lauts en het eerste zinsdeel', in *Taal, cultuurbeleid en natievorming onder Willem I*, ed. by R. Vosters & J. Weijermars (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2011), pp. 191-199.

M. Van Ginderachter, 'How Useful is the Concept of Ethnolinguistic Nationalism?', in *The Beloved Mother Tongue: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism in Small Nations: Inventories and Reflections,* ed. by P. Broomans, G. Jensma, H. Vandevoorde, & M. Van Ginderachter (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), pp. 1-13.

T. van Kalmthout, P. Sigmond, & A. Truijens (eds.), *Al die onbekende beroemdheden: 250 jaar Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016).

G. Vanpaemel, 'Onderwijs voor "de meer beschaafde klasse": Het Museum voor Wetenschappen en Letteren te Brussel (1826-1834)', *Scientiarum Historia* 23 (1997), 3-19.

R. Vosters, *Taalgebruik, taalnormen en taalbeschouwing in Vlaanderen tijdens het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden: Een historisch-sociolinguïstische verkenning van vroeg-negentiende-eeuws Zuidelijk Nederlands* (Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2011). Unpublished PhD thesis.

Amsterdam University Press

R. Vosters, E. Belsack, J. Puttaert, & W. Vandenbussche, 'Norms and usage in 19th-century Southern Dutch', in *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600–1900: A Sociolinguistic and Comparative Perspective*, ed. by G. Rutten, R. Vosters, & W. Vandenbussche (Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2014), pp. 73-100.

J. Weijermars, *Stiefbroeders: Zuid-Nederlandse letteren en natievorming onder Willem I, 1814-1834* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

R. Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

R. Willemyns & W. Daniëls, *Het verhaal van het Vlaams: De geschiedenis van het Nederlands in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Antwerp: Standaard Uitgeverij, 2003).

E. Witte, *Het verloren Koninkrijk: Het harde verzet van de Belgische Orangisten tegen de revolutie, 1828-1850* (Antwerp: De Bezige Bij, 2014).

About the Author

Wim Vandenbussche (1973) studied Germanic philology at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, where he now is professor of Dutch and general linguistics. He teaches courses on Dutch and Germanic language history, as well as on various aspects of sociolinguistics. His research is situated in the domain of historical sociolinguistics, with particular attention to the language situation in Flanders during the 18th and 19th century. He is one of the founders of HISON, the Historical Sociolinguistics Network, and a member of both the Agder Academy of Sciences and Letters and the Royal Academy for Dutch Language and Literature.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

6 Pieter Weiland and his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*

Jan Noordegraaf

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity* (*1780-1830*). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH06

Abstract
The 'Dutch grammar', composed by the grammarian and lexicographer Pieter Weiland (1754-1842), served for many decades as an official government document. As such it was instrumental in codifying the Dutch standard language. It presented an authoritative practical grammar for the correct use of contemporary written Dutch, in particular within the context of the mother tongue education. Modelled upon the works of the influential German grammarian J.C. Adelung, Weiland's book is also the *summa* of the eighteenth-century Dutch linguistic tradition. His grammar is characterized by the linguistic and philosophical traits of Dutch Enlightenment Linguistics, such as an empirico-social approach, and appears to be inspired to a considerable degree by internationally renowned compatriots such as Lambert ten Kate, Tiberius Hemsterhuis and Albert Schultens.

Keywords: normative-practical grammar, empirico-social approach, language and thought, Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde.

1 Introduction

In 1805 the Reverend Pieter Weiland published his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* ('Dutch grammar'), which was to be the first and also last book of grammar to be officially prescribed by a Dutch government as a writing-regulation. At the behest of the authoritative Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'), the book had been peer reviewed by a committee of three distinguished

Amsterdam University Press

Leiden scholars, namely Meinard Tydeman, Adriaan Kluit, and Matthijs Siegenbeek.[1] Weiland had also presented a copy of the text to Johannes van der Palm, a member of the Council of Home Affairs.[2] They had all deemed it to be an excellent and comprehensive grammar. Their judgement was endorsed by the influential Batavian Society for Language and Poetry. Subsequently, Weiland's grammar was published 'on behalf of and at the behest of the Government of the Batavian Republic' and was to hold sway into the 1850s, due to the simple fact that many textbooks, both in and outside the Netherlands, were based on it.

In 1804, Siegenbeek's treatise on orthography, the *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling*, had also been published at the behest of the 'Batavian Republic'. This book provided the very first official rules for spelling in the Dutch language. The publication of the *Verhandeling* and the *Spraakkunst*, two complementary works, can be seen as inaugurating the final phase of the codification of the Dutch standard written language.

When composing his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*, Weiland drew heavily on the nearly 200-page grammatical introduction to the first volume of his *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* ('Dutch Linguistic Dictionary', 1799-1811). However, given the authority the *Spraakkunst* had through its approbation by the government, my discussion of his views on language and linguistics here will mainly focus on his 1805 grammar. In his *Spraakkunst*, Weiland appears to have followed J.C. Adelung's German grammar, the *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache* (1782), fairly closely, as has been emphasized time and again in many a study devoted to the history of Dutch grammar in the nineteenth century. In this chapter I would like to point out that first and foremost Weiland is a fair representative of Dutch linguistic thought as it has developed in the eighteenth century.

As Weiland's grammar is the *summa* of the eighteenth-century Dutch linguistic tradition, I will first discuss some salient features of this tradition, also touching upon the international linguistic context. Next, I will consider to what extent Weiland can be linked to various trends in eighteenth-century linguistics, both in and outside the Netherlands. Before launching into this discussion, however, it is useful to briefly sketch the life and times of this prolific Dutch grammarian and lexicographer.

1 For Kluit, see van Driel & van der Sijs, this volume. For Siegenbeek, see Rutten, this volume.
2 For van der Palm, see Krol, this volume.

Amsterdam University Press

2 Pieter Weiland[3]

Pieter (Petrus) Weiland was born in Amsterdam in 1754. Having completed grammar school in Gouda, a city in the province of Holland, he studied theology as a scholarship student at Leiden University from 1773 to 1779, his intention being to become a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church rather than acquire an academic degree. In Leiden he resided in the Reformed Collegium Theologicum. The orientalist J.J. Schultens, the principal of the Collegium, became his mentor and a good friend. However, in the course of his student years, Weiland developed serious objections against some of the orthodox doctrines of the Reformed church, and in 1779 went over to the more liberal Remonstrants. For the lion's share of his term of office as a Remonstrant minister (1785-1825) he was affiliated with the congregation in Rotterdam, which was the largest Remonstrant congregation at the time. In the year 1790 he was shortlisted for a professorship at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam, but he was passed over in favour of the theologian and philosopher Paulus van Hemert. It is worth noting that during his entire professional life, Weiland was never to be officially attached to the Dutch or Flemish academe.

A crucial event in this brief biographical narrative is Weiland's election, in 1789, as a member of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, which was a national rather than a local society. As a member, he was confronted with the society's failed attempts to arrive at a comprehensive, explanatory dictionary of the Dutch language. In 1796 Weiland announced to the members present at the annual meeting of the Maatschappij that he would be willing to compile a 'taalkundig Nederduitsch Woordenboek' (Dutch linguistic dictionary) on his own, and subsequently received permission to use the lexicographical data already collected by other members. Thanks to Weiland's 'iron persistence' (M. de Vries) this enterprise resulted in the eleven-volume *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek*.

In taking this initiative, Weiland was making a clear statement. As it appears, he wished to contribute to 'the *semiotic* control of civil society' rather than participate in the *political* control of that society (italics added).[4] It would be true to say that in the revolutionary days of the year 1795, the Rotterdam minister had proved himself an ardent 'Patriot' and it was for this reason that, in February 1798, the Executive Committee of the Batavian Republic appointed 'the citizen P. Weiland V.D.M. in Rotterdam' as minister of Home Affairs. Weiland declared that he did not feel equal to this job and

3 For extensive bio- and bibliographical details see Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 125-136, 143-213.

4 Formigari, 1993, p. 63.

Amsterdam University Press

offered his resignation, but this was refused. However, Weiland would not budge and simply walked out of the official meeting, as was noted down in the minutes.[5] A few years later, in October 1801, Weiland was requested by the minister of National Education, J.H. van der Palm, to compose a Dutch grammar. This time he accepted.

From 1799 onwards, Weiland published a considerable number of works on orthography, grammar, and lexicography. In 1808 he was appointed a member of the Koninklijk Instituut. For reasons of health he had to refuse the chair in Dutch language and literature at Utrecht University when it was offered to him by King Willem I in 1815. His eyesight failing, he retired as a minister in 1825, publishing no new linguistic works thereafter. Weiland died in Rotterdam in 1842.

3 Trends in Eighteenth-Century Dutch Linguistics[6]

Dutch 'Enlightenment linguistics', as it is called nowadays, was characterized by among other things what I have called an 'empirico-social' approach. So, first of all, both Dutch eighteenth-century empiricism and some ideas concerning the social aspects of language and language study are briefly considered. Subsequently, I will discuss a major *rationale* for studying the Dutch language, namely the altered view on the relationship between language and thought, which can be noticed around the 1760s.

3.1 Empiricism

One of Weiland's frequently quoted sources, both in his dictionary and in his grammar, is Lambert ten Kate's two-volume *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* ('Introduction to the study of the elevated part of the Dutch language', i.e. its etymology) of 1723. In this work we find among other things the frequently quoted statement that 'the laws of language must be discovered and not made'. Ten Kate received lavish praise from nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dutch linguists for this point of view as it entailed strict adherence to empirical principles in linguistics. It is a view rooted in the Newtonian approach that then reigned supreme in the Netherlands. Ten Kate can be considered a typical exponent of the Dutch mainstream Enlightenment, the essence of which

5 Boels, 1993, p. 197.

6 This section is based on papers I published on this theme in 2000, 2004, and 2012.

Amsterdam University Press

was 'the overthrow of Cartesian deductive science and its replacement with philosophia experimentalis, a mania for scientific classification which spilled over beyond the realm of the natural sciences'.[7] However, this does not make ten Kate an early positivist. In fact, he was an adherent of eighteenth-century inductive, functional rationalism, which advocated the application of reason to the discovery and explanation of the laws of language, as Peeters has pointed out.[8]

In Dutch linguistics, the impact of this trend can also be observed in the works of the Schola Hemsterhusiana, a group of Dutch classical scholars named after their founding father, the graecist Tiberius Hemsterhuis , 'dessen Name Jeder mit Hochachtung nennet', as the German philosopher J.G. Herder once remarked.[9] The Hemsterhusian scholars, whose works were well-known all over Europe, shared a number of ideas and methods in their study of the etymology of Greek. The thesis put forward in the literature is that the basic views of this 'school' were shaped in part by the ideas predominant in Dutch philosophy and natural philosophy at the time. It is interesting to note, therefore, that as a student Weiland took courses in Greek from one of the Schola's principal members, L.C. Valckenaer, who had become its undisputed head after Hemsterhuis's death. Valckenaer was a member of the Maatschappij and took part in the discussions concerning the plans for a comprehensive Dutch dictionary. Moreover, it was Weiland's 'teacher and friend', the Leiden orientalist Jan Jacob Schultens,[10] who in the early 1760s encouraged the members of the Leiden student society *Minima crescunt* to apply the Hemsterhusian etymological method as refined by 'the great Valckenaer' to the Dutch language. It comes as no surprise, then, to find Weiland remarking in connection with a self-made sample sentence in his *Woordenboek* that the graecist Tiberius Hemsterhuis and the orientalist Albert Schultens – father of J.J. Schultens – 'have paved the way for all etymology').[11]

It is evident that Weiland was also acquainted with the linguistic approach practised by representatives of the so-called 'Scottish Enlightenment', in

7 Israel, 1995, p. 1045.

8 Peeters, 1990.

9 Herder, 1803, p. 175.

10 *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* 3, 1802, E-H, p. viii: 'mijn zalige Leermeester en Vriend J.J. SCHULTENS'.

11 Weiland, 1802, p. 247: 'hebben den weg voor alle woordgronding gebaand'. On Albert Schultens, who claimed that his linguistic method was supported by empirical demonstration, *experimentalis demonstratio*, see the recent paper by Eskhult, 2015. As Klijnsmit, 2000, p. 162 remarks, the Dutch school of Oriental languages, the Schola Schultensiana, 'is undoubtedly Hemsterhusian'. It is relevant to emphasise here that Jan Jacob continued to expound the teachings and the research programme of his father Albert, a true innovator of eighteenth-century Semitic studies.

Amsterdam University Press

particular by scholars such as Adam Smith and Hugh Blair. Their ideas on language had been profoundly influenced by the British philosopher John Locke who can be aptly characterized as a 'rational empiricist'[12] and whose work had been studied by Hemsterhuis as well. All in all, I agree with Bakker that in Weiland's work we find the 'empiricism of the eighteenth century'.[13]

3.2 Social Aspects

As is well-known, Locke stressed the social nature of language, a notion that was central in the classical eighteenth-century tradition. Thus, in his *Aenleiding*, Ten Kate shows himself well aware of the socializing force of language.[14] To him, language is a 'sanctuary of society' , 'une instutition sociale', as we might now say following Saussure. In a Lockean vein, ten Kate posits the rhetorical question: 'What would man be without language? What sociability? What community? No laws could take place, no communication of thoughts, no teaching nor cultivation of science or good use of reason'.

The empirically-tinged philosophy of Hemsterhuis and his followers also had a distinctly social slant. To them, scholars and scientists should contribute towards ameliorating the condition of the people and to making them happier. It was God himself who had ordained 'ut Homo Homini prodesse possit, aut potius inter omnes Homines societatem esse voluit': man could be of use to his fellow man or, rather, He wished there to exist a community between men, as the Dutch philosopher and scientist Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande, a friend of Isaac Newton's, once articulated this idea.

Around 1760, academics in the Netherlands and in other countries were concerned with language as one of the fundamental driving forces through which one could construct a modern state, improve civil society, expand the wealth of the nation and promulgate a more democratic culture among the people of the modern state. In other words: improve the Dutch language and you will improve the whole of Dutch society – a sentiment that would also lead to the foundation of the Maatschappij in 1766. So, Dutch scholars of Greek too launched several initiatives to raise Dutch to a higher standard, whilst at the same time challenging the overestimation of Latin. It was Valckenaer's student, the graecist Everwinus Wassenbergh, who became the first professor of Dutch linguistics in the Netherlands in June 1797.

12 Aarsleff, 1982, p. 9.
13 Bakker, 1977, p. 121.
14 Ten Kate, 1723, I, p.7.

Amsterdam University Press

3.3 Language and Mind

A fine example of an eloquent argument in favour of the study of the mother tongue can be found in the linguistic treatises produced from the early 1760s onwards by Meinard Tydeman, a Hemsterhusian scholar who was to review Weiland's grammar some forty years later. In a series of essays, Tydeman emphasized the importance of and imperative need for the study and cultivation of the mother tongue within the context of a 'civil society'. To him and his contemporaries, the mother tongue was also a means to establish a community, a nation, and to improve civil society. Language is thus understood as a socializing force. As such, Tydeman's works mark the transition to a 'civil' approach to the study of the Dutch language.

In his Harderwijk inaugural oration of 1765, Tydeman told his audience: *ipse quidem vernaculus sermo colendus et cum cura discendus est* ('the mother tongue needs to be cultivated and taught with great care'), namely *ad gentis nostrae gloriam augendam* ('in order to enhance the glory of our people'). In other words, eloquence in the mother tongue is a matter of national interest. In fact, Tydeman was here reiterating what he had written in a 1762 treatise on the usefulness and necessity of practising the mother tongue.

Not long ago, thus he remarked in 1762, *een vreemdeling in ons land* ('a stranger in our country') had argued that the *beoefening der moedersprake* ('practice of the mother tongue') had been one of the causes *van het verval der beschavende wetenschappen* ('of the decline of civilized learning'). Tydeman deemed this to be a serious misconception: 'From our early childhood on, we are used to hearing and speaking Dutch, to thinking in Dutch. It is obvious, therefore, that the study of Dutch has a tremendous influence on the state of happiness of our compatriots. Thus, it is only through this study that [...] our efforts towards the promotion of our own welfare and that of our fellow citizens may succeed happily'.[15]

A brief comment on these observations is in order here. 'We are used to hearing and speaking Dutch, to thinking in Dutch', says Tydeman. Note that a few years later the French philosopher Etienne Bonnot de Condillac argued in a 'discours' for the Académie française that 'il ne suffit pas d'étudier les

15 Tydeman, 1762, p. 4: 'Dewijl wij nu van onze eerste kindsheid af gewoon zijn, Nederduitsch te hooren, te spreken, en in het Nederduitsch te denken, zo blijkt tastbaar, dat geene oefening grooter invloed op onzer medeburgeren gelukstaat hebbe, dan even deze. Deze is het derhalve, welke (...) onze poogingen, tot de heilsbevordering van ons en onze medeburgeren aangewend, alleen gelukkiglijk doet slagen'.

Amsterdam University Press

langues mortes, il faut cultiver celle qui est devenue naturelle parce que c'est dans cette langue que nous pensons'.[16] In this inaugural speech, and not only there, the *abbé* stressed the significance of the mother tongue. What we find here, is '[d]ie Annahme muttersprachlicher Formung des Denkens', the assumption of the mother tongue shaping thought.[17] That language is a necessary precondition of thought turns out to be a central principle in Condillac's own reflections on language and in those of other contemporary linguists.

Tydeman's essay continues as follows. Considering 'how strong the ties of duty are that bind every real patriot to the in every respect indispensable advancement of such welfare',[18] it will never be denied that 'the cultivation of the national language is of the greatest importance to every Dutchman who is truly concerned for his compatriots'.[19] The conclusion was: 'cultivating the vernacular has, without any doubt, a crucial influence on, and contributes greatly to, increasing the wellbeing of our society as a whole'.[20] In other words, it is in the national interest to cultivate the mother tongue. It comes as no surprise that Tydeman planned to give a course on the Dutch language at Harderwijk university in the academic year 1766-1767. In the summer of 1766, however, he left Harderwijk for Utrecht rather unexpectedly. As can be pointed out, Weiland was acquainted with Tydeman's essays from the 1760s.

Tydeman was a prominent member of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde. In 1772, Anthony Cornelis de Malnöe, its first secretary and later on its president, remarked in the preface to the first volume of the *Werken* of the Maatschappij (1772) that 'those who love scholarship do know how much Language may influence our manner of thinking and how much its [*sc.* the language] cultivation enlarges both the proper formation, fine distinction, and clear expression of our ideas, and the advisable augmentation of our skills'.[21] His statement clearly echoes Tydeman's (and Condillac's) expositions about the crucial position of the mother tongue. All in all, 'going

16 Condillac, 1768, p. 391.

17 Ricken, 1984, p. 217.

18 Tydeman, 1762: 'hoe naauw dus de banden van verpligting zijn, welke ieder gëaarten Vaderlander aan de alleszins noodzaaklijke bevordering van zulk een heil verknogten'.

19 Tydeman, 1762, p. 6: 'de beöefening der landstale van de grootste aangelegenheid zij voor elken Nederlander, wien de behoudenis zijner medegenooten ten harte gaat'.

20 Tydeman, 1762, p. 8: 'de beschaving der volkspraak heeft voorzeker den grootsten invloed op, en brengt onbegrijpelijk veel toe tot de verbreiding van het welzijn der geheele maatschappije'.

21 Cf. van de Bilt, 2009, p. 236: 'Het kan den Liefhebberen van geleerdheid ook niet onbekend zijn, hoe veel invloeds de *Tael* op onze wyze van denken heeft; en hoe veel derzelver beschavingen uitbreiding toebrengt tot de juiste vorming, nette onderscheiding en klare uitdrukking van onze denkbeelden, en tot de wenschelyke vermeerdering onzer kundigheden'.

Amsterdam University Press

Dutch' was a moral imperative at the time. Thus, the Maatschappij was to prepare a Dutch grammar and a Dutch dictionary. In Condillac's statements one not only finds the idea of the mutual influence of language and the character of the people, but also the basis of much conscious language politics.

Be this as it may, given this 'climate of opinion', we may safely assume that Pieter Weiland was acquainted with these fundamental ideas concerning both the formative role of language with regard to thought and the importance of the study of the mother tongue for society as a whole. My thesis, then, is that these notions constituted the major impetus for Weiland's linguistic activities. It is worth noting that his viewpoint also had a religious dimension. In his *Leerredenen* ('Sermons', 1794), Weiland describes the test for true religious zeal as being 'the promotion of human prosperity' and with reference to 1 Corinthians 10: 24 ('Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth'), he points to 'the duty to advance the public interest'. This is the true voice of the 'protestant enlightenment'.[22]

As Weiland must have noticed, both Tydeman and de Malnöe were convinced of the essential role of the mother tongue with regard to thought.[23] The implication of this idea was that the progress of mind, knowledge and culture goes hand in hand with the progress of language.[24] 'L'étude de la langue vous apprendroit tout', Condillac promised in his *Cours d'Études* (1775), while adding: 'il ne nous faudroit qu'une bonne grammaire, et un bon dictionnaire'.[25]

4 The Craft of Grammar

Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (xxiv + 328 pp.) is a fully-fledged grammar of the Dutch language, meant for civil servants, school teachers, and so on. It was expressly not intended as an historical or a comparative grammar, let alone as an essay 'in praise of Dutch' as Matthijs Siegenbeek contended in his 1810 treatise on 'the richness and the excellence of the Dutch language'. Dutch is neither emphatically compared to other languages

22 Van den Berg, 1999, p. 213.

23 A number of years later Tydeman, 1805, p. 35 wrote in a treatise on the origin of language: 'De spraak is van het gewigtigste belang in betrekking tot het denkvermogen' ('Language is of the highest importance in relation to thought').

24 As Condillac remarked in his *Essai* of 1746: 'les progrès de l'esprit humain dependent entièrement de l'adresse avec laquelle nous nous servons du langage' (Aarsleff, 1979, p. 18).

25 Condillac, 1768, *Oeuvres* 2, p. 91.

Amsterdam University Press

such as German, nor praised for its superior qualities. When composing the *Spraakkunst*, Weiland first and foremost sought to provide a practical grammar: an authoritative and solid resource for forming an opinion about the correctness of contemporary Dutch language use. In this it proved to be quite successful and as far as the teaching of Dutch was concerned it became the alpha and omega of all language skills. Consequently, the *Spraakkunst* was regularly reprinted and adapted for schools. It was translated into French and both in Germany and Denmark one finds textbooks which are based on Weiland's grammar. As late as 1859 a woodblock reprint even appeared in Japan, a product of the *rangaku*, the study of the Dutch language in Japan.

In the traditional manner, the grammar is divided into two parts. Part one is on 'spelling' – that is, phonetics and morphology, dealing among other things with sounds of Dutch and the parts of speech (1-202). Part two is about 'syntax' (203-328). It contains some borrowings from Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres* (1783), a book most popular in the Netherlands at the time. The first part of the grammar is an adaptation of the introduction in the first volume of Weiland's *Woordenboek*. Compared to earlier eighteenth-century Dutch grammars, Weiland extended and consolidated the grammatical descriptions.[26] In this respect it is not a particularly remarkable work, and it is only in the sections dealing with the sentence that the author breaks new ground as regards both theory and description. Note that Weiland also settled that Dutch had four cases rather than six and that in Dutch grammar one had to distinguish ten parts of speech, not nine or eight.

4.1 Sources

In his preface, Weiland (1805, p. xvi-xvii) duly notes that he has used the works of 'Germany's great language teacher' Johann Christoph Adelung and 'our immortal' Lambert ten Kate. The same influence is evident in the lemmas of Weiland's *Woordenboek* (1799-1811), which is also indebted to both ten Kate's *Aenleiding*[27] and Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*.[28] He must have reviewed both sources very

26 Cf. Bakker, pp. 121-125, Klijnsmit, 1982 and Noordegraaf, 1985, p. 182-190 for a description of the structure and the main contents of Weiland's grammar.

27 Cf. Weiland, 1799, p. 4.

28 Adelung, 1793-1801[1774-1786].

Amsterdam University Press

thoroughly from 1796 onwards, and this effort stood him in good stead when in autumn 1801 he was requested to compose a Dutch grammar.

In his *Spraakkunst*, Weiland can be said to have followed Adelung's *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache* (1782) fairly closely. Quite frequently he simply presents a translation, so that he has even been accused of plagiarism. I will not discuss this matter any further here, since an extensive demonstration of how Weiland abridged and adapted Adelung's *Lehrgebäude* can be found elsewhere.[29] Though Weiland was a dedicated follower of his German *Vorlage*, he did not hesitate to modify Adelung's expositions if necessary. His discussion of strong verbs for example is completely based on ten Kate's superior classification, including the selection and order of the examples.[30] Thus, one could argue that in producing his grammar Weiland carried out a creative *imitatio*.

In the framework of the present volume, it is worth looking at Weiland's 1805 introduction (18 sections, pp. 1-8). Actually, this text is a revision of the first four pages of the extensive 1799 introduction to his dictionary, in which he sought to propound the linguistic principles upon which the dictionary was founded. As well as presenting several definitions, the concise 1805 introduction also comprises various methodological and philosophical reflections based in part on the first volume of ten Kate's *Aenleiding*. It is not difficult to demonstrate that the sections of both introductions dealing with the philosophy underlying his views on language, language development, and grammar are mainly borrowed and adapted from the 'Einleitung' to Adelung's *Lehrgebäude*. The question I would like to discuss here, however, is to what extent Weiland's approach corresponds with the two basic features of Dutch eighteenth-century linguistic thought outlined in the foregoing section.

4.2 Empiricism

Ten Kate had already emphasized that 'the laws of language must be discovered and not made'. An echo of this maxim comes through in section 15 of Weiland's introduction[31] when he argues that the rules of language should be sought in the nature of that very language[32] and should be based

29 Cf. Noordegraaf 1985, pp. 174-198.

30 Van de Bilt, 2013, p. 86. As Klijnsmit, 1982, p. 137, rightly argues, when composing his grammar, Weiland made use of all important Dutch linguistic works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

31 Weiland, 1805, p. 7.

32 Weiland, 1805, p. 7: 'het taaleigen'; Weiland, 1799, p. 3: 'het eigendommelijke der taal'.

Amsterdam University Press

exclusively on it. A language teacher is therefore most definitely not allowed to format the language at his own discretion. He must simply accept what he finds.[33] Time and again, Weiland argued that the language teacher ought not to dictate any linguistic rules to the nation. Rather, he should merely collect the laws as reflected in documents and point out to the nation instances in which it violates its own linguistic laws. In cases of doubt, a panel of experts should decide. A similar statement is found in Adelung: the grammarian is 'nicht der Gesetzgeber der Nation, sondern nur der Sammler und Herausgeber der von ihr gemachten Gesetze'.[34] Such a position could indeed be characterized as 'descriptiv-tolerant'.[35]

First and foremost among the principles that have always guided distinguished linguists is the primacy of the language as used by authors who produce a superior style. The *usus*, 'le législateur naturel, nécessaire et exclusif (des langues)', as the French grammarian Nicolas Beauzée once put it, is the highest legislator in every language.[36] Weiland actually puts this principle into practice: for example, he concedes that the still much debated distinction between the personal pronouns *hen* and *hun* has hardly any ground, but as it is sanctioned by usage one should adhere to it.[37] The second precept is the regularity of language (*analogia*); a principle that ten Kate considered to be *de Kroone eener Tale* ('the crown of a language'), and that also played an essential role in Hemsterhusian linguistics.[38] With regard to 'analogie', Weiland explicitly refers in his *Woordenboek* to ten Kate's *Aenleiding* ('as Ten Kate taught us').[39]

Summing up, Weiland seeks to give an unbiased empirical description of the written language of the *boni autores*, 'the good authors'. It is their language use that he recommends to his readers as proper Dutch and thus what he lays down as a standard. Nonetheless, he also allows for regional and local varieties, once again probably following his venerated Lambert ten Kate.

I would like to point out that, at least in theory, Weiland could have chosen the cultivated spoken Dutch as the basis of his grammar. For in his *Lectio publica de originibus linguae Graecae* (c. 1750) Hemsterhuis had argued that no one doubted that any community of the Seven United

33 Weiland 1799, p. 3.
34 Adelung, 1782, I, pp. 113-114.
35 Gardt, 1999, p. 187.
36 Bakker, 1977, p. 121.
37 Weiland, 1805, p. 105.
38 Ten Kate I, p. 543.
39 Weiland, 1799, p. 132.

Amsterdam University Press

Provinces had its own dialect, 'which in some cases is so diverse that it is hardly understood by people from another region. In that way, the pure Frisian dialect is hardly understood by a Hollander', he added. However,

> there is some common speech which is normally used by civilized people in any region. This is admittedly different from the separate dialects, but it draws something assembled from all dialects, which is refined and polished in such a way that the more honourable inhabitants of all seven countries use that common Dutch dialect. This common dialect is not confined to only one region but it is scattered about all regions of the Netherlands and it is used by those people who travel in the higher circles.[40]

So, according to Hemsterhuis, a scholar of Frisian descent (actually, his first name was Tjibbe or Tjebbe) who taught for many years at the university of Franeker, there did exist a supra-provincial spoken common dialect. But for various reasons Weiland preferred to compose a grammar of written Dutch.[41]

4.3 Social Aspects

Another feature mentioned above as characteristic of Dutch eighteenth-century linguistics is its social slant. Accordingly, in the introductory part of his grammar Weiland argues that there is a relationship between a language and the people that speaks that language. The implied logic behind this observation is that improvement of the Dutch language means elevation of the Dutch people. I will quote or paraphrase some pertinent remarks from the first part of his introduction below.

There are different languages, says Weiland, and persons of a common descent expressing their ideas in an identical way are called *een volk, of eene natie* ('a people or a nation'), and their language is called their *moedertaal*, ('mother tongue'). Weiland acknowledges the fact that language change is a normal process. As the vicissitudes of various peoples have a considerable influence on their language, languages are continuously changing and may even fully disappear, but not in every people the language is equally perfect. Following Adelung, Weiland accepts that there is a link between the degree of civilization of a people and their language. The more civilized a people,

40 Hemsterhuis, 2015, pp. 103-105

41 Knol, 1977, p. 77.

Amsterdam University Press

the more powerful and elegant their language. Thus, 'the language of the people is (...) the true print of its character and civilization'.[42] Compare this with Adelung's observations: 'Die Sprache ist das wichtigste Unterscheidungsmerkmahl eines Volkes' and 'Sprache und Erkenntniss oder Cultur stehen in dem genauesten Verhältnisse mit einander'.[43]

Within any language there are also differences, expressed in dialects. These *tongvallen* are subject to the same development that applies to languages in general: they evolve due to varying external factors such as region, the lifestyle of the inhabitants, the condition of the land, and so forth. These factors exert a crucial influence, such that various dialects will arise 'within the language of each people'.[44] The superior dialect will eventually become the common language of all authors, of all learned societies, and hence the language of the nation itself.[45] In the Netherlands this is the dialect of the province of Holland.[46]

The first and foremost aim of language is to achieve 'a common understanding'.[47] Weiland does not doubt that the 'dark feelings' of natural man will in the course of time develop into 'clear ideas'.[48] A rationalist, he stresses time and again that there is 'progress in language', and by way of example points to strong verbs being substituted by weak ones and to synthetic constructions changing into analytic ones as occurs in the process of deflexion. The case system, for instance, stems from the 'juvenile state of the language';[49] when cases are substituted by prepositions, this is a development that advances the language's clarity of expression. Such changes pertaining to the 'progress of language' are also discussed by Weiland's contemporaries Adam Smith and Hugh Blair.

In his grammatical works, Pieter Weiland shows himself to be an enlightened cultural optimist who is concerned with the moral and cultural elevation of the Dutch people. Where the improvement of the Dutch language was concerned, he was a true *praeceptor Hollandiae*.

42 Weiland, 1805: 'de taal eens volks is (...) het ware afdruksel van deszelfs karakter en beschaving'.

43 Adelung, 1782, I, pp. 5, 7.

44 Weiland, 1805, p. 3.

45 Weiland 1805, pp. 3-4, § 7: 'En dit heeft eenen onvermijdelijken invloed op de beschaving van de taal zelve; zoo dat de beste tongval tevens de algemeene taal van alle schrijveren, van alle geleerde genootschappen, en dus de taal der natie zelve wordt'.

46 Weiland, 1805, p. 4.

47 Weiland, 1805, p. 5, 1779, p. 182: 'algemeene verstaanbaarheid'; cf. Gardt, 1999, p. 187.

48 Cf. Weiland, 1799, p. 193.

49 Weiland, 1805, p. 140: 'de kindschheid der taal'.

Amsterdam University Press

5 Weiland Revisited

'Tout conforme que chaque langue exprime le caractère du peuple qui la parle'
– Condillac

'The language of a people is the true print of its character'[50]
– Weiland

5.1 The European Context: Convergence of Ideas

As is obvious from the above, any study of the works of Pieter Weiland always first arrives at his German guiding star. Weiland's turn to Adelung in the 1790s and again in the early 1800s has often been explained as a form of plagiarism, yet Weiland's decision to Dutchify Adelung's *Lehrgebäude* may also be regarded from a pragmatic point of view. As mentioned, Weiland was only two volumes into the publication of his dictionary when in October 1801 he was asked to compose a comprehensive grammar of Dutch, too. In the foreword to the fifth volume of his dictionary (1804), he complained about the burden of the task he had accepted and expressed the concern that his lexicographical work would be seriously delayed. This lamentation is quite understandable, for he was not a university professor and as a full-time minister of the Rotterdam Remonstrant congregation Weiland had only 'limited time' available, as he phrased it after finishing the *Woordenboek* in 1811.[51]

As such, it is hardly surprising that when Weiland started writing the *Spraakkunst* he promptly returned to Adelung's *Lehrgebäude*, for this relatively modern work was a most convenient *Vorlage* on which to model his own grammar. He subsequently revised and recycled the 1799 grammatical introduction to his *Woordenboek* – based to a considerable degree on Adelung's grammar, with a four-page theoretical exposé, a chapter on orthography and another on parts of speech – and added two more chapters on syntax. In essence, he abridged and transposed the German grammar into Dutch, turning the 1700-odd pages of the *Lehrgebaüde* into some 350 pages of Dutch text. Having worked on it for three years, the *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* was ready for the printer towards the end of 1804. In the meantime, the Rotterdam minister had also produced three volumes of his Dutch dictionary, totalling some 1,500 pages.

50 D*e taal eens volks is* (...) *het ware afdruksel van deszelfs karakter*
51 Weiland, 1811, vol. 11, [vi]: 'bekrompen tijd'.

Amsterdam University Press

So where did this approach leave Adelung's methodological and philosophical, 'Herderian' reflections – for instance on the intimate relationship between a language and the people that speaks that language? In fact, Weiland's concise introduction to his grammar left the gist of Adelung's expositions intact. He obviously felt no need to adjust them, not only because he had 'limited time', but even more because he was already familiar with most of the ideas expounded in his German source. To him, these ideas simply represented 'a shock of recognition' (Herman Melville) for, as we have seen, Weiland had already become acquainted with similar ideas when studying the Dutch eighteenth-century linguistic tradition, in particular the works of ten Kate, the Schola Hemsterhusiana and the essays of Tydeman. I will give just one example.

In explaining the relationship between a language and the people that speaks it, Weiland (1805, p. 3) notes – in a manner reminiscent of Herder's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772) – that the language of a people is the true print of its character. Hemsterhuis's premise too is that a language is the means of expression of the *ingenium* ('spirit') of a people as a whole, so he concluded that every language has its own character, which is determined by the qualities of the people that uses that language.[52] Or, as Gerretzen sums up the Hemsterhusian point of view: language reflects the spirit of a people.[53] This is a statement that many present-day scholars would almost immediately associate with Herder and nineteenth-century Romantic thought.

It is well-known that Adelung's works borrow many ideas about language and nation from philosophers such as Condillac and Herder. However, similar ideas had been posited much earlier by Hemsterhuis, for instance in his inaugural lecture at Franeker – the *Oratio de Graecae linguae praestantia, ex ingenio Graecorum et moribus probata* ('on the excellence of the Greek language, demonstrated on the basis of the character and the mores of the Greeks', 1720) – and in his lectures *de originibus linguae graecae* ('on the origin of the Greek language'), given during his Leiden years (1740-1765). Hemsterhuis explains the differences between languages in a manner that recalls Condillac's observations in his influential *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746), as Feitsma observes.[54]

Space does not permit a detailed and systematic exposition of these parallels here, but suffice it to say that such ideas were in the proverbial air

52 Schouten, 1964, p. 28.

53 Gerretzen, 1940, p. 131: 'De taal weerspiegelt den geest van een volk'.

54 Feitsma, 2012, p. 86.

Amsterdam University Press

at the time. I agree with Stankiewicz, who as early as 1974 pointed to 'the cross-fertilization and the convergence of ideas (...) of the Dutch, English, and Germans in the second half of the eighteenth century', noting that '[t]he resemblance of style and formulation is apparent in a number of details'.[55]

The French-Dutch parallelism has been explicated by Verburg.[56] The linguistic views of the Dutch philologists, he says, corresponded entirely in their origin, and to a large extent in their elaboration, with – in Verburg's somewhat idiosyncratic terminology – the 'practicalist-rationalistic' trends in France to which Condillac belonged. In France, however, these views were characterized in the later stages by a stronger philosophical component and a weaker linguistic component than those in Holland. Unfortunately, Gerretzen's study on the Schola Hemsterhusiana does not examine the 'French connection', the relationship between the ideas of the later followers of Hemsterhuis and those of the language philosophers of the French Enlightenment.[57] So, a comparison between, for example, Tydeman's Hemsterhusian viewpoints and the 'linguistique condillacienne' (André Joly) might be an interesting enterprise.

5.2 Linguistics in the Netherlands: Unity in Diversity

With regard to the study of language in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century I would like to draw attention to a remark made by an informant at the end of the eighteenth century, the Leiden orientalist Everardus Scheidius, who by the way was also an ardent advocate of 'the etymological and analogical system of the great Hemsterhuis'.[58] Around 1793, Scheidius was requested 'with great insistence' by the Maatschappij to co-author a new Dutch grammar, a project that was never completed due to his untimely death in 1794. As a matter of fact, it was Weiland's 1805 grammar that filled this gap.

It was Scheidius who stated in 1790 that 'veras etymologiae rationes, hoc ipso demum ineunte saeculo, in Graecis reperit T. Hemsterhusius, in Orientalibus A. Schultensius, in Batavis L. ten Kate' – 'the true systematic etymologies were only found at the beginning of this very century, for

55 Stankiewicz, pp. 169-170, p. 185.

56 Verburg, 1998.

57 Cf. Verburg, 1998, p. 451. Both Gerretzen and Verburg focus on the pervasive influence of contemporary Dutch natural scientists such as Herman Boerhaave and Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande and their methodology, but they do not take into account Condillac's opinion on the essential role of the mother tongue.

58 Bouman, 1844-1847, II, p. 324.

Amsterdam University Press

Greek by T. Hemsterhuis, for the Oriental languages by A. Schultens and for Dutch by L. ten Kate'.[59] In this way Scheidius pointed to the relationship of the study of Greek with other areas of language study, emphasizing the unity of method in eighteenth-century Dutch linguistics.

One could add that the Leiden Maatschappij appears to have functioned as an intellectual centre, where classical scholars, orientalists, and students of Dutch could meet in order to discuss matters linguistic – true 'intertraffic of the mind', one could say.

6 Fazit

Weiland's compact introduction to his Dutch grammar is one of the rare pieces to put forward some theoretical and methodological statements on language and linguistics. One might indeed conclude that Weiland endorsed the views of the philosopher J.G. Herder, with which he appears to have become acquainted mainly through Adelung's writings, thus second-hand, though it is not unlikely that he had also studied Herder's works himself. For instance, in his section 6 Weiland makes several pertinent remarks regarding the influence of climate on a language, which can be traced back to Herder's '*drittes Naturgesetz*' from his *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*: 'Klima, Luft und Wasser, Speise und Trank, werden auf die Sprachwerkzeuge und natürlich auch auf die Sprache einfliessen. Die Sitte der Gesellschaft und die mächtige Göttin der Gewohnheit werden bald nach Gebärden und Anstand diese Eigenheiten und jene Verschiedenheiten einführen – ein Dialekt'.[60] And yet, though Herder's essay appeared in a Dutch translation in 1790, Weiland makes not a single reference to Herder's work in his linguistic pieces, nor, for that matter, to the writings of the renowned German orientalist J.G. Michaelis, whose works were widely known in the Netherlands. In Weiland's silver medal-winning theological essay of 1791, Michaelis is mentioned only once.

Thus, whereas the wordings of Weiland's theoretical and philosophical reflections on language and linguistics may have been based on Adelung, the spirit of the introduction to his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* is much indebted to Dutch eighteenth-century linguistic scholarship. In that sense, he is a true heir of Lambert ten Kate, the Schultens dynasty, and the Schola Hemsterhusiana.

59 Gerretzen, 1940, p. 112.

60 Herder, 1772, p. 75; cf. Klijnsmit, 1982, pp. 138-139.

Amsterdam University Press

References

H. Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979[1967]).

H. Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure. Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (London: Athlone Press, 1982).

J.C. Adelung, *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der deutschen Sprache, zur Erläuterung der deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1782).

J.C. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart, mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der Oberdeutschen,* 2nd ed. 4 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf; 1793-1891[1774-1786]).

D.M. Bakker. 'De grammatica in de negentiende eeuw', in *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde*, ed. by D.M. Bakker & G.R.W. Dibbets (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1977), pp. 113-160.

J. van den Berg, 'The Leiden Professors of the Schultens Family and their Contacts with British Scholars', in *Religious Currents and Cross-Currents. Essays on Early Modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment*, ed. by J. de Bruijn, P. Holtrop & E. van der Wall (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1999), pp. 231-252.

I. van de Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers. Adriaen Verwer (ca. 1655-1717), Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807) en de Nederlandse taalkunde van de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU and Münster: Nodus, 2009).

I. van de Bilt, 'Het woord in de achttiende eeuw. Over etymologia en etymologie', in *Neerlandistiek in beeld*, ed. by Theo Janssen and Ton van Strien (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU and Münster: Nodus, 2013), pp. 79-88.

H. Boels, *Binnenlandse zaken. Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van een departement in de Bataafse tijd, 1795-1806. Een reconstructie* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij Koninginnegracht, 1993).

H. Bouman, *Geschiedenis van de voormalige Geldersche Hoogeschool en hare hoogleeraren*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: J.G. van Terveen & Zoon, 1844-1847).

E.B. de Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (Amsterdam: Mortier, 1746).

E.B. de Condillac, 'Discours prononcé le 22 décembre 1768 par l'abbé de Condillac lorsqu'il fut reçu à la place de M. l'Abbé D'Olivet', in E.B. de Condillac, *Oeuvres philosophiques de Condillac*, ed. by George Le Roy, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1947[1768]), pp. 389-393.

E.B. de Condillac, *Oeuvres philosophiques de Condillac*, ed. by George Le Roy, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1947[1768]), pp. 389-393.

J. Eskhult, 'Albert Schultens (1686 – 1750) and Primeval Language. The Crisis of a Tradition and the Turning Point of a Discourse', in *Metasprachliche Reflexion und Kontinuität*, ed. by G. Haßler & A. Rüter (Münster: Nodus, 2015), pp. 72-94.

Amsterdam University Press

A. Feitsma, *Tussen Hemsterhuis en Grimm. Joast Hiddes Halbertsma als taalkundige*, ed. by E. van der Geest, F. van der Kuip & J. Noordegraaf (Leeuwarden: Afûk and Fryske Akademy, 2012).

L. Formigari, *Signs, Science and Politics. Philosophies of Language in Europe 1700–1830*. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1993).

A. Gardt, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland. Vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. (Berlin etc.: De Gruyter, 1999).

J.G. Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana. De herleving der Grieksche studiën aan de Nederlandsche universiteiten in de achttiende eeuw van Perizonius tot en met Valckenaer* (Nijmegen and Utrecht: Dekker and Van de Vegt, 1940).

T. Hemsterhuis, *Lectio publica de originibus linguae Graecae* (*ca 1750*). With a translation and a commentary by B. Slofstra. (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU & Münster: Nodus, 2015).

J.G. Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache,* in J.G. Herder, *Sprachphilosophische Schriften*, ed. by E. Heintel (Hamburg: Meiner 1975[1772]), pp. 1-87.

J.G. Herder, 'Bemühungen des vergangenen Jahrhunderts in der Kritik', in *Johann Gottfried von Herder's Sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Literatur und Kunst*, ed, by E. Theil (Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta'schen Buchhandlung 1829[1803]), pp. 164-193.

J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1995).

L. ten Kate, *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake*. 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rudolph & Gerard Wetstein, 1723). (Repr. 2001, ed. by J. Noordegraaf & M. van der Wal, Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto/Repro Holland).

A.J. Klijnsmit, 'Klank en teken bij Petrus Weiland', in *Studies op het gebied van de geschiedenis van de taalkunde* ed. by L. van Driel & J. Noordegraaf (Kloosterzande: Duerinck, 1982), pp. 137-145.

A.J. Klijnsmit, 'Vossius, Spinoza, Schultens. The Application of *Analogia* in Hebrew Grammar', *Helmantica*, 51 (2000), 139-166.

J. Knol , 'De grammatica in de achttiende eeuw', in *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde*, ed. by D.M. Bakker & G.R.W. Dibbets (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1977), pp. 64-112.

J. Noordegraaf, *Norm, geest en geschiedenis. Nederlandse taalkunde in de negentiende eeuw*. (Dordrecht etc.: Foris, 1985).

L. Peeters, 'Lambert Ten Kate (1674-1731) en de achttiende-eeuwse taalwetenschap' in *Traditie en progressie: Handelingen van het 40ste Nederlands Filologencongres*, ed. by A.G.H. Anbeek van der Meijden and others (Den Haag: SDU, 1990), pp. 51-160.

Amsterdam University Press

U. Ricken, *Sprache, Anthropologie, Philosophie in der Französischen Aufklärung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Sprachtheorie und Weltanschauung*. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984).

D.C.A.J. Schouten, *Het Grieks aan de Nederlandse universiteiten in de negentiende eeeuw bijzonder gedurende de periode 1815-1876* (1964). Ph.D. diss. Nijmegen.

E. Stankiewicz, 'The Dithyramb to the Verb in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Linguistics', in *Studies in the History of Linguistics. Traditions and Paradigms* ed. by Dell Hymes. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1974), pp. 157-190.

M. T[ydeman], 'Betoog der nuttigheid en noodzaaklijkheid van de beoefening onzer moedertaal', *Proeve van oudheid-, taal- en dichtkunde, door het genootschap Dulces ante omnia musae*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: A. van Paddenburg, 1775[1762]), 1-14.

M. Tydeman, *Oratio aditialis de necessario historiarum eloquentiae: Graecique sermonis in Belgica studio, ad egregium ejus civem formandum*. (Harderovici: apud Joannem Moojen, 1765).

M. Tydeman, 'Verhandeling over den oorsprong der spraak, en den Cratylus van Plato', *Verhandelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leyden*, vol. 2, part 2 (Leiden: Haak en Comp., 1818[1805]), 3-36.

P.A. Verburg, *Language and its Functions. A Historico-Critical Study of Views Concerning the Functions of Language from the Pre-Humanistic Philology of Orleans to the Rationalistic Philology of Bopp*, transl. by P.B. Salmon. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1998; original Dutch version 1951).

P. Weiland, *Nederduitsch taalkundig woordenboek*, 11 vols. (Amsteldam: Johannes Allart, 1799-1811).

P. Weiland, *Nederduitsche spraakkunst uitgegeven in naam en op last van het Staatsbestuur der Bataafsche Republiek*. (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1805).

About the Author

Jan Noordegraaf (1948) is associated with the Faculty of Humanities at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. His studies deal with the history of linguistic ideas, mainly in the Netherlands and in the former Dutch colonies, focussing on topics from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His publications include several volumes of essays and various editions of published and unpublished texts from the linguistic past.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 1 [Copy of] Willem Bartel van der Kooi, portrait of Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742-1826)

Collection Museum Martena, Franeker

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 2 Louis Morits (attributed to), portrait of Herman Tollius (1742-1822)

Collection Museum Martena, Franeker

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 3 Unknown artist, portrait of Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825)

Collection Leiden University

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 4 **Ezechiel Davidson (attributed to), portrait of Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854)**

Collection Leiden University

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 5 Jan Ensing (attributed to), portrait of Barthold Hendrik Lulofs (1787-1849)

Collection University of Groningen

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 6 Jan Adam Kruseman, portrait of Adam Simons (1770-1834)

Collection University Museum, Utrecht

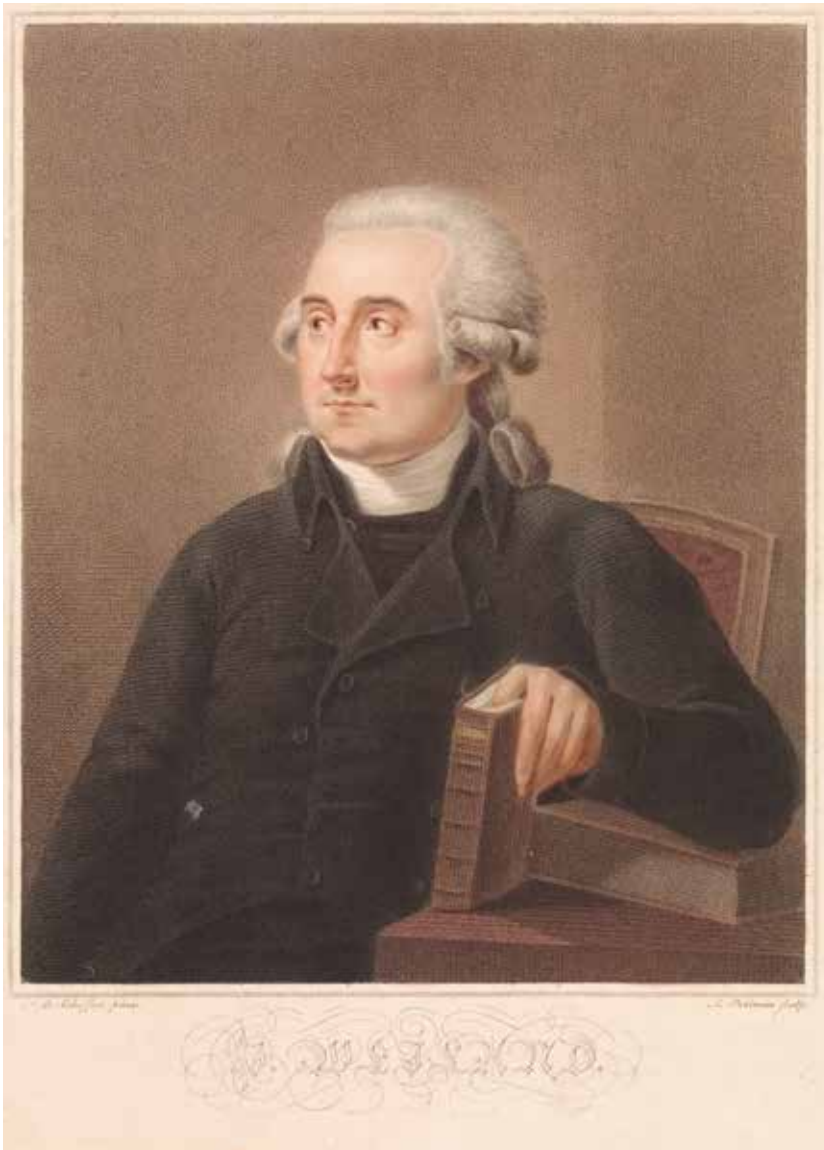
Amsterdam University Press

Figure 7 Jan Cornelis van Rossum, portrait of Johannes Kinker (1764-1845)

Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 8 Ludwig Gottlieb Portman, portrait of Pieter Weiland (1754-1842)



Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 9 Unknown artist, portrait of Johannes Henricus van der Palm (1763-1840)

Collection Leiden University

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 10 Félix Devigne, portrait of Jan Frans Willems (1793-1846)

Collection House of Literature Antwerp

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 11 Maria Petronella van Starkenburg, portrait of Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807)

Collection Leiden University

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 12 Aert Schouman (attributed to), portrait of Jacob van Dijk (1745-1828)

Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 13 Reinier Vinkeles, portrait of Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831)

Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

Figure 14 P. Blommers, portrait of Jeronimo de Vries (1777-1853)

Collection Bilderdijk Museum, Amsterdam

Amsterdam University Press

7 Moralist of the Nation

Johannes Henricus van der Palm

Ellen Krol

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH07

Abstract
J.H. van der Palms (1763-1840) plea for harmony and common sense has been seen as the current tone of the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century. It earned him the epithet 'Moralist of the Nation'. More than forty years he influenced the public by his numerous orations, and his demonstrations of practical rhetoric were directive for the moral and cultural education of his public. His perception of classical cultural values coincide with his aspiration to define the nation in terms of historical identity. He demonstrated the connection between the classical and national virtue of simplicity.

Keywords: J.H. van der Palm, moralist, national identity, rhetoric, simplicity

1 Introduction

Johannes Henricus van der Palm (1763-1840) dedicated his entire life to the promotion of the cultural-national identity. For more than forty years he influenced the public with his numerous orations, both inside and outside Leiden University. His demonstrations of practical rhetoric, with respect to content and form, were directive for the moral and cultural education of his public. It earned him the sobriquet 'Moralist of the Nation'.

It is remarkable, if not paradoxical, that the speeches of van der Palm were unanimously considered examples of typical Dutch rhetoric, even though the text and models of his speeches originate from the Classics, the Bible and sometimes the Koran, in accordance with his academic field. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is that van der Palm's perception

Amsterdam University Press

of Classical cultural values coincides with his aspiration to define the nation in terms of historical identity. He demonstrated (to his public) the connection between the Classical and national virtue of simplicity.

2 Biography

After completing his theological studies at Leiden University, van der Palm took holy orders in Maartensdijk in 1785. Two years later, during the Prussian invasion, he fled as a member of the Patriotic party to Monster in (what is currently) South Holland, and got a private job as personal secretary, librarian and private clergyman. After the French invasion, he was appointed professor of Eastern Literature at Leiden University, whereupon he took a seat in the government as the *Agent van Nationale Opvoeding* ('Minister of Education'). In that position he was responsible for the field of education, arts, science and ethics. He wrote a memorandum as the Minister of Education (*Memorie van den Agent van Nationale Opvoeding*) and laid the foundation for the first education act (1801), and an amendment in 1803. From that moment on, he supervised the necessary number of schools, the required subjects, the teacher education with a teacher's certificate, school inspectors, and the preparation of well-considered textbooks. Van der Palm was also closely associated with the spelling and grammar of textbooks.[1]

From 1801-1805 he was a member of the Council of the Home Department. Not until 1806 did he return to Leiden University, where he lectured rhetoric of preaching. From 1807 he resumed his former chair of Eastern Literature and took the job of academic vicar. He did not shut himself in the academic world.[2] The impact of his speeches outside the university can hardly be overestimated, considering the fact that he spoke at every event of national importance. During the French dominance, as Minister of Education, he often delivered a speech, for instance in 1799 at the national celebration. During the Napoleonic period under King Louis Napoleon, he was appointed first speaker of the Union, for which he twice delivered an official speech.[3] Van der Palm also orated in 1809 during the flood disaster (which had covered the entire area of the river Maas, Waal and Merwede).[4]

1 Van der Palm, 1854a; van Ditzhuyzen, 1977, p. 23-29; Mathijsen 2013, p. 136.

2 De Groot, [1960], p. 100.

3 The order of the Union (De orde der Unie) is a knighthood, founded by King Louis Napoleon in 1806, known by different names. After the annexation by Napoleon in 1810, the order passed into disuse.

4 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 5, pp. 116-134, p. 135-159; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 1, pp. 149-158.

Amsterdam University Press

During the period of the Annexation by Napoleon (1810-1813), he earned a reputation for himself by making provocative speeches in guarded terms, to assist the public in their hour of need, as is evident from *Salomo.* He published the weekly moral magazine *Salomo* from 1808-1816, in which he made aloof commentary on current events, with references to the book of Proverbs.[5] The magazine was avidly read and from that time he earned the sobriquet 'Moralist of the Nation'. Likewise, his *Leerredenen* ('Sermons') from this period comforted the public during the country's difficult situation.[6] De Groot concludes that the public's affection for van der Palm originates from this time. No one made himself more popular with the public like he did with his *Sermons and Salomo*. Therefore, he was called 'Father Van der Palm'.[7]

In the first month of the turnover, in December 1813, he delivered his speech 'Vaderlandse Uitboezeming' ('Patriotic Effusion'), in which he touched the right chord of national reconciliation of differences, in which his fellow citizens could identify themselves. As a former member of the dissident Patriotic Party, he paved the way to mental acceptance of Van Hogendorp's proclamation of November 17th, 1813, that all political dissension is over and all suffering is forgiven and forgotten.[8] His speech opens with the image of a dream that all the miserable discord has changed into the unity of the seventeenth century. The essence of his speech is that 'The God of the Netherlands' brought back the union to the country, which was handled roughly; without excluding himself he confesses collective guilt for the foolishness which 'we' paid a heavy penalty for. In his *Geschied- en redekunstig gedenkschrift van Nederlands herstelling in den jare 1813* ('History of the restoration of the country in 1813') (1816), he made a name for himself as the impartial historiographer of this period and described the struggle between Patriots and Orangeists as an unfortunate misunderstanding between well-meaning and noble souls of both parties.[9] In the preface the quadrumvirate, H.C. Cras, D. Hooft, D.J. van Lennep and M.C. van Hall praised this history as a product of typical Dutch eloquence.[10] This book has gone through many editions and has been included in the series of

5 Van der Palm, 1807-1816.

6 Van der Palm, 1811-1822.

7 De Groot, [1960], pp. 113-114.

8 Uitterhoeve, 2013, p. 41: 'alle partyschap heeft opgehouden en al het geledene is vergeeten en vergeeven'. Not everyone is happy with the 'Vaderlandsche uitboezeming'. Cf. de Groot, [1960], p. 135, note 2)

9 Van der Palm, 1816, p. 70: 'een ongelukkig misverstand tusschen de braven en edelen van beide zijden'.

10 Van der Palm, 1816, vi-vii: 'een voortbrengsel van echte Nederlandsche welsprekendheid'.

Amsterdam University Press

'Klassiek letterkundig pantheon' since 1852, with an introduction by H.T. Colenbrander added in 1909.

In the first years after the liberation, van der Palm was one of the persons who guided the cultural-national formation of the nation with orations about 'Nederlands blijde Vooruitzichten' ('Good Prospects of the Netherlands'), about 'De vrede van Europa' on the occasion of the Peace of Paris in May 1814, and about 'Christelijke Opwekking tot Heldenmoed' ('Christian Encouragement to Heroism'), a penitential sermon on the lack of fighting spirit in the first month after Napoleon's return from Elba.[11]

In the following years, his fame was established. This is evident from his official speeches, which he gave at the festive commemoration of L.J. Coster in Haarlem in 1823, at the celebration of the 250-year anniversary of the relief of Leiden in 1825, and at the remembrance of the 'Vrijwillige jagers' ('Volunteer regiment of chasseurs') during the Belgian revolt in 1832.[12] In Leiden there was no citizen who did not lift his hat to him, according to the poet Nicolaas Beets, who was married to van der Palm's granddaughter. There was no child, who did not know his name, no old man who did not pay tribute to him.[13]

His role as the 'Moralist of the Nation' at jubilees was only one side of van der Palm. He also was co-founder of the study of Dutch language and literature. In his oration 'The rules of Art' for the Koninklijk Nederlandsche Instituut ('Royal Dutch Institute'), he gives an enumerative description of things to do to protect the national heritage. He gives four reasons why this protection is vital: to conserve the wealth of the language, the memorials and antiquity of the nation; to honour the glory of the literature; and to foster good taste for works of art.[14] This was not only the responsibility of the universities, but also a task for the societies in the wide-branched world of sociability, in which van der Palm took his place as educator in order to promote Dutch national-cultural identity. All his life he practiced rhetoric in these societies, using examples from the Classics, the Bible, and the Koran, which was not unusual for a professor of Eastern literature.

Nearly every society with scholarly activities offered him membership, according to his biographer Nicolaas Beets, who lists twenty-five mostly Dutch and Flemish societies.[15] The following are a few random examples of some of the most important positions he held: he was for many years

11 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, pp. 112-179; Krol, 2015.

12 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 132-154; van der Palm 1854-1855, vol. 4, pp. 150-172; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 5, pp. 215- 242.

13 Beets, 1842, p. 112.

14 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 57.

15 Beets, 1842, p. 113.

Amsterdam University Press

chairman of the Leiden chapter of Hollandsche Maatschappij van Fraaie Kunsten en Wetenschappen ('Dutch Society of Arts and Science'); he was one of the eldest members of the Koninklijk Nederlandsche Instituut, he was a member of Felix Meritis, the Zeeuws Genootschap van Wetenschappen ('Zeeland Society of Science'), the Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte ('Batavian Society of Empirical Philosophy'), Studium Scientiarum Genitrix, Verscheidenheid en Overeenstemming ('Variety and Harmony'), Diligentia and Doctrina et Amicitia. In 1830 the Leiden Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature') gave him a golden medal because he was one of the two persons who were most important for Dutch literature in that half of the century and who had greatly improved the literature. The other person was the poet Willem Bilderdijk. In the world of societies, van der Palm was considered to be by far the most important man.[16] His *Redevoeringen, verhandelingen en losse geschriften* ('Oratories, treatises and miscellaneous writings') in five volumes represents his work in the various societies. In 1854 and 1855 a new edition appeared.

3 Simplicity

To understand the extent of van der Palm's knowledge of rhetoric, one has to examine the various statements he makes. He does not explicitly provide a detailed rhetorical theory. It is obvious that his works are also demonstrations of his own good taste and rhetorical skills, with an invitation to imitate. One central intention is obvious in his complete works, namely to speak in a manner that is natural and comprehensible for everybody. In his oration 'Over de eenvoudigheid van stijl' ('On simplicity in style'), he argues that being comprehensible should be the intention of any orator; the best way to achieve this is to forget oneself and to project oneself into the basic assumptions and realm of thoughts of the public.[17] In order to seek alliance with the public, one has to speak unaffectedly, to prevent fine writing, and avoid showing off one's learning. This central motive explains the characteristic selection of subjects of van der Palm's orations, such as 'simplicity', 'self-knowledge', and 'common sense'. In his biographer's words in 1842, van der Palm's fame arose because he addressed people from all walks of life.[18]

16 De Groot, [1960], p. 140.
17 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, p. 60.
18 Beets, 1842, p. 112.

Amsterdam University Press

The essence is, as I said before, van der Palm's attachment on the one hand to the Classical ideal of noble simplicity, and on the other hand to a specific national virtue at that time, the simplicity expressed in the national character. The fusion of the Classical heritage with the national heritage with regard to simplicity forms the spearhead of his thinking. No contemporary orator has propagated the connection between those two elements with the same emphasis. Between contemporary and Classical literature he sensed an obvious similarity on this point, as is apparent in the epilogue of his oration 'Over het versmaden of veronachtzamen van de regelen der kunst' ('On the dispraise and disregard of the rules of art'). He writes that you can search for simplicity in the Classics, or better, search for it in your own heart. Deep down in oneself is the true sanctuary of art.[19]

Like many of his contemporaries, van der Palm believed in the concept of national character, characterized by religiousness, patriotism, spirit of liberty and domesticity. In his inexhaustible emphasis on virtues of style, he propagated harmony and balance, and showed his admiration for simplicity. His oration on the fourth centenary of the art of printing ('Redevoering op het vierde eeuwfeest van de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst binnen Haarlem, 10 juli 1823') proves that he believed in a genuine, typically Dutch type of eloquence. On that occasion he promised the public a speech worthy of the designation, a Netherlandic oration:

> That sincerity and frankness, that truthfulness, that aversion to showing off on one side and aversion to poor sophisms on the other side; that simplicity, in one word, that characterizes the Dutch character, that never lowered oneself to take the credits unjustly; if this official speech doesn't show that feeling from beginning till end, than my mouth will have been untrue to my heart![20]

In fact, he based his characteristics of style on the national character, as described by Willem Anthony Ockerse and IJsbrand van Hamelsveld.[21] Thus it is in the concept of 'simplicity' that he brought together the culmination

19 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 70.

20 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 135: 'Die opregtheid en vrijmoedigheid, die waarheidliefde, die afkeer van ijdelen ophef aan den éénen, en van armhartige drogredenen aan den anderen kant; die eenvoudigheid, met één woord, die het Nederlandsch karakter kenmerkt, dat zich nooit verlaagde, om met geroofde eer te pronken; indien zij niet deze feestrede van het begin tot het einde bezielt, dan zal mijn mond ontrouw zijn geweest aan de gevoelens van mijn hart!'.

21 Ockerse, 1788-1797; van Hamelsveld, 1791.

Amsterdam University Press

of Classic antiquity with highlights of Dutch civilisation. This combination became his core doctrine.

In the oration 'Over het middelmatige' ('On moderation') van der Palm did bring in the noble simplicity of the poetry of his time; at one hand he defended it and criticised patronising; on the other hand he disapproved of the tendency of unsuccessful elevation, that even can be found in the works of Voss and Goethe.[22] For a good understanding of his concept of 'moderation', consideration must be given to the eighteenth-century predilection of 'aurea mediocritas'; in the post-revolutionary era van der Palm embodied the concept with harmony and inner calmness, which was the result of a balanced and modern homely life. Van der Palm united this national attitude to life harmonically with a Classically inspired formation of a poetical judgement, in which the Classical authors serve as a model, especially Cicero, Homerus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[23] Moreover, in his orations on David and Job he quotes Old Testament texts and the Koran.[24]

His emphasis on Classical antiquity increased when the controversy between Classic and Romantic style arose. Van der Palm opposed the Romantic School. In his oration 'Over eenheid en verscheidenheid' ('On Unity and Variety') in 1829, he praised many new literary productions on Dutch soil that he felt breathed an atmosphere of 'The Grecian Muses'.[25] Time and again he takes for granted the natural connection between contemporary and Classical literature.

4 Classical Examples of Rhetoric

Van der Palm's favourite strategy was to hold a common fallacy against the light, following the rules rhetoric of the topics: similarity and difference. This strategy can be seen in two early orations on the antipodes, 'Over de algemeene welwillendheid' ('On general benevolence') and 'Over de eigenliefde' ('On amour-propre'), both delivered in 1802 in the The Hague Department of the Society for Public Advancement, but on different occasions.[26] In the first one he treated an actual theme from the Enlightenment

22 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 71-88.

23 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, pp. 1-27; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 55-70.

24 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol 1, pp. 1-25, 53-72; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, pp. 56-79; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, pp. 1-26; van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 1-21.

25 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol 5, pp. 213-214: 'Grieksche Muze'.

26 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 1, pp. 110-122, 123-136.

Amsterdam University Press

discourse, General Philanthropy (the love of humanity). All the outstanding characteristics of this praiseworthy phenomenon were reviewed. So far so good. But in the next meeting for the same public van der Palm splendidly distinguished himself from the average speaker to treat the subject of amour propre not only *ex negative.* He compared it with the laudable instinct of motherly love. And arguing according to the topic similarity and difference, the amour-propre proved to be an indispensable element of the philanthropist.

An explicit rhetorical theory can be found in the oration 'Over de ware aard der welsprekendheid' ('On the true character of eloquence').[27] In this oration, he discussed the objective of rhetoric, the tasks of the orator, the requirements for a subject, and also shining examples. Speaking about the objective, van der Palm considers two misunderstandings regarding the tasks of poetry and rhetoric; the first involves dealing with amusement and the second with persuasion. However, in fact the only objective of the poet is to write poetry and the only objective of the orator is to deliver a good speech, nothing else.

Another misunderstanding is that all people have a natural talent for eloquence. On the contrary, he argues, eloquence is a product of civilisation. The experienced orator seeks to speak not only grammatically but aims to perfect his eloquence, by developing his thoughts so that they are orderly, strong, agreeable, and surprising. What subjects are appropriate in van der Palm's opinion? According to him, a subject is only appropriate if you have a good grasp of that subject and you have news to report. The next misunderstanding he addresses is the idea that knowledge alone is enough. True eloquence, he insists, requires style. In this manner, van der Palm treats the constituents of the theory of rhetoric, and holds *inventio* (invention), *distributio* (distribution) and *elocutio* (elocution) against the light.

His examples of the eldest form of eloquence are Hebrew, and derive from the Old Testament, such as Jotham's parable of the mistaken election of the king, in which the olive tree, the fig tree and the vine, refuse to be king, until finally the barren bramble agrees (Judges 9: 7-15). His second example quotes the prophet Nathan, who eloquently reprimands David for his adultery with Bathsheba (2 Samuel 12). Even Cicero and Longinus would have appreciated these examples of eloquence in the Bible, according to van der Palm.

The oration 'Over de welsprekendheid van Cicero' ('On the eloquence of Cicero') shows that van der Palm was not blind to the failings of Cicero,

27 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 1, pp. 26-52.

Amsterdam University Press

because he undauntedly violated the truth in order to persuade.[28] Doing so brought him into possible conflict with the requirement that an orator should be a *vir bonus, dicendi peritus*, an honourable man.

On the other hand, van der Palm's admiration for Cicero was almost unlimited, because from a stylistic point of view, no one mastered eloquence like he did. It was not only about accuracy in use of words and pictures, being concise without obscurity, comprehensive without being boring, having the capability to carry away the public, sometimes 'rolling', sometimes 'foaming like the waves', sometimes 'like a majestic thunder'. Eloquence never should be confused with a meretricious style, because it consists of the ability to develop thought in a clear, orderly way, and, if possible, in a surprising way.

Van der Palm provides his own example of a surprising end in his oration on Cicero. While he treated a rhetorical example of taking the edge off an argument, he showed how Cicero did just that. Cicero rejected a complaint of hostility in a political situation by arguing that hostility is a relative notion in that setting, and that one can better speak of civil disagreement. Both parties strive for the welfare of the state, and the intentions of both parties were honourable, according to van der Palm. Then he surprises his audience with the following turns of phrase to refer to the political situation of the former French period. He mentions how the Dutch country was involved in an internal struggle between two fighting parties, the Patriots and the Orangeists and asks his audience: 'Didn't we all belong to different parties ten to twenty years ago?'. 'It is not a defeated party that is delighted because her principles are respected by a generous victor: it is the nullification of the dispute itself, the desired union of feelings, the brotherly joining of hearts, which is the only guarantee for a rebirth of national spirit and happiness.'[29] The public must have watched breathlessly as van der Palm gave this safe, unspectacular story about Cicero a twist. He was heartily applauded because of the appropriateness of the vision that the annulment of the internal conflict gave rise to national bliss. At that time, a more convincing conclusion is hardly imaginable.[30]

28 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, pp. 9.

29 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, p. 26: 'het is niet de triumf van een' edelmoedigen Overwinnaar, waarin zich thans eene overwonnen partij verheugt, omdat aan hare beginselen regt wordt gedaan: het is de vernietiging zelve der geschillen, het is de vereeniging der gevoelens, de broederlijke zamenstemming der harten, die de eenige waarborg en het onderpand is van ons herboren volksgeluk.'

30 Honings, 2011, p. 241 assumes that the oration was possibly delivered in the Leiden Department of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature in 1817.

Amsterdam University Press

In the oration 'Over het versmaden of veronachtzamen van de regelen der kunst' in 1820, van der Palm showed how to follow great examples and how not to.[31] Rigidly following the rules without imagination leads to nothing, as does rejecting rules because of arrogance based on a so-called genius. The latter in fact leads to capriciousness and irregularity. It was not the theorists Aristotle, Cicero or Quintilian who devised the rules; they derived the rules from the works of Homer and Sophocles, who for their part followed nature. Van der Palm admired the simplicity of Aristotle's rules. It was not an artificial world, but a limit of time and space, with a few persons who moved freely and easily in the limited space.[32] Van der Palm's central idea is that moderation – instead of superabundance – is the key to noble simplicity. The Classics were his ideal, not Racine or Corneille, nor Schiller or Goethe. Furthermore, even Dutch classics such as Hooft and Vondel are conspicuously absent from his oration. The Classics showed natural simplicity and moderation because beauty and irregularity cannot go together.

In his notes about simplicity of style, he discusses the popular misunderstanding that simplicity is lack of abundance. What makes a literary work Classical, and what gives a modern work a Classical aura? His answer is *simplicity*.[33] Phrases such as 'dead simple' promote the misunderstanding that simplicity is ordinary, instead of the highest quality of beauty, arising from originality. He reviews all possible faults of a speaker including showing off, self-importance, going over the top, sensationalism, leaning toward the unusual and exotic. All of these are fatal for simplicity. In the end he delivers a clear and simple maxim on the difference between real originality and being peculiar. It is the difference between 'why hasn't everyone thought of that?' and 'how can such a strange thought occur to him?'[34]

His examples of simplicity in style originate from the tragedy *Hecuba* by Euripides. He selected the scene in which the shade of Achilles, after the fall of Troy, asks for a funeral present. Achilles' choice is one of the daughters of Hecuba and Priamus, called Polyxena. In van der Palm's analysis of the conversation between the Greek envoy of Ulysses and Hecuba, who has to give up her daughter, it was obvious that he was amazed by the absence of blind and furious rage and cursing. Moderation of emotions, a conscientious

31 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 55-70.
32 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 61.
33 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, pp. 55-82.
34 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, p. 63.

Amsterdam University Press

exchange of thoughts and arguments is what he found in Euripides. Finally the courage of Polyxena ended this debate, because she preferred death to a life as a slave. This scene ended with the report on the brave Polyxena, who without resistance was prepared to enter the underworld as a queen.

Again van der Palm was touched by the lack of shrieking madness in word and gesture, as was usual in the Romantic fashion. It is easy to express wild emotions, but few are able to describe truthfully the emotions of a great soul.[35] At that time, van der Palm wished to speak out strongly against the new Romantic Movement, and consequently he showed a milder opinion towards contemporary non-Romantic literature. In his oration on 'Unity and variety' in 1829, he placed the Romantic School under the (negative) label of variety, and the Classical and non-Romantic under the positive label of unity. Romanticism was in his eyes misshapen and monstrous, a combination of dissimilarity.[36]

It was obvious that he changed his views on Racine and Corneille, as he labels their work as 'masterpieces' together in one and the same breath with Sophocles' Oedipus. The Romantic School, he insists, has never delivered a piece of this quality. He lead the younger generation of Dutch authors to believe that surrogates were not necessary, referring to their French and English idols. There was no need for foreign models because the Dutch soil bore many fruits in the Classical style. He does not mention the names of Dutch authors who were acceptable, but it is obvious that they should follow the tradition of noble simplicity.[37]

5 Dutch Literature: Influences

Throughout his life, van der Palm was influenced by the Dutch poet Jacobus Bellamy, who died at a young age. That influence manifested itself especially in his own public oratory (pronuntiatio), as, according to van der Palm, no-one has ever been able to achieve the level of Bellamy. When he heard Bellamy speak, there was a perceptible melodious tone in his voice, a harmonious modulation and a great natural quality; it was clear that Bellamy always spoke from personal experience ad with sincere passion.[38] Increasing the strong impression he had on van der Palm, Bellamy recited

35 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, p. 80.
36 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 5, pp. 194-214.
37 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 5, p. 214.
38 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 110-131.

Amsterdam University Press

on that occasion his simple and naïve poem 'Roosje'. In his oration 'On mediocrity', van der Palm adopted the naïve style of Anacreon in 1822: 'Should only Pindar be a poet, and not Anacreon?'[39] It is not a coincidence that 'Roosje' together with 'Aan een gevallen meisje' ('To a fallen young woman') of the Dutch poet Hendrik Tollens was considered one of the masterpieces of 'homely' ('huiselijke') poetry.[40]

In the orations of van der Palm, references to canonised Dutch literature of the seventeenth century are conspicuously absent. Thus he did not hold himself to his third aim that he explicitly formulated for the Royal Institute, to promote the glory of the national literature. Here we get to the paradox that an orator is called typically Dutch while he almost exclusively quotes the Classics, the Bible, and the Koran. This characterisation must therefore be based on his accessible style, phraseology, themes and most of all on his preference for simplicity, which is considered a typically Dutch characteristic. The first aim of the Royal Institute, to preserve the wealth of the language, was a matter of concern for him throughout his life. Not only are most of his orations stylistically a tour de force, but they also indicate his special attention for the language. A fifty-page-long list of observations on the Dutch language, extracted from van der Palm's orations has been published in *De Taalgids* of 1859.[41]

Van der Palm also seems preferably content not to mention contemporary Dutch poets. Speaking about particular persons, he indicated that there were special ties of friendship between him and some of these poets. For example, in the funeral oration for his friend Elias Annes Borger, he convincingly depicted Borger as a natural genius.[42] He also spoke at Ewald Kist's initiation as pastor in Zeist. He was doubly bound to Kist, who was the son of van der Palm's deceased old friend and a friend of van der Palm's deceased son.[43] His funeral oration of Johan Adriaan van der Perre was directed to his former Meacenas, who gave his life a new fundament as a private librarian, in the period of the persecution of Patriots.[44] Jacobus Bellamy also was a friend. Namedropping has never been one of van der Palm's failings, but

39 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, p. 84: 'Zou Pindarus dan alleen dichter zijn en Anacreon niet?'

40 Krol, 1997, pp. 173, 198, 224, 245.

41 Pan, 1859.

42 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 22-54.

43 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 154-180.

44 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 1, pp. 159-206. Reverend van der Palm fled Maartensdijk from the citizens of the neighbouring village Bunschoten, who were strongly opposed to the Patriots in 1787. With only the clothes on their back, van der Palm and his wife left Maartensdijk after the sermon in a carriage. Cfl. de Groot, [1960], p. 25; Beets, 1842, pp. 30-31.

Amsterdam University Press

he did not avoid questions of the day. It was no accident, that he spoke 'On mediocrity' on September 12th, 1822, the year Tollens' popular edition of his *Poems* was published in 10,000 copies. In his speech in 1822, the orator Abraham Siewertsz van Reesema argued that poetry should be cast in a different, more popular mould.[45] In his speech, van Reesema took a stand against the spirit of waned enthusiasm. Tollens' immense popularity raised questions about the taste of the Dutch public, as could be seen in Lulofs' introduction to his *Akademische voorlezingen,* where he mentioned the taste of Reality Pete ('Pieter Realiteit').[46]

What was the position of van der Palm in this debate? More than once van der Palm's plea for harmony and common sense has been seen as the prevailing tone of the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century.[47] In his oration 'Over het Middelmatige' he made the connection between the middle class people and their natural, unspoilt taste for simple poetry.[48] How important the man in the street is, argued van der Palm. These men give others the opportunity to excel, they applaud and as the middle class they are the foundation of the nation. They guard good manners and common sense. But Horace stated that mediocrity is not acceptable for a poet, and so does the artistic world. To solve this problem van der Palm approached the matter by a *refutation*, in which he refuted in advance all possible arguments of the opponents. Is it correct that all that is not perfect is called mediocre? Are there not many steps between the opposites? The unwanted effect of this stringency, he argues, is the undervaluation of simplicity. Poets strive to exaltation, which can easily lead to distortion. Even J.H. Voss and Goethe are not innocent of embellishment in *Luïse* and *Hermann und Dorothéa*. For fear of being mediocre, one underestimates the simple beauty. It characterises van der Palm that he does not take a side in the debate on 'homely' (huiselijke) poetry. He shows his respect for the genre by showing the evil effects of the jeering and so he gave the public heart.[49]

He did not speak about Tollens, nor did he mention his name in any example. There were several appearances of both celebrities on the same occasion, not by accident but because they were equally as famous. In 1820 at the Royal Institute, van der Palm orated 'Over het versmaden of

45 Siewertsz van Reesema, 1830; Krol 1997, p. 202. The lecture is published in 1830, but delivered in February 1822 in the Rotterdam Department of the Society for Public Advancement.

46 Krol, 1997, p. 204; Lulofs, 1822. See for Lulofs also the chapter by Petiet.

47 Cf. Kossmann, 1987.

48 Mediocrity is not the pejorative mediocrity that causes disgust, but the common mediocrity, that characterizes the people at large; according to Horace it is not acceptable for the poet.

49 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 71-88.

Amsterdam University Press

veronachtzamen van de regelen der kunst', immediately followed by Tollens, who recited 'Het dichterlijk geluk' ('Poetical Fortune'), not an example of simplicity.[50]

But even if they both were the public's favourites, and agreed in political views, there was of course a difference between the academic professor and the autodidactic popular poet ('volksdichter'). The public favourites were often joined together, for instance again in 1820 at the commemoration of the poet E.A. Borger and in 1823 at the fourth centennial of the discovery of the art of printing in Haarlem, the festive commemoration of Coster.[51]

The Coster celebration gave rise to another political issue, which van der Palm could not ignore. The country fell under the spell of *Bezwaren tegen den geest der eeuw* ('Objections against the spirit of this age') (1823) of Isaäc da Costa and a collection of poems, called *Krekelzangen* (1822-1823) ('Songs of the river-warbler') by his mentor Willem Bilderdijk. Van der Palm reacted with a 'Verhandeling over het gezond verstand' ('Oration on Common Sense'), on January 28th, 1824, without referring openly to Bilderdijk. This lecture can only be understood in the context of the controversy surrounding Bilderdijk.[52] Bilderdijk behaved as a troublemaker in a land of peace with his *Krekelzangen*, in which he from a counter-remonstrant perspective criticised and cursed the whole system of popular sovereignty, constitution, freedom, equality, and democracy.[53] The literary critics were not sparing of words on Bilderdijk. The *Letterkundig Magazijn van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak* ('Literary Magazine of Science, Art and Taste') wrote to be horrified to turn over the pages infectious with the violation of mankind. The journal *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* ('Patriotic Literature') of 1824 despised the man who in a land of peace, with safeguarded religion and morality, dared to speak a language of falsehood and slander.

In 1813 van der Palm had cursed the man who would dare to upset the new balance of the nation, and eleven years later the time had come for his old university friend Bilderdijk to be caught by that curse.[54] Van der Palm's introductory remarks in 'Verhandeling over het gezond verstand' concerned the question of relativity of the truth and involved a situation in which strange propositions drew attention, and compelled a part of the public by the eloquence of their delivery. They will disappear as mist before

50 Cf. van Kalmthout 2009.
51 De Groot, [1960], p. 147.
52 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 89-109.
53 Krol, 2011a; Krol, 2011b; Kagchelland & Kaghelland, 2009, pp. 218-237.
54 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 2, pp. 105-111.

Amsterdam University Press

the sun, he promised, but more important was the following question: where do they come from, those thoughts so far from the general feeling of sensible people?[55] Not a word about Bilderdijk, although van der Palm was unmistakably referring to him. In a balanced structure, arguing according to the topic of similarity and difference, he analysed the notions 'reason' and 'common sense'. Common sense is recognisable by self-control, modesty and good willingness in contrast to a sick mind, which can be revealed by acting hastily, 'the flickering of a superficial knowledge', a passion for protesting, a kind of convulsion of the mind, full of rage and passions, which coloured everything like jaundice.[56]

According to Lulofs' description of the oration five years later, it entailed a masterly use of attic salt (delicate humour). Nowadays, however, the humour gets lost in the embarrassing description of the frenzies of fury Bilderdijk often suffered.[57]

From a distance, van der Palm reflects on moral and literary questions which concerned the public opinion. From the moment in 1822 when the first volume of Tollens' *Nieuwe gedichten* ('New Poems') was published, in the press there is a palatable fear that the whole nation will be imitating Tollens, because of his popularity. The situation reached rock bottom in 1827 with the review of Nierstrasz, a Tollens imitator. From that time on, magazines such as *Apollo* and *Argus* gave Tollens a bad press.[58] Van der Palm chose the subject 'De zelfkennis, toegepast op de beoefening der letterkunde' ('The Self-knowledge Applied to the Practice of Literature') in his lecture in 1828 for the Hollandsche Maatschappij van Fraaije kunsten en wetenschappen.[59]

About the concept of self-knowledge there are many misunderstandings, which van der Palm pointed out by comparing the concept with insight into human nature in general. At first glance, self-knowledge seems much easier to get than insight into human nature, because everyone can observe oneself all the time, in- and outside, as nobody else can. But everyone also knows, according to van der Palm, that self-knowledge is hard to achieve. A disturbing factor is self-love, with its magnifying lenses, which can interfere with objectivity; after all the masks are pulled off, one can see the truth.[60] Looking at oneself without prejudice is better than leaning on friends

55 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 89-109.
56 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, 97: 'de flikkeringen van een oppervlakkig vernuft'.
57 Lulofs, 1829, p. 115; Honings & van Zonneveld, 2013.
58 Krol, 1997, pp. 200, 220, 230.
59 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 4, pp. 83-102.
60 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 5, p. 85.

Amsterdam University Press

and friendly reviewers. He instructs his listeners to try to know all their unknown failings, and beware the failures no one warns them about. In this way everyone could reach the place he really belongs.

In this oration, van der Palm was way ahead of his time speaking about everybody's unknown territories. He was in fact referring to what is nowadays known as the subconscious. One of his charms is his modesty, which is evident when he speaks about the lack of self-knowledge and egoism; he does not leave himself out of account. This must have been by far the most diplomatic and possibly effective contribution to the discussion about an epidemic of poets at that time. This oration was attended by English journalist John Bowring on his roundtrip in Holland, who writes:

> Van der Palm has a loud and clear pronunciation; no sharp, unpleasant, or strange tone came out of his mouth. His gestures are calm, his delivery shows no passion; he has a dignified attitude; he possesses self-control on a relaxed way, which is more powerful than violence in expression. In one word: he seems born for the position he has.[61]

6 Conclusion

Van der Palm's public, political and academic tasks are one and the same, namely to build up the national-cultural identity. In the many-branched world of sociability, he was one of the country's most important actors, being a member of almost all the learned societies in the Netherlands and Flanders, as well as some from abroad. His perception of the Classical ideals harmonically corresponded with his views on national identity. He extolled the ideal of simplicity because he experienced it as the intersection of Classical and national literature. His models in rhetoric are all Classical, and he most admired Cicero, Quintilian and Aristotle. His examples are derived from the Classical tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, the Bible (Old Testament) and the Koran.

With his both Classical and national orientation, he argued for harmony, balance and simplicity, and became an opponent of the so-called 'Romantic

61 Bowring, 1830, p. 128: 'Van der Palm heeft eene duidelijke en welluidende uitspraak; geen scherpe, onaangename of vreemd klinkende toon kwam uit zijnen mond. Zijne gebaarmaking is rustig; zijne voordragt verraadt geene hartstogtelijkheid; alle zijne gedragingen duiden waardigheid aan: – hij heeft eene ongedwongene zelfbeheersching, die veel krachtiger werkt dan hevigheid in uitdrukking. In één woord, hij schijnt juist geschapen voor den stand, dien hij bekleedt.' Cf. Honings, 2011, pp. 228-229.

Amsterdam University Press

taste', in which he sensed disharmony, variety without unity, and deformity. From all the foreign models, only the Classics were acceptable for him. At first he considered modern authors such as Goethe, Voss and Schiller to be unworthy of imitation, but his opinion changed, just as it did regarding Racine and Corneille. None of his orations is devoted to a Dutch author of the seventeenth century.

The four aims van der Palm formulated for the Royal Institute are valid for all the societies he was a member of.[62] He contributed enormously to the first aim, to preserve the wealth of the language. To the third aim, to promote the glory of the national literature, he contributed by means of his five volumes of orations, which all exemplify purity of language, simplicity of style and brilliant argumentation. However, he did not orate on Dutch literature. His orations also contributed a great deal to the fourth aim, to foster good taste for works of art. With ardent enthusiasm he demonstrated to the Dutch public the need for Classic simplicity, because simplicity was a constituent of the national identity, and an element of the national character. His own orations are widely considered as examples of that point. Because of that, the public did not hold it against him that he hardly mentioned in his orations the glory of the national literature in a concrete sense. Instead, he promoted that glory in his 'typically Dutch' preference for simplicity.

References

N. Beets, *Leven en karakter van Johannes Henricus van der Palm* (Leiden: Du Mortier, 1842).

J. Bowring, *Brieven van John Bowring, geschreven op eene reize door Holland, Friesland en Groningen, voorafgegaan door Iets over de Friesche Letterkunde en gevolgd door Iets over de Hollandsche Taal en Letterkunde* (Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1830).

R.E. van Ditzhuyzen, *Onderwijs als opdracht, Leven en werken van de eerste vijftien ministers belast met Onderwijs in de periode 1798-1830* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1977).

A. de Groot, *Leven en arbeid van J.H. van der Palm* (Wageningen: Veenman, [1960]).

IJ. van Hamelsveld, *De zedelijke toestand der Nederlandsche Natie, op het einde der achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1791).

R. Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel, Hollands roem! Het literaire leven in Leiden 1760-1860* (Leiden, Primavera Pers, 2011).

62 Van der Palm, 1854-1855, vol. 3, pp. 55-79.

Amsterdam University Press

R. Honings & P. van Zonneveld, *De gefnuikte arend, Het leven van Bilderdijk, (1756-1831)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013).

A. Kaghelland & M. Kagchelland, *Van Dompers en Verlichten, een onderzoek naar de confrontatie tussen het vroege protestantse Réveil en de Verlichting in Nederland (1815-1826)* (Leiden: Eburon Academic Publishers, 2009.)

T. van Kalmthout, 'Dichters versus filologen'. '"Het dichterlijk geluk" van Tollens', in L. Jensen & L. Kuitert (ed.), *Geluk in de negentiende eeuw. Eenentwintig auteurs op zoek naar geluk voor Marita Mathijsen, ter gelegenheid van haar afscheid als hoogleraar moderne Nederlandse letterkunde van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009), pp. 106-116.

E.H. Kossmann, 'Anderhalve eeuw Nederlandse cultuur', *De Gids* 150 (1987), 104-111.

E. Krol, *De smaak der natie, Opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800-1840* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997).

E. Krol, 'Onruststoker in een land van rust en vrede, de receptie van Bilderdijk's poëzie in tijdschriften van 1813-1831', *Het Bilderdijk-Museum* 28 (2011), 7-12.

E. Krol, 'Bilderdijks *Krekelzangen*: wij slaan met afgrijzen deze bladzijden om', in *Praagse Perspectieven 7, Colloquium van de sectie Nederlandse aan de Karelsuniversiteit te Praag in maart 2011*, ed. by Z. Hrnčířová, E. Krol & K. Mercks et al (ed.), (Prague: University Press, 2011), pp. 67-80.

E. Krol, 'De onwil om gewapenderhand Napoleon te bestrijden, Nederlandse pamfletten over de terugkeer van Napoleon in 1815', *Het Bilderdijk Museum* 32 (2015), 1-11.

B.H. Lulofs, *Akademische voorlezingen, in den aanvang dezes jaars 1822 gehouden, over eenige paragrafen mijner Nederlandsche Redekunst, welke handelen over de vinding in de welsprekendheid, naar de denkbeelden der Ouden* (Groningen: J. Oomkens, 1822).

B.H. Lulofs, *Eenige toelichtingen en bedenkingen op des geleerden Dr. John Bowring's uit het Engelsch in onze Moederspraak vertaalde aanmerkingen over sommige onzer oudere en nieuwere Nederlandsche dichters, redenaren en andere schrijvers* (Groningen: J. Oomkens, 1829).

M. Mathijsen, *Historiezucht, De obsessie met het verleden in de negentiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

W.A Ockerse, *Ontwerp tot eene algemeene characterkunde,* 3 vols. (Utrecht: G.T. van Paddenburg, 1788-1797).

J.H. van der Palm, *Salomo* (Amsterdam/Leiden: J. Allart/D. Du mortier, 1807-1816).

J.H. van der Palm, *Zestal leerredenen*, 10 vols. (Leiden: D. Du Mortier, 1811-1822).

J.H. van der Palm, *Memorie van den Agent der Nationale Opvoeding, J.H. van der Palm, gevolgd van een drietal staatsstukken, betrekkelijk de invoering der schoolwetten van 1801 en 1803, en van de voordragt van den Raadpensionaris R.J. Schimmelpenninck, van het ontwerp der schoolwet van 1806* (Leiden: D. du Mortier, 1854).

Amsterdam University Press

J.H. van der Palm, *Redevoeringen, Verhandelingen en Losse geschriften*, 5 vols. (Leeuwarden: G.T.N. Suringar, 1854-1855.

J. Pan, 'Opmerkingen en aantekeningen van den hoogleraar J.H. van der Palm over de Nederlandsche taal uit zijne werken verzameld', *De taalgids, tijdschrift tot uitbreiding van de kennis der Nederlandsche taal* 1 (1859), 167-216.

A. Siewertsz van Reesema, 'Redevoering over de waarde van het nationaal karakter eens volks, en over de middelen, om hetzelve te vestigen en te onderhouden', *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1830), vol. 2, 1-26.

W. Uitterhoeve, *1813 – Haagse bluf. De korte chaos van de vrijwording* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

About the Author

Ellen Krol (1948) studied Dutch Language and Literature at Leiden University, and gained her PhD in 1997 at the University of Amsterdam with a thesis on the concept of 'huiselijke' or homely poetry, viewed as one of the primary characteristics of the Dutch taste. She habilitated at Charles University in Prague in 2009 with a habilitation on the history of concepts. From 2002 up to 2015 she was associate professor in Dutch literature at Charles University Prague. Her current research is focused on political poetry on Napoleon, the rise of the Dutch Kingdom 1813 and the aftereffect of the French Revolution.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

8 ‘I am Revived as a Belgian’

The Work of Jan Frans Willems

Janneke Weijermars

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity* (*1780-1830*). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH08

Abstract
Jan Frans Willems (1793-1846) was the most influential literary historian of the Southern Netherlands in the nineteenth century. His work in the period under Willem I (1815-1830) is often regarded as a culmination of his pan-Netherlandic thought, and his unconditional love for the North and Willem I’s politics. He would be a foreman of Dutch supporters and a prominent Orangist in the South. This article shows, however, that he choosed a southern perspective already before the start of the Flemish Movement: his work illustrates his belief that the national literature didn’t only consist of a Northern literary style and tradition but that the national literary heritage comprised two equal Northern and Southern parts.

Keywords: Southern Netherlands, Flemish Movement, Jan Frans Willems, literary history, nineteenth century

1 Introduction

> Everything was taken from him, even the name Belgian. […]
> But now I am revived as a Belgian, in this blessed hour,
> – I sing my freedom … on a shattered wall.[1]

1 Willems, 1814, pp. 4, 6: ‘Men nam hem alles af tot zelfs den naem van Belg.[…] / Doch nu ’k als Belg herleéf, in deéz’ gezegend’ uer, / – Zing ik myn vrydom…… op een’ neêrgestorten muer’. All quotations in this chapter are translated by Rosemary Mitchell-Schuitevoerder.

Amsterdam University Press

In his poem *De puyn-hoopen rondom Antwerpen* (*'The rubble around* Antwerp', 1814) Jan Frans Willems (1793-1846) expresses the devastation of his hometown Antwerp and the disillusionment of its citizens, after the departure of the French in the summer of 1814.[2] But at the same time, the liberation created room for Willems to dream about the future and a revival as a 'Belgian' – an identity that, according to the poem, had been under pressure since Napoleon captured the Southern Netherlands.

For this particular part of the Low Countries, the construction of national identity in the period 1780-1830 is extremely complex. Firstly, there was no Belgian nation in this respect.[3] After a long Habsburgian period and the short-lived independence in 1789, the Southern Netherlands had fallen to Austria (1790), France (1792), Austria again (1793), and to France once more in 1794. After Napoleon's defeat, the European superpowers Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia decided at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) to merge the Southern and Northern Netherlands under a sovereign from the House of Orange, Willem, in order to prevent new expansion by imperious France. This United Kingdom of the Netherlands soon fell apart in European revolutionary year 1830, after which Belgium became independent under King Leopold I.

Secondly, the relationship between national consciousness and the Dutch language and literature is not linear either, since the Southern Netherlands consisted of Dutch, French, and German-speaking regions.[4] By the language resolution of 1 October 1814, sovereign Willem proclaimed Dutch as the national language of the Low Countries. Willem, who became King of the Netherlands in 1815, considered Dutch language and literature, as well as historiography and painting, as essential tools to smoothly fuse the North and South, and to emphasise the unique character of the Dutch nation.[5] Through this language resolution French lost the official status it had had in the Southern Netherlands during the French Period, and to a lesser degree under the Austrian regime too. The government only

2 This chapter is mainly based on the research for my dissertation *Stepbrothers. Southern Dutch Literature and Nation Building under Willem I, 1814-1834* (Boston etc.: Brill), published in 2015. I would like to thank Rosemary Mitchell-Schuitevoerder and Sonya Sherman for helping me with the translation.

3 Leading publications about nation building and national consciousness in the Southern Netherlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century are, among others: Verschaffel, 1998; Peeters, 2003; Wils, 2005; Witte, 2014, 2006.

4 The term 'Dutch' in this chapter refers to the language of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, except for the French speaking areas. During the period under Willem I, the term 'Nederduits' was used very often.

5 Weijermars, 2015, p. 1-17.

Amsterdam University Press

permitted the French language in places where Dutch was not used at all. But it was not always easy to draw the language boundaries. For Wallonia the situation was not very complex: in general, people spoke Wallonian French. However, Flanders was also partly Frenchified. The lower classes spoke the Flemish, Limburg or Brabant variants of Dutch and could not speak French. Bilingual capability was present in the upper class, where officials, lawyers, and intellectuals used varieties of Dutch at home but spoke French in public life. For them French was the career language and the language used in writing.[6]

Apart from the political situation and the language question, there were other cultural barriers that complicated the direct link between language, literature, and the construction of a Dutch national identity, which is the topic of this book. King Willem experienced a lot of problems in mobilising available anti-French and national Dutch sentiments in the South, because not all Napoleon's opponents were by definition inclined towards the Netherlands. Some yearned for the Ancien Régime under Austrian rule, and there was very little advocacy for an independent Belgium. For others France was a former occupying power, which they no longer had to deal with in a political sense. But France was also the country of the Revolution, and of civilisation, progress, and international diplomatic exchange. The Revolution's lustre radiated over the city of Paris, at that time developing into the capital of the literary and cultural world, which Southern Netherlanders also looked towards.[7] Willem would have to be very skilled to ensure these groups would warmly welcome a 'Dutch' state with linguistics and literature from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland.

From 1814 onwards, the Dutch language (or 'Nederduits') and literature played very different roles in the Southern Netherlands in terms of nation building. Both contributed to the construction of regional, national, and, on a smaller scale, transnational identities. The oeuvre and authorship of the poet, writer and literary historian Jan Frans Willems exemplifies this tangled web of loyalties within the Southern Netherlands between 1814 and 1830. His case clearly shows that the construction of identities does not develop linearly but encompasses many vagaries. Moreover, these identities are always explicitly or implicitly outlined in contrast to one's opponent – and Willems' opponents changed regularly in the period under the Dutch reign.[8] The unification between the Northern and

6 De Jonghe, 1967, pp. 24-25.
7 Casanova, 2004, p. 24.
8 Leerssen, 2011, pp. 182-192.

Amsterdam University Press

Southern Netherlands, and the subsequent language and cultural policy of King Willem I, became catalysts in this construction process. Besides the construction of identities, this chapter focuses on the process and attempts of authors like Jan Frans Willems to transform the new national language into a literary language, with international status equal to, or even surpassing, French.[9]

This contribution will draw from three crucial texts, all written by Jan Frans Willems: the shorter poem 'Ode op de herstelling der Nederduytsche tael' ('Ode to the restoration of the Dutch language') (1815), the long poem *Aen de Belgen* ('*To the Belgians*', 1818), and his *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche tael- en letterkunde, opzigtelyk de Zuydelyke provintien der Nederlanden* ('*Essay on Dutch language and poetry from the viewpoint of the Southern provinces of the Netherlands*', 1819 and 1820-1824). In these three texts, Willems defends the Dutch language and literature, which he calls the mother language of the South. But at the same time these texts each reflect different perspectives, because he addresses them to different audiences. Therefore they take part in several cultural debates.

2 Public and private

Jan Frans Willems' personal life was very closely interwoven with the nation's political situation. He was born in the village of Boechout on 11 March 1793, where French soldiers were preparing for the assault on Antwerp. Thus he became the first French citizen in his community.[10] Willems' younger brother Jan Cornelis died as a soldier in French service on the battlefield at Leipzig in 1813.[11] The French administration had passed a series of language regulations since 1795 making French the language of public life. This was an example of political language planning that had encroached deeply into Willems' private life.[12] As far as we know, his first poem was written in 1807, when he was enraged by his father's dismissal from the civil service because his French was not strong enough.

From 1805 Willems lived in Lier, where he met the well-known family Bergmann. Father Georg Bergmann (1772-1839) was a former Dutch official and later confidant of van Maanen, the notorious Dutch Minister of

9 See Casanova, 2004.
10 Stynen, 2012, p. 28.
11 Stynen, 2012, p. 43.
12 Stynen, 2012, p. 26; De Jonghe, 1967, pp. 23-24.

Amsterdam University Press

Justice. Georg taught his children and also the young Jan Frans Willems Dutch language and literature. In the foreword to his play *Quinten Matsys* (1816) Willems indicated that father Bergmann 'first sparked my passion for literature'.[13] After his education in Lier, Willems went to Antwerp to work as a notary's clerk. Later he would become archivist of the city. Around 1812 he joined the poetry and linguistic academy Tot Nut der Jeugd, where he published his first poems. That year he won a gold medal for his contribution to the competition of the Ghent chamber of rhetoric, De Fonteine, illustrating that Southern Dutch intellectuals and men of letters served many lords in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In his 'Lofzang op de slag van Friedland en de vrede van Tilsit' ('Hymn of the Battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit'), Willems pays tribute to the victories and the glory of the French Emperor – an act that would be criticised heavily in later years by supporters as well as opponents of his work.[14]

Although he was a rising star in the Southern Dutch literary world, his fame became really established after the Belgian Revolution and the separation of the Northern and Southern Netherlands in 1830. From that year on, Willems started to edit old Flemish manuscripts from the Middle Ages. His thorough study of *Reinaert de Vos* (*'Reynard the Fox'*) for example, resulted in a modern adaptation of the text in 1834 and an academic edition in 1836. His edition of the *Chronicles of Jan van Heelu* was also published that year, and in 1837 he started his cultural historical journal *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche Tael en Letterkunde en de Geschiedenis des Vaderlands* (*'Belgian Museum of the Dutch Language and Literature and the History of the Fatherland'*, 1845), where he wrote many contributions about new discoveries of texts and fragments, until his death in 1846.[15] By guarding the Flemish identity and advocating the emancipation of the Flemish language and culture within the Belgian nation state, Willems was given the qualification 'Father of the Flemish Movement'.

13 Willems, 1816, p. xi.

14 Weijermars, 2015, p. 119.

15 Jan Frans Willems, *Reinaert de Vos. Naer de oudste beryming* (Eeclo: A.B. van Han en Zoon, 1834) and Jan Frans Willems, *Reinaert de Vos. Episch fabeldicht van de twaelfde en dertiende eeuw. Met aenmerkingen en ophelderingen* (Ghent: F. en E. Gyselynck, 1836). More information about the editor Jan Frans Willems is in Leerssen, 2011, and in the forthcoming publication of Jan Rock, *Papieren monumenten. Filologie en nationalisme in de Lage Landen 1591-1863* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, already available at http://dare.uva.nl/record/1/328950).

Amsterdam University Press

3 'Ode to the restoration of the Dutch language' (1815)

Triumph! – our Dutch Language
Is released from the French yoke,
And shall, however greatly envy scorns,
Resurrect her old lustre!
[…]
The sciences have come to life again,
Beckoned by the Prince of Orange,
How precious, *Willem!* – is the gift
That you have come to give your Fatherland![16]

This fragment is the opening verse of Willems' 'Ode', published in the *Antwerpschen Almanach* ('*Antwerp Almanac*') for the year 1815. The almanac was a production of the literary society Tot Nut der Jeugd ('For the Benefit of Youth'), which was largely conducted by the poet himself.[17] The applauded 'gift' of the King, mentioned in this fragment, is of course the language resolution in which Willem, as the head of the 'Gouvernement de la Belgique' had proclaimed Dutch as the national language of the Low Countries. The notion of the 'national language' was actually launched without fanfare: the preamble accompanying the language resolution says that 'the use of the Dutch language, which is the national language, will be reinstated in all parts of Belgium, where it is commonly used and generally understood'.[18] Although it was a fairly moderate resolution, which essentially proposed little more than the declaration of an intention, Jan Frans Willems experienced the language resolution as a release from the French yoke.[19] It is the tension between France and the Low Countries that is the focus of Willems' poem, and the relationship between the Northern and Southern parts of the kingdom remained completely out of sight.

Willems established a direct link between the language resolution and the future of Southern literature, because Dutch was '*Vondel's* language'. Willems was pointing to the work of the successful seventeenth-century

16 Willems, 1815, p. 19-20: 'Triumph! – onz' Nederduytsche Tael / Is van het Fransche juk onthéven, / En zal, hoe zeer den nyd ook smael, / Haer' ouden luyster doen herleéven! […] Reeds zyn, op Vorst *Oranje's* wenk, / De weétenschappen aen 't herleéven! / Hoe duerbaer, *Willem!* – is 't geschenk / Dat g'aen uw Vaderland komt geéven!'

17 Weijermars, 2015, p. 76-80 and also p. 121-137.

18 Cited in De Jonghe, 1967, p. 43: 'Het gebruik der Nederlandsche taal, welke de landtaal is, in alle gedeelten van België hersteld worde, alwaar dezelve gebruikelijk is en algemeen verstaan wordt'.

19 Janssens & Steyaert, 2008, p. 44.

Amsterdam University Press

Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel. Vondel only became active in literature after he had established himself in Amsterdam, but he was able to serve as a literary exemplar for the whole country because of his family's roots in Antwerp. The language resolution would enable Dutch literature to flourish again and 'new laurels would grow' 'on Dutch *Parnassus*'.[20] For Willems the unity of the Dutch-speaking region and of the literature appeared self-evident, although for years it had been affected 'by Tyranny's oppression' which had prevented poetry from 'making her unenthralled songs heard'.[21] Now a new period commenced:

> But no! In freedom and frankness she shall again
> Make all her excellence apparent,
> And prove that in strength and sound –
> She must never yield to French.[22]

Willems focused in his 'Ode' on the future of the new kingdom, after dismay about the war and the devastation with the 'appalling hurricane' that had smothered the Southern Netherlands from French quarters – and which he had described in *De puynhoopen rondom Antwerpen* ('*The rubble around Antwerp*').[23] For him the language resolution was a signal that the Netherlanders could definitely turn their backs on France. A new generation of writers belonged to this fresh start, who could build on the literature of the fatherland in Vondel's footsteps.

The relation between the language resolution and literature is important at this point, because they were both relevant for the cultural significance of the kingdom as a whole. Saying that Dutch was the national language did not at all imply that it also was a literary language. Literary languages required an international status, as the French literature had at that time, as Pascale Casanova describes in her study *The World Republic of Letters* (2004).[24] In the Low Countries there was a need to emphasise and commend the literary wealth of the Netherlands, in order to increase the symbolic value of the Dutch language. The example of Vondel had to make clear that the literature of the Low Countries could easily compete with the glorious and rich French literary history.

20 Willems, 1815, p. 20.
21 Willems, 1815, p. 20: 'En kon, beklemd doór Dwinglandy, / Haer vryë zangen niet doen hooren'.
22 Willems, 1815, p. 21: 'Ô Neên! zy zal weêr, vry en vrank / All' haer voórtreflykheyd doen blyken, / En toonen dat z'in kragt en klank – / Ook voór de fransche – nooyt moet wyken'.
23 Willems, 1814, p. 3.
24 Casanova, 2004, pp. 63-67.

Amsterdam University Press

4 *Aen de Belgen* (1818)

The opposition between France and the new kingdom was very present in Willems' 'Ode', but it wasn't long before Willems took up his pen to defend the Dutch language against his francophone fellow citizens.

A large group of Southern Netherlanders experienced the language resolution of 1814 as an unwanted and too radical change. One of the first opponents of the language policy to put his objections in writing was Pierre Barafin from Brussels, who had held various legal and government posts during the French Period. Members of professional groups like lawyers and judges, and people from the governmental administration, were less sympathetic toward Dutch because they had become completely frenchified under Napoleon. Barafin and his contemporaries had enjoyed an exclusively French education and for that reason had less affinity with Dutch than older magistrates.[25] Barafin set out his objections in his essay *Sur la langue nationale* ('*On the national* language', 1815). One of the difficulties of the language resolution was that the Dutch language consisted of too many dialects, and that countrymen from the North and the South couldn't understand each other. Among other reasons, Barafin also used the literary argument to convince his audience that Dutch had become a foreign language in the South. He tried to show that it was not by chance that Dutch had not developed as the language of culture. People from Flanders and Brabant chose French through love of French literature – in Barafin's eyes '[…] an inexhaustible treasure trove of riches of all kinds, where the spirit and the heart find constant nourishment, a refuge against boredom, precepts of virtue, wise maxims, benevolence, humanity'.[26] Why didn't the Belgians have any good playwrights? There was sufficient talent but according to Barafin 'this poor Flemish idiom' was blatantly unsuited to the literary genre. In sum: the only language that all Belgians shared was French.[27] Moreover, the educated class in the North had mastered French too, and Barafin considered that language a suitable official language for them.[28]

Barafin's arguments defined the terms of the continuing of the Southern debate about language policy, which was unfolding in numerous daily

25 Van Goethem, 1990, pp. 107-108.

26 Barafin, 1815, p. 31: 'Un trésor inépuisable de richesses en tout genre, où l'esprit et le cœur trouvent un aliment constant, un refuge contre l'ennui, des préceptes de vertu, des maximes de sagesse, de bienfaisance, d'humanité'.

27 Barafin, 1815, p. 34: 'Ce pauvre idiome flamande'.

28 Barafin, 1815, pp. 44-45.

Amsterdam University Press

newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals.[29] These texts had provoked Jan Frans Willems. He could not accept that writers and journalists rejected Dutch as the national language or as one of the national languages: 'In the eyes of the Fatherland it could have been a crime if I had remained silent about my abilities to further an undefended case', as he phrased it in the introduction to the first volume of his *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsch tael- en letterkunde*, which appeared as a quadriptych from 1818 to 1824.[30] He wrote in the 'Preamble' to the second volume that he wanted to show 'on historical grounds' that 'Dutch had been the Southern Netherlanders' language throughout all times; but also, and principally, to assert the beauty and intrinsic value of their language, in contrast to French'.[31] The poem *Aen de Belgen. Aux Belges* (1818) forms the first panel of the *Verhandeling*, which he obviously addressed the Southern Netherlanders: the Belgians in general, and particularly the liberal journalists who had contested Dutch as the national language.

Willems opened *Aen de Belgen* with these lines:

> I too, I am a Belgian and may speak to Belgians.
> I can avenge the honour of the fatherland on whatever is alien,
> Tune my zither to a patriotic melody,
> And seek weapons against an unjust scorn.[32]

Willems' weapon was his poetry, including the associated end notes in which he tried to invalidate his opponents' arguments point by point. He did the latter in French and had also provided a French prose translation of the poem as a parallel text. In his defence of the mother tongue – 'la langue flamande' ('the Flemish language') – Willems not only employed the same language but also the arguments that his opponents had used. He focused on showing the legitimacy and dominance of national linguistics and literature. To be dominant, linguistics and literature needed to draw

29 Vosters, 2009, pp. 44-45.

30 Willems, 1819, p. 12: 'Het had in de oogen van het Vaderland eene misdaed kunnen zyn langer te verzwygen wat ik, ten voórdeele van eene onverdedigde zaek aen tewenden had'. For a thorough discussion of Willems' *Verhandeling* see De Smedt, 1984, pp. 23-127.

31 Willems, 1820-24, p. i: 'Dat het Nederduitsch door alle tyden heen by de Zuidnederlanders nationael was geweest; maer ook, en wel voornamelyk, om de schoonheden en innerlyke waerde dier Tael te betoogen, in tegenstelling van de Fransche'.

32 Willems, 1818, p. 6: 'Ik ook ik ben een Belg en mag tot Belgen spreéken. / 'K mag d'eer van 't Vaderland op 't geén haer vreémd is wreéken, / Myn Citer stemmen op een vaderlandschen toon, / En wapens zoeken voór een onverdienden hoón'.

Amsterdam University Press

upon a long and rich history: the older the literature, the greater the patriotic heritage and the more canonical texts there were in the literary pantheon which could lay claim to the hallmark 'national classic'.[33] Willems also wanted to show that 'Neêrlands tael' ('the Dutch language') had flourished earlier than French, with classic works that were not inferior to those of the southern neighbours:

> Before *Corneille's* Cid could charm the world,
> Tragedy was already reborn here in the Netherlands,
> *Vondel, Hooft* already flourished, with renown, in the city on the Amstel,
> When France's stage did not yet possess *Rotrou*;
> Nature had already given the noble *Cats* her teachings,
> When *La Fontaine's* spirit wrote his Fables;
> *De Groot* ('Grotius') had, before *Racine,* created a shrine in his rich Dutch poem,
> The truth of the Christian religion.[34]

Willems did not see it as necessarily a French privilege to possess great authors and literary classics. He also drew the comparison with Germany: he stated for example that there were words of Dutch origin in the *Nibelungenlied*. In other words, Dutch had not been derived from German, but was actually an older form of the Germanic language than German itself.[35]

Although Willems was writing to his francophone opponents about the Dutch literature of the whole kingdom, he created a small but significant difference between the Southern en Northern Netherlands in his poem. In contrast to the Northern situation he felt that literature in the Southern Netherlands had not been about great names and influential literary works, but about a nation that became proficient in linguistics and literature through centuries of contests. Various rulers from the past had supported this tradition.[36] Willems argues in the notes that in this respect

33 Casanova, 2004, pp. 14-15, 89-90.

34 Willems, 1818, p. 22: 'Eer nog *Corneilles* Cid de waereld mogt bekoóren, / Was hier in Nederland het treurspel al herboóren, / Reeds bloeyden *Vondel, Hooft,* met roem, in d'Amstelstad, / Toen Vrankryks schouwtooneel nog geen *Rotrou* bezat; / Natuer had d'edle *Cats* haer lessen al gegeéven, / Toen *La Fontaine's* geest zyn Fabels heéft geschreéven; / *De Groot* had, voór *Racine,* in zinryk Neêrduytsch dicht, / Den Godsdienst en der Deugd een Tempel opgerigt'.

35 Willems, 1818, 57-58.

36 Willems, 1818, p. 51, gives some examples in the notes. They include Jan IV (1403-1427), duke of Brabant and Limburg and active member of the Brussels chamber of rhetoric Den Boeck, and also Philip the Fair (1478-1506), ruler of the Burgundian Netherlands and involved with the Ghent chamber De Balsemblomme [The Buttercup].

Amsterdam University Press

the Netherlands had been ahead of France through this form of literary practice, and that the first chamber of rhetoric, in the small town of Diest (between Leuven and Hasselt), dated from the year 1302.[37] Willems includes the illustrious Dutch writers as well as the Southern prize winners among the 'heroes [...] who first placed the Dutch language in the light of glory'. Now that Napoleon had left, Willems thought it was time to pick up the thread and 'turn onto the honourable path' which earlier men of letters had paved for posterity.[38]

Aen de Belgen marked a new phase in Willems' authorship. He had already applauded the language resolution in his 'Ode', but he first used his polemical pen in *Aen de Belgen,* which was also a much longer, richer, and more visual poem. Moreover *Aen de Belgen* found its way to the Northern Netherlands and Luxembourg, where it was successfully distributed. Through this Willems became the first and for the time being the only Southern author to acquire recognition in Northern literary circles and by the government. Minister of Public Education, National Industry, and Colonies Falck was very enthusiastic about the work and advsed Willem I to subscribe for twenty copies of *Aen de Belgen*, which he did. The poem also signalled the breakthrough for Willems in the literary circles of the Northern Netherlands. One of the leading literary reviews from Amsterdam wrote that Willems 'assesses the Dutch and their greater civilisation and progress at the right price; he understands, praises and follows them'.[39] This Dutch outlook would allow him to convince the Belgians to be educated and 'civilised', following the Dutch example. The French-speaking compatriots declared war on Willems after *Aen de Belgen*. In the Brussels liberal press his poem was criticised and mocked and in Antwerp, where he lived, his opponents responded by circulating a premature elegy for Willems who was still in his twenties:

> Here lies a great Fleming
> Who never spoke neither French nor Latin.
> This great defender of fools
> rhymed to his heart's content
> On the banks of the Scheldt
> to amuse the frogs.[40]

37 Willems, 1818, p. 51.

38 Willems, 1818, pp. 20, 22.

39 *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1819, I, p. 446: 'schat de Hollanders en hunne meerdere beschaving en vordering op den regten prijs; hij kent, roemt en volgt dezelven'.

40 Deprez, 1966, p. 22: 'Ci gît un grand flandrin / Qui ne parla jamais ni français, ni latin. / Ce grand défenseur d'andouilles / Rimait à tire-larigot / Sur les rives de l'Escaut / Pour amuser les grenouilles'.

Amsterdam University Press

5 *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche tael- en letterkunde* (1819 and 1820-1824)

Although King Willem had determined in 1814 that Dutch would be the national language, this measure was certainly not sufficient to cause French and the influence of French culture, to disappear in the South. For the greater part, the Southern literary life continued to rely on the world of French language and culture. Therefore Willem issued a second language resolution on 15 September 1819 that consolidated the first. He permitted relative freedom of language for about another three years in West and East Flanders, Antwerp and Limburg, but ruled in a Royal Decree in 1823 that 'no other language than the language of the country', which is Dutch, should be used in all public life, in education, the administration, and judiciary. Civil servants who could not comply with the requirement in three years were transferred to Wallonia.[41] The introduction of the language rule and introduction of an ultimatum for dutchifying the 'Dutch speaking' regions had arisen because the first language resolution had had only minimal effect.

Jan Frans Willems responded enthusiastically to the new regulations: 'My delight is inexpressible', he wrote to a Northern friend.[42] The language resolution had large consequences for the continuation of his *Verhandeling*. Willems had begun this work in 1818 with *Aen de Belgen* from the defensive position that the mother tongue had to be protected. The new resolution caused that Willems reviewed his objective and decided that the *Verhandeling* 'must become an item of more lasting value, directed at the newer needs of the Belgian Reader'.[43] Instead of his initial prescriptive intentions to defend the mother tongue of the Southern Netherlands, his work gradually acquired the form of a work of literary history.[44] Hence from the second volume he called it a 'history of Belgian literature', which would also include 'a fundamental investigation into the causes and consequences of the difference between the Dutch and Flemish ways of writing'.[45] This

41 *Journal officiel*, 1819, p. 8; Vosters, 2009, pp. 401-402; De Jonghe, 1967, pp. 75-101.

42 Deprez, 1965-68, no. 43: 'Myn vreugd is onuytspreeklyk'. This Northern friend was Johannes Immerzeel jr.

43 Willems, 1820-24, pp. ii-iii: 'Een stuk van meer blyvende waerde moest worden, ingericht naer de nieuwere behoeften van den Belgischen Lezer'.

44 De Smedt 1984, p. 25.

45 Willems 1820-24, p. ii-iii: '[Ik wil my toeleggen] op de geschiedenis der Belgische letterkunde, en (waer op het thans meest schijnt aen te komen) op een grondig onderzoek naer de oorzaken en nadeelen van het verschil der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche schryfwyzen'.

Amsterdam University Press

was Willems' prelude to the new stage in Southern Netherlands letters that he felt had begun: now that the superiority of Dutch over French had been adequately proven, he focused on the differences within Dutch linguistics and literature. From there he started his work for the emancipation of Flemish culture within the Dutch nation state.

Willems had already slightly begun to draw attention to the identity and nature of Southern literature in 1818, with his 'Biographies of Poets Born in Antwerp' in the *Antwerp Almanac* and between 1826 and 1829 with his poems for the *Belgische Muzen-Almanak* ('*Belgian Muses Almanac*') in which he had chosen typical Brabant topics and style, like the romance 'Maria van Braband', the legend 'Fenelon and the cow' and the folktale 'The fire tower of Mechelen'.[46] In the second volume of the *Verhandeling* he presented a long list of Southern Netherlands authors and texts from the previous centuries (for example Justus de Harduwijn, Cornelis Kiliaan, and Domien Cracco), who had not been discussed in Northern Netherlands handbooks of literary history by Jeronimo de Vries, Matthijs Siegenbeek, and others.[47] This made his work rather ground breaking.

His approach not only differed from the Northern literary historians, but also from the normative distinction that Northern literary criticism made between the various dialects and literatures in the Kingdom. The leading journals like the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* ('*National Literary Practices*') and *De Recensent, ook der Recensenten* ('*The Reviewer and the Reviewers*') continually refers to the inferiority of literature from Flanders and Brabant in comparison with the literature of the North. This not only applied in the literary sphere but also affected '[...] the flower of nationality [itself]', which 'under the cloak of foreign rule had not [been able to] develop as well as it had here', as the critic of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* stated.[48] Northern reviewers considered Southern Netherlands writers as authors in a pre-modern uncivilised state. Willems suffered the same fate after his successful publication of the poem *Aen de Belgen* in 1818. According to the Northern press, this was a performance of stature 'that one certainly could not expect from a *Belgian* in the Southern Provinces after long neglected practice in the *Dutch* language'.[49] This reviewer came

46 Weijermars, 2015, pp. 199-202.

47 For de Vries, see Jensen, this volume. For Siegenbeek, see Rutten, this volume.

48 *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1817, I, p. 156: 'Onder de schaduw van vreemde volken, heeft de bloem der nationaliteit [zich] zoo niet [kunnen] ontwikkelen als bij ons'.

49 *De Recensent, ook der Recensenten*, 1819, I, pp. 35-37: 'Zoo als men het gewis van een' *Belg*, na eene in de Zuidelijke Provinciën lang verwaarloosde beoefening der *Nederduitsche* taal, niet konde verwachten'.

Amsterdam University Press

to the satisfactory conclusion that 'our Poet [has] developed these notions with so much fire and talent that we have no hesitation in placing him in the *second* rank of our National Poets'.[50]

Not only Willems' own work, but also the publications of his Antwerp society Tot Nut der Jeugd, had been discussed rather patronisingly in Northern literary criticism. A reviewer had written frankly about the yearly almanac that 'we [the editors, JW] regard the *Belgian* language and poetry as very poor,' partly because Southerners employed 'an old and corrupted *Dutch*'.[51] Willems tried to provide a counterweight once more, by using the literary societies, and the rhetoricians in particular to defend the quality of Southern literature. By way of reply he wrote in the introduction to his *Verhandeling* that it was highly necessary to document the historical development of the poetry and rhetorical tradition, in order to invalidate the accusations from Holland.[52] Willems kept his word, to the extent that various chambers of rhetoric from the past were reviewed in the second part of his *Verhandeling*. And he felt obliged to draw a comparison with Holland. In the chapter on the nineteenth century he indicated that there were 'as many chambers of rhetoric in existence as there are cities in this part of the Netherlands' and 'in the published prize verses of the chambers [...] several can be found in which the purity of language, good versification, and poetic aptitude are present'.[53]

Even though Willems put the relationship between the (northern) Dutch and Flemish literature under a microscope with his work, the *Verhandeling* itself did well in the North. It had no less than 430 subscribers there compared with 195 in the South.[54] His work on literary history put Willems in touch with Jeronimo de Vries, with whom he struck up a close friendship from 1820. Willems departed for the North in 1820 and made the acquaintance of many influential men in Dutch literature, including Hendrik Tollens, Johannes Immerzeel Jr., Willem Bilderdijk en Matthijs Siegenbeek. All these

50 *De Recensent, ook der Recensenten*, 1819, I, pp. 35-37: 'Dat onze Dichter deze denkbeelden met zoo veel vuur en talent ontwikkeld [heeft], dat wij geene zwarigheid maken, hem in den tweeden rang onzer Nationale Dichteren eene plaats toe te wijzen'. My emphasis.

51 *De Recensent, ook der Recensenten*, 1817, I, p. 265: '[Wij beschouwen] de *Belgische* Taal- en Dichtkunde als zeer vervallen'.

52 Willems, 1819, p. 8.

53 Willems, 1820-24, pp. 222-223: 'De meesten van hen behaelden eerepryzen by de Rethorykkamers en Dichtgenootschappen van Vlaenderen, waervan 'er zoo veél bestaen als er steden in dit deel der Nederlanden zyn. [...] Onder de uytgegeévene prysverzen der kamers [...] vind men er meer dan een, waerin zuyverheyd van tael, eene goede versificatie en dichterlyken aenleg te bespeuren zyn'.

54 Deprez, 1965-68, II, p. 375 and nos 20, 21, 29, 106.

Amsterdam University Press

contacts also led to his membership of various Northern societies. He even became correspondent of the prestigious Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut ('Royal Netherlands Institute') in Amsterdam, probably through the mediation of Jeronimo de Vries.[55]

6 Conclusion

The work of Jan Frans Willems in the period under Willem I is often regarded as a culmination of his pan-Netherlandic thought, and his unconditional love for the North and Willem I's politics. He would be a 'foreman' of Dutch supporters and a 'prominent Orangist' in the South.[56] As we have seen above, his role in the process of the construction of a Dutch or Netherlandic national identity is much more complex. In his 'Ode' and in *Aen de Belgen*, anti-French sentiments and aversion to the liberal press dominated Willems' mind. Memories of the Napoleonic period also played a particularly large part in his anti-French attitude. In his defence of the Dutch language he had to be unambiguous and he realised that a more detailed delineation of the North-South relationship could have obscured and weakened his arguments against his liberal antagonists. Therefore he chose a national, Dutch perspective.

After the language battle was fought in 1819 for the main part, Willems changed his focus and scrutinised the regional differences in the *Verhandeling* by putting the relationship between the Northern and Southern Netherlands under a microscope. He was convinced that the national literature didn't only consist of a Northern literary style and tradition, and he strongly believed that the national literary heritage comprised two equal parts, each with their own specific nature and qualities. For this reason he favoured a national literature in which the Northern and Southern parts were equally represented.

Despite of all the discussions about the Dutch as the national language, about the Dutch national literature and literary heritage, it was extremely difficult to ignore the influence of the French language and culture in the Southern provinces. No matter how much Willems had welcomed Dutch as the national language, and had renounced French in his work, he did have to admit to the Hollander Samuel Iperuszoon Wiselius in 1820 in a postscript: 'I write to you in French because I am short of time and because Flemish

55 Deprez, 1966, p. 28.
56 Lissens, 2000, p. 119 and Pauwels, 2007, p. 71.

Amsterdam University Press

does not flow as easily from my pen. I am, by misfortune, condemned to write all day in the first of these two languages'.[57]

References

P. Barafin, *Sur la langue nationale* (Brussels: Adolphe Stapleaux, 1815).

P. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge etc.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

A. Deprez (ed.), *Brieven van, aan en over Jan Frans Willems 1793-1846*, 6 vols. (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1965-1968).

A. Deprez, *Jan Frans Willems. Een bijdrage tot zijn biografie tot 1824* (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1966).

H. van Goethem, *De taaltoestanden in het Vlaams-Belgisch gerecht 1795-1935* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1990).

G. Janssens & K. Steyaert, *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies en Luxemburg onder koning Willem I. Niets meer dan een boon in een brouwketel?* (Brussels: VUB Press, 2008).

A. de Jonghe, *De taalpolitiek van Koning Willem I in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. De genesis der taalbesluiten en hun toepassing* (St. Andries-bij-Brugge: J. Darthet, 1967).

Journal officiel du Royaume des Pays-Bas, 14 (1819). Brussels: s.p.

J. Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland. Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011, revised edition).

R.F. Lissens, *Een lectuur van* Le spectateur Belge *(1815-1823) van Leo de Foere. Traditionalisme in actie* (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 2000).

J. Pauwels, 'De scheiding der geesten? De Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde en de Belgische Omwenteling', in *De prijs van de scheiding. Het uiteenvallen van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1830-1839*, ed. by F. Judo & S. van de Perre (Kapellen: Pelckmans, 2007), pp. 67-84.

E. Peeters, *Het labyrint van het verleden. Natie, vrijheid en geweld in de Belgische geschiedschrijving 1787-1850* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 2003).

Recensent, ook der Recensenten, (1806-1850). Amsterdam: Van der Hey.

57 Deprez, 1965-68, no. 89: 'Je vous écris en français parce que je suis pressé, & que le flamand ne coule pas aussi facilement de ma plume. Je suis, par malheur, condamné à écrire toute la journée dans la I^ere^ de ces deux langues'.

Amsterdam University Press

M. de Smedt, *De literair-historische activiteit van Jan Frans Willems (1793-1846) en Ferdinand Augustijn Snellaert (1809-1872)* (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1984).

L. Stynen, *Jan Frans Willems. Vader van de Vlaamse beweging* (Antwerp: De Bezige Bij, 2012).

Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen (Amsterdam: G.S. Leeneman van der Kroe en J.W. Yntema, 1814-1876).

T. Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1715-1794* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998).

R. Vosters, 'Integrationisten en particularisten? Taalstrijd in Vlaanderen tijdens het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (1815-1830)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis,* 62 (2009), 41-58.

J. Weijermars, *Stepbrothers. Southern Dutch Literature and Nation Building under Willem I, 1814-1834* (Boston etc.: Brill, 2015).

J.F. Willems, *De puyn-hoopen rondom Antwerpen of Bespiegeling op het voórledene* (Antwerp: J.S. Schoesetters, 1814).

J.F. Willems, 'Ode op de herstelling der Nederduytsche Tael doór Willem I. Prins van Oranje-Nassau, in 1814', *Antwerpschen almanach van Nut en Vermaek*, 1 (1815), 19-21.

J.F. Willems, *Quinten Matsys, of wat doet de liefde niet! Toneelspel in 2 bedryven* (Antwerp: J.S. Schoesetters 1816).

J.F. Willems, *Aen de Belgen. Aux Belges* (Antwerp: J.S. Schoesetters, 1818).

J.F. Willems, *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche tael- en letterkunde, opzigtelyk de Zuydelyke Provintien der Nederlanden*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: Wed. J.S. Schoesetters, 1819).

J.F. Willems, *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche tael- en letterkunde, opzigtelyk de Zuydelyke Provintien der Nederlanden*, vol. 2 (Antwerp: Wed. J.S. Schoesetters, 1820-1824).

L. Wils, *Van Clovis tot Di Rupo: de lange weg van de naties in de Lage Landen* (Antwerp etc.: Garant, 2005).

E. Witte, *Het verloren koninkrijk. Het harde verzet van de Belgische orangisten tegen de revolutie, 1828-1850* (Antwerp: De Bezige Bij, 2014).

E. Witte, *De constructie van België, 1828-1847* (Leuven: LannooCampus, 2006).

About the Author

Janneke Weijermars (1977) is Assistant Professor of Modern Dutch Literature at the University of Groningen. She gained her PhD at the University of

Amsterdam University Press

Antwerpen in 2012. Her dissertation *Stepbrothers. Southern Dutch literature and nation building under Willem I, 1814-1834* is published by Brill in 2015. Other publications are *Het is pas feest als Harry is geweest. 60 jaar Boekenbal 1947-2006* (2007) and (with Kris Humbeeck and Kevin Absillis) *De grote onleesbare. Hendrik Conscience herdacht* (2016). Currently she works on a research project about the correspondence of the Flemish poet Prudens van Duyse (1804-1859), together with the Huygens ING, Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren and the Letterenhuis in Antwerp.

Amsterdam University Press

9 Adriaan Kluit

Back to the Sources!

Lo van Driel and Nicoline van der Sijs

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity* (*1780-1830*). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH09

Abstract
Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807) wrote various works dedicated to the Dutch language. In 1776 he was appointed as professor of rhetoric and the Greek language and literature in Middelburg, and in 1778 he accepted a full professorship in history at Leiden university, with a special research remit in the charters and sources of the past of the United Netherlands. The thread running through his linguistic and historical work is his critical use of ancient sources, which in fact made him the first academic mediaevalist to introduce the diplomatic editing of charters. He brought to bear his study of ancient sources on both the regulation of the Dutch language and on his views on the sovereignty of the Dutch state.

Keywords: language standardization, spelling, word gender, historical sources, diplomatic editing.

1 Introduction

One of the most interesting figures to emerge from the academic world and the Republic of Letters of the second half of the eighteenth century is Adriaan Kluit. He wrote and translated poetry, did philological work, compiled word lists, and strove to develop a standard Dutch. At Leiden University he grew into an original professor of Dutch national history with a profound influence on the public discourse in the last phase of the Republic of the United Netherlands and the nascent Batavian Republic. The thread running through his linguistic and historical work is his critical use of ancient sources, which in fact made him the first academic mediaevalist

Amsterdam University Press

to introduce the diplomatic editing of charters. He brought to bear his study of ancient sources on both the regulation of the Dutch language and on his views on the sovereignty of the Dutch state. He thereby laid the foundations for a sense of unity from which in the course of the nineteenth-century scholars could mould a Dutch national identity.

2 Studies and Life at the Literary Societies

Kluit saw the light of day in Dordrecht on 9 February 1735, the eighth scion of an apothecary and a Walloon pastor's daughter. He attended the Latin school in his place of birth. From 1755 to 1760 he studied at Utrecht University, where he received a broad education in the classical languages, Dutch language and literature, history and law. His Utrecht teachers included Christiaan Trotz and Petrus Wesseling, both of German origin.[1] Wesseling aided him in his professional career while Trotz was to challenge his views.

It was as early as his student days that Kluit started to devote himself to the linguistics of Dutch. This linguistic study fitted in with the new élan that had emerged in the field and that became noticeable in the Republic of the United Netherlands around 1750. From that time onwards, there is a growing interest in the structure of the mother tongue. Great value gradually came to be placed once more on Dutch as a cultured language, even among intellectuals and scholars. They believed that improving and regulating the Dutch language would benefit Dutch society as a whole.

This increased interest in the mother tongue coupled with the Enlightenment belief that cooperation by definition leads to progress in both scholarship and society, gave rise to the establishment of various linguistic and poetic societies in the second half of the eighteenth century. A number of student groups in Leiden and Utrecht fulfilled pioneering roles in this area, and among these, Kluit was 'a *diehard* in the society circuit'.[2] In 1757 Leiden students Hendrik Arnold Kreet, Frans van Lelyveld, and Herman Tollius formed a student society named Linguaque animoque fideles ('Fellows in

1 Christiaan Hendrik Trotz (early 18th century-1773), having been born and trained as a lawyer in Germany, became a professor of public law in Franeker in 1741. In 1743 he was appointed the first Dutch professor of constitutional law in Utrecht (*NNBW*, pt. 2, 1453). Petrus Wesseling (Steinfurt 1692-1764) was educated in classical languages and theology in Embden, and continued his studies in Leiden and Franeker in 1712. In 1723 he was appointed professor of history and rhetoric in Franeker, in 1735 he relocated to Utrecht, where he became a professor of rhetoric, history and ancient Greek, and subsequently of law as well.

2 Van de Bilt, 2009, p. 235.

Amsterdam University Press

Language and Spirit').[3] Two years after the establishment of Linguaque animoque fideles some students at Utrecht University, among whom Adriaan Kluit and Meinard Tydeman,[4] decided to follow the example set by the Leiden students: they founded the society Dulces ante omnia musae ('Precious above All are the Muses') in 1759.[5] In 1761 the Leiden Linguaque animoque fideles was renamed Minima Crescunt ('Little Ones Grow Up'). From then on, members of the Utrecht society had the status of non-resident member in Leiden and vice versa. And it was in this manner that Kluit too came to join the Leiden society. There, he struck up a friendship with Leiden member Hendrik van Wijn.[6]

In November 1758, members of the Leiden society Linguaque animoque fideles founded the first journal to be wholly devoted to Dutch language and literature: *Maendelijksche by-dragen ten opbouw van Neer-land's tael- en dichtkunde* ('Monthly Contributions to the Advancement of Dutch Language and Literature'). The journal appeared in fifty monthly issues until December 1762.[7] Kreet and van Lelyveld together formed its (anonymous) editorial board. Between March 1763 and June 1767, eight issues of *Nieuwe bydragen tot opbouw der vaderlandsche letterkunde* ('New Contributions to the Advancement of the National Literature') were published as a sequel. Kluit contributed to the journal and its sequel on various occasions.

In imitation of the example of the Académie française and the Royal Society, Frans van Lelyveld sought to form a *national* society. He succeeded in garnering support for this plan from Kluit, Kreet, van Wijn, and Tydeman, among others.[8] Kluit had meanwhile become a teacher at a Latin school: while still a student, he had started teaching, first at the Latin school in

3 Hendrik Arnold Kreet (1739-1804) studied theology and law in Leiden, and practised law in Rotterdam and The Hague. Frans van Lelyveld (1740-1785) studied arts in Leiden but succeeded his deceased father as a cloth manufacturer in 1754, which left him little free time for his great love, literature. H. Tollius (1742-1822) studied arts and law in Leiden, was a professor at various universities and held various offices in the services of the Stadtholder's family. Tollius would succeed Kluit as a professor in Leiden following the latter's untimely death.

4 Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825) read law in Deventer and Utrecht, and was a professor of history, rhetoric and Greek in Harderwijk and Utrecht, was Chancellor of Overijssel from 1790 to 1795, and a librarian with Leiden University in 1801.

5 In 1775, this society produced a collection entitled *Proeve van oudheid-, taal- en dichtkunde* ('Essay on Philology, Language and Literature') edited by Meinard Tydeman, who also took care of the publication of the second part, which appeared in 1782.

6 On Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831), see van Kalmthout, this volume.

7 In 1760 and 1762 the issues were published in two collections, entitled *Tael- en Dicht-kundige By-dragen* ('Contributions on Language and Literature').

8 *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 1766: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa001176601_01/_jaa001176601_01_0001.php#1

Amsterdam University Press

Rotterdam in 1760, and subsequently in The Hague and Alkmaar. In the summer of 1766, the initiators invited a large group of scholars to Leiden to attend the inaugural meeting of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'). Its members were expected to dedicate themselves to the promotion of the study of linguistics, philology, poetry, and rhetoric. The Society became an important national society for the study of Dutch and Dutch letters.[9]

The cream of the crop within Dutch arts and sciences kept in regular contact thanks to the societies. When Kluit became the rector of the Latin school and a lecturer at the Athenaeum Illustre in Middelburg from 1769, he continued travelling to Leiden to attend meetings and he also corresponded regularly with the Society's governors about a variety of subjects.

One of the important goals the societies set themselves was to raise the quality of the Dutch language and literature. They hoped to achieved this by, on the one hand, producing literary works and, on the other hand, by holding discussions on historical-linguistic and literary peculiarities, whereby members applied to Dutch the knowledge of Latin linguistics, classical literature, and rhetoric that they had acquired at university.[10] The language of instruction at universities was still Latin. The students' efforts gradually made Dutch acceptable for everyday use, even in academic circles: in 1765, for instance, Meinard Tydeman stressed the importance of Dutch, even for the sciences, in the inaugural address he gave in Harderwijk.[11] Around 1774 Herman Tollius was the first to lecture about Dutch *in* Dutch at the university in that same city.

Kluit too pulled his weight in contributing to the societal discussions on language and literature. In the period from 1754 to 1765 he wrote several epic poems. In 1760 he published a long poem entitled 'Heilige bespiegeling ener geloovige ziele bij 's Heilants hemelvaart' ('Holy Meditation of a Religious Soul at the Saviour's Ascension') in *Maendelijksche by-dragen*. An article from his pen in the journal's next issue included a large number of annotations on the published poem. In linguistically annotating literary work, Kluit followed in the footsteps of, among others, Balthazar Huydecoper,[12] but Kluit was the first to comment on his *own* work rather than someone else's. A year later Kluit, who even among friends ranked as pedantic,

9 Cf. Honings, 2009, 2011.

10 Honings, 2009.

11 See Noordegraaf, this volume.

12 Balthazar Huydecoper (1695-1778) was the author of *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde; in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius* ('Essay on Language and Poetry; in Critical Notes on Vondel's Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses') of 1730, with numerous annotations on the work by Vondel, of which Huydecoper produced a new edition.

Amsterdam University Press

and is characterised as ambitious, vain, and over-sensitive to criticism by subsequent biographers, also annotates poetry of others.[13]

3 Kluit's Efforts on Behalf of the Dutch Language

In the first part of his life Kluit wrote various works dedicated to the Dutch language, mainly about word gender, spelling, and definition. He drew on the work done by the generation of linguists preceding him, in particular Adriaen Verwer (see section 3.1), Lambert ten Kate[14] and Balthazar Huydecoper. Kluit followed the new, 'historical' course introduced by Verwer, ten Kate, and Huydecoper. They took the usage of the past (as used by the 'Ancients') for their model since they believed that this past usage was pure and that the language had only become corrupt over time. Kluit will pursue this historical course and apply it with great verve: the thread running through his work is his study of old, mediaeval texts, which he researched both for linguistic and historical research purposes.

3.1 Kluit as a Translator

One of Kluit's first undertakings as a student was the translation of Adriaen Verwer's 1707 *Linguae Belgicae Idea Grammatica, Poetica, Rhetorica* ('Sketch of the Dutch Language, Grammar, Poetics, Rhetoric'). Verwer (1654/55-1717) was a Mennonite merchant in Amsterdam. In this work, which he published under the pseudonym of Anonymus Batavus (an anonymous Dutchman), he expounded his views on language and the study of language.

Verwer argues that, in origin, language has a regular system but that its use over time causes this to become partly lost. The study of language should consequently focus on the past so that its original character can be known and current phenomena fathomed. The object of such linguistic studies should be common rather than literary usage and exclude regional variations. For many in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the usage of the great writers was all-important. Verwer, in contrast, maintains that the 1637 *Statenvertaling* ('States Bible'), the first official Dutch-language Bible translation, should serve as the example for general usage, since this

13 Van de Bilt, 2009, p. 136, 163; Schöffer, 1985, pp. 12-15.

14 Lambert ten Kate (1674-1731) was the author of the two-part *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* ('Introduction to the Study of the Elevated Part of the Dutch Language', i.e. its etymology) of 1723.

Amsterdam University Press

translation had its roots in older translations, such as the Gothic Bible, and in a written-language tradition from Melis Stoke to Grotius; in his opinion, true regularity was to be found in Middle Dutch. Only the government could, in his view, determine what the 'Gemeenen-Lants-tale', the standard language, ought to be like, and the government had authorised the *Statenbijbel*, which had evolved from consultation between learned men from all regions. This authorisation did not only apply to the contents, he asserts, but also to the use of language and spelling; others, however, were of the opinion that the authorisation only concerned the contents. Verwer's ideas were innovative, both because of their underlying principles and because of the empirical-inductive method he employed. Verwer was one of the first to call linguistic attention to Middle Dutch. Through Verwer's contacts with leading linguist Lambert ten Kate his views would come to have considerable influence.[15]

Given its date of publication, it is remarkable that Verwer's work was written in Latin: in this period, works on the vernacular also appeared *in* the vernacular. Contemporaries hence criticised the language choice that Verwer had made to express his views. This may have been the reason that Adriaan Kluit translated the work into Dutch under the title *Letterkonstige, dichtkonstige en redekonstige schetse van de Nederduitsche tale* ('Literary, Poetic, and Rhetoric Sketch of the Dutch Language'). Kluit states in 1759 that he has finished the Dutch translation.[16] However, he does not publish it as yet, although by 1763 he still intends to, as transpires from the article about spelling he publishes that year. Even so, it did not happen and the work remained in manuscript until its discovery in the library of Leiden University in the 1990s and its publication some years later.[17]

In his various works, Kluit praises Verwer's ideas, with which he had become thoroughly familiar through his translation work. Kluit surely owes his interest in Middle Dutch and in the older Dutch sources at least in part to Verwer's work.

3.2 Word Gender

Kluit turned the linguistic knowledge he had acquired to practical account as he brought out the fifth edition of his great-uncle David van Hoogstraten's

15 Verwer's *Idea* appeared in a second edition in 1783, published in Verwer, 1996. Also see van der Sijs, 2004, pp. 423-424. On Verwer, cf. van Driel, 1992, 1996.

16 In his *Lijst der meest gebruikelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden* ('List of the Most Common Nouns') dating from 1759, pp. xxxi-xxxii, 159.

17 Van de Bilt & Noordegraaf, 2002.

Amsterdam University Press

Lijst der meest gebruikelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden ('List of the Most Common Nouns'). Van Hoogstraten (1658-1724) – a deputy rector at the Latin school in Amsterdam who himself hailed from Rotterdam – wished to record the gender of nouns in his 1700 *Aenmerkingen over de geslachten der zelfstandige naemwoorden* ('Notes on the Gender of Nouns'). In this period, great store was set by a correct use of case forms and pronouns: the ability to distinguish between the different word genders and cases was reckoned to be an essential characteristic of civilised usage.[18] There was a problem, however. According to the grammars, written Dutch used three genders whereas spoken Dutch only had *de* and *het* words. Due to this discrepancy between written and spoken language, linguistic instinct no longer served as a guide when deciding on the gender of a word. Van Hoogstraten therefore published his *Aenmerkingen* as an aid. In his opinion, linguistic authority on correct usage and, in particular, gender lay with the great authors of literary works, a view that many of his contemporaries shared. He looked up in literary works, especially Vondel's and Hooft's, which gender writers assigned to a certain word. He recorded the words alphabetically, stating gender and source. The alphabetical word list was not only used to look up the gender of a word but also its spelling. The work met a need: new editions appeared in 1710 (1711), 1723, 1733, 1759, and 1783. From its third edition, which appeared in 1723, the work was entitled *Lijst der gebruikelykste zelfstandige naemwoorden* ('List of the Most Common Nouns').

Kluit produced the fifth edition of this successful work. He increased the number of entries, added extensive notes à la Huydecoper, and adapted some of van Hoogstraten's choices. In the preface (pp. xxiii-xxiv), he defended, for instance, the spelling *aa* and *ij* instead of *ae* and *y*, which van Hoogstraten had chosen. This was a well-known moot point of the time, with *ae* and *y* being the received, traditional spelling. Much like Verwer, Kluit is critical of Arnold Moonen's 1706 grammar, which still held sway in the eighteenth century. Moonen's guideline for this user's grammar had been the language of the great seventeenth-century writers, in particular Vondel. Kluit criticises Moonen's grammar for containing too many artificial rules and for not being based on the features of Dutch.[19]

As he edited the *Lijst,* Kluit put into practice the ideas that the literary societies espoused. Improving and civilising the mother tongue not only tied in with their striving for refined language; it was also considered a societal necessity, a national duty. General opinion held that improving the

18 See van der Sijs, 2004, pp. 452-458.

19 Kluit, 1759, p. xv.

Amsterdam University Press

Dutch language would help improve Dutch society as a whole.[20] The lack of uniform rules as to spelling and grammar was felt to be an important deficiency.[21]

Kluit's revised edition was given a long review by Hendrik Arnold Kreet in the *Maendelijksche by-dragen* for June 1759 (pp. 121-132). Although largely positive, it also has some severe criticisms: Kreet feels that the work was assembled in too much haste, and he provides some examples to prove his point. He is especially critical of the spelling choice *aa*, which he calls a *misstal* ('mistake').

Kluit was also responsible for the sixth, considerably enlarged edition, which appeared in 1783. Now, the actual *Lijst* is preceded by an almost hundred-page introduction devoted to gender rules because, Kluit argues, setting out rules will help language users learn the gender of a word more readily. He reasons that originally, in Middle Dutch, there were set rules for gender, and he now strives to retrieve this original regularity by using the gender that refined language or authoritative writers attributed to the words in the word list. He mainly bases his gender rules on suffixes and endings, but he also formulates some general rules: for example, names of trees are usually masculine while fruits are, as a rule, feminine, hence *den abricoos* ('the apricot tree') and *de abricoos* ('the fruit').

These rules were largely adopted by Pieter Weiland in his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* ('Dutch Grammar', 1805), and they also appear in many later nineteenth-century grammars.[22] Weiland's grammar had, incidentally, been assessed as to its suitability for publication by Adriaan Kluit, Meinard Tydeman, Matthijs Siegenbeek, and J.H. van der Palm, at the request of the Society.[23] It would not be until 1866 that Kluit's gender list was replaced with De Vries and Te Winkel's *Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Nederlandsche taal* ('Word List for the Spelling of the Dutch Language').[24]

3.3 Dutch Compared with Other Languages

In 1761 Kluit published an article entitled 'Vergelijking van onze Nederd. tael met die der Hoogduitschen' ('Comparison of our Dutch Language with High German') in *Maendelijksche by-dragen*. In it, he emphasised the unique

20 Van de Bilt, 2009, pp. 74-75, 242-245.

21 Bakker, 1977, pp. 121-125; van de Bilt, 2009, pp. 166-211.

22 See Noordegraaf, this volume.

23 See the introduction and the chapters by Rutten and Krol for more information about Tydeman, Siegenbeek and van der Palm.

24 Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 454; for the reception of Kluit's *Lijst* see van de Bilt, 2009, pp. 155-159.

Amsterdam University Press

character of Dutch: he pointed out the strong points of Dutch compared to German but also stressed that there was still much that needed to be improved in Dutch.

Two years later, in 1773, he wrote an article: 'Brief, over Theodoricus, Diederik, Diet, Eo en Ie, Leudi, Feudum, Alodium' ('Letter, on Theodoricus, Diederik, Diet, Eo en Ie, Leudi, Feudum, Alodium'); however, it was not published until 1775, when it appeared in *Proeve van Oudheid-, taal- en dichtkunde* ('Essay on Philology, Language, and Literature'). Drawing on a meticulous study of his source material, Kluit discusses the affinity between the words in his title. This use of sources will occupy an increasingly important place in his subsequent career.

3.4 Spelling

As long as rules have been formulated for spelling – since the late sixteenth century – they have been debated. Matters were hardly different in the eighteenth century, and Kluit played an important role in the discussions. In 1763 he published his proposal for the spelling of vowels in 'Eerste vertoog over de tegenwoordige spelling der Nederduitsche taal, vergeleken met de spelling der ouden, en uit dezelve ene soort van evenredigheit opgemaakt' ('First Exposition on the Current Spelling of Dutch, Compared with the Old Spelling, and Drawn up from this a Kind of Correspondence') in *Nieuwe Bydragen tot de opbouw der vaderlandsche letterkunde*. A sequel appeared in 1777, when he published his proposal for the spelling of consonants in 'Vertoog over de tegenwoordige spelling der Nederduitsche taal' ('Exposition on the Current Spelling of Dutch') in part three of *Werken van de Maetschappy der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leyden* ('Proceedings of the Leiden Society of Dutch Language and Literature').

Kluit took the view that the oldest Dutch, the mediaeval language dating from before the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), had a much more regular spelling system. He studied Middle Dutch texts to trace the regularity of this spelling system and its development until his own times. Here, then, he turns Verwer's teachings into practice. As he did so, the phonetic principle was key: he based spelling on pronunciation – to wit, the pronunciation of the 'gemeene landtaal', the standard language. In 1763 he still hoped to restore the old regularities but he abandoned this idea in 1777, letting current usage prevail.

As to the vowels, Kluit opted for a system of five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*), which may be long or short. In open syllables he represents the long sound through one vowel (*muren, banen*), in closed syllables he spells double vowels: *muur*

Amsterdam University Press

and *baan*. In other words, he rejects the traditional spelling *baen*. A special rule applies to *e* and *o*: originally, these are not only pronounced short and long but also 'sharp-long' (as a diphthongal half-close); Kluit views this last as a diphthong, and that is why he always doubles the letters: *ee* and *oo*, even in open syllables, hence *teeken, koopen* with sharp-long vowels, besides *steken, loten* with long vowels. Moreover, he writes *ij* instead of *y* (*schrijven, wijn*) in Dutch words; the letter *y* is solely used in words of Greek provenance. The various viewpoints that Kluit adopted vis-à-vis the spelling of vowels had all been put forward prior to 1763. A combination of these different views, however, had not.[25]

The modern spelling of Dutch verb forms is also indebted to Kluit. He took on the subject in 1777, as part of his work on the consonants. Kluit opts for the uniform spelling *brood* (because of *broden*). For the verb, he defends the spelling *ik brand, hij brandt* because of *hij leeft*, and the past participle *bekeerd*, because of *bekeerde*.

In these choices too Kluit was preceded by others (for instance, the *dt* rule for *hij brandt* had already appeared in Arnold Moonen's 1706 authoritative *Nederduitsche spraekkunst* 'Dutch Grammar'), but, again, Kluit was the first to come up with the combination of choices. Sensitive to the spirit of the time, Kluit chose all that was good in his predecessors' work: if common usage had meanwhile gone in another direction, he favoured this. As a result, his choices were readily accepted – even though, naturally, contemporaries would voice their criticisms on minor details – and subsequent generations of linguists have similarly adopted in their works the combinations of choices that Kluit was the first to codify. Kluit's pragmatic work on the subject of spelling and gender thus left its mark for a long time. The views that Kluit put forward in his essays on spelling were retained almost unchanged by Matthijs Siegenbeek in his *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling* ('Treatise on Dutch Spelling'), the first official spelling of Dutch.[26] Even the principles behind the spelling regulation that Matthias de Vries and Lambert te Winkel used for their 1863 *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('Dictionary of the Dutch Language') are modern scholarly reformulations of rules set out by Kluit.

25 Van de Bilt, 2009, p. 194.

26 See Rutten, this volume. The Society had authorised Kluit and Tydeman to study the Siegenbeek spelling. This was found to be suitable and upon the Society's advice, it was officially introduced by the government in 1804 (*Gedenkboek bij het 200-jarig bestaan van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), p. 76: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003196602_01/_jaa003196602_01_0003.php).

Amsterdam University Press

3.5 The Dictionary

Outside the Society of Dutch Language and Literature, but especially within it, a need arose for a good, general descriptive dictionary in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The story from the first private and societal endeavour to construct such a dictionary to what will eventually become Matthias de Vries and Lambert te Winkel's *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* has been the object of various studies. In 2004 van de Bilt gave a full portrayal, in which he quoted extensively from letters, reports, plans, and memorandums, of the eighteenth-century initiative to realise such a dictionary, including Kluit's contribution.[27]

Kluit wholeheartedly subscribed to the aspirations of the Society's dictionary project and vigorously involved himself in the plan for the envisaged *Woordenboek*. He gave detailed comments on the *Beredeneerd Plan* ('Reasoned Plan', 1773), which stated the dictionary's objectives and any requirements to be met. He also took a seat on the committee that was to draw up the *Ontwerp* ('Design'), a guideline for prospective contributors to the dictionary.

However, Kluit did not stop at giving comments, advice or guidelines. He went even further and produced a definition of a word, to wit his *Proeve van 't woord boom* ('Sample of the Word Tree'). He demonstrated amply 'how one ought to construct a general, descriptive dictionary of the Dutch language'. It has convincingly been demonstrated that the sample definition of *boom* was drafted by Kluit as an appendix to his 1773 *Aanmerkingen op het maken van een Woordenboek der Nederduitsche Taal* ('Comments on Compiling a Dictionary of the Dutch Language').[28] This appendix was not published.

Kluit thus seems to have already drafted his sample entry by around 1773, yet the Society did not do much with it. This definition of *boom* was not published until much later, via Pieter Weiland, to be precise. In 1799 the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Allart brought out the first part of Pieter Weiland's *Nederduitsch Taalkundig woordenboek* ('Dutch Linguistic Dictionary'). When Kluit set eyes on this, he found that Weiland had put a great deal of serious work into making a dictionary, and Kluit thereupon sent him his *boom* sample. In the preface to the second part of his *Nederduitsch Taalkundig woordenboek* Pieter Weiland writes that he had received a letter from Adriaan Kluit on 18 June 1799, in which the latter stated that he had been pleasantly surprised by the publication of the first part of the

27 Leerssen, 2006, p. 11, erroneously dates 'the initiative' of the *WNT* at around 1840.
28 Van de Bilt, 2004, pp. 147-149.

Amsterdam University Press

dictionary: 'Of this Mr Kluit has sent me, simultaneously with the aforementioned letter, something, namely, the word *boom*, from which I could detect his manner of treatment, and which I also employed, as much as the plan I had already decided on allowed, as I dealt with this second part'.[29]

Not long afterwards, Kluit's sample entry was published, twice even. In 1801 the *Proeve van 't woord Boom* appeared as a separate publication. The same year also saw the publication of Kluit's *Proeve* in the *Konst- en Letterbode* ('Magazine for Art and Literature'). When, at the close of the nineteenth century, the editors of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* reached the definition of the word 'boom' they stated that 'this word and its compounds were dealt with in exemplary manner by A. Kluit in his *Proeve van 't woord Boom* towards the end of the previous century, and rather a great deal has been borrowed from this for the following entries.'

In his *Proeve* Kluit fulfilled all the requirements for the Society's dictionary as laid down in the *Beredeneerd Plan* and the *Ontwerp*. There is no substantial difference in opinion between the Society and himself. In his *Proeve* he illustrates in detail the different meanings of the word, after which he lists its various uses and proverbs and deals with the possible compounds with the word. He does so meticulously, always acknowledging his sources, and illustrating uses with examples from numerous texts.

In his sample entry Kluit not only gives definitions of the various meanings but he also devotes attention, and systematically so, to the collocations of the headword with other lexical items and to the role of *boom* in compound and derived words. Adducing quotations, he demonstrates that the word indeed carries a certain meaning or is used in a certain combination. To this end Kluit draws on a considerable number of sources, both literary and non-literary, including charters and resolutions, specialist literature and publications of a regional nature. Further, he refers to spoken usage and to language as employed in various professional fields and in various regions. For every quotation, a source is given. However, the quotations do not show chronologically how different meanings and combinations have evolved historically, as Kluit and the *Beredeneerd Plan* had aimed for. They merely serve as evidence of a certain meaning or combination.

Kluit aimed to collect all meanings and possible uses of the word under discussion, from all available sources and from all language areas. He restricted himself to defining the various meanings and word forms without being judgemental. Yet he must have realised that his definitions would have a normative effect. What had been incorporated and defined could

29 Weiland, 1801, p. II.

Amsterdam University Press

be deemed to be proper Dutch. What was not to be found in his dictionary had better not be used. To rescue words from an undeserved fate, comprehensiveness had to be the overriding aim: Kluit wished to map the entire Dutch lexicon, past and present, as employed in cultured written usage, in everyday usage, in professional usage and in dialects. Van de Bilt posits that if this working method were adhered to, Kluit's dictionary would become much more comprehensive than the French *Dictionnaire* (1694), Adelung's *Wörterbuch* (1775-1786), or Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), and that it is for this reason that none of these dictionaries served him as a direct example.[30]

Kluit was also engaged upon collecting material for the dictionary. For instance, he excerpted Lodewijk van Velthem's *Spieghel Historiael* and Vondel's *Jephta,* compiled word lists from works by other writers, with Latin glosses and notes, listed items from an ironmonger's inventory. He furthermore collected dialect words on Walcheren, and sent these to the Society around 1781.[31]

Kluit devoted himself to the dictionary from its very inception and would continue to do so until the end. He regularly sent in comments, extracts, and word lists and variously served on the umpteenth committee set up by the Society to ensure the progress of the Dictionary. Even so, in the 1770s he increasingly focused his efforts on Dutch national history.

4 Kluit's Efforts on Behalf of Dutch National History

After his stint, since 1769, as rector of the Latin school in Middelburg and as a lecturer at the Athenaeum Illustre, Kluit was appointed professor of rhetoric and Greek language and literature in the same city in 1776. During his Middelburg years Kluit grew into an authoritative historian in the field of Dutch history. His language study had taught him how to use and interpret old, Middle Dutch sources, and he brought this knowledge to bear on his study of Dutch history. He concentrated on original research of the oldest charters of the counts of Holland and Zeeland in various archives. This resulted in 1777 in the standard book *Historia Critica comitatus Hollandiae et Zeelandiae*: the first thorough, critical history of the counties of Holland and Zeeland, adapted from the original sources.[32]

30 Van de Bilt, 2004, p. 151.

31 Van de Bilt, 2003.

32 *NNBW*. In 1782 he published an annotated list of sources. With the publications of these archivalia Kluit aimed at a modernised extension of the four-volume *Groot charterboek der*

Amsterdam University Press

4.1 Professor of Dutch National History

The significance of Kluit's efforts did not escape the attention of the university of Leiden, and in 1778 Kluit was invited to accept a full professorship in history, with a special research remit in the charters and sources of the past of the United Netherlands. The chair, which had been established especially for him, tied in with the historical research he had begun in Middelburg. It was possibly not just Kluit's scholarly achievements that were decisive in his being offered the Leiden appointment; political views may also have played a role.[33] On 18 January 1779 Kluit accepted his professorship, the first chair in national history in a university in the Dutch Republic.

His inaugural speech, entitled *Oratio de jure quo Belgae legitimo suo Principi ac Domino Philippo imperium abrogaverint*, appeared in a Dutch translation in the same year: *Inwijingsrede over 't recht, 't welk de Nederlanders gehad hebben, om hunnen wettigen vorst en heer Philips, koning van Spanje, aftezweren* ('Inaugural Speech on the Right of the Dutch to Abrogate their Lawful Ruler and Lord, Philip, King of Spain'). In this speech, Kluit applied the theory of the superioritas territorialis, the ruler's territorial sovereignty.[34] Until then, this approach had been little-known in our country. In Kluit's days as a Utrecht student, the sovereignty of the states was widely supported. In circles of law and administration it was felt to be of great importance to develop a theory that legitimised the northern States-General's abjuration of Spanish ruler Philip II in 1581 and that underpinned the idea of the sovereignty of the state – and, with it, a legitimate political Dutch identity. While not fundamentally contesting the sovereignty of the states and cities, Dutch jurists gradually started to adopt a more nuanced way of thinking about the matter under the growing influence of German legal historians. Because of its particular political situation featuring a large number of sovereign states, Germany had, for practical-legal reasons, seen relatively many publications on power relations and on laws relating to territories.

graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en heeren van Vriesland ('Great Charter Book of the Counts of Holland, of Zeeland and the Lords of Vriesland'), compiled by Frans van Mieris jnr (1689-1763). Cf. the first paragraph of the word of introduction in A.C.F. Koch, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299*, dl. 1, Eind van de 7e eeuw tot 1222 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970), p. VII.

33 In his commemorative speech held during the annual general meeting of the Society J.W. te Water stated that Kluit's appointment in 1779 had presumably been offered for 'more than one reason', cf. *Handelingen der jaarlyksche vergadering van de maatschappy der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leyden* (1807) pp. 2-8, q.v. p. 6. (Boo, 2014, p. 18, n. 19).

34 Cf. Boutelje, 1920, especially chapter 2 on the theory of the superioritas territorialis, pp. 32-50.

Amsterdam University Press

In his inaugural address Kluit applied the constitutional theory of the sovereignty of states and cities to the mediaeval counts in our regions, pursuing his line of reasoning until his own times. Kluit's argument was that the counts and rulers reigning over the Low Countries since the Middle Ages had a sovereign right to their area, a right of inheritance. From 1477 the House of Habsburg ruled over the Dutch regions. On signing the so-called Great Privilege on 11 February 1477, Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, had given a number of privileges to the States-General of the Netherlands but this transfer of rights merely amounted to a form of delegation, according to Kluit, rather than act whereby the States attained sovereignty. In Kluit's view, the Dutch revolt of 1566 against the rightful ruler Philip II was not legally justifiable, even though he 'violated their privileges, freedoms, and rights'. The right of revolt was only lawful as an act of self-defence against suppression. With the repression Philip abused his rights.

This speech caused a great controversy. Kluit's colleagues Cras in Amsterdam and his old teacher Trotz in Utrecht entered the fray and several dissertations appeared on the matter.[35]

In Leiden Kluit lectured legal history and constitutional law. To accompany his lectures, he published *Primae lineae collegii diplomatico-historico-politici*, 'Eerste regels voor het college diplomatisch-historische staatskunde' ('First Rules Accompanying the Lectures on Diplomatic-Historical Politics', 1780). Kluit was a pioneer in this area of historiography. It is thanks to his efforts, and in particular his postulate that in historiography any evidence must be traced to its source, notably the charters, that the field adopted a more scholarly approach. Historiographers could be consulted, but these were, in principle, less reliable. Kluit thus spent a great deal of time on the ars diplomatica, or the study of charters. In his lectures he stressed the importance of palaeographical knowledge for a better deciphering of the charters, and of an understanding of the science of chronology for a precise dating and interpreting of the documents.

Kluit did not only use Latin but Dutch too as the language in which to publish and teach about the Republic of the Netherlands, thus uniting his love of the Dutch language with that of Dutch history. Whether Kluit was greatly influential in this respect among students is dubious: the number of students he attracted was extremely scant, and in some years he did not even have a single student – professedly because most Leiden students were Patriots or pro-French.[36]

35 Cf. *NNBW*, pt. 3 s.v. 'Kluit'.
36 Van de Bilt, 2009, p. 107.

Amsterdam University Press

4.2 Political Controversies

In 1783 Kluit accepted the rectorship of Leiden University. In 1789 he was appointed as a tutor to the Hereditary Prince, Willem. Yet in many respects things were not going Kluit's way. On the one hand, his historical-constitutional views caused him to be at variance with the more or less official viewpoint held by many colleagues and governors, sc. that the States-General (and, alternatively, the provincial estates and the town governments) were the original bearers of sovereignty. On the other hand, he opposed the then emerging principle of the sovereignty of the people as formulated among Patriots and by French thinkers. Kluit was averse to any kind of popular control or influence. His paper *De souvereiniteit der Staten van Holland verdedigd tegen de hedendaagsche leer der volksregering* ('The Sovereignty of the States of Holland Defended against the Contemporary Principle of Popular Government', 1785; 2nd ed. 1788) caused quite a commotion. In it, he spoke out strongly against the two-volume *De grondwettige herstelling van Nederlands staatswezen* of 1785 and 1786 ('The Constitutional Reform of the Dutch State'), in which the Dutch Patriots had set forth their ideas on constitutional reform. Kluit's *Redevoering over het misbruik van het algemeen staatsrecht* ('Speech on the Abuse of General Constitutional Law, Leiden, 1787') had the same issue for its subject. His three-volume *Historiae foederum Belgii Foederati primae lineae* (1790-1791) is an attempt at a historical and legal elaboration of the sovereignty question into a reliable overview of the development of the polities.

Kluit turned to the past to justify and legitimise his political Orangist views. He believed that the economic prosperity of the Netherlands could only be safeguarded through the Stadtholdership. These views brought him into conflict with the Patriots, who in their pursuit of democracy sought to curtail the absolutism of Stadtholder Willem V. Kluit's main opponent was his Leiden colleague Jean (Johan) Luzac (1746-1807), a descendant of a Huguenot family. Luzac was known to be a Patriot and to advocate an aristocratic democracy. In September 1785 he accepted the professorship in Greek and the national history of the Republic in Leiden. Since taking office, Kluit had given his remit a wide interpretation: he had taken the liberty of not only lecturing on the polities of the Middle Ages and their carry-over effect in subsequent centuries – in conformity with his appointment – but also, in fact, of dealing with all of Dutch national history from the perspective of agreements and other diplomatic documents. When Luzac took up his appointment, Kluit announced the extension of his subject at the start of a new course of lectures, adding he would discuss matters in the light

Amsterdam University Press

of a book that was known as distinctly Orangist.[37] Luzac lodged a protest with the curators against this annexation of his field. Memorandums and letters flew backwards and forwards as the question festered for a year, with Kluit's lectures meanwhile being forbidden. The conflict, which had, moreover, become publicly known via a newspaper report, ended with Kluit's remit being restricted and a financial compensation.[38] At issue had been jealousy on Luzac's part, Kluit felt.[39]

Following the 1789 revolution, France gradually began to confront its neighbouring countries with the revolutionary ideas. The Republic of the United Netherlands with its regents and a Stadtholder was considered an opponent. The French revolutionary government declared war on our country and it was thus that the French army invaded the territory of the Republic on 1 February 1793. The Patriots saw the French as allies. In 1795 Stadtholder Willem V fled to England and a Patriot government was installed, which changed the name of the Republic into 'Batavian Republic'.

Difficult times lay ahead for professors with strong political views. In these years of turmoil, Kluit published two papers that left nothing to be guessed at as to his opinions. In both his *De rechten van den mensch in Frankrijk geen gewaande rechten in Nederland* ('The Rights of Man in France not Seen as Rights in the Netherlands', 1793) and in his *Iets over den laatsten Engelschen oorlog met de Republiek, en over de Nederlandse koophandel, deszelfs bloei, verval, en middelen van herstel* ('On the Latest English War with the Republic, and on the Dutch Trade, its Flourishing, Decline, and Means of Recovery', 1794) he targeted the in his eyes revolutionary doctrine of popular sovereignty and the views of the Patriots, who he held accountable for the economic and social decline of the Republic. Kluit thought in terms of a Dutch identity that had evolved historically, and in this case had been defined in relation to other states, on which its prosperity depended. With the arrival of the Patriots in the 1780s the public discourse had increasingly focused on abstract political categories of popular sovereignty and civic participation and these confused any analysis of the Dutch decline, Kluit argued. The only solution lay in a proper understanding of the historical function of the Republic within a European context, and a clear definition of the position it should assume in the future.[40]

37 Hugenholtz, 1981, pp. 145-147.
38 Vrij, 1971.
39 Boutelje, 1920, p. 20.
40 Boom, 2014, pp. 72-81.

Amsterdam University Press

At the time of their publication, these texts amounted to an act of independence.[41] Sanctions were bound to follow, however: the universities had to be purged. Kluit was removed from office in 1795, as was his rival Luzac, incidentally. He withdrew and restricted himself to giving private lectures.

In these years he worked at his magnum opus, the five-volume *Historie der Hollandsche Staatsregeling tot aan het jaar 1795* ('History of the Dutch Polity up to the Year 1795', Amsterdam 1802-1805). It is in particular the first two volumes that have earned praise from historians for being a, for that time, modern and thorough overview of the history of our polities. The manner in which Kluit dealt with Dutch national history and, in particular, the history of the polities in an age that did not yet know the kind of archival system that was to be developed in the nineteenth century was groundbreaking. Lacking Kluit's preliminary work, Schöffer argues, authoritative nineteenth-century historians such as Thorbecke and Fruin could not have written their publications on Dutch polities.[42] Other than in his lectures, Kluit did not need to limit himself here, in this large, five-volume work, to the history of the period until 1572, when the Republic was formed. In fact, his study of the pre-Republic era, which included the Germanic period and the rule of the Counts, made Kluit the first mediaevalist at a Dutch university. As the basis for his work he used the methodology of what he termed the 'diplomatic', the study of charters.[43]

Kluit's work does not yet show any trace of the romantic approach to the Middle Ages that characterises the changes in the nineteenth-century cultural-historical perspective. Studying the Middle Ages and the history of the first two centuries of the Republic was not an act of 'pure science' for Kluit: his legal research served a major social purpose. It is precisely in the focus on laws, measures, and agreements that jurists would find a firm footing. That the study of documents and characteristics of chancery writing concomitantly achieved great progress goes without saying. The study of style and language, in which Kluit had engrossed himself from an early age, was a constant element of his research.

In 1802 Kluit was rehabilitated. He now also lectured in statistics, a subject in which he had earlier given private lectures. Statistics did not have the meaning it has today. The word is not so much derived from *staat* ('table') as from Italian *statista* ('statesman'). The statistics that Kluit and his contemporaries practised could be described as applied political science

41 *NNBW*, dl. 3.
42 Schöffer, 1985.
43 Hugenholtz, 1981, p. 156.

Amsterdam University Press

or political economy. Political science shows what a state should be like, political history recounts what it was like while statistics describes what it is in reality.[44] It does not concern situations, states of affairs or facts but deals with socio-economic consequences. Having spread from Germany, the approach was relatively new.[45] Kluit introduced the subject at the university, and after his death it became a compulsory subject in Leiden.

5 To Conclude

On 12 January 1807 the well-known gunpowder disaster took place, when a ship loaded with gunpowder exploded in the centre of Leiden: approximately 160 people lost their lives in the disaster while over 2000 were injured.[46] There were two professors among the casualties: Adriaan Kluit and Jean Luzac. In the Society's annual general meeting in July of that year, chairman J.W. te Water recalled the two scholars' 'exceptional services to our Literary Society'. He calls Kluit's revised edition of the *Lijst der meest gebruikelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden* 'clear proof of the incessant labour to grace our fair mother tongue', and he diplomatically observes the following about his *Historie der Hollandsche Staatsregeling tot aan het jaar 1795*: 'Notwithstanding the fact that not all judged the entire content similarly, or agreed with the author as to every detail, yet each recognised that the merits of this Constitutional History are exceptionally great.'

Thus far the verdict from his contemporaries. From our current perspective, we may conclude that Kluit's influence lies in the fact that he throughout his life emphasised both the linguistic and the historical value of ancient sources, and showed in actual practice how a careful, critical approach to ancient sources can be deployed in moulding both the Dutch language and the Dutch national history.

Kluit believes that scientific research is conducted for the benefit of society as a whole. Spelling rules, the standardisation of grammar and lexicographical research should likewise serve to benefit humanity. The exchange of thoughts

44 Van Deursen, 1971, p. 9.

45 These scholars are discussed in relation to Adriaan Kluit in the fine thesis by Matthijs Boom, *Een oude constitutie* ('An Old Constitution', 2014), as are the French and English political philosophers who were of major importance for the French revolution and the foundations of the American Republic.

46 Cf. the animation by Museum De Lakenhal (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JA4olcVuH8, December 2014). Recent information about the disaster in A. Ponsen & E. van der Vlist (eds.), *Het fataal evenement. De buskruitramp van Leiden in 1807* (Leiden: Uitgeverij Gingko, 2007).

Amsterdam University Press

gains from careful usage. This requires codification, regulations about orthography, and grammatical standards. These standards are to be derived from the historical development of the language. In his work as a linguist, moreover, he fulfilled a mediating role between those generations of linguists that preceded and succeeded him, and he made choices in accordance with general usage, which were generally accepted due to the pragmatism that underlay these choices. In his linguistic work he followed the example and ideas of such predecessors as Adriaen Verwer and David van Hoogstraten but gave these a twist of his own, or he combined predecessors' earlier choices to form a consistent whole. Thus we have Kluit to thank for the modern Dutch spelling of verbs. His choices in the area of spelling and gender were in line with the Zeitgeist and were therefore readily accepted by contemporaries and adopted by the next generation, in particular by Petrus Weiland, who produced the first (and last) official grammar of Dutch. This made Kluit an important trailblazer, who left his mark until well into the nineteenth century.

As a historian, however, he was controversial because of his political views, which he sought to underpin by his study of ancient documents. His views on Dutch national history have, consequently, not been adopted, in stark contrast to the methods he introduced: Kluit introduced the Netherlands to a method of researching source material that is based on diplomatic and palaeographic knowledge. Criticism of a debatable use of such terms as *sovereignty*, *freedom* and *representation* is a recurrent theme in his work.[47] Obviously, this illustrates the changes in meaning of political notions.

Kluit's politico-historical description of the legal foundations of the Republic is grounded in the evolution of the law as laid down in archivalia. Kluit's publications on the legitimacy of the Republic's polity constituted a breeding ground for the discussion on the form of government in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, and thus for the process of nation-building and the moulding of a Dutch identity.

References

A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 10 (1862), available through http://dbnl.org/tekst/aa__001biog12_01/aa__001biog12_01_0399.php.

D.M. Bakker, 'De taalkunde van de negentiende eeuw', in *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde*, ed. by D.M. Bakker & G.R.W. Dibbets (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1977), pp. 113-160.

47 Boom, 2014, p. 6.

Amsterdam University Press

J.P. de Bie, G.P. van Itterzon, & J. Lindeboom, *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 5 (1943), available through http://dbnl.org/tekst/bie_005biog05_01/bie_005biog05_01_0020.php.

I. van de Bilt, 'Een dialectbriefje uit de 18de eeuw. Het WNT en de Walcherse woorden van Adriaan Kluit', *Trefwoord* (2003), available through http://ivdnt.org/images/stories/onderzoek_en_onderwijs/publicaties/trefwoord/vandebilt.pdf

I. van de Bilt, 'Kluit, A.', in *Bio- en bibliografisch lexicon van de neerlandistiek* (2003), available through http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/anr0001bioe01_01/klui002.php.

I. van de Bilt, 'Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807) als lexicograaf', *Voortgang. Jaarboek van de Neerlandistiek* 22 (2004), available through http://dbnl.org/tekst/_v000042004 01_01/_v000042004 01_01_0006.php.

I. van de Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers. Adriaen Verwer (ca. 1655-1777), Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807) en de Nederlandse taalkunde van de achttiende eeuw* (diss. VU Amsterdam, 2009).

I. van de Bilt & J. Noordegraaf, *Adriaen Verwer. Letterkonstige, dichtkonstige en redenkonstige schetse van de Nederduitsche tale. Uit het Latijn vertaald door A. Kluit naar de editie -1707*, Cahiers voor Taalkunde 18 (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek & Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2000).

M. Boom, *Een oude constitutie. Geschiedenis en politiek in het werk van Adriaan Kluit, 1735-1807* (Master's thesis University of Amsterdam, 2014).

G.A. Boutelje, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van A. Kluits opvatting over onze oudere vaderlandsche geschiedenis* (Groningen etc., 1920).

A.Th. van Deursen, 'Geschiedenis en toekomstverwachting. Het onderwijs in de statistiek aan de universiteiten van de achttiende eeuw', in *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, II, ed. by P.A.M. Geurts en A.E.M. Janssen (Den Haag, 1981), pp. 110-130.

L. van Driel, 'Eene geauctoriseerde tale. Over Adriaen Verwer, koopman, jurist en taalliefhebber'. *Voortgang, Jaarboek voor de Neerlandistiek, 13*, (1992), 21-143.

L. van Driel, 'Adriaen Verwer, koopman, jurist en schrijver van de *Idea*', in *Adriaen Verwer, Schets van de Nederlandse taal* [...], ed. by Th. J.A.M. Janssen & J. Noordegraaf (Stichting Neerlandistiek VU Amsterdam/ Nodus Publikationen Münster, 1996), pp. 7-21.

R. Honings, 'De ontkieming van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde. "Van zaadkorrel tot breedgetakte boom"', *Nieuw Letterkundig Magazijn, 27,* (2009), 8-15, available through http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_nie012200901_01/_nie012200901_01_0004.php.

R. Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel. Hollands roem! Het literaire leven in Leiden 1760-1860* (diss. Leiden University, 2011).

F.W.N. Hugenholtz, 'Adriaan Kluit en het onderwijs in de mediaevistiek', *Forum der letteren*, *6* (1965), pp. 142-159. (Also in *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland,* vol. 1, ed. by P.A.M. Geurts & A.E.M. Janssen (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 143-164.)

Amsterdam University Press

Kluit, Adriaan, *Lijst der gebruikelijkste zelfstandige naamwoorden, beteekend door hunne geslachten* (Amsterdam: Pieter Meijer, 1759).

I.L. Leeb, *The Ideological Origins of the Batavian Revolution: History and Politics in the Dutch Republic 1747-1800* (Den Haag, 1973).

J. Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland. Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland, 1806-1890* (Nijmegen: Van Tilt, 2006).

NNBW = P.C Molhuysen, P.J. Blok & Fr.K.H. Kossmann (1911-1937), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Leiden, vol. 3 (1914), available through http://dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu03_01/molh003nieu03_01_1098.php.

J. Roelevink, *Gedicteerd verleden: het onderwijs in de algemene geschiedenis aan de universiteit te Utrecht, 1735-1839* (Amsterdam etc., 1986).

I. Schöffer, 'Een Leids hoogleraar in politieke moeilijkheden. Het ontslag van Johan Luzac in 1796', in *Geen schepsel wordt vergeten: liber amicorum voor Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzeventigste verjaardag*, ed. by J.F. Heijbroek, A. Lammers e.a (Amsterdam & Zutphen: Trouw etc., 1985), pp. 61-80.

I. Schöffer, *Adriaan Kluit, een voorganger* (Afscheidscollege, Leiden, 1988). (Reprinted in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 101* (1988), 3-16.)

M. Siegenbeek, 'Levensschets van de hoogleeraren Kluit en Luzac', in *Leydens ramp*, ed. by W. Bilderdijk & M. Siegenbeek (Amsterdam: Joh. Allart & Jac. Ruis, 1808), pp. 86-157.

N. van der Sijs, *Taal als mensenwerk. Het ontstaan van het ABN* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2004).

I.H. Stamhuis, *'Cijfers en aequaties' en 'Kennis der staatskrachten'. Statistiek in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw* (diss. VU Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989).

K. Stapelbroek, I.H. Stamhuis & P.M.M. Klep, 'Adriaan Kluit's Statistics and the Future of the Dutch State from a European Perspective', *History of European Ideas, 36*, (2010), 217-235.

A. Verwer, *Schets van de Nederlandse taal. Grammatica, poëtica en retorica. Naar de editie van E. van Driel*, trans. by J. Knol (Amsterdam etc., 1996).

E.V. Vrij, 'Het collegegeschil tussen de hoogleraren A. Kluit en J. Luzac in 1786', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken*, *63* (1971), 121-142.

J.W. te Water, 'Levensbericht van Adriaan Kluit', in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1807), available through http://dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa002180701_01/_jaa002180701_01_0001.php.

J. Wille, *De literator R. M. van Goens en zijn kring. Studiën over de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: G.J.A. Ruys, 1937). Vol. II: ed. by P. van der Vliet (Amsterdam: Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme, 1993).

Amsterdam University Press

About the Authors

Lo van Driel (1944) studied Dutch linguistics and literature and lectured at the linguistic training college of Hogeschool Rotterdam. He is specialized in the history of language science, obtained his doctorate with a dissertation on nineteenth-century linguistics and wrote about several linguists and linguistic themes. In 2003 he wrote a biography of J.H. van Dale, the schoolmaster who made the standard Dutch dictionary. Recently he published some biographies of artists who collaborated with the oppressor during World War II.

Nicoline van der Sijs (1955) studied Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Utrecht. She specializes in historical linguistics and etymology, and has written more than 25 books on these subjects. In 2001 she completed her PhD. Since 2005 she is senior researcher at the Meertens Institute, a.o. as principal investigator of Nederlab-Laboratory for research on the patterns of change in the Dutch language and culture. Since 2013 she is appointed as professor of historical linguistics of Dutch in the digital world at the Radboud University Nijmegen. In 2006 she was awarded the Prize for Humanities by the Prince Bernhard Culture Fund.

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

10 ‘Can Grander Skulls be Crowned?’

Jacob van Dijk’s Posthumous Literary History

Peter Altena

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH10

Abstract
Jacob van Dijk (1745-1828), an enlightened ‘amateur’, had completed his *Treatise on the Origin, Progress and Contemporary State of Dutch Literature* (*Verhandeling*) in 1792. The treatise won the prize contest of a Rotterdam literary society, but as van Dijk refused to make some alterations it wasn’t published in his lifetime. His *Treatise* offers a vision of Dutch literary history that is in accordance with the late eighteenth century. At first sight van Dijk adheres to the vision of continuous and linear development in Dutch literary history. But this continuity is blurred by a strong a correlation between civil liberty and literary bloom. In that sense it is a politically engaged discourse.

Keywords: amateur, literary society, continuous and linear development, civil liberty, literary bloom, politically engaged discourse

1 Introduction

The very first history of Dutch literature was already outdated by the time it was finally published. The author, Jacob van Dijk (1745-1828), had completed his *Verhandeling over den oorsprong, voortgang en tegenwoordigen staat der Nederduitsche dichtkunst* (‘Treatise on the origin, progress and contemporary state of Dutch poetry) in 1792, but the treatise had to wait until 1832 before it appeared in print. During the forty years that van Dijk’s literary history remained on the shelves, books had been published by authors who had more right to the claim of being the father of Dutch literary history. In forty years time, van Dijk had disappeared from the centre stage of Dutch literature and from memory, to the extent that ‘in 1826, and even before that,

Amsterdam University Press

our literary experts ranked him among our deceased Authors'.[1] Within the same forty years the Republic had changed into a Kingdom. In 1792, after the invasion of the Prussians and the counterrevolution, the country had the aspect of a divided nation; in 1832, shortly after the Belgian Uprising, the division had finally come to an end, but the nation was still in ruins and once more in shock.

Oddly enough, it was van Dijk's demise in 1832 that made the publication of the *Treatise* possible. After his death, van Dijk's life and work received some attention, in one form or another. In Hillegersberg, W. van den Hoonaard gave a public lecture of his 'Levensschets van Jacob van Dijk' ('Biographical sketch of Jacob van Dijk') before the local department of the Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen ('Society for Public Welfare'). The sketch was published only in 1834. In the meantime a 'Korte levensschets van den Dichter Jacob van Dijk' ('Concise biography of the author Jacob van Dijk') had been printed in *De Fakkel of Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Ware, Schoone en Goede* of 1831.[2] The author, J.P. Sprenger van Eijk, made no secret of the fact that he had made lavish use of the facts gathered by van den Hoonaard, who confirmed as much in his published 'Levensschets' by reminding his readers that Sprenger van Eijk had consulted the documents in his custody. It must be said that neither the Hillegersberg department of the Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, nor the periodical *De Fakkel* were likely to draw the attention of a large crowd of readers. But thanks to van den Hoonaard, the biographical 'sketches' grew into something more substantial. He had access to documents from van Dijk's legacy and was thus able to publish a two-volume edition of van Dijk's *Nagelatene schriften* ('Posthumous papers') in 1832 and 1834 with the Amsterdam publishers Schalekamp & van de Grampel. It's not clear why van den Hoonaard and Sprenger van Eijk wished to save the long forgotten van Dijk from oblivion, but the fact that they did, revealed and still reveals that in their opinion van Dijk's contribution to Dutch poetry and literary history deserved to be merited.

2 A Delayed Publication

A substantial portion of the first volume, some three hundred pages, was formed by the *Verhandeling over den oorsprong, voortgang en tegenwoordigen staat der*

1 Van den Hoonaard, 1832-1834, vol. 2, p. xxv: 'onze Letterkundigen hem reeds in 1826, en vroeger, onder de reeds overledene Dichters rangschikten'.

2 Sprenger van Eijk, 1831.

Amsterdam University Press

Nederduitsche dichtkunst. The editor van den Hoonaard added a brief preface, in which he informed the reader about the genesis of van Dijk's treatise. In his words, the treatise had been written more than forty years ago in response to a competition by the Rotterdam literary society Studium Scientiarum Genitrix. Van Dijk had won the competition and had received the gold medal of Honour. However, the governors of the society had required van Dijk to make a number of changes, which caused so much disagreement that publication of the text was postponed indefinitely, thus robbing van Dijk of the glorious opportunity of being the very first to have written a Dutch literary history.

In 1832 quite a number of others could claim to have been pioneers: van den Hoonaard mentions the names of Jeronimo de Vries,[3] Matthijs Siegenbeek,[4] N.G. van Kampen and P.G. Witsen Geysbeek. For those in the literary profession van Dijk's treatise had reached its expiration date and in his preface van den Hoonaard failed to convince his readers that van Dijk was still a force to be reckoned with.

Van den Hoonaard mentions the lively style and the 'mostly correct and uncomplicated observations' as assets of van Dijk's literary history. Nevertheless, he agreed with the Rotterdam governors who had expressed their disapproval, and had left out 'expressions that I considered less appropriate' in van Dijk's text.[5] Whatever was so inappropriate never becomes clear, but in the meantime it is remarkable that in 1832 a long forgotten literary history still retained some of its (provocative) power.

Both the notion of out-of-dateness and of provocation also play a part in van den Honaard's portrait of van Dijk as it appeared in the second volume of the *Posthumous papers*. The image that van den Hoonaard creates of van Dijk is that of a living anachronism, a vagrant, an old and uncouth man who went through the streets of Rotterdam in wooden shoes, invariably carrying a basket with purchases.

In Rotterdam, in 1820, van den Hoonaard had recognised the poet and addressed him in the street and was struck by his unusual appearance: 'you have to imagine him as dressed in an oldfashioned coat, in knee breeches, often with woollen socks covering his knees, wooden shoes on his feet and a large three-cornered hat on his head.'[6] In this description the adjective

3 For de Vries, see the chapter by Jensen, this volume.

4 For Siegenbeek, see the chapter by Rutten, this volume.

5 Van den Hoonaard, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. vii: 'veelal juiste en naïve opmerkingen'; 'in mijn oog, min voegzame uitdrukkingen'.

6 Van den Hoonaard, 1832-1834, vol. 2, p. xxvii: 'en stelt u hem u verder voor als gekleed met eenen ouderwetschen rok, korte broek, voorts meestal met wollen kousen tot boven de knien, klompen aan de voeten en eenen grooten driekantigen hoed op het hoofd'.

Amsterdam University Press

'oldfashioned' is used only once, but it seems to apply to every piece of clothing of van Dijk. And to van Dijk himself.

The oldfashioned van Dijk also proved to be awkward in manners. In his biographical sketch van den Hoonaard delicately mentions that van Dijk 'could hardly be bothered about complying with the rules of decency'.[7] In other words, he lacked good manners. Van den Hoonaard tries to soften the blow by adding in a roundabout way that at chance meetings van Dijk was by no means 'repulsive' in word or deed, but he cannot delete the unfavourable impression. Oldfashioned and awkward remain the characteristics of both the author van Dijk and his treatise.

3 The Significance of the *Treatise*

Before we have a closer look at the *Treatise* as a product of 1792, we must deal with the question whether or not the text has been modernised – by van Dijk or van den Hoonaard – up to a point where the final result is a contamination, a mixture of two different periods and two different views. Such a contamination could have damaged the 1792-character of the Treatise. The interventions of van den Hoonaard were, according to himself, stylistic and expurgating in character and seem to have left the essence of the *Treatise* largely intact. Van Dijk himself had kept adding to the text, but only for a few years: Carolus Vlieg had died in 1794, two years after the completion of the *Treatise*, but in the edition of 1832 his demise is mentioned. The original text had been left more or less as it was. Not that we can prove it: there is no manuscript extant, and whatever correspondence there was between van Dijk and the Rotterdam society has been lost.

In the history of Dutch literary historiography van Dijk's treatise is mentioned several times, but in most cases only in passing and invariably as a lost opportunity. Wim van den Berg has frequently discussed van Dijk's work as a literary historian,[8] but even he cannot undo the fact that the text failed to be published in 1792 and that by the time it appeared in print some forty years later, it had become rather irrelevant. Evert Wiskerke devoted a thorough review to the *Treatise*.[9] He focuses in particular on the vision that van Dijk had developed of seventeenth-century literature. His

7 Van den Hoonaard, 1832-1834, vol. 2, p. xxviii: 'zich aan de inachtneming van de regelen der welvoegelijkheid weinig bekreunde'.

8 Van den Berg, 1973, pp. 450-451; van den Berg, 1989, pp. 321-322; van den Berg, 1994, p. 170.

9 Wiskerke, 1995, p. 175-184.

Amsterdam University Press

analysis of the poet's presuppositions concerning poeticality and literary history shed much new light on the matter: Wiskerke makes it likely that for van Dijk poetry had to have social relevance and had to contribute to the enlightenment of mankind, and that in that matter originality was of more importance than imitation.

Admittedly van Dijk's history of Dutch literature has played only a minor role in the creation of a Dutch cultural nationalism: in 1792 the manuscript of the *Treatise* cannot have been read by more than a few readers from the Rotterdam society Studium Scientiarum Genetrix, and the number of readers in 1832 will hardly have exceeded that. Nevertheless, whoever is interested in the development of cultural nationalism and in particular in the development of a Dutch literary identity, will discover that the *Treatise* is an exceptional case study. The text represents an important stage in the genesis of cultural nationalism, which fact alone is enough to merit closer scrutiny. Van Dijk's literary history deserves to be regarded, first and foremost, within the context of its origins.

The period of origin was by all means a constricted and even dangerous time: in 1787 the Patriot revolution had assumed the character of a civil war, whereas the intervention of the Prussian troops in the second half of that year had led to a kind of 'cultural revolution'. In 1792 the effects were still clearly noticeable: many of the writers and poets who had voiced their opinion during the Patriot revolution had left the center stage, withdrawing themselves completely or even making themselves scarce by fleeing the country. That same year, for example, the literary society of The Hague Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt ('Art-loving is forever diligent'), expelled its Patriot members. For quite a number of writers and readers literature had been a vehicle of political agitation and reasoning, but by now it had shed its political aspect and limited itself to themes that might contain a hidden political meaning, leaving it to the readers to discover and discuss them.[10]

In this essay on the *Treatise* I would like to introduce Jacob van Dijk in more detail than is done by van den Berg and Wiskerke, placing him within the context of the literary society which had commissioned him to write his historical survey of Dutch literature. Next I will elaborate on the societal prize contest to which van Dijk contributed with his *Treatise*. Then, I will concentrate on an analysis of the text itself and on the question where according to van Dijk the boundaries of national literature lay: how local or international was it? What was so particularly Dutch about our national literature? Van Dijk's *Treatise* was awarded, which is proof of the society's

10 De Vries, 2001, p. 274-278 on this period of anxiety, p. 285-288 on the literary camouflage.

Amsterdam University Press

approval or appreciation. But there is also the fact that the society had made objections to a number of crucial passages. After reading van Dijk's literary history it is not difficult to guess what these objections were.

4 Jacob van Dijk's Literary Career

Jacob van Dijk was born in Vlaardingen in 1745 in a family of farmers. His father died at an early age and any prospect he had was ruined by a cattle plague. The position he held in Vlaardingen was that of town harbour labourer and beer and turf porter, but in his spare time he skilled himself in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and in the art of poetry. According to Justus van Effen, who at the beginning of the eighteenth century wrote on this subject in the *Journal Littéraire,* it was characteristic of scholarship in the Republic that even ordinary citizens, without any formal training in the sciences and arts, read and wrote academic treatises on historical, philosophical and scientific matters.[11] Petrus van Musschenbroek made a similar observation in 1736: he concluded that in the Republic Physics counted many 'liefhebbers' (devotees), among whom were 'many prominent merchants and people from all walks of life'.[12] In more than a few cases they even prided themselves in their special status: van Leeuwenhoek, for example, addressed the members of the Royal Academy in London as 'Amateurs' ('Liefhebbers'), that is to say, not as academic scholars, and also Arent Roggeveen, the learned father of the learned explorer Jakob Roggeveen, regarded himself emphatically as an amateur.[13] They saw their actions by no means as a 'useful and informative leisure activity',[14] but as a contribution to the increase of knowledge, as a fight against ignorance, as a contribution of Enlightenment. In the view of Roelof van Gelder we must look upon this phenomenon as 'an unorganised scholarly shadow world of pragmatical amateurs', who were largely responsible for the economic and scientific progress of the Republic.[15]

11 Anonymous, 1714, p. 185. The text had been published anonymously, but there is little doubt about the authorship of van Effen. It is remarkable, though, that the example van Effen refers to (Willem Deurhoff, without mentioning his name) is expressly to be found in herodox circles.

12 Sliggers, 1987, p. 67: 'veele voornaame Kooplieden, en menschen van allerlei rang en waardigheid'.

13 Van Gelder, 2012, pp. 40-41. On van Leeuwenhoek: Snyder, 2015, p. 1.

14 Leerssen, 2011, p. 26: 'nuttige en leerrijke vrijetijdsbesteding'.

15 Van Gelder, 2012, p. 41: 'een ongeorganiseerde wetenschappelijke schaduwwereld van praktische amateurs'.

Amsterdam University Press

In the eighteenth century, more or less the same situation existed for poetry. A well known example is Hubert Corneliszoon Poot, the farmer-poet from Abtswoude.[16] Van Dijk's grandfather had once been a rhetorician and Jacob van Dijk himself had befriended Jan van Treuren, a gardener who wrote poetry. So the fact that van Dijk was active as a poet had its rather longstanding genealogical and even geographical reasons, as becomes clear when we look at his poem *Vlaardings zangverschil* about the different ways psalms were sung in the Reformed congregation of Vlaardingen, and at the second part of his *Posthumous papers*, in which a fair number of poems refer to Vlaardingen. Sprenger van Eijk concluded that whoever lived in Vlaardingen and wrote poetry must have been a friend of van Dijk's. All these friendships, for example with Jan Blyenburg and the aforementioned van Treuren, gave him a proper knowledge of 'poetic works, both recent and of olden times'.[17] Van Dijk read works by Vondel and by the Vlaardingen poet Arnold Hoogvliet, who once enjoyed national fame, due to his unanimously praised epic poem *Abraham de Aartsvader*. Hoogvliet had died in 1763, too soon and too famous to be of any real use to van Dijk's career, whose literary world did not exceed the city boundaries of Vlaardingen.

What was of far greater importance to van Dijk was the appointment of Toussaint Woordhouder as bailiff and town clerk of Vlaardingen in 1783. That same year van Dijk enjoyed his finest hour before a nationwide audience. On 5 August of that year the annual meeting of the literary society Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt took place in the local Sint Joris Doelen, with the reverend Joannes van Spaan as chairman. Van Spaan made no secret of having a heavy heart: political controversy had reached a peak over the recent period of time and each and everybody had to watch what he said scrupulously, in order to avoid being accused of partiality. He tried to restore the spirit of brotherly and artistic love by enthousiastically reporting a miraculous event: during dinner a sample had been read of 'a miracle of these days, another Poot, Jacob van Dijk, a labourer from Vlaardingen'.[18] The admiration of the society's members was boundless and van Dijk was made an associate member by acclamation, free of entrance fee and annual membership fee.[19]

This promotion by a respected society from The Hague had an immediate effect on the social status of the member from Vlaardingen: a poet who

16 Altena, 2012, pp. 65-68 on the cult around Poot.

17 Sprenger van Eijk, 1831, p. 73: 'vroegere en latere Poëtische schriften'.

18 Haags Gemeentearchief, archive Kunstliefde (nr 46), inv. nr. 12 (minutes 1783), 5 August 1783.

19 Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 24-27.

Amsterdam University Press

was also turf porter was unacceptable. A lawyer from The Hague, Cornelis Jacobus Swalmius, one of the society's honorary members, was an influential man in Schiedam circles and together with the reverend Van Spaan he managed to further the career of van Dijk: from 1 November 1783 onwards van Dijk carried the title of 'revenue officer' in Nieuwerkerk aan den IJssel.[20]

This new position of van Dijk, thanks to the society from The Hague, was occasion enough to once again pay tribute to the man. The governors of the society awarded the revenue officer a silver medal and the Swiss portrait-painter Benjamin Bolomey received a commission to portray the 'miracle of these days' as soon as possible. The painting was to have an honoured place in the society's 'Kunstkamer' ('Art Room'). Both medal and portrait served, according to the expression used by the society, to encourage 'others of a comparable original disposition'.[21] Other self-taught men were thus inspired to follow van Dijk's example. This goes to show that the realm of poetry knew no strict social limitations in those days: outsiders were, to a limited extent, more than welcome.

To what extent they remained welcome, is less clear. After the tributes that were bestowed on van Dijk in 1783, the subsequent events must have been disappointing, both for himself and for the society. In 1784 he submitted a curious poem 'Het nut der luchtbollen' ('Of the use of air balloons') for the society to assess. The members of the Hague society apparantly were at a loss what to do with it. The critical remarks were no more than marginal – the title was considered unfit and in a number of places the rules of cases were considered ungrammatical – and in spite of the fact that van Dijk accepted most suggestions and made changes, the poem was never published by the society. Possible reasons: the society kept its cards close to its chest and was more critical of the text than van Dijk was told; the society thought the subject too modern for the poem to appear in a publication that was destined for eternity; or van Dijk's disregard for some of the critical remarks had caused irritation.

As time went by, the relationship with the reverend van Spaan remained more than friendly, but not so with the society itself. This had everything to do with the increase in political controversy. The Hague society was extremely Orangist, van Spaan less and less so and van Dijk had never been of that mind in the first place.

20 Van den Hoonaard, 1832-1834, vol. 2, p. xiv: 'Gaarder van 's Lands Middelen'.

21 Haags Gemeentearchief, Archive Kunstliefde (nr 46), inv. nr. 12 (minutes 1783), 11 wijnmaand 1783: 'andere Diergelijke Origineele Vernuften'. On Bolomey: Golay, van Lit & van Maarseveen (ed.), 2001.

Amsterdam University Press

Van Dijk was freshly encouraged by the Leiden society Kunst wordt door arbeid verkregen ('Art is Attained through Labour') and the Rotterdam society Studium Scientiarum Genitrix. In 1785 and later he received official praise from Rotterdam, but he turned down each of the repeated pleas to join the society:

> It should give you more satisfaction
> That I lead a retired and inglorious life
> In preference over the worldly pretence
> Of being an unworthy Member.[22]

In 1786 van Dijk wrote a long poem, *De Vrijheid der drukpers* ('Freedom of the press'), about a freedom particularly fit to invite others to mock the stadtholder, and his enthousiasm knew no bounds when on 30 January 1787 the Patriots in Haarlem gained control of the city.[23] When the opposition of forces began to take the shape of a civil war and an intervention of the Prussian army brought the increasing power of the Patriots to a halt, van Spaan withdrew himself from Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt and the society expelled all members that had demonstrated Patriot sympathies, including van Dijk.

In spite of his avowed preference for a 'retired and inglorious life' and in spite of his unwillingness to become a member of the society, van Dijk kept involving himself in matters of national importance as formulated by literary societies. Of course he steered clear of prize contests by the Orangist Kunstliefde, but societies that had remained loyal to their Patriot beliefs and actively, albeit in depoliticised form, discussed issues that already had existed before the Prussian intervention, were another matter.[24]

22 Van Dijk, [without year], p. 119: 'Het moet u meer genoegen geeven, / Dat ik een stil en roemloos leven / Verkieze voor den aardschen schijn / Van een onwaardig Lid te zijn.'

23 Van Dijk, 1786, p. 10 defends the persecuted Patriots publisher Verlem and writer Hespe. For his connection to Harlem, see: van Dijk, 1787. Together with Toussaint Woordhouder, his maecenas of the preceding years, van Dijk also commmitted himself to the administrative renewal of nearby Schiedam: *Viro Nobilissimo / Aan den Weled. Gestr. Heere Willem Mattheus Keuchenius, M.D., tot voorzittend schepen der stad Schiedam verkooren, den 1 van Bloeimaand 1787.*

24 Singeling, 1991, pp. 222-224. The prize contests of especially the society Amsteldamsch dicht- en letterlievend genootschap, the Leyden Kunst wordt door arbeid verkreegen and the Rotterdam Studium Scientiarum Genitrix often are of a cultural nationalist character.

Amsterdam University Press

5 The Rotterdam Prize Contest

In August 1789 the Rotterdam society held a prize contest: 'Welke zyn de oorsprong, voortgang en tegenwoordige staat der Nederduitsche Dichtkunde?' ('What is the origin, progress and present state of Dutch poetry?')[25] In formulating thus the society acknowledged its national outlook on Dutch literature, without a hint of shame and chauvenistic localism. The question begged to be answered in terms of history and actuality – origins, progress and present state – and presupposed the existence of an identifiable 'Nederduitsche Dichtkunde', which is as much as a confession to cultural nationalism. Expectations ran high, but a year later the ruling emotion was disappointment: none of the (few) submitted essays satisfied the demands. Only one of the entries had its merits, but it failed to give a proper answer to the question.

The society, however, was so convinced of the importance of having the a proper response to the question, that another contest was held, this time in more precise terms: the society required 'a well-reasoned history of the origin, progress and present state of Dutch poetry, that could serve the purpose of providing Dutch poets with an easily accessible historical survey of the poetry of the nation, especially of poets from every period that are well worth the attention, contemplation and imitation, and therefore worth knowing about'.[26] This elucidation makes clear what the society considered to be a 'proper response': The 'Historie der Dichtkunste' had to become the foundation for the future of the nation's literature. It had to be a truly national history, containing every scrap of information, every local piece of historical literary history, thus becoming an instrument to further the cause and future hope of Dutch literature.

In September 1792 the Rotterdam society held a general meeting and made announcements of a festive and less festive character. At the meeting medals of honour were given to poems on the theme *Triumfzang van Israel, na den Doortogt door de roode zee* ('Triumphal song on Israel after crossing the Red Sea'). No less than fifteen poets had been inspired by this theme, which is perhaps not surprising because the story offered every occasion to

25 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 1789, vol. 2, p. 59b.

26 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 1790, vol. 2, p. 66a: 'eene *beredeneerde Historie* [...] *van den oorsprong, voortgang en tegenwoordigen staat der Nederduitsche Dichtkunst*, welke tot eenen grondslag zoude dienen voor alle Dichteren, om daar uit, op eene gemakkelyke wys, de Historie der Dichtkunste in hun Vaderland te leeren kennen, en vooral die Dichters, in onderscheiden tydvakken, welke hunne aandacht, betrachting en naarvolging byzonder waardig mogen zyn, en uit dien hoofde gekend behoren te worden'.

Amsterdam University Press

see the fate of the Dutch reflected in the fate of the Israelites. The oppression after 1787 could easily be compared to the hardships of Moses' people and his victory could be seen as a prediction of the future victory of the oppressed Dutch people.

Apparently there was more appeal in a biblically inspired vision of the nation than in a purely nationalistic one. The contest concerning the 'beredeneerde Historie' resulted in no more than a single submission, a submission that only partly satisfied the society and therefore could not be awarded 'the double gold medal of honour'. However, in acknowledgment of the merits of this single entry, the society decided to award 'the regular medal of honour', provided that the as yet unknown author would change 'some of the expressions used, to satisfy the members of the board'.[27]

At the meeting Daniël Hovens, the president of the Rotterdam society, recited a poem in praise of the author (who seems to have been absent) and his literary treatise. Hovens did not make a secret of the cultural-nationalistic pretensions of the prize contest and the treatise. The study and description of the 'Bataefsche Poëzij' (Batavian poetry) could be seen as a victory over the turbulent times.[28] In 1792, to the wise, for whom a word is enough, in these private circles where the poem was recited, it was clear that this literary history was as much as a political act.

No doubt, Jacob van Dijk was of the very same view, but for him a sense of disappointment must have prevailed over a feeling of joy. That the award was reduced from the double medal ('ter waarde van Vyftig Dukaten' or fifty ducats worth) to a regular medal, the sparing praise and the obligation to adapt the text, must inevitably have led to mixed feelings. As mentioned before, the ensuing correspondence between van Dijk and the society has not survived, but the result is clear enough: a difference of opinion became a full-blown conflict, for which van Dijk was mainly to blame, according to Sprenger van Eijk. In his letters he adopted an aggressive, sarcastic tone, which did nothing to increase 'the number of his friends and supporters'.[29]

Van Dijk's unwillingness to accommodate the society was intensified by two events. During the same September meeting at which van Dijk's treatise was judged and awarded, Studium Scientiarum Genitrix announced another prize contest: 'How are literary societies useful in furthering the cause of

27 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 1792, vol. 2, pp. 97a-b: 'den dubbelen Gouden Eerpenning'; 'den gewonen Gouden Eerpenning'; 'enige, daar in, voorkomende, uitdrukkingen, ten genoegen van Besturende Leden'.

28 Hovens, [without year], pp. 45-46.

29 Sprenger van Eijk, 1831, pp. 87: 'het getal zijner vrienden en begunstigers'.

Amsterdam University Press

Dutch literature and what are the best means to increase their effect?'.[30] The new assignment largely resembled the previous one. Once again it was all about Dutch (albeit 'Nederlandsche' in stead of 'Nederduitsche') literature and once again the entry had to be of a productive nature. However, it will hardly have escaped the attention of van Dijk that the new assignment, postulating the usefulness of literary societies, could be interpreted as a critique of the treatise that had just received its half-hearted praise.

But there was something else that hit van Dijk much harder: in November 1792, only a few months after the disappointing meeting of the Rotterdam society, an issue of the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* contained a scathing review of van Dijk's poem *De Verlossinge van Israel uit Egipte*, that had been published in 1791 in Haarlem.[31] The poem, according to the anonymous reviewer, did not stay 'within the limits of what was probable, idiosyncratic and proper' and the poet had allowed his imagination at times to run 'completely wild'. The religious ideas and concepts in the poem were too often at variance with 'the normal way of thinking, and some of the meditations ended up in 'total nonsense and gibberish'.[32]

What remained unmentioned in the review, is the fact that the poem's subject greatly resembled the subject of the Rotterdam prize contest of 1791, which had resulted in two prize-winning entries. We must therefore assume that van Dijk, not winning an award, decided to publish his entry on his own account, very much against the unwritten rules of the society. The critical reaction to his treatise, the new prize contest and the hostile review in *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* must have been read by van Dijk as signs of enmity and exclusion. Sprenger van Eijk wrote that van Dijk from then on began to withdraw himself from the society of man and tried to seek 'recompense in his books, finding most pleasure in those by the poets of bygone days'.[33] The heydays of Jacob van Dijk's literary career had lasted for ten years, not long enough to provide an opportunity for his critised treatise to be published.

In later years van Dijk looked back in anger at this period. In 1817 he wrote that he had been the first of his stock ('geslacht', meaning his family) who

30 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 1793, vol. 2, p. 74: 'Waar uit blykt het nut van de dichtkundige Genootschappen voor den bloei der Nederlandsche Dichtkunste, en welken zyn de beste middelen om dat nut te doen toenemen?'

31 Van Dijk, 1791.

32 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 1792, deel 2, pp. 140b-142b: 'binnen de palen van het waarschynlyke, eigenaartige, en betamelyke'; 'volslagen ongerymdheden'; 'den gewonen denktrant'; 'loutere wartaal of zottepraat'.

33 Sprenger van Eijk, 'Korte levensschets', p. 87: 'voor dezelve vergoeding in zijne boeken, onder welke de de vroegere dichters hem het meest behaagden'.

Amsterdam University Press

had tried to 'become truly human', but he had failed because of the 'whims of fashion'.[34] Those were his views in the nineteenth century: he had been fashionable in 1783, but had gone out of fashion in 1792.

6 The Text of the *Treatise*

The 1832 edition of the *Verhandeling* by Jacob van Dijk runs to more than three hundred pages. In accordance with the assignment the treatise limits itself to 'Dichtkunst', that is 'poetry', but in the eighteenth century 'Dichtkunst' and poetry were still seen as the true core of the belles-lettres and therefore hardly as a limitation. In the eighteenth century the emancipation of prose was still in progress.

The *Treatise* consists of four parts in chronological order: the first part concerns itself with the origins of the 'Nederduitsche Dichtkunst', the second part is about the 'voortgang', the third part about the 'tegenwoordige staat', the fourth part deals with the means to achieve a higher level of perfection of Dutch poetry and thus takes a leap into the future. The four parts differ in size: the first parts covers no more than twenty pages, the third no more than seventy pages and the fourth some fifty pages. The second part is the most sizeable one, covering 180 pages, and is subdivided in five sections.

The headings of these sections immediately show that 'voortgang' ('progress') is understood as improvement: the historical development of Dutch poetry is one along the lines of 'groote verbetering' ('significant improvement') to 'verdere volmaking' ('subsequent perfection'). Since the fourth part is all about the 'higher level of perfection', one is tempted to see the preceding part as a fitting trait d'union between part two and four. The 'Nederduitsche Dichtkunst' appears subjected to a linear development and to the concept of perfectibility, a strong belief in the perfection of both individual and society, one of the key concepts of the Enlightenment. The question is, however, whether this concept of perfectibility plays a substantial role in the *Treatise* as such.

In the first part van Dijk depicts the origin of the 'Nederduitsche dichtkunst' as shrouded in mist. Both Batavians and Germans belong to this period of mist and mystery, since they were 'complete strangers […] in the commonwealth of poetry': both peoples fail to have left a single trace of poetry or any 'gedenkteekenen' (memento) to substantiate their existence.[35]

34 Van den Hoonaard, 1831, p. xxiii: '*mensch* te worden'; 'de gedurige verandering van de mode'.
35 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 1: 'volslagen vreemdelingen […] in het Gemeenebest der Letteren'.

Amsterdam University Press

At this point he refers to the Roman historian Tacit and the image he created of the Germans.

The mist does not prevent that for the first time the contours of both peoples become visible by their bravery as shown in their heroic feats. But van Dijk's quest for the origin is about the 'simple sparks, that set ablaze the inbred passion for poetry'.[36] The poetic passion is seen as being 'inbred' (natura), but it needs something to be ignited. Van Dijk reviews a number of these 'sparks'. What is remarkable – both here and later on in van Dijk's literary history – is that he uses a wide variety of sources, and in particular acknowledges the authority of a number of poets from recent periods. Next to Petrus Burman he quotes seventeenth and eighteenth century poets, like Vondel, Hooft, Oudaen, Poot, van Merken and Bilderdijk, who in their poetry have identified a number of 'sparks': ambition, grief, anger and love. Van Dijk himself gives us two important additions: Religion and Freedom.

The literary historian van Dijk has no hesitations: he is convinced that 'the ancient Batavians dedicated their first poetic abilities to the gods and to the freedom of their nation'.[37] Van Dijk mentions the remarkable fact that history seems to have repeated itself: two centuries ago (i.e. at the end of the sixteenth century, from the point of view of van Dijk in 1792) the Dutch people were again witness to a simultaneous restoration of religion, freedom and poetry. The qualification 'remarkable' suggests that it is a matter of systematical repetition of historical events: thus the Batavian revolt repeats itself at the end of the sixteenth century and a revival of religion and literature is apparently connected to the regaining of freedom. But there is more. There is also a suggestion of hard evidence: if an event takes place for the second time, then there can be no doubt about the nature of the first event.

The link between religion, freedom and literature is presented by van Dijk as an axiom, an axiom that has two interesting implications. In the first place this way of representing things leads straight to a non-linear idea of history: the concept of 'restoration' and the interdependence of poetry and freedom inevitably lead to a literary history full of fault lines, with periods of rise and fall. The question is how such a ruptured history can be reconciled with the ideology of increasing perfection ('volmaking'), which is apparent from the contents of the *Treatise*. Is van Dijk's history of Dutch literature

36 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 1: 'gewone vuurslagen, die het aangeboren dichtvuur doen ontvonken'.

37 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 14: 'de oude Batavieren [hadden] hunne eerste zangvermogens aan de Goden en de Vaderlandsche Vrijheid [...] toegewijd'.

Amsterdam University Press

an optimistic history of increasing perfection or a more complicated story of ups and downs? We need to take a closer look at the *Treatise* before we can answer that question.

In the second place there is the matter of the present and the future: if there is a connection between religion, freedom and flourishing literature, then what does that say about the present day? In 1792 freedom was under attack, at least in the eyes of a patriot like van Dijk and like-minded members of the Rotterdam society. But does this lack of absolute freedom, then, prevent literature from flourishing? And does the desire for freedom – so much the stronger because of the lack of it – increase the chances of recovery and even prosperity?

These questions concerning the linearity and perfectability of the literary history are answered by looking at the subsequent parts of the *Treatise*. In the second part the mist, enveloping the origin of the 'Nederduitsche Dichtkunst', is replaced by a 'weeper'.[38] Van Dijk assumes that 'men of prominence and the clergy' did put their pen to paper in the twelve centuries between the Batavian revolt and the 'chronicles in rhyme' of Melis Stoke, but samples of ancient poetry are scarce and statements about literature are therefore only a matter of 'conjecture'. A strenghtening in the position of the nobility and a safeguarding of 'Burgervrijheid' (civil rights and freedom) serve van Dijk to affirm his view that with the arrival of the chroniclers in rhyme 'the poetry of the nation slowly began to breathe again': 'After a night of twelve centuries, the sun of Poetry finally began to appear on the horizon'.[39] The word 'again' and the metaphor of day and night, sunlight and darkness reveal that van Dijk structured his history as a sequence of a repeated rise and fall.

This alternation of good and bad times in literary history is paralleled by an alternation of civil freedom and lack of freedom: it does seem that freedom and literary prosperity lend each other a helping hand. Sometimes freedom is responsible for a flourishing literature, as in the Middle Ages, when 'Burgervrijheid' came to the relief of 'Dichtkunst'. Sometimes the mutual relations are of a more complex nature. The rhetoricians, succeeding the chroniclers and heralding a long period of prospering art, could attain their glory because of the defense of the national civic and religious freedom against Spain, but they did not just make this freedom their cornerstone,

38 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 20: 'rouwfloers'.

39 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, pp. 24-26: 'Aanzienlijken en Geestelijken'; 'rijmkronieken'; 'bij gissing'; 'de Vaderlandsche Dichtkunst allengs weder begon adem te halen': 'Na een nacht van twaalf eeuwen, begon de zon der Dichtkunst eindelijk in de kimmen te rijzen'.

Amsterdam University Press

they expanded it, too. Van Dijk considered the rhetoricians, who mocked the Roman Catholic clergy, to be the greatest of the Reformers, a powerful force that helped to thwart despotism and superstition.

In his description of the history of the rhetoricians van Dijk relies heavily on Willem Kops, who in 1774 contributed to the *Werken* van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde (*Proceedings* of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature) with his impressive 'Schets eener Geschiedenisse der Rederijkeren' ('Essay on the history of the rhetoricians').[40] Kops – like van Dijk a few years later – assigns the rhetoricians a crucial role in continuing the religious reformation, but does not leave it at that: they are also responsible for the 'advancement of our language and poetry, together with the creation of our theatre'. Balthazar Huydecoper paid them tribute in matters of spelling and observing the rules concerning gender, but van Dijk is of a different opinion. According to Huydecoper a corruption of the language begun when the duke of Alva arrived: from that moment on rules of grammar were thrown overboard and 'a hundred errors are made, that were unthinkable in the times of the Ancients'.[41] What Huydecoper sees as a corruption of the language, is in the eyes of van Dijk a token of civilisation.

In the era of the rhetoricians 'the ears of the Dutch people were opened and they applauded the most daring poems in honour of Religion and Freedom'.[42] The culmination point of this development lies in the seventeenth century. The rhetoricians were scattered all over the country – in Holland alone there were more than eighty chambers of rhetoric –, but the 'Puikdichters' (elite poets) of the seventeenth century were concentrated largely in Amsterdam. The rhetoricians had lacked a focal point and to speak of a national literature was more or less an anachronism. Where the literature of rhetoricians is concerned van Dijk appears to feel particularly close to the literature of Vlaardingen.

Van Dijk gives us a list of names of the major seventeenth century poets of Amsterdam and the Republic, but Vondel is in fact the only one who receives more than passing attention. He is called the 'Prince and Father of the Poets', but van Dijk distances himself from his deployment of the supernatural, especially after his conversion to Roman Catholicism.[43] The

40 Kops, 1774.

41 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, pp. 52-53: 'opbouw onzer taale en dichtkunste, met den oorsprong van ons tooneel'; 'begaan wij honderd misslagen, waarvan bij de Ouden geene schaduw te vinden is'.

42 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 73: 'de Nederlandsche ooren geopend, om de stoutste zangen voor Godsdienst en Vrijheid met handgeklap te onthalen'.

43 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 78: 'Prins en Vader der Dichteren'

Amsterdam University Press

seventeenth century should have been the age of art for *The Netherlands*. It could have been without equal, like the age of August, and superior to the ages to follow, but its poets had been tangled up in other activities and thus failed to dedicate themselves without reserve to Dutch Poetry.

In passing van Dijk brings up another danger that threatened the literature of the seventeenth century. The controversy between the Remontrants and the Counter-Remonstrants had cast its shadow over Dutch freedom. The intolerance of the preachers had put an end to the Academy of Samuel Coster. The clergy was a threat to freedom and thus to literature: 'It is indeed well-known, that many elite poets cannot measure up when confronted with the strictest rules. How broad their flight would be in matters of a religious and moral nature, if they were not restricted by their limited conscience!'[44]

After the age of art came the eighteenth century, as far as van Dijk was concerned certainly no disappointment. The first half of the century was superior to the seventeenth century and reduced all other ages to silence. The adjective 'Golden' can therefore only be applied to this first half of the eighteenth century, van Dijk states. The greatest poets of this era were Arnold Hoogvliet, 'the felicitous poet of *Aartsvader Abraham*' and the minstrel Poot. Van Dijk devises a curious arithmetical connection between the great poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth century: about Hoogvliet he notes (with some chauvinist delight) that he was born in Vlaardingen, 'in 1687, exactly one hundred years after Vondel's birth', about Poot that he was born '108 years after Hooft'.[45] According to van Dijk the poets from this era were able to excel because they 'combined their efforts in small groups of sympathisers, who examined and improved the products of their circle judiciously'.[46]

However, had the excellence of the 'Nederduitsche Dichtkunst' of the seventeenth century been marred by the fact that the great poets did not devote all their time to literature, the 'sun of Poetry' of the golden eighteenth century had some spots as well: the occasional poems, in particular the moralistic poems, that were 'like a cancer for the poetry' of this century.[47]

44 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 131: 'Het is toch bekend, dat vele Puikdichters in de goudschaal der regtzinnigheid geene proef kunnen houden. Hoe veel grooter vlugt zouden deze nemen in de Godsdienstige en Zedelijke stoffen, indien zijn niet door een gewetenssnoer werden teruggehouden!'

45 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 153, 177: 'de gelukkige Dichter van den *Aartsvader Abraham*'; 'in 1687, juist eene eeuw na de geboorte van Vondel'; '108 jaren na Hooft'.

46 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 159: 'hunne krachten vereenigden in kleine Vriendenkringen, die de Werken der Leden met oordeel overzagen en beschaafden'.

47 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 194: 'tot een' kanker voor de Dichtkunst verstrekten'.

Amsterdam University Press

The third part of his *Treatise* deals with de present state of Dutch poetry. Van Dijk reminds us once again of the exceptional fact that for a period of 150 years (1600-1750) our nation's poetry has maintained such a high level. But, alas, the hope that this highest level would last forever has not come true: honesty forbids van Dijk to 'pass a favourable judgement on our present-day poetry'.[48] The poetry of these days is, according to van Dijk, under threat by no less than four dangers: too much awe for the poetic theory, an excessive imitation of mainly German examples, present-day or fashionable sentiments and literary societies.

Especially in the passages about these 'illustrious societies' van Dijk indulges in some uncomfortable truths and expresses serious doubts about their usefulness for poetry. Collections of poetical products of these societies are invariably inferior to books of poetry by major poets. The appraisal of poetical entries has been entrusted to the society's 'governours', mediocre talents themselves whose criticism is restricted to 'correcting spelling mistakes or rhythmical errors'.[49]

Van Dijk continues his critical review of poetic theory by stating that contemporary poetry is weighed down by innumerable artistic rules and regulations: 'the polishing actions of the artistic legislators only rarely take off the rough edges without touching the essence; this is because, on the contrary, great thoughts and new ideas are never the automatic result of artistic laws.'[50] In his judgment of the literary societies and their method of critical assessment van Dijk shows his congeniality with authors like Jacobus Bellamy, Jan le Francq van Berkhey, Willem Bilderdijk and even Gerrit Paape, although these had sometimes phrased their objections in a more violent and sarcastic way. Nevertheless, it was rather provocative to send in a treatise as entry for a prize contest by a Patriot society and say that you prefer the Orangist poet Berkhey, with all his 'beauties and flaws', to 'a multitude of others whose poetic ideas, being robbed of their linguisitic beauty, vanish into thin air'.[51]

Van Dijk is of the opinion that it would be a good thing to replace the literary societies with small-scale 'Fraternities, consisting of Poets only'.[52]

48 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p 202: 'gunstig over onze hedendaagsche Dichtkunst te oordeelen';

49 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p 205-206: 'luisterrijke Genootschappen'; 'Bestuurderen'; 'zuiveren van spelfouten, of misslagen in den kadans'.

50 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, pp. 211-212: 'de fijne schaaf der kunstwetgevers kan het ruwe maar zelden wegnemen zonder het schoone te raken; daar, in tegendeel, grootsche gedachten en nieuwe invallen niet werktuigelijk door kunstwetten worden voortgebragt.'

51 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 212: 'schoonheden en gebreken'; 'vele anderen, wier dichtgedachten, na het berooven der taalsieraden, in rook verdwijnen'.

52 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, pp. 206-207: 'Broederschappen, geheel uit Dichters bestaande'.

Amsterdam University Press

Subject of conversation: the design, idea and realisation of the poems produced and not merely their spelling, grammar and metre.

Van Dijk's recommendations in the fourth part of his *Treatise* are certainly interesting enough – if somewhat arbitrary at times – but they exceed the scope of literary historiography, which is the reason why I shall largely ignore this part.

The final section is, however, remarkable enough: van Dijk mentions two turning points in the history of Dutch literature: the first felicitous revolution was authored by Vondel, the second revolution took place a century later: 'precisely one hundred years after this Father of Poetry, the Prince of Dutch Poetry was born, Hoogvliet, who was the first among an even more distinguished band of poets and added many new gems to Apollo's crown'. This former excellence is absent from his own times, as far as van Dijk is concerned. He has placed all his hope in the nineteenth century, possibly the third and greatest artistic age of the Dutch nation: 'May this come true!'[53]

7 Conclusion: Van Dijk's Cultural Nationalism

According to its table of contents the *Treatise* appears to describe the history of Dutch literature as a linear sequence: from bottom to top. In particular where van Dijk writes about the history of the chroniclers, the rhetoricians, the era of Vondel and the generation of Hoogvliet, it is all a matter of continuous and gradual growth and bloom. In the *Treatise* this linear development is time and again disrupted by infringements of the civil liberty. In the seventeenth century, too, the development is never without interruptions: matters of a religious nature formed a continuous threat. From 1750 onwards there is even a decline, according to van Dijk, due to the four dangers mentioned before. In 1790 and 1791, while working on his *Treatise*, van Dijk strongly must have felt that the social and political situation lacked the necessary freedom for literature to flourish.

In his appraisal of van Dijk's *Treatise* Wiskerke expresses the opinion that van Dijk apparently believes in 'the perfectability of poetry as regulated by a certain period of time'.[54] This is an unsatisfactory characterisation: if the

53 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, pp. 320-321: 'juist honderd jaren na dezen Vader der Dichtkunst, werd de Prins der Nederlandsche Poëzij, HOOGVLIET, geboren, die, aan het hoofd van een' nog aanzienlijker Dichterenrei, de kunstkroon van *Apollo* met vele nieuwe juweelen beschonk'; 'Mogte dit gebeuren!'.

54 Wiskerke, 1995, p. 184: 'de aan een bepaald tijdsverloop gebonden perfectibiliteit van de dichtkunst'.

Amsterdam University Press

perfectioning process depends so much on time, one can hardly speak of a continuous and linear development. Moreover, van Dijk's literary history is never a matter of a *regular* alternation of growth and decline.

In essence the *Treatise* shows that there exists a correlation between civil liberty and literary bloom. In that sense it is a politically engaged discourse. It can only be properly judged when we take the current circumstances of 1792 into consideration: it is the lack of freedom *after* 1787 that determines the history of poetry. Both prize contest and van Dijk's entry are closely related to the current state of the nation. Freedom is under threat and poetry is in decline, and both are desperate for liberation. The history of poetry makes clear how closely liberty and literary bloom are interconnected. This relationship is not an invention by van Dijk. One of his contemporaries, Jan Lublink, had come to the same conclusion.[55]

Van Dijk had observed that Dutch literature after the sixteenth century increasingly became a national literature, but that is not the basic idea of the *Treatise*. The cultural nationalism of both the author and the Rotterdam society is a covert expression of a political, Patriot ideal of freedom.

Van Dijk gave the final word to poets and the future. He sent in his *Treatise* with this poem as a motto:

> Can the age that we live in
> Be surpassed
> In invention and acute understanding?
> Can grander skulls be crowned?
> Where can keener poets be found,
> Than in my resounding nation?[56]

These nationalistic lines were written, as van Dijk pointed out, by Pieter Vreede, a famous Patriot who had fled to Brabant. Quoting lines by Vreede was a political act. Each question posed by the poet could only be answered with 'no'. Van Dijk was of a different opinion in 1792 and hoped that his literary history and its recommendations would lead to a full flowering of literature in the nineteenth century: 'May this come true!'

But it never did: van Dijk's *Treatise* contained a few stumbling blocks too many. It does not require much empathy to understand that the Rotterdam

55 De Vries, 2001, pp. 245-246.

56 Van Dijk, 1832-1834, vol. 1, p. 321 repeats the lines by Vreede: 'Kan men de eeuw, die wy beleven, / Overstreven, / In vernuft en kloek verstand? / Kan men grootscher schedels kroonen? / Kan men kloeker Dichters toonen, / Dan myn Zangryk Vaderland?'

Amsterdam University Press

members were not particularly enchanted by van Dijk's critique of the societies and of the set of ideas they used. They probably also disliked the fact that van Dijk noticed a connection between poetical quality and free-thinking: if 'Puikdichters' were judged by the strict rules of orthodoxy, they invariably failed to pass the test. Van Dijk paid dearly for his bold and uncomfortable statements: discord and rejection were his part and in Rotterdam his skull at least remained uncrowned.

It was only in the nineteenth century, the century that was expected to become the third age of Great Art, that van Dijk's treatise appeared in print. After its publication it never met with an objective and appreciative eye that took its context into consideration. The circumstances of 1792 had disappeared from view behind the Batavian Revolt and the years of 'oubli' after 1798.[57] The struggle for freedom by van Dijk and his contemporaries had gone out of fashion. The cultural nationalism of the new age was no longer politically motivated as in van Dijk's time.

In the end, his biographers Sprenger van Eijk and van den Hoonaard came to share the opinion of the Rotterdam society: they, too, came to a half-hearted assessment of the *Treatise*, to the verge of rejecting it, and judged van Dijk old-fashioned and ill-mannered. Both biographers lived in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and could no longer imagine what the future had looked like for a Patriot poet in 1792. The wry fact of the matter is that their biographies confirm the disqualification that had been pronounced over van Dijk in 1792.

References

P. Altena, *Gerrit Paape (1752-1803). Levens en werken* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2012).

Anonymous, 'Reflexions sur la Poesie Hollandoise', *Journal Literaire* III, 1 (January/February, 1714), 177-209.

W. van den Berg, *De ontwikkeling van de term 'romantisch' en zijn varianten in Nederland tot 1840* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1973).

W. van den Berg, 'Over het vaderschap van de Nederlandse literatuurgeschiedschrijving', *Literatuur* 6 (1989), 320-324.

W. van den Berg, 'De achttiende-eeuwse letterkunde door negentiende-eeuwse bril', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 26 (1994), 169-176.

J. van Dijk, 'De onverzettelijkheid; aan het genootschap toegezongen, toen het zelve mij het lidmaatschap van verdienste had aangeboden', in *Mengeldichten*

57 Altena, 2012, pp. 9-14 on becoming oblivious to the radicalism of the past.

Amsterdam University Press

bij bijzondere gelegenheden, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: Studium Scientiarum Genitrix, without year), 119.

J. van Dijk, *De Vrijheid der Drukpers* (Rotterdam: De Leeuw en Krap, 1786).

J. van Dijk, *De welberaaden stap voor 't vaderland, gedaan door de stad Haarlem, op den 30 January 1787* (Haarlem: A. Loosjes Pz., 1787).

J. van Dijk, *De Verlossinge van Israel uit Egipte* (Haarlem: C. Plaat, 1791).

J. van Dijk, *Nagelatene geschriften,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Schalekamp en Van de Grampel, 1832-1834).

J. van Dijk, *Het nut der luchtbollen.* Ed. by Peter Altena (Amsterdam: ADL, 1993).

R. van Gelder, *Naar het aards paradijs. Het rusteloze leven van Jacob Roggeveen, ontdekker van Paaseiland* (*1659-1720*) (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2012).

L. Golay, R. van Lit & M. van Maarseveen (ed.), *Benjamin Samuel Bolomey* (*1739-1819*). *Een Zwitsers schilder aan het hof van Willem V* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001).

W. van den Hoonaard, 'Levensschets van Jacob van Dijk', in *Nagelatene schriften van Jacob van Dijk,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Schalekamp & van de Grampel, 1832-1834).

D. Hovens, 'Bij de toewijzing van den gewonen gouden eerpenning, aen den schrijver der Letterkundige Verhandeling, behelzende de prijsvraeg: Welken zijn de oorsprong, voortgang en tegenwoordige staet der Nederduitsche dichtkunste?', in *Mengeldichten bij bijzondere gelegenheden. Tweede deel* (Rotterdam: Studium Scientiarum Genitrix, without year), 45-46.

W. Kops, 'Schets eener Geschiedenisse der Rederijkeren', *Werken van de Maetschappy der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, vol. 2 (Leiden: P. van der Eyk & D. Vygh, 1774), 213-351.

J. Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland. Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011).

C.B.F. Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers. Aspecten van letterkundige genootschappelijkheid in Nederland, 1750-1800*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991).

B.C. Sliggers, 'Honderd jaar natuurkundige amateurs te Haarlem', in A. Wiechmann & L.C. Palm (ed.),*Een elektriserend geleerde. Martinus van Marum 1750-1837* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en zonen, 1987).

L.J. Snyder, *Eye of the Beholder. Johannes Vermeer, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek and the Reinvention of Seeiing* (New York/Londen: Norton, 2015).

J.P. Sprenger van Eijk, 'Korte levensschets van den Dichter Jacob van Dijk', *De Fakkel of Bijdragen tot de Kennis van het Ware, Schoone en Goede* 7 (1831), 69-94.

M. de Vries, *Beschaven! Letterkundige genootschappen in Nederland 1750-1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2001).

E.M. Wiskerke, *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780 en 1813* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

Amsterdam University Press

About the Author

Peter Altena (1956) studied Dutch Language and Literature at the University of Amsterdam. He is an independent researcher in the field of Dutch literature of the eighteenth century. In 2012 his PhD thesis *Gerrit Paape (1752-1803). Levens en werken* was published. He made annotated editions of the major satirical novels of Gerrit Paape. In 2016 he wrote the introduction of the Dutch translation of Simon Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et Aventures de Jaques Massé* (1714). His current research is focused on the life and works of the Dutch satirical writer Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747).

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

11 Hendrik van Wijn

Pioneer of Historical Literary Studies in the Netherlands

Ton van Kalmthout

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH11

Abstract
Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831) is considered a pioneer of historical literary studies in the Netherlands. This chapter investigates how he gained his reputation. The first part gives a concise outline of his life and the place he occupied in contemporary associational and scholarly life. The second part discusses van Wijn's most important books: *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* (1800) and *Huiszittend leeven* (1801-1812). He received ample recognition for his efforts as a groundbreaking medievalist, including an appointment as the first National Archivist of the Low Countries. After his death, he was seen mainly as a meritorious collector of a large number of valuable historical sources, who had nevertheless not gone on to produce more comprehensive surveys or scholarly editions.

Keywords: Hendrik van Wijn, historical literary studies, history of philology, medieval studies

1 Introduction

In the cultural history of the Netherlands, Hendrik (or Henrik) van Wijn is known as an historian and literary scholar, as the founding father of Dutch literary history, as the co-founder of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature') and as the first National Archivist. He was highly respected in all of these capacities. In 1809, Willem Bilderdijk, secretary of the Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten ('Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts') addressed him as 'our oldest, most famous and

Amsterdam University Press

worthiest fellow member, a man that every one of us honours, appreciates, and esteems as our Leader, Teacher and Adviser'.[1] Some years later, Bilderdijk declared that a letter from Jacob Grimm had also made him aware of 'how much your profound linguistic, historical, and archaeological studies and great literary knowledge are valued in Germany'.[2] And in 1822, Bilderdijk urged the now elderly van Wijn: 'Continue, my Noble and Severe Gentleman! and continue to grace our language and history with your vast investigations, causing everyone to admire you more and more [...].'[3]

To a great extent, the admiration that van Wijn drew concerned his groundbreaking work in the field of historical literary studies. In this chapter, I investigate how, and on what literary-historical grounds, he gained his reputation as a founding father.[4] First, I give a brief sketch of his life and his position in the associational and scholarly field of his time. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss van Wijn's most important works: *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* ('Historical and literary evening-hours'; 1800) and *Huiszittend leeven* ('Domestic life'; 1801-1812).

2 A Learned Life[5]

Hendrik van Wijn was born on 20 June 1740 in The Hague, the son of Margaretha van Dijk and Abraham van Wijn. The latter earned his living as a *solliciteur-militair*, an intermediary taking care of the timely payment of wages to the army.[6] Hendrik initially followed in his father's footsteps: aged eleven, he was sent to the cadets training school of the dragoons, but after three years he moved to the Latin grammar school so that he could prepare

1 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 1 June 1809, in Bilderdijk, 1837, p. 23: '[o]ns oudst, beroemdst en waardigst medelid, wien wy allen gelijkelijk eeren, waardeeren, en aankleven als onzer aller Voorlichter, Leermeester, en Vraagbaak'.

2 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 20 January 1812, in Bilderdijk, 1837, pp. 28-29: '[h]oe veel prijs men in Duitschland op uwe grondige Taal-, Geschied- en Oudheidkunde en uitgebreide belezenheid stelt'.

3 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 26 September 1822, in Bilderdijk, 1837, p. 48. 'Vaar voort, HoogEdelGeboren Gestrenge Heer! en hou aan, onze taal en oudheden door uwe ontzachlijke nasporingen op te luisteren, en meer en meer aller verwondering tot U te trekken [...]'.

4 I hereby make use of some data that were kindly provided by Prof. Wim van Anrooij (Leiden University).

5 Unless otherwise stated, the following works were consulted for this biographical sketch: de Jonge, 1832; van der Aa, 1846; van der Aa, 1877, pp. 473-475; Frederiks and van den Branden, 1888-1891; Brugmans, 1918.

6 Brandon, 2013, p. 66.

Amsterdam University Press

for university. In 1759 he embarked on his studies in Leiden, where he was taught by the professors of history and rhetoric, Franciscus van Oudendorp and David Ruhnken (or Ruhnkenius), and by Gerlach (Gerlacus) Scheltinga, professor of civil law. Five years later, van Wijn defended his doctoral thesis on the history of dike law[7] and returned to The Hague as a lawyer. As such, he wrote some juridical commentaries and edited some legal history sources,[8] but his heart was not in the juridical profession. In 1766, van Wijn wrote to his friend and fellow student, Rijklof Michael van Goens, who at the age of eighteen was already professor of history, archaeology, Greek, and rhetoric in Utrecht, that he would rather be a professor of history.[9]

In order to earn a living – he was not rich – van Wijn accepted the position of pensionary of Den Briel, for which he was recommended by both his patron and friend Johan Meerman, a wealthy book collector and writer, and Stadtholder Willem V. This position provided van Wijn with sufficient time for study, which was the reason why he did not accept similar positions in the more important cities of Dordrecht and Haarlem.[10] In 1779, however, he agreed to become pensionary of the city of Gouda, an appointment that brought him more influence. After the Prussian invasion and the brief occupation of the city in 1788, van Wijn, a moderate patriot, felt compelled to resign. Supported by the pension granted to him by the *vroedschap* (municipality) of Gouda, he lived there in the following years as a private citizen, spending summers at the homestead of Zuiderbosch near The Hague.

This quiet life came to an end in 1796, when van Wijn was elected as a member of the National Assembly. This was followed in 1802 by his appointment as archivist of the Batavian Republic, whereby he became the founder of the present-day National Archives.[11] This proved a rewarding but difficult pioneering role:

> The quiet walls of my former study are no longer my sole residence: I no longer live (except for a very few, but to my sensitive heart, always worthy, friends) only within the narrower circle of earlier and later writers and writings that I myself possessed, or which other lovers of literature made available. Suddenly I find myself transported, above my merits, to a complicated and formerly untouched area of state documents that,

7 Van Wijn, 1764 (66 pages).
8 Den Tex, 1837, pp. 151-158.
9 Wille, 1937, p. 177.
10 Woelderink, 1996, p. 213.
11 Bos-Rops, 2002, pp. 7-8, col. 227-234; Bos-Rops, 2002, pp. 32-37.

Amsterdam University Press

> despite the violence of the ages, has escaped the ravages of time, [an area] where every unseen, every unknown but honourable vestige of the acts of our early ancestors truly delights me, excites my desire for scholarship, and vigorously strengthens my courage (seemingly so manifold and often assaulted by an untidy stack of paper and mess, but never waning); [an area], however, in which I will need (without being able to follow in the footsteps of any predecessor, having to search for a path and to carve the way, in order to develop – as much as I can, satisfying the good and great purpose of my superiors and to the benefit of the studious element of my compatriots – the most important aspects of past political, historical, and literary studies) much time, of course, before I can commit myself as accurately as before to the right moment for the edition of any work [...].[12]

Two years earlier, the classical scholar and poet Henricus van Roijen (or Royen) had argued in the Senate that important charters and state documents, which were then dispersed across the provinces of the Republic, should be brought together. This had aroused van Wijn's interest. He entered into a correspondence with the Agent of National Education, Johan Hendrik van der Palm, by sending him a copy of his book *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* (see further below).[13] Van der Palm arranged for the state government to make van Wijn National Archivist, a position that he would retain under King Louis Napoleon. Van Wijn moved back to The Hague and energetically began work on the national archives. Among other things, he made three journeys to identify, collect, and describe archival records, on which he wrote several reports for the government. In 1804 and 1805,

12 Van Wijn, 1802, pp. I-III: 'De stille muuren van mijn voormaalig Boekvertrek bevatten niet meêr mijn éénig verblijf: niet meêr leeve ik (buiten zeer weinige, maar aan mijn gevoelig hart altijd waarde, Vrienden) slegts enkel binnen den engeren kring van vroegere en laatere Schrijveren en Schriften, die, of ik zelve bezat, of andere Letterminnaars mij bijzetteden. IJlings vinde ik mij, en boven mijne verdiensten, verplaatst in een onoverzigtbaar en, voorheen, niet betreeden veld van, ondanks 't geweld der eeuwen, aan den tand des tijds nog ontkoomene Staatsstukken, daar elk ongezien, elk onbekend doch eerwaardig, overblijfsel van de Handelingen onzer vroege Voorouderen mij, 't is waar, wel verheugt, mijne zugt voor de weetenschappen wel aanvuurt, en mijnen, op 't gezigt van zo meenigvuldige en, dikwerf, door een verwarde papier- en puin-hoopen, wel eens aangeranden, schoon nooit vallenden, moed kragtiglijk steevigt, maar waarin ik egter, zonder de voetstappen van eenigen Voorganger te mogen ontdekken, het spoor moetende zoeken en den weg baanen, om, voor zo veel in mij is, ter beantwoording aan het goede en groote oogmerk mijner Aanstelleren en ten nutte van 't weetlievend gedeelte mijner Landgenooten, meerdere ontwikkeling te geeven aan de voornaamste punten der vroegere Staat-, Geschied- en Letterkunde, natuurlijk een' geruimen tijd zal behoeven, alvoorens ik mij, zo naauw als voor heen, tot den juisten stond der uitgaave van eenig Werk zal kunnen verbinden [...].'

13 Morren, 1907/08, p. 33. On van der Palm, see Ellen Krol's chapter in this book.

Amsterdam University Press

he went to Zeeland, Brabant, Gelderland, Utrecht, Belgium, and the city of Kleef,[14] and at the ripe old age of 76, he visited Mons in Hainaut, which yielded more than two hundred charters from Holland. Dismissed from office in 1812, van Wijn was reappointed two years later by King Willem I. Although the French had already offered him a pension in 1813,[15] he would hold the title of National Archivist until the end of his life.

In 1775 van Wijn married the widow Susanna Blooteling (or Blotelingh), who died in 1803. At the age of 79 he married the equally elderly widow Margaretha Ploos van Amstel, née Sonmans, who would die in 1822.[16] They spent little time living together, 'because she refused to give up her home in *Amsterdam*, and the scholar, who was attached to his book collection, could not or would not move from The Hague'.[17] Van Wijn outlived his wife for a further nine years, and died on 27 September 1831. An announcement in the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* informed readers: 'Today the death is announced, at an age of more than 91 years, of Mr. HENDRIK van WIJN, Knight of the Order of the Netherlands Lion, National Archivist, Member of the High Council of Nobility and of the Royal Netherlands Institute and of several Learned Societies'.[18]

3 Association Man and Workaholic

A member of many domestic and foreign societies, van Wijn belonged to the active core of contemporary cultural associational life.[19] Among others, he belonged to the learned Zeeuwsch Genootschap ('Zeelandic Society') in Middelburg, the Keizerlijke en Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen en Letteren ('Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts') in Brussels, the literature-loving Kunstliefde Spaart Geen Vlijt ('Love of art spares no diligence') society in The Hague, and the (re-established) chamber of rhetoric known as De Goudsbloemen ('The Marigolds') in Gouda, in the

14 Cf. Lindeman, Scherf & Dekker, 1994, pp. 194-195.

15 R.D.B.d.l.F. [= R.D. Baart de la Faille], 1930/1931.

16 Van Baalen, 1980, pp. 326-327.

17 L.J. [= L.J.F. Janssen], 1858: '[o]mdat zij hare woonplaats te *Amsterdam* niet wilde opgeven, en de aan zijne boekverzameling gehechte geleerde deze niet kon of verkoos te verplaatsen uit *'s* Hage'.

18 *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 29 September 1831 and 1 October 1831: 'Heden is overleden in den ouderdom van ruim 91 jaren, Mr. HENDRIK van WIJN, Ridder der Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw, Rijks Archivarius, Lid van den Hoogen Raad van Adel, van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut en van verschillende Geleerde Genootschappen'. Comparable announcements in *Bredasche Courant*, 30 September 1831, and *Middelburgsche Courant*, 1 October 1831.

19 Singeling, 1991, pp. 166-167, 186-187; de Vries, 2001, p. 303.

Amsterdam University Press

latter case as its patron.[20] As a student in Leiden he joined the small student society Linguaque Animoque Fideles ('Faithful with heart and mouth'), which aimed to contribute to the development of the Dutch language.

In this society, van Wijn could share his great interest in the Dutch language, literature, and history with friends such as Carolus Boers, Henrik Constantijn Cras, Frans van Lelyveld, Petrus Paludanus, and Herman Tollius. These young scholars saw themselves as the disciples of Balthasar Huydecoper.[21] Through this circle, in which books and interesting facts, ideas, plans, and pieces of advice were exchanged, van Wijn also became acquainted with R.M. van Goens and H.W. Tydeman.[22] In 1760, van Wijn translated and made excerpts of scholarly works for Linguaque, gave etymological and historical lectures, drew attention to the poetry of Alexander Pope and Joannes Antonides van der Goes, and recited a poem that he had written about the benefits of scholarship.[23] In 1761 the society was renamed Minima Crescunt ('The smallest things grow'). Whereas it had initially focused on speaking or lecturing on subjects relating to Dutch language and literature – van Wijn, for example, lectured on 'a Dream' in March 1761[24] – at his suggestion, the field of activity was extended to include national history. Between 1765 and 1768, he started to catalogue the manuscripts he had read in relation to Dutch history and, in line with this, a thesaurus of excerpts from scholarly letters.[25] He also contributed etymological reflections to *Nieuwe Bijdragen tot Opbouw der Vaderlandsche Letterkunde* ('New contributions to the building of Dutch literature'), the journal of an unnamed literary circle with which Minima Crescunt had merged.[26]

The driving force behind Minima and *Bijdragen* was Frans van Lelyveld. Van Lelyveld was also the principal founder of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature in Leiden, which was dedicated to the study of language and literature, history and archaeology. Together with van Goens, van Wijn, and others, van Lelyveld helped this leading society arise from Minima and similar associations.[27] According to his biographer, J.C. de Jonge, van

20 Singeling, 1991, pp. 92 and 135; de Vries, 2001, 268.

21 De Vooys, 1924-1947, vol. III, p. 19.

22 Wille, 1937, pp. 174-182.

23 Singeling, 1991, p. 50.

24 '[e]enen Droom'. See Honings & Rutten, 2010.

25 Wille, 1937, pp. 183-185. In the course of van Wijn's life, the catalogue would develop into an unprecedentedly rich inventory. Miltenburg, 1991, p. 43.

26 De Jonge, 1832, p. 11.

27 On the founding of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature: Kossmann, 1966, pp. 1-33 and 58-144. See also de Vries, 2016.

Amsterdam University Press

Wijn would always remain proud of his role as co-founder of the Society. He himself also contributed poems and treatises to the Society, for instance on the question of whether the Germanic peoples had practised the art of writing (he answered in the affirmative), while pointing out in passing that the writings of Ossian and Klaas Kolijn were unreliable.[28] He also assessed others' work for the society, sometimes so comprehensively that his assessment resembled a new treatise.

In 1808, King Louis Napoleon appointed van Wijn as a member of the Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts, founded that same year in Amsterdam. Its secretary, Willem Bilderdijk, went to great lengths to keep van Wijn (now elderly and rarely present) involved, for instance by asking the 'good old man' to suggest new members or for scholarly information: 'In ancient Dutch literature we are nothing without your counsel. […] We don't have members in this field; what is worse, insufficient need is felt for it […].' Bilderdijk urged van Wijn to attend a meeting: 'For all who appreciate knowledge and goodness, it will be a pleasure, renewal of spirit and industriousness, and encouragement'.[29] In 1810 Bilderdijk also consulted 'our honest and wise predecessor on the path of national literature and history' about advice, to be given by the Institute to the government, on how to avoid the increasing use of French putting the Dutch language and literature at a disadvantage.[30] Some years later, the secretary thanked the '*Nestor of our Department* WHO IS RESPECTED BY ALL OF US AS OUR TEACHER' for the so-called Pietersteen from the Abbey of Egmond, which the Institute had received as a gift following van Wijn's mediation and about which he had written in his *Avondstonden*.[31] He also provided the Institute with some treatises.

28 The treatise was published in *Nieuwe Bijdragen*, vol. 2. Van Wijn also contributed a treatise on the still largely unknown Jacob van Maerlant to the Society (H.W.T. [= H.W. Tydeman], 1832). Van Wijn thought that the learned poet had lived and worked in the vicinity of Den Briel, which, however, is not plausible, according to van Oostrom, 1988. – About van Wijn's other contributions: Kossmann, 1966, pp. 138-140.

29 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 1 May 1809, in Bilderdijk, 1837, pp. 20-23: '[b]rave grijzaart' – 'Zonder uwe voorlichting zijn wy in de oude Hollandsche Letterkunde niets. […] Wy hebben geen lieden in dit vak, men gevoelt er (wat het ergst is) de behoefte zelfs niet genoegzaam van […].' – ''t Zal voor allen die prijs op kunde en braafheid stellen, een genoegen, vernieuwing van lust en arbeidzaamheid, en aanmoediging zijn.'

30 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 11 September 1810, in Bilderdijk, 1837, pp. 25-27: 'brave en verstandige voorganger van ons allen, op het pad der Vaderlandsche Letteren en Geschiedenis'.

31 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 6 October 1815, in Bilderdijk, 1837, p. 42: *Nestor onzer Klasse* WIEN WIJ ALLEN ALS ONZEN LEERMEESTER EERBIEDIGEN'. See also Miltenburg, 1991, p. 62.

Amsterdam University Press

Partly thanks to his involvement in various societies, van Wijn was able to build an extensive network in the literary and scholarly world. Besides this, he maintained an intensive correspondence with Dutch and foreign scholars. His admirer Bilderdijk, making 'generous and unadorned statements [...] of perfect esteem and sincere affection', also wrote to him in a personal capacity, put historical and linguistic issues to him, and brought him into contact with Jacob Grimm.[32] Grimm was particularly interested in an edition of *Ferguut* that van Wijn was preparing.[33] Van Wijn was somewhat reticent in replying to Grimm's letters, but he sent him a transcription of a fragment from *Ferguut,* as well as a fragment from *Reinaert* that he had himself discovered. In return, Grimm sent him his editions of the *Hildebrandslied* and the *Weisenbrunner Gebet* on 8 December 1812.[34]

In 1820, August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben also appealed to van Wijn for assistance, this time for an edition of traditional Dutch and Flemish folk songs. Hoffmann took the opportunity to exchange information about a manuscript of Jacob van Maerlant's *Bestiaris* and to ask van Wijn for a copy of his *Avondstonden* in return for copper engravings, old prints and manuscripts. For his part, van Wijn asked Hoffmann for help in identifying the idiom in a manuscript on parchment borrowed from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek ('Royal Library'). Hoffmann then asked van Wijn to send him a survey of publications about old Dutch language and literature, and to send him his material on folk books, if he no longer planned to use it. One year later, Hoffmann visited van Wijn during his study trip to the Netherlands: 'When I rummaged around in his library and found something that surprised or pleased me, and said that it would be worth a discussion or new edition, each time he did not refrain from saying: "I will also write a treatise about that".' Partly through his intercession, van Wijn was appointed a foreign member of the Berlin Society for German Language (Berliner Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache).[35] In the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* (1821 no. 39, 164), Hoffmann praised him for his discoveries of important Dutch heritage.

32 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 12 April 1809, in Bilderdijk, 1837, p. 19: 'gulle en onopgesmukte betuigingen [...] der volmaakte hoogachting en hartelijke verkleefdheid'.

33 Letter Bilderdijk to van Wijn, 20 January 1812, in Bilderdijk, 1837, pp. 28-30.

34 *Briefwechsel von Jakob Grimm und Hoffman von Fallersleben,* 1888, pp. 8-16.

35 Ibidem, pp. 31-32: 'Wenn ich dann in seiner Bibliothek herumstöberte und etwas fand, worüber ich staunte oder mich freute, und dann auch wohl aüsserte, das es eine Besprechung oder neuen Herausgabe werth wäre, so unterliess er nicht, jedesmal zu bemerken: "daar over zal ik ook noch eene verhandeling schrijven".'

Amsterdam University Press

Van Wijn's administrative tasks and his period as a retired pensionary left him much time for research. He seems to have been a workaholic, however, who sacrificed his sleep into old age.[36] 'His library was his normal residence', De Jonge said, 'his books were, as he called them, his best friends. Most of the day and, what's more, a large part of the night, he spent in his library; his books were his life's passion.'[37] Apart from books, he collected manuscripts, including rare and precious ones. Van Wijn's legacy includes dozens of original manuscripts dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries,[38] but his collection must have been much more extensive during his lifetime. Three years after his death, the booksellers Gebroeders van Cleef and B. Scheurleer advertised a 'public auction of the manuscripts, old prints, and books, as well as some maps and engravings, antiquities, paintings, and bookcases'.[39] The accompanying catalogue, which had a total of 1,711 numbers, stated that the Koninklijke Bibliotheek and the National Archives had already bought several manuscripts.[40]

Linguistics and rhetoric were under-represented in the catalogue, although van Wijn, in his younger years, had devoted some time to these issues, for instance on the etymology of words with the root 'p'.[41] He also contributed to the *Nederduitsch woordenboek* ('Dutch dictionary') that the Society of Dutch Language and Literature was compiling at the time. By far the majority of van Wijn's book collection concerned history and archaeology, however, in accordance with his ever-expanding historiographical and

36 Tydeman, 1832.

37 De Jonge, 1832, p. 83: 'Zijne bibliotheek was de gewone plaats van zijn verblijf' – 'zijne boeken waren, zooals hij ze noemde, zijne beste vrienden. De meeste uren van den dag, wat meer is, een groot gedeelte van den nacht, bragt hij in zijne boekerij door; zijne boeken waren de lust van zijn leven.'

38 National Archives, The Hague, inventory van Wijn archives, 2011, inv. nr. 1.13.20.

39 'Publieke verkooping der handschriften, oude drukken en boekwerken, benevens eenige kaarten en prenten, oudheden, schilderijen en boekenkasten'. Advertisement van Cleef & Scheurleer in *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 4 February 1834 and 13 February 1834; also in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 February 1834.

40 *Catalogus der handschriften, oude drukken en boekwerken, benevens eenige kaarten, teekeningen en prenten, oudheden, rariteiten, schilderijen en boekenkasten, nagelaten door Mr. Henrik van Wijn* [...]. *Waarvan de publieke verkooping zal gehouden worden op Maandag den 17 Februarij 1834 en volgende dagen* [...]. *Door de Gebroeders van Kleef en B. Scheurleer, boekhandelaars te 's Gravenhage*, p. I. The Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague keeps a copy of the catalogue, which is interleaved with lists that mention the seller's name and the selling price for each item. The *Aanhangsel op het Algemeen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen*, 1844, gives, on the three final pages, an annotated overview of the van Wijn collection, partly based on an article in *Konst- en Letterbode*, 31 January 1834.

41 See: van Wijn, 2009. See also: Noordegraaf, 1996, p. 35; Noordegraaf, 2009; Rutten, 2012.

Amsterdam University Press

archival efforts, and despite the fact that his main publications were partly on literature. As a boy and as a student he had written some poems, but later on, literary studies prevailed.

With Meerman, for example, van Wijn planned to produce an edition of Jan van Heelu's rhymed chronicle on the battle of Woeringen in 1288, a project that would suffer much delay, but that van Wijn restarted after his retirement as a pensionary. His annotation – over 200 folio sheets – covered more than half of the 5,030 verses, but he did not succeed in completing the edition. For this reason, he made the only manuscript of the book, in his own collection, available in 1828 to Jan Frans Willems, who also wanted to make an edition. However, van Wijn refused to give the notes he had made to Willems. The Belgian Revolution prevented Willems from returning the manuscript immediately, so van Wijn was unable to proceed. The Willems edition was eventually published in 1834, after van Wijn's death. His notes on Heelu ended up in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. In 1840, on the instigation of its librarian, Johannes Willem Holtrop, and his Leiden colleague, Jacob Geel, they were finally published by W.J.A. Jonckbloet and A.W. Kroon, in a book with a design almost identical to that of the Willems edition.[42] By contrast, van Wijn's best-known work, *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden*, was published during his lifetime, and it was this book that brought him most renown.

4 *Historische en Letterkundige Avondstonden*

The two volumes of *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* were a spin-off from another project. Between 1790 and 1796, the Amsterdam publisher J. Allart made a reprint of Jan Wagenaar's famous *Vaderlandsche historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden* ('National history, containing the histories of the now United Netherlands', 1749-1759), accompanied by additions and commentaries by contemporary scholars. Van Wijn, who was then unemployed, was approached to assist with the project and became one of its most prolific contributors. It is probably for this reason that his name is mentioned first on the title pages of the *Byvoegsels en aanmerkingen* ('Additions and commentaries') to the twenty volumes of

42 Van Wijn, 1840. On its realisation: *Aanhangsel op het Algemeen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen*, 1844, p. 405, n. 1, and pp. 414-415. See also the advertisement of the bookseller W. Messchert in Rotterdam, in: *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, 2 July 1840; also in: *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 13 and 15 December 1842. – On Willems, see the chapter by Weijermars in this book.

Amsterdam University Press

the *Vaderlandsche historie*. In 1797-1801, these were followed by two volumes of *Byvoegsels en aanmerkingen, bestaande in noodige naleezingen voor de Vaderlandsche historie van Jan Wagenaar* ('Additions and commentaries consisting of necessary corrections for the *Vaderlandsche historie* by Jan Wagenaar'), again with van Wijn as principal author.

Van Wijn's contributions inspired him to make a number of independent studies, which were collected in his *Avondstonden*.[43] In his foreword to the *Byvoegsels en aanmerkingen*, in which van Wijn already announced his *Avondstonden*, he mentioned several predecessors from the time of the Eighty-Years War whom he had tried to imitate:

> [Jan] Van der Does, de Jong, [Hadrianus] Junius, [Hugo] de Groot, and others described the deeds of former times under the fury of the Spanish war. While I am not foolish enough to compare myself with those men, their example teaches us that, in this formerly so blessed country, scholarship is not used to remaining silent under arms; their example may and must encourage us to follow in their footsteps, albeit with smaller steps.[44]

Wagenaar also served as an example, however; in *Avondstonden,* van Wijn used the same dialogue form that had been used in a version of the book adapted for school and family use: *Vaderlandsche historie verkort, en by vraagen en antwoorden voorgesteld* ('A brief national history, represented in questions and answers'; 1758). In a foreword addressed to his 'literature-loving compatriots', van Wijn declared that he had initially planned to give a full description of the 'daily and household life of our ancestors' from the earliest times, but that this would have resulted in too comprehensive a book. That was why he had confined himself to the present volume, which provided only sketches and not a complete history. He called on readers to

43 The manuscript of the *Avondstonden* is preserved in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague with shelf mark 74 B 38. It has been written in delicate, often obscure handwriting and includes numerous deletions, additions and pasted passages. Van Wijn wrote his book mainly on folio sheets, but he also used smaller formats, even scraps of paper. Although the manuscript looks like a draft, the various clues for the printer make it clear that it was certainly meant as a final version. – On the *Avondstonden,* see also: de Buck, 1930, pp. 59-81.

44 Van Wijn, 1798: 'Van der Does, de Jong, Junius, de Groot en anderen, beschreeven de daden der vroegere tyden, onder het branden van den Spaanschen Oorlog. Ik ben niet dwaas genoeg, om my by zulke Mannen te vergelyken, maar hunne voordaad leert ons, dat, in dit, wel eer zo gezegend, Land, de weetenschappen niet gewoon zyn onder wapenen te zwygen; die voordaad mag en moet ons aanmoedigen om hunne voetstappen, al is het dan met kleinere schreden, naar te volgen.'

Amsterdam University Press

continue his work, which he hoped, in any case, would 'serve as a *reference point* for those seeking knowledge in future'.[45] (VII)

In the *Avondstonden,* these 'knowledge-seekers' are represented by an inquisitive couple called Reinout and Aleide (names, not coincidentally, with mediaeval overtones), who are the neighbours of van Wijn's *alter ego,* Volkhart. In the first 'Avondstond' in volume I, they come to Volkhart because, having read Wagenaar, they wish to learn even more about Dutch history. Their learned neighbour promises to tutor them, especially on the pre-1500 period, during a series of evening meetings. The three successive evenings, or *Avondstonden*, described between pages 101 and 368, are almost wholly dedicated to a selection of literary-historical subjects. The second volume contains historical discussions about non-literary matters. Van Wijn provided his book with a motto, taken from the late-Roman scholar Macrobius, emphasising the book's didactical nature: 'Multa ignoramus, quae non laterent, si Veterum lectio nobis esset familiarior'.[46]

The second 'Avondstond' is concerned with rhymes and other poems, translations, novels, and plays; it is about bards, poets, and travelling story-tellers, and writers such as Jacob van Maerlant and Jan van Heelu. Volkhart pays particular attention to the so-called *Rijmkroniek* (Rhymed Chronicle) by Klaas Kolijn. In the course of the eighteenth century, Wagenaar and Huydecoper had already questioned the manuscript's authenticity, and like the latter, van Wijn considered it a seventeenth-century forgery. For him, the only remaining question was that of the identity of the forger. This chapter concludes with a 'Sketch of the state of Low German poetry between Frankish times and 1500, and of the most prominent Low German poets of that time, some of whom are unfamiliar.'

The next chapter, the third 'Avondstond', follows with an overview of Frankish and German poetry, moving on to early Low German poetry. Volkhart resumes his discussion of Maerlant and Heelu, and focuses on Melis Stoke, folk songs, and rhetoricians and their chambers (societies). He concludes with a passage on the 'Early patronage of our Poetry by notable people of this country and the excellent state of this [poetry] at the end of the eighteenth century.'

Finally, in the fourth 'Avondstond', Volkhart discusses a number of poets who are difficult to date, several didactical and spiritual works and *Karel*

45 'Letterminnende Landgenooten' – 'Daaglyksch en Huishoudelyk Leeven onzer Voorvaderen' – 'dienen tot een' *Legger* voor de kenniszoekende Nakomelingschap'.

46 Van Wijn, 1800, vol. I, [p. VIII]: 'We are ignorant of many things that would not lie hidden if the ancients' texts were our constant companions.'

Amsterdam University Press

ende Elegast, a chivalric romance that he summarises here for the first time. From the fourteenth-century, he reviews works that include those by Lodewijk van Velthem, the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, the *Dietsche doctrinael*, and *Der minnen loep*, as well as travelling storytellers and (yet more) rhetoricians, rhymes and plays. Volkhart has now reached the fifteenth century. The conversation with Aleide and Reinout ends with exhortations and good intentions:

> VOLKHART. I flatter myself that, with the path we have taken and the main things that we have seen, you will be able to follow this way again with purpose in your thoughts.
> ALEIDE. That I shall also try to do, and I thank you, in turn. Without doubt, the poetic scene of our Ancestors – mainly the two latter ones, that is to say, the 14th and 15th centuries – has not turned out to be overly gratifying for either their glory or my wishes, but I console myself with the notion that this might be attributed less to them than to the unfavourable times in which they lived. I have also learned to cherish the truth, even when it is revealed to us in unhappy form; just as I should value the correct likeness in the Paintings by our Kinsmen, despite their subjects' lacking any beauty of form. How I now long that we might be able to discover more, and, with such pleasure, I recall my own, well-nigh forgotten native and non-native poets to whom you introduced us, among whom there were some ingenious spirits, especially one you praised, our JACOB *van Maerlant*: whose best unpublished poems I once more entreat you to publish, whenever that might be.
> VOLKHART. I shall consider it. In the meantime, my Friends, be sure, both of you, not to forget what I have taught you. Inquire! And set others to such inquiry, and share all our discoveries! Only then shall my work be complete. – Until the Grave, this world is a School for us all.[47]

47 Van Wijn, 1800, vol. I, pp. 367-368: 'VOLKHART. Langs deeze leidinge, vleië ik my, dat gy den weg, dien wy betraden, en het voornaamste, 't geen wy 'er op gezien hebben, met nut, in uwe gedagten, zult konnen herwandelen.
ALEIDE. Dit zal ik ook tragten te doen, en danke u, op myne beurt. Het dichterlyk tafereel onzer Voorvaderen; voornaamlyk in de twee laatste, d.i. de 14de en 15de eeuwen; is zekerlyk niet te streelend uitgevallen voor hunnen roem en mynen wensch: maar ik trooste my met het denkbeeld, dat zulks minder aan hun, dan aan de ongunstige tyden, die zy beleefden, is toe te schryven. Ook heb ik geleerd de waarheid te beminnen, al vertoont zy zig aan ons in geene lagchende kleeding: even als ik de juiste gelykenis , in de Schilderyen onzer Bloedverwanten, hoog zou moeten schatten, al misten de voorwerpen alle schoonheid van gedaante. Hoe verlange ik, midlerwyl, dat wy iets meerder mogen ontdekken, en, met welk genoegen, herinnere ik my eenige, schier vergeetene , in- en uitlandsche Dichteren, die gy ons hebt leeren kennen, waar

Amsterdam University Press

The *pièce de résistence* of van Wijn's book was the 'Sketch of the state of Low German Poetry'. He himself considered it to be useful, because no 'coherent History' of this subject yet existed.[48] Many of the authors and works that he addressed were not or hardly known. Some were only circulating in the form of chapbooks, such as *De vier heemskinderen* ('The four sons of Aymon') and *Reinaert de Vos* ('Reynard the Fox'), of which van Wijn possessed a fragment of an original manuscript. These were texts that were usually spurned by the literary establishment.[49] Despite this, van Wijn also had at his disposal a number of extremely old and largely unknown manuscripts and cradle books from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek and from the collection of the collector Jacob Visser.[50] This enabled van Wijn to give an impression of the Middle Dutch poets on the basis of their own work, rather than the secondary literature. It was principally this pioneering work that earned him the epithet, 'father of the history of Dutch literature'. Internationally, though, he did have predecessors; Jan te Winkel would later point out that van Wijn formed part of a trend that had recently been started by Girolamo Tiraboschi's *Storia della letteratura italiana* (14 vols., 1772-1782), Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (4 vols., 1774-1781), Erduin Julius Koch's *Grundriss einer Geschichte der Litteratur der Deutschen von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Lessings Tod* (2 vols., 1790-1798), and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Cultur und Literatur des neuern Europa* (2 vols. , 1796-1799).[51]

One reviewer of van Wijn's book had difficulty with the dialogues in which the *Avondstonden* were captured in somewhat long-winded fashion, but he was impressed by the immense knowledge that was displayed.[52] Over time, the book only seemed to rise in people's estimation. The *Avondstonden* prompted Jacob Grimm, for example, to take much trouble to contact van

onder somtyds vernuftige geesten uitmunteden en, byzonderlyk, onze, door u geroemde, JACOB *van Maerlant*: wiens beste, onuitgegeevene, Dichtstukjens ik u, nogmaals, verzoeke, t'eenigen tyde, kan het zyn, het licht te doen zien.

VOLKHART. Ik zal 'er aan denken. Gy zelven ondertusschen, myne Vrienden! vergeet geen van beiden het geen ik u, te meêrmaalen, verzogt heb. Onderzoekt! zet anderen aan, om te onderzoeken, en deelt my uwe en hunne ontdekkingen heuschelyk mede! Dan eerst, zal ik van mynen arbeid voldaan zyn. – Tot aan het Graf, is deeze waereld, voor ons allen, een Leerschool.'

48 Ibidem, pp. VI-VII.

49 Buijnsters, 1984, pp. 51-52.

50 Ibidem, p. 50; Biesheuvel, 2004, pp. 37-38.

51 Te Winkel, 1922, pp. 74-75.

52 See the review in *Nieuwe Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak*, [1800?; wrongly dated by Delpher as 1797], 760-766. There is also a positive review in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1801, 133-141.

Amsterdam University Press

Wijn, something in which he only succeeded after great persistence.[53] 'All who are authorised to do so consider this work to be one of the best, if not the best, that van Wijn has written,' stated de Jonge in 1832. In his opinion, the book stood out for its thoroughness and for the large amount of new information that it contained. 'This is particularly true of that part of the work in which the state of ancient Low German poetry and the former daily and domestic lives of our ancestors is addressed.'[54] The *Avondstonden* had also won much praise from others, according to de Jonge; contemporaries and later scholars and poets had all gone back to what van Wijn had first published on the poetry, manners, and customs of the Dutch: 'Everything rests upon the foundations that he laid'. Indeed, if he had written only the *Avondstonden*, he would still have secured a prominent place in the history of archaeology, history, and literature.[55] The Fleming Constant-Philippe Serrure could still agree with this in 1855: 'Although the form of this book might be said to be wanting in taste, and although there have been infinite advances in learning since that time, this nevertheless remains a work to be consulted on a daily basis'. And this was still the case, Serrure ascertained, for 'everyone has a copy of his *Historische Avondstonden*'.[56] More than a century after van Wijn's study of Middle Dutch literature was written, te Winkel would still be attesting that it had 'revealed more than anyone had previously dreamed':

> He can rightfully be called the father of our mediaeval historical literary studies; and he produced so much more than had previously been known that he seemed to exhaust the material, and it would be another fifty years before someone in our country conceived, on the basis of new material, of writing a more extensive work on Middle Dutch literature.[57]

53 *Briefwechsel von Jakob Grimm und Hoffman-Fallersleben mit Hendrik van Wijn*, 1888, pp. 3-8.

54 De Jonge, 1832, pp. 111-112: 'Dit is in het bijzonder het geval met dat gedeelte van het werk, waarin over den toestand der oudere Nederduitsche dichtkunde en over het vroegere dagelijksch en huishoudelijk leven onzer voorvaderen gehandeld wordt.'

55 De Jonge, 1832, pp. 113-115: 'alles rust nogtans op den door hem gelegden grondslag'.

56 Van Wijn, 1855, p. 426: 'Zyne *Historische Avondstonden* zijn immers in ieders handen'.

57 Te Winkel, 1925, 219: 'Van onze middeleeuwsche litteratuurgeschiedenis mag hij met volle recht de vader genoemd worden; en hij gaf zooveel meer dan men vroeger wist, dat hij de stof scheen te hebben uitgeput en het nog wel eene halve eeuw moest duren vóór iemand hier te lande er aan dacht, op grond van nieuw materiaal een uitvoeriger werk over de middelnederlandsche litteratuur te schrijven.'

Amsterdam University Press

5 *Huiszittend Leeven*

Van Wijn himself was far from believing that he had exhausted the field of mediaeval studies. In 1802, he suggested that more might be known about the various Middle Dutch authors,

> [i]f we tried more carefully to discover what, in relation to our Nation, might be hiding here or there, whether in our own Provinces or in neighbouring or more remote Countries. An important task, that could be undertaken most safely under the supportive protection of the national Government, for the honour of the Country and the benefit of this and future generations, and on which, in comparison to Germany, France, and England, it would not be extremely difficult to produce a rather considerable report.[58]

Van Wijn wrote the passage above in one of the seven collections of historical treatises that he published between 1801 and 1812 under the title *Huiszittend leeven* ('Domestic life'); treatises that sometimes expressly elaborated upon what he had written in the *Avondstonden*, but that were now intended for a scholarly audience.[59] Initially he had a journal, rather than a series of volumes, in mind, and for this reason, in the preface to the first volume, he called on other 'lovers of literature' to join him in publishing new insights.[60] Only his historically-inclined colleagues Adriaan Kluit, W.C.H. van Lijnden van Blitterswijk, and W.A. baron van Spaen la Lecq would respond to this invitation, however, with occasional contributions.[61] Likewise, the irregular

58 Van Wijn, 1802, pp. 309-310: '[i]ndien wij naauwkeuriger tragteden optespooren, wat, tot onze Natie betreklijk, nog hier of daar, 't zij in onze Gewesten, 't zij in nabuurige of verder afgelegene Landen, zoude mogen schuilen. Eene wigtige zaak , die veiligst onder de medewerkende bescherming der hooge Regeeringe, tot eer van den Lande en nut van dit en het toekoomend Geslagt, zou konnen worden volvoerd, en waarvan het, ten opzigt van Duitschland, Frankrijk en Engeland, niet zeer moeilijk zou zijn, eene vrij aanzienlijke opgaave te doen.'

59 See also: de Jonge, 1832, pp. 118-122 and 124-125. – The manuscript (in two volumes) of *Huiszittend leven* and a collection of the illustrations used for it are kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, shelf marks 75 B 1-3.

60 Van Wijn, 1801a, pp. III-IV.

61 See in van Wijn, 1801b, pp. 129-214: 'Brief van den Leidschen Oud-Hoogleeraar Mr. A. Kluit, aan Mr. H. van Wijn, over eenige Handschriften van K. van Alkemade, bijzonderlijk over Klaas Kolyn' (which van Wijn supplements in his preface); in van Wijn 1804, pp. 335-356: 'Brief van den Heere van Lijnden van Blitterswijk, aan Mr. H. van Wijn, over den toenaam Magusanus, die op sommige Altaar-steenen van Hercules, hier te Lande, is gevonden', and also in van Wijn 1812, pp. 1-89, 'Brief van Heer Baron W.A. van Spaen, Heer van Hardestein, geschreven den … Mei 1801, aan den Heer A. Kluit, toen ten tijde Oud-Professor in de Historie en Diplomatiek, op

Amsterdam University Press

frequency of publication is likely to have led van Wijn ultimately to call *Huiszittend leeven* a 'book'.[62] This was despite the fact that the separate pieces that he collected in the book could only offer 'a faint *Sketch*' of the origins and advancement of Dutch literature, as he claimed as early as 1801, and not the kind of continuous exposé that the Benedictines of St. Maur had achieved between 1733 and 1763 with their famous *Histoire littéraire de la France*.[63]

The title *Huiszittend leeven*, 'domestic life', refers to van Wijn's life of retirement, which gave him ample opportunity for historical study. This came to an end, however, after his appointment as National Archivist, causing unavoidable delay. Although van Wijn resolved to continue the series, now with the addition of the charters that he was amassing, his new post delayed the rate of publication more and more. According to the preface of the volume published in 1804, the delay was compounded by 'many misfortunes, particularly the loss of one held in blessed memory, my ever-beloved Wife'.[64] In 1812, van Wijn had a successive volume in mind, as shown, among other things, by the 'First Chapter of a Treatise concerning an ancient MS. of the four Evangelists, which used to belong to the Abbey of Egmond'.[65] Moreover, in the preceding preface he had declared that he would continue to use the title *Huiszittend leeven*, 'not because my current life is domestic, as it once was, but because I work on these kinds of Texts at home, and the Book of this title has been received favourably by my Compatriots'.[66] No successive volume was forthcoming, however.

Van Wijn opened his literary-historical essays with 'Thoughts on the origins and advancement of Literature in the Netherlands', in which he successively addressed the literary pursuits of the Germanic peoples and the literary and scholarly significance of Charlemagne, of his son Louis the Pious, and their descendents in the ninth century, as well as those of the

de Koninglijke Universiteit te Leiden. Belangende den oorsprong van het Geslagt der Heeren van Brederode'. On the amicable relations between van Wijn and Kluit, see: van der Vlist, 2012. On Kluit, see also the chapter by van Driel and van der Sijs in this book.

62 See van Wijn, 1812, p. III.

63 Van Wijn, 1801a, pp. V-VI.

64 Van Wijn, 1804, p. VII: 'veele tegenspoeden, met naame het verlies van eene, in gezegend aandenken, mij altijd dierbaare, Egtgenoote'.

65 Van Wijn, 1812, p. II: 'Eerste Hoofdstuk eener Verhandeling nopens een overoud HS. der vier Evangeliën, weleêr behoord hebbende aan de Abtdij van Egmond'.

66 Ibidem, III: '[n]iet om dat mijn leven thans, als weleêr, huiszittend is, maar om dat ik deeze soort van Geschriften ten mijnent bewerke, en het Boek, onder dien naam, bij mijne Landgenooten gunstiglijk is ontvangen'.

Amsterdam University Press

bishops of Utrecht and the Abbey of Egmond in the tenth century.[67] This was followed with a discussion of manuscripts from the same abbey dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[68] In doing so, van Wijn drew upon a list, composed in the sixteenth century, which, according to his count, referred to 226 manuscripts dating from between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, and that he would have printed in full after this volume of the treatise.[69] It concluded with the announcement of a second sequel on 'the advancement of Literature through the Netherlands in general',[70] but this was limited to 'Something concerning the Destruction of the Abbey and Library of Egmond, as well as a detailed report on the ancient Manuscript of Willeramus that had been kept there'.[71] The series concluded with a number of 'Reflections and Comments on the first part of this volume'.[72] The last volume of *Huiszittend leeven* contained a special encore: as an appendix to 'Something concerning Sir Diederik, Lord of Brederode, and the Battles on Land and Sea between Duke Willem van Beieren and his Mother, the Empress Margareta', for the first time, van Wijn published an (annotated) edition of Jacob van Maerlant's poem, *Vanden lande van oversee*.[73]

In the preface to the final volume, van Wijn once again took the opportunity to plea for the preservation of the nation's manuscript heritage. The unearthing of the abovementioned manuscript with the four Evangelists had again demonstrated how, 'even today, we might search not entirely without hope for important relics from past centuries that had long been thought lost.' This search was becoming all the more urgent as more rare manuscripts came to light, and could thereby fall into the wrong hands. Had not the earliest manuscript by Melis Stoke once been rescued just in time, 'torn up in a Pharmacy, in order to be made into paper bags?'[74]

This plea could be expected to reach its target, judging from the positive discussions of *Huizittend leeven* in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*: time

67 Van Wijn, 1801a, pp. 1-78.

68 Van Wijn, 1802, pp. 253-316.

69 Ibidem, pp. 317-333.

70 Ibidem, p. 316.

71 Van Wijn, 1804, pp. 357-516: 'Iets nopens de Vernieling der Egmondsche Abtdije en Boekerije, als mede eene nadere opgaave van het overoude Handschrift van Willeramus, aldaar berust hebbende'.

72 Van Wijn, 1807, pp. 547-574, in particular 547-569: 'Naleezingen en aanmerkingen op het Ie stuk van dit deel'.

73 Van Wijn, 1812, pp. 306-322: 'Iets nopens Heer Diederik, Heer van Brederode, en de Water- en Landslagen, tusschen Hertoge Willem van Beieren en zijne Moeder, Keizerin Margareta'.

74 Van Wijn, 1812, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV: 'toen het, in een Apotheek stond gescheurd en tot peperhuisjes gemaakt te worden'.

Amsterdam University Press

and again, reviewers stated that they were looking forward to the next volume.[75] One wrote of the first instalment in 1803: 'By now this first part has been available for such a long time, and, as we can reasonably trust from our Compatriots, in the hands and under the eyes of many, certainly all those who work on our National Archaeology and Literature, that we now almost doubt as to whether it would add anything to publish a report on it, or even two'.[76] Half a century later, Serrure would likewise attest to his appreciation of the series, which he believed to contain 'a treasure trove of finds and discoveries'.[77] It even seems that the Arnhem-based publisher D.A. Thieme was considering a reissue in 1872, when he asked his colleagues whether anyone had the copyright of the book in their possession.[78] In any event, whoever read the volumes on Middle Dutch literature in succession would be guaranteed a scholarly overview of the field.[79]

6 A Tireless and Shrewd Scholar

The fact that van Wijn received ample recognition for his work during his lifetime is evident not only from the positive reviews and from the knighthoods that both Louis Napoleon and Willem I bestowed on him. Even during his time in Den Briel, he had already been considered an excellent scholar,[80] of whom someone like Bilderdijk – as we have already seen – made no secret of his admiration. After his death, van Wijn continued to be remembered with much respect, for example in societies such as the Royal Institute (on 13 March 1835, by the acting chairman Jeronimo de Vries) and the Society of Dutch Language and Literature (on 3 July 1832, by the chairman Matthijs

75 Anonymous reviews of various volumes of van Wijn's *Huiszittend leeven*, in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1805, pp. 210-215, 215; 1809, 181-184, 181; and 1815, 60-65, 64-65. Other positive reviews of the first two parts of volume I are to be found in *Nieuwe Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak* 1802, pp. 281-282 and 653-654.

76 'Ondertusschen is nu dit eerste Stukjen reeds zolang in de waereld, en, zo wy billyk van onze Landgenooten mogen vertrouwen, in de handen en onder de oogen van veelen, zekerlyk van allen, die eenig werk maaken van Vaderlandsche Oudheid- en Letterkunde, dat wy bykans twyffelen, of het wel gevoegelyk zy, nu nog met eenig verslag daarvan, en zelfs van het tweede, voor den dag te komen.' Anonymous review of the first three instalments of van Wijn's *Huiszittend leeven*, in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1803, pp. 602-607; quote on 602.

77 Van Wijn 1855, p. 426: 'eenen schat van opzoekingen en ontdekkingen'.

78 *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, 7 June 1872.

79 The Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague keeps an untitled set of collected offprints of the parts on literature, which are categorised as shelf mark KW 383 J 4; title on the spine: *Van Wijn, Oud Ned. Letterk.*

80 De Jonge, 1932, pp. 49-51.

Amsterdam University Press

Siegenbeek).[81] J.C. de Jonge, van Wijn's successor as National Archivist, did likewise with his monograph on the scholar dedicated to the same Society, which van Wijn had also founded. Later, appreciation of van Wijn's scholarly merits became more nuanced: while he had indeed left a treasure trove of notes for the great editions of sources that he had planned, these were never completed.[82] Hajo Brugmans explained this primarily with reference to van Wijn's 'characteristic tendency to embark on too many large things at the same time, paired with a lack of energy to persevere with his plans. In this way, van Wijn was a great collector, but published relatively little.' In Brugmans's opinion, he was a typical eighteenth-century scholar in that he became stuck on the details:

> In that area, particularly with respect to the history of the Middle Ages, he achieved a great deal; for he was a tireless and shrewd scholar, although one who lacked the necessary perseverance to produce a large, significant work. He had less of a sense of the bigger picture, and he was also lacking when it came to good composition.[83]

Jan Rock has stressed that van Wijn's mediaeval literary studies stand in an antiquarian tradition dating from the early modern period and that they were building on earlier explorations by Balthazar Huydecoper, Jan Steenwinkel, and Jacob Arnold Clignett.[84] The fact remains, however, that in the field of historical literary studies, van Wijn was indeed a pioneer; an 'icebreaker', as he is called in Serrure's *Vaderlandsch museum*.[85] Aided by his administrative and scholarly network, with his *Avondstonden* and *Huiszittend leeven* he produced the first historical overviews of the earliest periods of Dutch literature. With the one, he had obliged his fellow scholars, and with the other, the general public. It was not just a matter of sales talk

81 See *Handelingen der jaarlijksche vergadering van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, gehouden den 3 van Hooimaand 1832*, pp. 3-4; *Nieuwe Verhandelingen der Eerste Klasse van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone kunsten*, pp. 13-14. On de Vries and Siegenbeek, see the chapters by Jensen and Rutten in this book.

82 See, for example, van Wijn, 1855, pp. 424-425.

83 Brugmans, 1918, col. 1490: 'Op dat gebied heeft hij, met name ten behoeve van de geschiedenis der middeleeuwen, zeer veel tot stand gebracht. Want hij was een onvermoeid en scherpzinnig navorscher, wien het echter aan het noodige doorzettingsvermogen ontbrak om een groot werk van beteekenis tot stand te brengen. Voor groote lijnen had hij minder oog; ook voor een goede compositie miste hij het orgaan'.

84 Rock, 2010, pp. 55 and 221-225.

85 Van Wijn, 1855, p. 426.

Amsterdam University Press

when the booksellers van Kleef and Scheurleer praised van Wijn's book collection, which was to be auctioned, as that of 'a Man whose memory is without doubt commemorated, and shall continue to be, by all those who value thorough knowledge, great erudition, untiring diligence and true merit in the disciplines of Archaeology, History, and Literature'.[86]

References

A.J. van der Aa, *Nieuw biographisch anthologisch, en critisch woordenboek van Nederlandse dichters*, vol. III: O-Z (Amsterdam: De Grebber, 1846).

A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt*, continued by K.J.R. van Harderwijk & G.D.J. Schotel, vol. XX (Haarlem: Brederode, 1877).

Aanhangsel op het Algemeen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen, in 8 deelen bewerkt door wijlen den Heer Gt. Nieuwenhuis, en te Zutphen van 1820-1829 in het licht verschenen, Bijeenverzameld en in orde gerangschikt door een' vaderlandsch geleerde, vol. V-Z (Nijmegen: Thieme, 1844).

D. van Baalen, 'Mr. Hendrik van Wijn (R.N.L.)', *Gens Nostra /Ons Geslacht* 35 (1980), 326-327.

R.D.B.d.l.F. [= R.D. Baart de la Faille], 'Een brief van Hendrik van Wijn over zijn pensioen', *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 38 (1930/1931) 3, 185.

I. Biesheuvel, 'Middelnederlandse pelgrimages, hoe ver en waarheen? Een verkenning', in *Op reis met Memoria*, ed. by Peter De Wilde et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 37-49.

W. Bilderdijk, *Brieven. Deel 3* (Amsterdam: Messchert, 1837).

Y. Bos-Rops, 'Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831). Pionier van het archiefwezen', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 119 (2002), pp. 7-8, col. 227-234.

Y. Bos-Rops, 'De emoties van Hendrik van Wijn', *Archievenblad*, September 2002, 32-37.

P. Brandon, *Masters of War. State, Capital, and Military Enterprise in the Dutch Cycle of Accumulation (1600-1795)*. (PhD thesis University of Amterdam, 2013).

Briefwechsel von Jakob Grimm und Hoffman von Fallersleben mit Hendrik van Wijn, nebst anderen Briefen zur Deutschen Literatur, herausgegeben und erläutert von Karl Theodor Gaedertz (Bremen: Müller, 1888).

86 *Catalogus der handschriften, oude drukken en boekwerken* (see note 39), p. 1: 'een' Man, wiens nagedachtenis gewis in herinnering is en zal blijven bij allen, die prijs stellen op grondige kennis, uitgebreide belezenheid, stalen ijver en wezenlijke verdiensten in de vakken der Oudheid-, Geschied- en Letterkunde'.

Amsterdam University Press

[H.] Brugmans in *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, with contributions from various scholars, ed. by P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, vol. IV (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918), col. 1487-1490.

H. de Buck, *De studie van het Middelnederlandsch tot het midden der negentiende eeuw* (Groningen-The Hague: Wolters, 1930).

P.J. Buijnsters, 'Kennis van en waardering voor Middelnederlandse literatuur in de 18de eeuw', *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 16 (1984), 39-58.

J.G. Frederiks and F. Jos. van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: Veen, 1888-1891).

R. Honings & G. Rutten, 'De droom van Hendrik van Wijn. Een interdisciplinaire illustratie van de genootschappelijke praktijk', *Voortgang* 28 (2010), 135-162.

L.J. [= L.J.F. Janssen], 'H. van Wijn', in *De Navorscher* 8 (1858), 144.

J.C. de Jonge, *Henrik van Wijn als geleerde en staatsman geschetst* ('s Gravenhage-Amsterdam: Van Cleef, 1832).

F.K.H. Kossmann, *Opkomst en voortgang van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden* (Leiden: Brill, 1966).

R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf & R.M. Dekker, *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (Haarlem: Stichting Egodocument, 1994).

A.P.J. Miltenburg, *Naar de gesteldheid dier tyden: Middeleeuwen en mediëvistiek in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw: Vier studies* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991).

Th. Morren, 'Het Rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage', *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* (1907/08) 1, 28-44.

J. Noordegraaf, *The Dutch Pendulum: Linguistics in the Netherlands 1740-1900* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1996).

J. Noordegraaf, 'De woordvorming geregeld: Een achttiende-eeuwse proeve', in *Woorden wisselen, voor Ariane van Santen bij haar afscheid van de Leidse universiteit*, ed. by Ronny Boogaart et al. (Leiden: SNL, 2009), 105-116.

F.P. van Oostrom, 'Jacob van Maerlant', in: *Literatuur* 5 (1988) 1, 43-44.

J.A.Th. Rock, *Papieren monumenten: Over diepe breuken en lange lijnen in de geschiedenis van tekstedities in de Nederlanden 1591-1863.* PhD thesis University of Amsterdam, 2010.

G. Rutten, 'Van etymoloog tot archivaris: Hendrik van Wijn (1740-1831)', *Nieuw Letterkundig Magazijn* 30 (2012), 2-5.

C.B.F. Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers: Aspecten van letterkundige genootschappelijkheid in Nederland, 1750-1800* (Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1991).

[C.A.] den Tex, 'Over de regtsgeleerde verdiensten van mr. Hendrik van Wijn', *Bijdragen tot Regtsgeleerdheid en Wetgeving* 11 (1837), 151-158.

Amsterdam University Press

H.W.T. [= H.W. Tydeman], review of J.C. de Jonge, *Henrik van Wijn als Geleerde en Staatsman geschetst*. 's Gravenhage-Amsterdam: Van Cleef, 1832, in *De Vriend des Vaderlands* 1832, 246-250.

E. van der Vlist, 'Kluit ruikt lont: Adriaan Kluit en de archieven op de Leidse Lontzolder', in *Schrift & signatuur: Case studies over moderne handschriften uit de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, ed. by Paul van Capelleveen et al. (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 2012), 153-174.

C.G.N. de Vooys, *Verzamelde taalkundige opstellen*, 3 vols. (Groningen etc.: Wolters, 1924-1947).

M. de Vries, *Beschaven! Letterkundige genootschappen in Nederland 1750-1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2001).

M. de Vries, 'Geen weg terug: nationale cultuur in een land van kooplieden en boeren: De Maatschappij 1766-1813', in *Al die onbekende beroemdheden, 250 jaar Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, ed. by Ton van Kalmthout, Peter Sigmond & Aleid Truijens (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016), p. 10-49.

H. van Wijn, *Dissertatio historico-juridica inauguralis, quædam circa jus aggerum sistens* (Lugduni Batavorum: Vander Eyk and Le Mair, 1764).

H. van Wijn, 'Berigt', in H. van Wijn et al., *Register op de byvoegsels en naleezingen van Wagenaars Vaderlandsche historie* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1798), p. VI.

H. van Wijn, *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden, ter ophelderinge van eenige zeden der Nederlanderen; byzonderlyk in derzelver daaglyksch en huislyk leeven; en van den stand der Nederduitsche dichtkunde, sedert de vroegste tyden, tot aan het begin der zestiende eeuwe. Doormengd met eene opgave van, hier te lande gevondene, maar nog niet beschreevene, Romeinsche overblyfzelen: enz. Uit oorspronglyke stukken en de beste schrijvers, met bygevoegde afbeeldingen, te saamengesteld,* 2 volumes (Amsterdam: Allart, 1800).

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. I, 1st part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1801a).

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. I, 2nd part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1801b).

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. I, 3rd part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1802).

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. I, 4th part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1804).

Amsterdam University Press

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. I, 5th part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1807).

H. van Wijn, *Huiszittend leeven, bevattende eenige mengelstsoffen over afzonderlijke en, voorheen, weinig of niet bewerkte onderwerpen, betreklijk tot de letter-, historie- en oudheidkunde van Nederland*, vol. II, 1st part (Amsterdam: Allart, 1812).

H. van Wijn, *Letter- en geschiedkundige aanteekeningen op de rymkroniek van Jan van Heelu betreffende den slag van Woeringen, in het jaar 1288, nagelaten door wijlen Hendrik van Wijn, in leven archivarius des Rijks,* published by W.J.A. Jonckbloet & A.W. Kroon ('s-Gravenhage: Schinkel / Rotterdam: Messchert, 1840).

H. van Wijn, 'Brief van H. van Wijn aen den bisschop De Nelis', in *Vaderlandsch museum voor Nederduitsche letterkunde, oudheid en geschiedenis*, ed. by C.P. Serrure, vol. I (Ghent: Annoot-Braeckman, 1855), pp. 419-430.

H. van Wijn, *Over paën, peën, piën, poën, puën*, ed. by Lianne Broekman (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU / Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2009).

J. Wille, *De literator R.M. van Goens en zijn kring: Studiën over de 18e* eeuw, vol. I (Zutphen: Ruys, 1937).

J. te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde van Middeleeuwen en Rederijkerstijd* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1922).

J. te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde in de eerste eeuw der Europeesche staatsomwentelingen* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1925).

B. Woelderink, 'Hendrik van Wijn en Haarlem, a narrow escape', in *Hart voor Haarlem: Liber amicorum voor Jaap Temminck*, ed. by Hans Brokken et al. (Haarlem: Schuyt, 1996), 204-215.

About the Author

Ton van Kalmthout (1960) studied Dutch Language and Literature at the University of Nijmegen and gained his PhD in 1998 at the University of Amsterdam with a thesis on multidisciplinary art clubs in the Netherlands between 1880 and 1914. Since 2005, he is a senior researcher at the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands. His field of interest is the circulation of literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He is co-editor of *The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands* (2015) and of two series of books: Bibliotheca Dissidentium Neerlandicorum and Women Writers in History.

Amsterdam University Press

12 The Founding Father of Dutch Literary History

Jeronimo de Vries

Lotte Jensen

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/CH12

Abstract
Jeronimo de Vries (1776-1853) was the first to publish a complete overview of Dutch literary history, entitled *Assay at a history of Dutch poetry* (*Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, first published in 1808-1809). This chapter opens up new vistas by placing this single work in a broader context in two respects. First, de Vries's literary history is considered as a telling example of the rise of Dutch cultural nationalism, which was partly a reaction to Napoleonic rule in Europe. This automatically brings politics in as a constitutive component of his main work as well, an aspect that is usually overlooked. Second, de Vries's other contributions to the field of literary history are also taken into account in order to reach a more complete view regarding his contribution to Dutch cultural nationalism.

Keywords: Jeronimo de Vries, cultural nationalism, Dutch literary history, literary criticism, scholarly editing

1 Introduction

One of the most influential literary historians of the Netherlands is Jeronimo de Vries (1777-1853). This clerk, who lived and worked his entire life in Amsterdam, was the first to publish a complete overview of Dutch literary history, starting in the thirteenth century and ending around 1800. In this book, entitled *Assay at a History of Dutch Poetry* ('Proeve eener geschiedenis

Amsterdam University Press

der Nederduitsche dichtkunde', first published in 1808-1809), Dutch literature is portrayed as reaching its peak in the seventeenth century, while the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century are considered as inferior eras in literary history. This view prevailed for a long time in schools and handbooks on Dutch literature until it became seriously contested in the 1980s by mediaevalists and dix-huitèmistes. The remnants of this 'standard discourse' are, nevertheless, still visible today.[1]

Jeronimo de Vries is hardly ever mentioned in Dutch literary histories because he did not produce any literary work of his own of real significance.[2] However, in studies about the professionalization of Dutch language and literature as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century his pioneering role is widely acknowledged.[3] Although de Vries was inspired by the works of many others, especially Hendrik van Wijn, Pieter Huisinga Bakker, Bernardus Bosch and Matthijs Siegenbeek, he was the first to present an integral and coherent vision of Dutch literary history.[4] In 1989 he was therefore aptly given the title of 'founding father of Dutch literary history' by Willem van den Berg.[5]

Studies about the rise of Dutch as an academic discipline tend to focus solely on his *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde* and mainly deal with the poetical and rhetorical aspects of this work.[6] Scholars like Evert Wiskerke, Jan Oosterholt and Francien Petiet have convincingly shown that de Vries's conceptualization of Dutch literary history was significantly influenced by contemporary ideas about the 'true poet', authenticity and national taste. This chapter opens up new vistas by placing this single work in a broader context in two respects. First, de Vries's literary history is considered as a telling example of the rise of Dutch cultural nationalism, which was partly a reaction to Napoleonic rule in Europe. This automatically brings politics in as a constitutive component of his main work as well, an

1 See on this standard discourse: Johannes, 2002. On the implementation in nineteenth-century schoolbooks and anthologies: Johannes, 2007. On the persistence of this image: Jensen, 2012.

2 His name for instance appears only twice in the most recent literary history of the Netherlands by van den Berg and Couttenier, 2009, pp. 72, 192. Some occasional poetry from his hand is listed in ter Haar, 1853, p. 31.

3 See van den Berg, 1989; Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 1990, pp. 17-19; Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 223-260; Laan, 1997, pp. 44-45; van den Berg, 2010, pp. 17-21; Vis, [2004], pp. 16-18; Petiet, 2011, pp. 109-144; Mathijsen, 2013, pp. 194-199.

4 For van Wijn, see van Kalmthout, this volume. For Matthijs Siegenbeek, see Rutten, this volume.

5 Van den Berg, 1989.

6 See especially Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 223-260; Petiet, 2011, pp. 109-144; Oosterholt, 1998, 48-64.

Amsterdam University Press

aspect that is usually overlooked. Second, de Vries's other contributions to the field of literary history are also taken into account in order to reach a more complete view regarding his contribution to Dutch cultural nationalism. His *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde* was just one out of many publications that paved the way for the academic study of Dutch language and literature.

2 Life and Work of De Vries

Jeronimo de Vries was born in 1776 in Amsterdam into a family that belonged to the Mennonite sect.[7] He was named after his uncle, the well-known Latin poet Jeronimo de Bosch, and raised in the same spirit. The classics played a very important role in his education: at the age of ten he began private lessons in Latin from the headmaster of the Latin school, Richeus van Ommeren. In 1792 he graduated with an oration in Latin verses, entitled *L. Icilii oratio coram Appio Decemviro habita versibus elegiacis expressa*. He continued his studies at the Athenaeum Illustre but left this institute in 1794 when he was appointed as first clerk of the municipality of Amsterdam. He owed this esteemed position to Jeronimo de Bosch. De Vries pursued his career within the municipality, where he worked the rest of his life – a total time of 57 years without any interruptions. His position was threatened only once, in 1798, when political regime changes led to a purging of the staff. De Vries, however, survived the purge and was allowed to keep his position, probably due to the fact that he had the tendency to adopt a neutral position in political affairs.[8]

De Vries nonetheless had many contacts with people who were quite outspoken in their political views. He was a regular contributor to the rather provocative and satirical periodical *De Arke Noach's* (1799), which brought him into contact with such Patriots as D.J van Lennep, A.R. Falck, R.H. Arntzenius and C. Loots. All of their articles were written under pseudonyms in order to evade censors and critics.[9] Some years later, de Vries became close friends with the well-known poet Willem Bilderdijk, a fierce adherent of Orangism. Their correspondence started in 1805, when Bilderdijk lived in exile in Germany. De Vries had written an extensive

7 An extensive life account is given by ter Haar, 1853.

8 In 1814 he was officially given the title of Clerk and Head of the Secretary ('Griffier en Chef van 't Secretariaat'). Ter Haar, 1853, p. 6.

9 De Vries wrote under the pseudonym of Eerman ('honorable man'). For a list of his contributions to *De Arke Noach's*, see ter Haar, 1853, p. 31.

Amsterdam University Press

review of Bilderdijk's *Mengelingen* (1804), and Bilderdijk felt the need to respond to it.[10] It was the beginning of a lifelong and intimate friendship: Bilderdijk shared many personal details with de Vries and considered him as his 'only true friend'.[11] In 1817, their friendship came under severe pressure due to a financial disagreement, but de Vries decided to set aside his feelings of disappointment and restored their contact.[12] This incident, and the fact that de Vries's large circle of correspondents contained both Patriots and Orangists, again illustrates his conciliatory attitude: he was mainly driven by intellectual and literary ideals rather than ideological motives. The mere fact that he managed to maintain such a lifelong friendship with a troublemaker like Bilderdijk is a case in point.

The writings of de Vries can be divided into four different categories: literary history, editions, reviews and treatises. His main work, *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, falls into the first category. It was written in response to a prize contest, organised by the Batavian Society for Language and Poetry ('Bataafsche Maatschappij voor Taal- en Dichtkunde') in 1802. In 1805 de Vries, who was the only contestant, was awarded a gold medal. The work appeared in print for the first time in the proceedings of the Batavian Society in 1808-1809, followed by a separate edition in 1810. This volume carried the title by which the work is still known today: *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*. A second, revised edition appeared in 1835.[13] It is remarkable that de Vries wrote his most important and influential work at a relatively young age and that his views did not change much during his life. In 1838 he published a *Treatise on the National Character of Dutch Poetry* ('Verhandeling over het nationale in onze dichtkunst'), which presented the same ideas in a nutshell.[14]

10 [J. de Vries], 'Mengelingen door Mr. W. Bilderdijk [...]', *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*, 1805, pp. 91-95, 271-277. Bilderdijk's response was published in Bilderdijk, 1837, pp. 1-24.

11 On the friendship between de Vries and Bilderdijk, see Honings & van Zonneveld, 2013, pp. 200-202, 475.

12 Bilderdijk's other best friend was Johan Valckenaer. See Honings & van Zonneveld, 2013, pp. 337-338, 475.

13 De Vries, 1808-1809, de Vries, 1810 and de Vries, 1835. The second edition contains a new foreword by de Vries. The Library of the Radboud University in Nijmegen is in possession of a copy with another title page, which reads *Nederlandsche dichters*. The contents are exactly the same as in the editions of 1808-1809 and 1810. At the time of the publication of the first volume in 1808, a critic in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* strongly recommended the publication of the entire work in a separate edition under the name which de Vries had used in some presentation copies for his friends: *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*. See *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1809), 118.

14 De Vries, 1839. This essay was presented in four different societies in 1838 and also published in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (1839), 625-645.

Amsterdam University Press

As an editor de Vries concentrated on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch authors. His editions varied in length and form, as did his own input. His work about the seventeenth-century poet Jeremias de Decker, for example, took the form of a biography, interrupted by large fragments of the poet's work, while de Vries's edition of the eighteenth-century poets Willem and Onno Zwier van Haren was based upon thorough philological research. In most cases, it was the publisher who took the initiative and asked de Vries for assistance; in one case it was de Vries's eldest son who encouraged him to undertake the work.[15]

The third category, reviews, shows a strong preference for classical literature. De Vries often emphasised the importance of a strong classical education in general because it stimulated the 'true sense of beauty' and virtuous behaviour.[16] In the periodical *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* he commented upon classical and neolatin editions of work by Homer, Plato, Ovid, Cicero, and many others.[17] He also wrote reviews on neolatin works, for instance on *Poemata* (1803) by his uncle Jeronimo de Bosch.[18] In addition, de Vries published an impressive number of critiques about contemporary Dutch authors, such as Bilderdijk, Hendrik Tollens, Jacob van Lennep, Nicolaas Beets and A.B. van Meerten-Schilperoort.[19] In accordance with his poetical views he warned against subservient imitation of French authors and praised authenticity, purity, and works that expressed a typically Dutch character.

A final group of publications consists of treatises and articles about various topics. It includes essays on simplicity ('Over het eenvoudige', 1818), on the lack of respect towards the audience by public authors and speakers ('Over het gebrek aan gematigdheid en achting jegens het publiek van openbare schrijvers en sprekers', 1836), and on the national character of Dutch poetry ('Verhandeling over het nationale in onze dichtkunst', 1838). He also wrote an essay about the seventeenth-century poet Jan Six van Chandelier, whose poetry he considered to be 'brave and natural'.[20] De Vries wrote many necrologies for the *Amsterdamsche Courant* on professors and poets, for example J.M. Kemper, R. Feith, W. Bilderdijk, C.W. Westerbaen,

15 Namely with the edition of Hugo de Groot's *Proof of true religion* (*Bewijs van de ware godsdienst*). See de Groot, 1844.

16 De Vries 1804, p. 483.

17 For an inventory, see ter Haar, 1853, p. 33.

18 De Vries, 1804.

19 For an inventory, see ter Haar, 1853, p. 35.

20 'stout en natuurlijk', see: de Vries, 1810, vol.1, p. 191. See furthermore de Vries, c. 1822.

Amsterdam University Press

A.R. Falck, and S.I. Wiselius.[21] By doing this he not only paid tribute to contemporary poets and writers, but he also brought their achievements to the attention of a broader audience.

De Vries wrote few primary works of literature himself. One notable example was a poem about his domestic life, 'Huisselijk leven' from 1807, which was published in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*.[22] It was written on the occasion of the birthday of his wife, Maria Gysberta Verhoeven, with whom he had three sons and four daughters. In this poem de Vries contrasted the brutality of the outer world with the pleasures of domestic life. He expressed his deepest love for his wife and their children, exclaiming that he was not able to live without her. It is one of the few instances that we encounter de Vries as a poet. The poem was censored before it was published because some of the verses could be interpreted as a critique on the French regime.[23] This poem fits in with a broader tendency: during these years many poets expressed their feelings of fear, anger and resistance against Napoleonic rule by writing domestic poetry.[24] Strong anti-French sentiments can also be found in *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, as will be discussed later.

De Vries's literary activities also included societal memberships. He was a member of at least twenty different societies spread throughout the Netherlands. He, for instance, held the position of honorary member of the Provincial Society of Utrecht ('Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap'), the Society of Sciences of the province of Zeeland ('Zeeuwsch Genootschap van Wetenschappen') and the northern society Pro Excolendo Jure Patrio (Groningen).[25] He was also appointed as a member of several Belgian societies, located in Brussels, Bruges and Antwerp. Two of his memberships stand out: in 1807 he became a member of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature ('Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde') and in 1808 of the Second Class of the Royal Institute of Society of Sciences, Literature and the Arts ('Tweede Klasse van het Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten'). In the latter he played a very active role in compiling all sorts of reports related to philological activities.[26] One of the projects carried out by the Second Class was the compilation of a glossary of outdated words; each member contributed by making an

21 Ter Haar, 1853, p. 35.
22 The poem is dated 19 Feb. 1807 and appeared in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (1807), 87-88.
23 De Vries had to change two verses before it could be published, see ter Haar, 1853, pp. 8, 31.
24 Jensen, 2013, pp. 53-86.
25 Ter Haar, 1853, p. 38.
26 See van den Berg, 1999.

Amsterdam University Press

inventory, using the work of a single author: de Vries's task was to deal with the work of the Dutch humanist Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert.[27]

De Vries was recognised for his many publications and activities on several occasions. In 1811 he was awarded a doctoral degree *honoris causa* by the college of the province of Gelderland ('Geldersche Hogeschool'). In 1829 he was appointed Knight of the Order of the Dutch Lion by King Willem I, while the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts honoured him twice with a silver commemorative coin.[28] At the municipality his 25th, 40th and 50th anniversaries were officially celebrated; poets added lustre to these occasions by composing special odes and songs. The Belgian writer Jan Frans Willems, for instance, celebrated de Vries with a song set to the music of the national anthem. Willems lauded de Vries's unconditional dedication to the city and the fatherland.[29]

In 1851 de Vries retired. After a short period of severe illness, he died on 1 June 1853, at the age of 77. He died on the same day as his beloved uncle, Jeronimo de Bosch, a fact which his biographer, the clergyman and poet Berard ter Haar, explicitly mentioned.[30] De Vries was buried in the graveyard near Diemerbrug and reunited with his wife, who had died almost twenty years earlier. According to his biographer, he could be characterised as a loving Christian, who was averse to radical thought and deeply aware of the limitations of human knowledge.[31]

3 De Vries as a Literary Historian

With his many publications on poets and poetics de Vries played a pioneering role in the construction of a Dutch literary past.[32] His activities do not stand alone but are part of a broader European trend: between 1780 and 1840 Europe saw an increased interest in philology, history writing and

27 Van den Berg, 1999, p. 157. Also see: W. Bilderdijk, J. Kantelaar, J. de Vries, *Verslag van de Kommissie der Tweede Klasse des Nederlandschen Instituuts van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Kunsten, betreffende het voorstel* [...] *tot een glossarium van verouderde woorden* (Amsterdam: Pieper en Ipenbuur, 1816).

28 Ter Haar, 1853, p. 26.

29 Willems, 1844.

30 Ter Haar, 1853, p. 29.

31 'Ik leerde hem hoogschatten en beminnen als den liefderijk denkenden en oordeelenden mensch en Christen, die wars van partijzucht en diep doordrongen van het "wij kennen te deele"', Ter Haar, 1853, p. 27.

32 'The construction of a Dutch literary past' was the main topic of a large-scale research project, headed by Marita Mathijsen. A synthestis of the result can be found in Mathijsen, 2013.

Amsterdam University Press

historical literature. Everywhere, authors and intellectuals engaged with their nation's past and started searching for their national roots in archives and libraries. According to Joep Leerssen, their activities reached a 'tipping point' around 1800.[33] He aptly calls this process 'literary historicism', which points to the 'presence of the literary preoccupation with culture's rootedness in the national past'.[34] It was sped up by the French Revolution, which produced new attitudes towards the past. The Napoleonic regime added something extra: the search for the nation's cultural roots now became part of the political agenda of intellectuals as well. By showing their nation's particular culture, they also resisted the French regime.[35]

De Vries's main work, *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, should be read against this background. On the one hand, it was a clear example of 'literary historicism': the book was born out of a genuine interest in the nation's past and filled a void in the knowledge about the nation's literary past. On the other hand, it was also influenced by the current political climate: the dominance of the French led to a heightened awareness of what was typically Dutch. Around 1800, nearly all publications on Dutch grammar, literature and rhetoric carried an anti-French undertone, which was reflected in the great attention to linguistic purity.[36]

Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde was written in response to the following question: 'What advancement and what deterioration has Dutch poetry undergone during the eighteenth century, in comparison with earlier periods?'[37] In his answer de Vries argued that this question demanded an extensive overview of the developments that took place before the eighteenth century in order to make a satisfactory comparison. As a consequence of this thorough approach he ended up writing the first complete historical overview of Dutch poetry.

De Vries's answer was divided into three parts, corresponding to three successive periods: the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth century. This tripartite structure symbolised the birth, maturity and decline of Dutch poetry, which reinforced the idea that the seventeenth century, more particular the first half of this century, should be seen as the summit of the nation's literary history. The underlying assumption was that poetical genius could flourish only during a fixed

33 Leerssen, 2010, p. xvi.

34 Leerssen, 2004, p. 239.

35 Leerssen, 2008, pp. 114-126; the Dutch case: Jensen, 2012 and Jensen, 2013.

36 See for instance Siegenbeek, 1806; Siegenbeek, 1810; Ypey, 1812.

37 De Vries, 1810, vol. 1, p. i: 'Welke zijn de vorderingen, welke is de verachtering der Nederduitsche dichtkunde, gedurende de achttiende eeuw, in vergelijking van vroegere tijdperken?'

Amsterdam University Press

period in a nation, when it had reached a certain degree of civilization but had not yet maximised its state of welfare. This view was taken from the Dutch scholar and poet Pieter Nieuwland (1764-1794), who emphasised the role of 'ingenium' or talent in producing arts and the influence of social and political circumstances on poets.[38] Following this societal scheme of rise and decline, de Vries argued that the Dutch Republic had reached its socio-economic and cultural zenith around 1650 and that this period was followed by an era of decline.

De Vries situated the dawn of Dutch poetry in the thirteenth century and named Jacob van Maerlant as the 'father of old Dutch poetry'.[39] This poet from Flanders occupied a special position because he did not belong to the clergy but was an ordinary layman. The historical stories set to rhyme by Melis Stoke were worth mentioning as well although his verses were not very fluent. However, their works were much better than those of the fourteenth century, when the intrusion of French words into Dutch writing began. Also society was heavily divided into rivalling parties, which made it virtually impossible for a fertile climate for poets to develop. A telling example was the translation of a fragment of Boethius into Dutch by an anonymous poet. De Vries did nothing to hide his disgust: 'This poet probably lived close to the French borders: who does not loathe this barbarian language?'[40]

In the sixteenth century literature developed in a positive direction due to the political changes and religious improvements which the Reformation brought about.[41] A clear gap between the Flemish and Dutch poets became visible. Whereas the language rapidly degenerated in the southern provinces, the Dutch humanist Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert played a decisive role in freeing the Dutch language from its Flemish adornment. With him a period of civilization and enlightenment set in, as becomes apparent from the works of Marnix van St. Aldegonde, Roemer Visscher and Hendrik Spiegel as well. This positive development continued in the seventeenth century, when Dutch poetry reached its zenith with first-class poets like Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Jacob Cats, and Joost van den Vondel. They were surrounded by many other authors, whose poems were full of bravery ('stoutheid') and written in pure Dutch language. The works of

38 De Vries submitted his entry to the competition anonymously, using a motto by Nieuwland. This was taken from one of Nieuwland's lectures, which were collected by de Vries and published in 1824. See Nieuwland, 1824, p. 172.

39 'Vader der oude Dichtkunde', see de Vries, 1810, vol. 1, p. 3.

40 De Vries, 1810, vol. 1, p. 25.

41 De Vries, however, is less positive about the role the chambers of rhetorics played in these developments. See van Kalmthout, 1999, pp. 182-183.

Amsterdam University Press

Jeremias de Decker, for instance, were of outstanding quality, as he knew how to vary his expression in tone and sphere, depending on the topic he was writing about.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the quality of the poetry gradually deteriorated because of the growing influence of French authors and implementation of strict poetical rules by societies. Solid classical training lost its influence, with a disastrous effect: 'Almost all bravery, eminence and originality were bruised and crippled'.[42] Despite this negative development, which only increased during the eighteenth century, de Vries noted some exceptions to this trend. Three poets stood out, namely Hubert Korneliszoon Poot, Willem van Haren, and Onno Zwier van Haren. Those poets were still influenced by the ancient poets and produced powerful and brave poetry. After 1775 literature seemed to be shifting in a positive direction again, but, according to de Vries, the overall conclusion could only be that eighteenth-century poetry should be considered a falling-off compared with the earlier periods. A second Joost van den Vondel had not made his appearance yet.[43]

De Vries's method and approach can be characterised as scholarly, contextual and evaluative. The scholarly approach is visible in the many references he included to old and new bibliographical, historical and literary works. He was very accurate in informing the readers where he had extracted his information. Speaking of the seventeenth-century Dutch poet Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, he, for instance, quoted positive characterizations of contemporary authors like Joost van den Vondel, Johan de Brune de Jonge and Geraerdt Brandt. He also quoted eighteenth-century comments by Willem Kops and Pieter Huisinga to underline his positive evaluation of Hooft. As members of the Society of Dutch Language and Literature, they had both published historical treatises on Dutch poetry and poetics. De Vries made extensive use of their works, especially the one by Huisinga Bakker that dated from 1781.[44]

The most important source, however, were the lectures given by Matthijs Siegenbeek, professor of Dutch in Leiden, which de Vries had attended. These lectures were available only in manuscript and mentioned only incidentally in the introduction.[45] However, without these lectures, de Vries

42 'Bijna alle stoutheid, verhevenheid, hoogdravendheid en oorspronkelijkheid werd gekneusd en misvormd'. De Vries, 1810, vol. 2, p. 11.

43 De Vries, 1810, vol. 2, p. 361. De Vries's view on the eighteenth century is extensively discussed in van den Berg, 1994, p. 171-174.

44 Huisinga Bakker, 1781.

45 De Vries, 1810, vol. 1, p. viii.

Amsterdam University Press

admitted in the second edition, his work could never have been written.[46] Another important source was Hendrik van Wijn's manuscript on Dutch poetry before the sixteenth century, entitled *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden* (1800). De Vries's choice of poets and his very negative judgement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were entirely based upon van Wijn. De Vries considered him the father of old Dutch literature, as becomes clear from a letter he sent to him when he offered him a copy of the book.[47] Their correspondence also reveals the interrelatedness of poetics and politics. Van Wijn was especially pleased to receive a work about the history of Dutch poetry in times of severe adversity and troubles: no nation had experienced such hard times as theirs had, but God had guided the Dutch people through again and again. He ended his letter with a poetical thought: 'the night still showed stars'.[48]

The contextual approach is apparent from de Vries's great attention to societal and political influences upon the state of the arts. Every part opens with a description of the contemporary state of society and its impact on Dutch cultural life. One of the reasons that poetry could not flourish during the fourteenth century was the ongoing rivalry between internal factions, while the blossoming of the poetry in the Dutch Golden Age was possible only due to a general spirit of empowerment that was visible in the maritime exploits and trade and military bravery as well. As for the seventeenth century, de Vries adopted a conciliatory attitude: he praised the many victories of the stadtholders, while, at the same time giving full credit to statesmen such as Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Hugo de Groot, and Johan de Witt.[49] Paradoxically enough, the internal political turmoil did not cause a cultural setback, unlike the case in the fourteenth century.

During the eighteenth century things rapidly declined: the relatively long-lasting peace that followed the signing of the Peace of Utrecht (1713) and the exceptional prosperity proved far from beneficial to literary life.

46 The manuscript of these lessons, which appeared in print in 1826, are kept in the library of the University of Leiden and are usually referred to as *Lessen over de geschiedenis der Nederduitsche taal, dichtkunde en welsprekendheid, 1800, 1801 & 1802* (hs Ltk 135). De Vries paid his gratitude to Siegenbeek in the second edition of *Proeve* (de Vries 1835, vi). On the sources which de Vries used, see Wiskerke, 1995, pp. 234-237; Vis, [2004], pp. 16-18; Petiet, 2011, pp. 113-116; Mathijsen, 2013, pp. 196-199.

47 Letter of Jeronimo de Vries to Hendrik van Wijn, 28 February 1811 and the response by Hendrik van Wijn, dated 4 March 1811 (Royal Library The Hague, 74 B 4-5 and 121 B 9).

48 'Gene Natie, gij weet het worstelde meer met moeilijkheden en tegenspoeden dan de onze en God bragt ons er eindelijk gelukkig door…En!….de nagt heeft sterren'. Letter by Hendrik van Wijn to Jeronimo de Vries, 4 March 1811 (Royal Library The Hague, 121 B9).

49 De Vries, 1810, vol. 1, p. 80.

Amsterdam University Press

The unstable situation and many internal revolts around 1748 did not relieve this situation but created an environment where 'false taste and outwardly splendour' took over.[50] A new period of bloom could be realised only if the vitality and spirit of the seventeenth century would return: 'If one wishes to raise one's nation, save it from slavery, and make it respectful to the most distant people, one should keep the soul active, with an extraordinary power'.[51] This phrase can, against the background of French dominance during these years, also be read as a critical political statement.[52]

The evaluative approach is apparent on nearly every page: the biographical information about the poets and the extracts from their works are larded with positive or negative adjectives, and the reader is highly encouraged to agree with de Vries's opinion. Rhetorical questions and exclamation marks are abundantly used by de Vries to reinforce his statements: 'What paintbrush was as powerful as that of Rembrandt? […] O happy seventeenth century! […] How many highly esteemed men there were, who played the Dutch lyre with fame, and by their example, esteem and friendship encouraged others to write lyrics!'[53] In de Vries's evaluation of the poets two criteria played a decisive role: the purity of the language and the classics as a role model. As for the linguistic issue: influence of French was rejected altogether and seen as the main pollutant of the Dutch language. The Dutch language functioned as a 'programmatic issue' in the formation of a Dutch cultural identity: it was the main asset which brought cohesion to this collection of literature.[54] This anti-French sentiment was reinforced by de Vries's view on the classics, which was, in a way, a continuation of the *querelle des anciens et des modernes*, which had already emerged in the last decades of the seventeenth century in France. De Vries was clearly in favour of the position of the 'anciens', claiming that the classics should be taken as a role model, but the main difference was that de Vries did not take the ancient poets as a standard that could not be surpassed. They primarily functioned as examples of good taste. However, the Dutch poets

50 'Valschen smaak' en 'uiterlijken praal', see: de Vries, 1810, vol. 2, p. 6.

51 'Wil men zijn land verheffen, uit slavernij redden, bij de verste volken doen ontzien, men moet de ziel, met eene geheel buitengewone kracht, werkzaam houden'. De Vries, 1810, vol. 2, p. 390.

52 Cf. Jensen, 2012, p. 174.

53 'Wat penseel was zoo krachtig als dat van Rembrand? […] ô Gelukkige 17de Eeuw! […] Hoe vele aanzienlijke mannen waren er, die de Hollandsche lier toen met roem bespeelden, en door hun voorbeeld, achting en vriendschap en aanmoediging anderen tot de Dichtkunst opwekten!' de Vries, 1810, vol. 1, pp. 88-90.

54 See on the establishment of traditions and the issue of language: Leerssen, 2005, especially p. 159.

Amsterdam University Press

should use their imagination, feeling and national colours to create poems of the highest quality. Other contemporary poetic ideals also shone through, for instance in de Vries's preference for domestic topics. He quoted many children's poems and gave much credit to poets who had written about daily life in a sensitive way.[55]

4 De Vries as an Editor

The activities of de Vries as an editor were very much in line with the views he developed in his *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*. Between 1807 and 1827 he published editions of six writers: Jeremias de Decker, Joost van den Vondel, Hugo de Groot, Jeronimo de Bosch, Pieter van Nieuwland, and the brothers Willem and Onno Zwier van Haren.[56] All these authors had all extensively been praised in his main work.

The edition of de Decker consisted of a combined biography and anthology and was meant 'to increase the fame of Dutch poetry'.[57] According to de Vries, de Decker had not been appreciated enough as a human being and a poet, which made this double approach necessary. De Vries made use of an eighteenth-century volume of his poems but deliberately altered the spelling when it differed from earlier editions – an indication that he took his duties as an editor very seriously.[58] He also emphasised the importance of the very first publication of de Decker's poems, dating from 1656, because this was the only edition that appeared with full acknowledgement of the author. This volume had become very rare but also contained some letters of de Decker that de Vries annotated and included as an appendix to make them available to a larger audience.[59] De Vries also paid ample attention to the quarrels he had with one of the publishers about the copyrights, again indicating his awareness of the complexities of using previous text editions.[60]

With his Vondel-edition of 1819, de Vries also aimed at making the work of a seventeenth-century Dutch poet known to a broader audience, particularly

55 See for instance his judgements about Arnold Hoogviet and Dirk Smits: de Vries, 1810, vol. 2, pp. 90-95, 134-138.

56 Respectively: de Vries, 1807; de Vries, 1819; van Lennep, 1820; de Groot, 1844; van Nieuwland; 1824; van Haren, 1824-1827.

57 De Vries, 1807, p. ii.

58 Namely Jeremias de Decker, *Alle de rym-oeffeningen* (Amsterdam: H. Bosch et al., 1726), an edition compiled by Matthaeus Brouërius van Nidek. See de Vries, 1807, p. 1.

59 De Vries, 1807, pp. 47-48.

60 De Vries, 1807, pp. 71-53.

Amsterdam University Press

in the southern provinces. The initiative came from the Amsterdam publisher, actor and playwright Marten Westerman, who was also preparing a complete edition of Vondel's work. This edition, to which King Willem I subscribed, appeared between 1821 and 1824 in 21 volumes.[61] The anthology of de Vries functioned as a warm-up for this publication; he expressed the hope that this selection of choruses would serve as a recommendation for Vondel's entire oeuvre.[62] In constrast with his edition of de Decker he did not specify which edition he had used to compile his anthology; it merely presented a broad selection of the choruses, in a compact, and attractive volume, without any learned commentary.

A third seventeenth-century author whose work de Vries published was the well- known jurist Hugo de Groot. De Vries published a new edition of *Proof of the true religion* ('Bewijs van den waren godsdienst') and some of de Groot's other Dutch poems. He dedicated this work to his eldest son, with whom he had read many works by de Groot. Although his son preferred the Latin version, *De veritate religionis christianae*, his father convinced him of the added value of the Dutch poem. His son encouraged him to prepare a new, useful and handy edition with a few necessary explanatory notes, a task which de Vries happily accepted under the condition that his son help him. He hoped that this edition would revive the religious spirit of the past and that it would make de Groot's ideas better known.[63] De Vries followed the example of earlier editions that had included other Dutch poems by de Groot as well, in order to give a fuller impression of his thought. De Vries decided to include all his Dutch poems and dismissed the idea of making a selection because a complete edition did not yet exist. This decision indicates that de Vries was aware of his mediating role as an editor: he considered it his duty to pass on the works of older poets to new generations in a proper way. His thorough and professional attitude is also reflected in the fact that he offered an extensive overview of earlier editions of the *Proof of the true religion* and that he elucidated the choices he had made.[64]

Although de Vries situated the height of Dutch literary life in the seventeenth century, he also published three editions related to eighteenth-century authors. One of these works did not consist of primary work but of a secondary piece about Jeronimo de Bosch. De Vries annotated a eulogy

61 The subscription lists are printed in the first volume. The name of de Vries is also included.
62 De Vries, 1819, p. vii.
63 See the introduction by de Vries in de Groot, 1844, p. iv.
64 See the introduction by de Vries in de Groot, 1844, pp. viii-xi.

Amsterdam University Press

on his uncle, written by David Jacob van Lennep and translated by the clergyman Cornelis Willem Westerbaen. The notes covered more than half of the book and were written in a very personal and admiring style. Clearly, they were not included only for their explanatory sake but were meant to augment the fame of de Bosch, who had played such an important role in de Vries's career. Speaking of the album amicorum of his uncle, de Vries, for example, revealed to his readers that the document was in his possession and that the many subscriptions illustrated the 'loving feelings' of so many learned men towards his uncle. He felt honoured that in 1808 de Bosch allowed him to add his own name to the long list of contributors and that he was even more touched that he could call him his uncle.[65]

In 1824, de Vries wrote an introduction to a new edition of Nieuwland's *Poems and Orations* ('Gedichten en redevoeringen'), which was first published in 1788.[66] With this, he fulfilled the wish of the Amsterdam booksellers ten Brink and de Vries, who wanted to add some biographical information to the reprint of van Nieuwland's writings. De Vries dedicated his laudatory sketch to Westerbaen as a tribute to his many literary activities. Again, the introduction by de Vries had a very personal touch. He shared many insights and anecdotes with his audience, such as the fact that his grandmother had lived in the same street as van Nieuwland and that she had introduced the child to de Vries's uncles Jeronimo and Bernardus de Bosch. Furthermore, de Vries elaborated on Nieuwland's playful, eager and intelligent behaviour as a boy and on his profound grief when his wife and daughter died. Anecdotes like these de Vries could have acquired only through his personal connections. With regard to the edition itself, de Vries expressed his regrets that it did not contain all Nieuwland's poems, including those that had been found after the poet's death, but he was confident that this omission would soon be rectified. He was right: only three years later a new edition of Nieuwland's posthumous poems ('*Nagelatene gedichten*') was published, with an introduction by his brother Abraham de Vries.[67]

The most prestigious of all the editorial projects undertaken by de Vries were the complete works of Willem and Onno Zwier van Haren. It was again Westerman, the publisher of Vondel's oeuvre, who stood behind this initiative. Westerman had gotten hold of several manuscripts of Willem van Haren that

65 See the notes by de Vries in van Lennep, 1820, pp. 124-125.

66 Nieuwland, 1824, pp. iii-xxiv. The introduction by de Vries is dated 1 June 1824.

67 Abraham de Vries had already published this edition in 1797. A second edition appeared in 1816, and a third in 1827, with a new foreword by Abraham de Vries. See Nieuwland, 1827, pp. iii-xiv.

Amsterdam University Press

had not been published before and contacted de Vries requesting assistance with the editing and also asking him to prepare an introduction. Most of the work was done by Westerman, but de Vries played an important role in deciding the right order of the manucsripts and in correcting the proofs. De Vries dedicated his introduction to his brother Abraham and, again, shared some personal information with his audience: when they were young they used to read the works of the van Haren brothers at the country house of their grandmother, especially two works: *Human Life* ('Het Menschelijk Leven') by Willem van Haren and the episode of Rosemond out of *De Geuzen* ('The Beggars') by Onno Zwier van Haren.[68] Both fragments were also fully published in *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche Dichtkunde*.[69]

5 Concluding Remarks

De Vries left behind an impressive body of writings on Dutch literature, including the first integral history of Dutch poetry. Although he is mainly remembered for his *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, this work stood at the beginning of an enormous output of reviews, editions and treatises on literary topics. Considering the fact that de Vries had a full-time occupation as a clerk at the municipality, his list of publications is even more remarkable. His working method was very efficient: he built his knowledge upon the works of many others and meticulously mentioned all the sources he used.

De Vries's main goal was to spread literary historical awareness to a broader audience. This went hand in hand with strong anti-French sentiments: in his *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde* he was a zealous advocate of linguistic purity and horrified by foreign influences; only the ancient poets were to be used as sources for inspiration. His anti-French attitude was intensified by the political situation that showed the growing supremacy of the French. This antagonism reinforced the national aim of his literary history and served as an expression of Dutch cultural identity by establishing a national canon.

The only thing missing in his oeuvre was, perhaps, a sequel to his *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*. After the publication of

68 De Vries, 1824.

69 De Vries, 1810, vol. 2, pp. 195-200, 216-224. In 1874 a new edition of the complete works of Willem and Onno Zwier van Haren was published by J. van Vloten, which also contained their writings in prose.

Amsterdam University Press

this work, de Vries lived for almost another fifty years. He could have taken the opportunity to add another part to his influential work, but he refrained from that endeavour. Instead, he put all his effort into making available the works of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors who, acording to his view, represented the very best of Dutch literary history. In doing that, he affirmed his view that poetical genius could flourish only during a fixed term and that the Dutch had left this era behind them. Consequently, it became the primary duty of literary historians to make this remote past accesible for new generations of readers. De Vries's literary history, albeit unfinished, and his many editorial activities were pivotal to the development of Dutch language and culture as an academic discipline.

References

W. van den Berg, 'Over het vaderschap van de Nederlandse literatuurgeschiedschrijving', *Literatuur* 6 (1989), 320-324.

W. van den Berg, 'De achttiende-eeuwse letterkunde door de negentiende-eeuwse bril', *De achttiende eeuw* (1994), 169-176.

W. van den Berg, 'De Tweede Klasse: een afdeling met een problematische missie (1808-1816)', in *Willem van den Berg, Een bedachtzame beeldenstorm. Beschouwingen over de letterkunde van de achttiende en negentiende eeuw*, ed. by K. Beekman, M. Mathijsen & G. Vis (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), pp. 137-165.

W. van den Berg, 'Van voor- en schaduwlopers', in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 120 (2010), 7-25.

W. van den Berg and P. Couttenier, *Alles is taal geworden. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1800-1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009).

W. Bilderdijk, *Brieven van Mr Willem Bilderdijk aan Mr Jeronimo de Vries en Ds Abraham de Vries* (Amsterdam: A. Zweesaardt, 1837).

H. de Groot, *Bewijs van de ware godsdienst, met zijne overige Nederduitsche gedichten*, ed. by J. de Vries (Amsterdam: R. Stemvers, 1844).

B. ter Haar, 'Leven- en karakterschets en letterkundige verdiensten van Mr. Jeronimo de Vries', *Handelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde* (1853), 182-208.

W. van Haren & O. Zwier van Haren, *Dichterlijke werken*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: M. Westerman, 1824-1827).

R. Honings & P. van Zonneveld, *De gefnuikte arend. Het leven van Willem Bilderdijk* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013).

Amsterdam University Press

P. Huisinga Bakker, 'Beschouwing van den ouden gebrekkelyken en sedert verbeterden trant van onse Nederduitsche Versen', *Werken van de Maetschappy der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, vol. 5 (Leiden: P. van der Eyk en D. Vygh, 1774), pp. 85-130.

L. Jensen, 'De Gouden Eeuw als ijkpunt van de nationale identiteit: het beeld van de Gouden Eeuw in verzetsliteratuur tussen 1806 en 1813', *De zeventiende eeuw* 28 (2012), 161-175.

L. Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

G.-J. Johannes, '"Zoo is de overdrijving de ziekte van elke eeuw". Het beeld van de 17de eeuw in de 19de-eeuwse literatuurgeschiedenissen voor schoolgebruik en zelfstudie', *Nederlandse letterkunde* 7 (2002), 28-60.

G.-J. Johannes, *Dit moet u niet onverschillig wezen! De vaderlandse literatuur in het Noord-Nederlands voortgezet onderwijs 1800-1900* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007).

T. van Kalmthout, 'Een problematisch erfgoed. Negentiende-eeuwse visies op de rederijkerij', *De negentiende eeuw* 23 (1999), 177-201.

E. Krol, *De smaak der natie. Opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997).

W. Kops, 'Schets eener geschiedenisse der rederijkeren', *Werken van de Maetschappy der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, vol. 2 (Leiden: P. van der Eyk en D. Vygh), 213-251.

N. Laan, *Twee eeuwen academische literatuurgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1997).

J. Leerssen, 'Literary Historicism: Romanticism, Philologists, and the Presence of the Past', *Modern Language Quarterly* 65 (2004), 221-243.

J. Leerssen, 'Literature as heritage? Canon, Tradidion and Identity', in *Bezeten van vroeger. Erfgoed, identiteit en musealisering*, ed. by R. van der Laarse (Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 2005), pp. 153-161.

J. Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

J. Leerssen, 'Introduction', in *Free Acces to the Past. Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation*, ed. by L. Jensen, J. Leerssen & M. Mathijssen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. xv-xxii.

D.J. van Lennep, *Lofrede op Jeronimo de Bosch. Uit het Latijn vertaald door C.W. Westerbaen*. Annotated by Jeronimo de Vries (Amsterdam: s.n., 1820).

M. Mathijsen, *Historiezucht. De obsessie met het verleden in de negentiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).

P. van Nieuwland, *Gedichten en redevoeringen* (Amsterdam: Ten Brink & De Vries, 1824).

P. van Nieuwland, *Nagelaten gedichten*, 3rd, augm. ed. (Amsterdam: Wed. A. Loosjes, 1827).

Amsterdam University Press

J. Oosterholt, *De ware dichter. De vaderlandse poëticale discussie in de periode 1775-1825* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998).

F. Petiet, *'Een voldingend bewijs van ware vaderlandsliefde'. De creatie van literair erfgoed in Nederland, 1797-1845* (s.l.: s.n., 2011).

M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, *Retorica van onderzoek. Vormgeving en publiek van Nederlandse literatuurgeschiedenissen* (Utrecht: Faculteit der Letteren, 1990).

M. Siegenbeek, *Proeven van Nederduitsche Dichtkunde uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Leiden: Leendert Herdingh, 1806).

M. Siegenbeek, 'Betoog van den rijkdom en de voortreffelijkheid der Nederduitsche taal, en eene opgave der middelen om de toenemende verbastering van dezelve tegen te gaan', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij Taal- en Dichtkunde*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1810), 1-272.

Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen (1761-1876).

G.J. Vis, *Van Siegenbeek tot Lodewick. Verkenningen naar de geschiedenis van de studie der Nederlandse letterkunde, speciaal in het onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, [2004]).

J. van den Vondel, *Dichterlijke werken*, 21 vols. (Amsterdam: M. Westerman, 1821-1824).

J. de Vries, review of 'Hieronymo de Bosch, *Poëmata* (1803)', *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (1804), pp. 483-491.

J. de Vries, *Jeremias de Dekker* (Amsterdam: Wed. G. Warnars and P. van den Hengst, 1807).

J. de Vries, 'Antwoord op de vraag: welke zijn de vorderingen, welke is de verachtering der Nederduitsche dichtkunde, gedurende de achttiende eeuw, in vergelijking van vroeger tijdperken?', *Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde*, vols. 3-4, (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808-1809).

J. de Vries, *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1810).

J. de Vries, *Bloemlezing uit de reijen der treurspelen van Joost van den Vondel* (Amsterdam: M. Westerman, 1819).

J. de Vries, *Iets over den dichter Joannes Six van Chandelier* (Amsterdam: s.n., c. 1822).

J. de Vries, 'Aan mijnen broeder Abraham de Vries', in W. van Haren & O. Zwier van Haren, *Dichterlijke werken*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: M. Westerman, 1824), pp. 3-36.

J. de Vries, *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche dichtkunde*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: P. Warnars, 1835).

J. de Vries, *Verhandeling over het nationale in onze dichtkunst* (Amsterdam: s.l., 1839).

Amsterdam University Press

J.F. Willems, *Vijftigjarige ambtsbetrekking van Mr. Jeronimo de Vries, griffier en chef der algemene secretarie te Amsterdam. 3 april 1844. Feestzang zijner kinderen* (s.l.: s.n., 1844).

E. Wiskerke, *De waardering voor de zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur tussen 1780 en 1830* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

A. Ypey, *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche tale*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: O.J. van Paddenburg), 1812-1813.

About the Author

Lotte Jensen (1972) is Professor of Cultural and Literary History at Radboud University Nijmegen. Her research focuses on the role of literature and historiography in processes of national identity formation, Napoleon, women writers and the history of the press during the period 1650-1900. Her most recent publications are *The Roots of Nationalism. National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815* (2016) and *Vieren van vrede. Het ontstaan van de Nederlandse identiteit, 1648-1815* (2016).

Amsterdam University Press

Afterword

Gert-Jan Johannes

Honings, Rick, Gijsbert Rutten and Ton van Kalmthout (eds.), *Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity (1780-1830)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

DOI: 10.5117/9789089648273/AFTERWORD

Abstract

Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity discusses the life and work of a number of Dutchmen who, in the period between 1750 and 1850, worked in the field of what would now be called 'Dutch Studies', 'Dutch Language & Literature' or 'Dutch Philology'. Did the compilers of this volume define the scope of early cultural nationalism in the Netherlands too narrowly by focusing on the study of the nation's language and literature? I would argue that they did not. For one thing, there were no academic 'specialists' as such before the end of the eighteenth century; it was only then that the first generation of academic practitioners of this discipline emerged in the Netherlands. But aside from this, one is struck by the sheer breadth of the interests of the twelve apostles of literature discussed here. Regardless of the perspective taken, a cultural historian studying the period between 1750 and 1850 in the Netherlands would find it hard to avoid a great many of the individuals discussed in this book and their extremely varied publications and activities.

Keywords: afterword, conclusion, discussion, Dutch Studies

Language, Literature and the Construction of a Dutch National Identity has discussed the life and work of a number of Dutchmen who, in the period between 1750 and 1850, worked in the field of what would now be called 'Dutch Studies', 'Dutch Language & Literature' or 'Dutch Philology'. Did the compilers of this volume define the scope of early cultural nationalism in the Netherlands too narrowly by focusing on the study of the nation's language and literature? I would argue that they did not. For one thing, there were no academic 'specialists' as such before the end of the eighteenth century; it was only then that the first generation of academic practitioners

Amsterdam University Press

of this discipline emerged in the Netherlands. But aside from this, one is struck by the sheer breadth of the interests of the twelve apostles of literature discussed here. Regardless of the perspective taken, a cultural historian studying the period between 1750 and 1850 in the Netherlands would find it hard to avoid a great many of the individuals discussed in this book and their extremely varied publications and activities.

Passion and Practical Problems

These twelve central figures studied Dutch language and literature with great passion and attached considerable importance to the development of a national cultural identity. In this sense, they were all enthusiasts, 'amateurs' in the true sense of the word. Despite this, they encountered numerous practical difficulties when practising their passion. Writing and publishing work in Dutch – certainly academic work – was not, or hardly, a profession with which one could make a living, given the small region covered by the Dutch language. At the same time, there was virtually no princely patronage in this merchant republic. None of the twelve apostles discussed in this volume hailed from the nobility or the wealthy leisure class. They were therefore unable to devote their days freely to studying Dutch language and literature, but had to earn their living doing paid work. Four of them trained as clergymen (Weiland, van der Palm, Siegenbeek, Lulofs) and three as lawyers (van Wijn, Kinker, Lulofs). The group also included a historian-jurist (Kluit), a notary's clerk (Willems), a civil servant (de Vries), a dredger (van Dijk) and a merchant (Lauts).

It is worth mentioning in passing that not one of the twelve started out as a classicist. In itself, the study of classical languages would have formed the 'logical' basis for research into the country's native language and literature. A few chapters in this volume show that for some, the seed of their interest in Dutch language and literature was indeed sown during university lectures in classical languages. But the *Quérelle des Anciens et des Modernes* ('the Battle of the Books') had by no means been settled in the Dutch universities of the time. The defensive tone of the inaugural lectures given by the first professors of Dutch language and literature, such as Siegenbeek, reflects the fact that around 1800, they had to fight their way into university humanities faculties in which the Classics enjoyed almost absolute power. The fact that the new professors, notwithstanding the case they made for the nation's language and literature, themselves continued to hold Classics in high regard, hardly made their position easier. Time and again, this would lead to vagueness and inconsistencies in their publications.

Amsterdam University Press

Six of the twelve (van Wijn, van Dijk, Weiland, van der Palm, de Vries and Willems) would spend their whole lives working in professions outside the academic world. The chapter on Weiland, for example, describes this full-time clergyman's bitter complaints about having 'limited time' for his lexicographical research. Similar complaints were made by the other individuals named above. It was not for nothing that van Wijn's two best-known works were entitled *Historical and literary evening-hours* and *Domestic hours*: he wrote them in his free time or after he had retired.

The six remaining central figures (Siegenbeek, Simons, Kinker, Lulofs, Lauts and Kluit) became professors, sooner or later. Thus in principle, they would have had ample time and opportunity to conduct research and to publish on Dutch language and literature. But Kluit was made professor of rhetoric and *Greek* language and literature, after which he made a name for himself as a professor of political and economic history. Lauts' professorship in Dutch language and literature in Brussels was abolished in 1830 with the secession of Belgium. On his return to the Netherlands, he did not obtain a comparable position, but became known mainly as an authority on colonial history. The Belgian secession also spelled the end for Kinker's professorship in Liège. The only figures to have had the time and the occasion to work as full-time professionals on the study of Dutch language and literature for a longer period were Siegenbeek, Simons and Lulofs. These three individuals' publication lists, especially those of Siegenbeek and Lulofs (Simons had been and continued to be more of a poet), show that they made excellent use of this opportunity.

Discontinuity

The fact that for an extended period, there were few opportunities for the professional study of Dutch language and literature may well explain why this book contains so many examples of discontinuity in the development of the field. One such example is the literary history that van Dijk wrote in 1792, but that was only published posthumously in 1832, owing to various circumstances. To give another example: in 1759 Kluit was still editing a terminology list that had been compiled in 1700 by David van Hoogstraten; and in his edition, Kluit included critical remarks on a publication by Moonen dating from 1706. Likewise, in 1759 Kluit translated Verwers' *Linguae Belgicae Idea,* published in 1707, into Dutch. It appears that the information contained in this book was still considered to be of current interest more than fifty years on. The translation would remain unpublished, though,

Amsterdam University Press

and would only come to light in 2005. This was also the fate of a grammar written by Tollius in the 1770s (referred to in chapter 1), which was not published until 2007. Kluits' translation thus made no contribution to the development of contemporary philology.

This discontinuity was also exacerbated by political developments. Conflicts and regime changes left some penniless, others in exile, and forced yet others to flee. It was sometimes for such reasons that little came of their intended study and research. Moreover, in the 1780s and 1790s, political differences between Orangists and 'Patriots' shattered the unity of literary and cultural societies, which had played an important role in the development of the study of Dutch language and literature. The splits within and the dissolution of these societies had a paralysing effect on their activities and caused long-lasting delays to, or even the suspension of, proceedings, annuals and publication series. The Belgian secession had a similar effect. In the Southern Netherlands, for example, the professorships of Dutch language and literature at all of the state's universities, which had been prescribed by law since 1815, were abolished. As suggested above, this had far-reaching consequences for Lauts and Kinker, for example.

Finally, a striking form of discontinuity affected the study of the Middle Ages. In their literary histories, some of the cultural nationalists described in this volume presented the 'Protestant' seventeenth century emphatically as a 'Golden Age' that had brought an end to the 'Catholic', 'dark' Middle Ages. As a result, interest in the study of medieval culture and literature, which had clearly been present around 1770, was nipped in the bud for many. Only around 1830, mainly influenced by German researchers such as the brothers Grimm, did the study of the Middle Ages again start to become a discipline that commanded universal respect and could be taken seriously.

Due to the absence of a somewhat continuous process of action and reaction in the debate about their native language and literature, Dutch researchers in this field thought little of working with material that had been written half a century beforehand. Even the 'full-time professional' Lulofs believed in the early 1830s, for example, that a fully revised Dutch edition of Blair's *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres* of 1783, which had already been published in Dutch translation in 1788-1790 (reprinted in 1804), was of great current interest to the Netherlands. The volumes of Lulofs' edition were published between 1832 and 1837. In his extensive commentary, however, Lulofs engaged in a polemic with Blair as though the latter had not been dead for over thirty years, and as though the original book had not been published half a century earlier, but only yesterday.

Amsterdam University Press

Apologetic and Defensive Tendencies

Another point raised many times in this collection relates to the defensive or apologetic tone running through many of the pieces of writing discussed here. In addition to the abovementioned defence of the study of Dutch language and literature as a respectable academic occupation, time and again we also encounter a more general defence of the value and significance of Dutch language and literature. In this case, comparisons are constantly made with the language and literature of larger linguistic regions, especially the French-speaking region and, to an increasing extent, also the German-speaking region. It is telling that Noordegraaf considers it necessary to mention that Weiland was exceptional in this respect: 'Dutch is [by Weiland] neither emphatically compared to other languages such as German, nor praised for its superior qualities'. Most of the authors' defensive reasoning – sometimes disguised as the offensive standpoint that the Dutch language and Dutch literature were vastly superior to those of other nations – can be seen in the light of a general concern on the part of the cultural elite about the 'decline' of the nation. The Republic was no longer the military, economic and cultural great power of yore. In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a growing realisation that the Netherlands had become 'small' in comparison to surrounding countries. The causes of this decline were sought primarily in cultural and moral decadence, avarice – and now, too, the lack of interest in the nation's language and literature. Numerous initiatives were taken to reverse the decline. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a whole series of literary and cultural journals was established, both within and beyond the circles of the equally numerous literary, cultural and reformist societies that sprang up during this period. A significant part of the activities discussed in this volume can be seen in this light, something to which we return below.

Pragmatism

Seen from the perspective of concerns about the nation's 'decline', the interest in Dutch language and literature was not exclusively, or even primarily, a 'purely academic' interest, but formed part of a more general 'cultural politics'. Most of the authors discussed in this volume thus took a highly pragmatic attitude. Many of them, for example, were also involved in the emergence of nationwide orthographies, grammars and dictionaries, or in attempts to reform education at every level and provide schools with

Amsterdam University Press

new learning resources. The interests of most of the authors are thus likely to have been oriented more towards the field of 'public activities' such as these – pragmatic applications, education and public information – than towards academic research. One good example is van der Palm, who enjoyed significant influence as Minister for Education and as a speaker on national public occasions. Moreover, a figure such as Professor Siegenbeek devised an orthography, and not only compiled academic anthologies and literary histories, but also schoolbooks based on these. He did not consider it beneath his dignity to act as an inspector of *primary* education. This striving to fulfil the role of 'public scholar' also explains why some of the authors, such as the poets Kinker and Simons and the orator van der Palm, became particularly known for their literary merits. Much of their literary work served the same cultural nationalism that fuelled their research.

I would not wish to claim that every specialist in the humanities should write schoolbooks or publish poems. Nevertheless, today's 'public historians', and all others who feel disquieted by the boundaries created by the ongoing specialisation and disciplinary focus in the humanities, might have something to learn from the central figures in this volume, who were operating in an era when these specialisations and disciplinary boundaries had yet to emerge.

The Role of Societies

Finally, let us consider another point that is repeatedly raised in this volume and that was also mentioned above: the significance of literary, cultural and utilitarian-reformist societies for both the practice and the study of language and literature. These societies brought together citizens who wanted to devote themselves to combating 'decline' and to a revitalisation of Dutch culture. With their meetings, competitions and publication series, they formed an extremely important basis for interested parties. Moreover, some of these societies – including one that is mentioned many times in this collection, the Society of Dutch Language and Literature – operated at the national level. As a result, they formed early examples of truly *national* organisations in the federative, regionally organised Republic.

It was not the official academic world, but the world of private associations that initially sparked the study of Dutch language and literature. Neither were there initially government initiatives in this field. The societies were 'bottom-up' initiatives from the very start; they were authorised or tolerated by the Stadtholder, but they did not receive substantial funding from the government.

Amsterdam University Press

As mentioned above, many of these societies suffered in the 1780s and 1790s as a result of political disputes, which led to disunity and splits. By now, though – partly as a result of the societies' work, and precisely because of the politicisation of cultural-nationalist ideas – cultural nationalism and the striving for unification were becoming key priorities at the national political level. During the Batavian-French period, the national government made ideals such as having an official dictionary, an official grammar and official spelling conventions a matter of 'top-down' government policy. Nevertheless, given the lack of substantial financial support, the realisation of these ideals was largely dependent upon private initiative. Likewise, in the new kingdom ruled by King Willem I, even distinctly 'national' institutes such as the Society of Dutch Language and Literature and the Royal Institute (today the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) were almost wholly dependent on private initiative.

It is incredible to see how much the societies managed to achieve in terms of their activities and publications, despite their very limited financial means. Naturally, the authors of the present volume have been unable to provide a complete overview of all the relevant associational activities. One area that could be explored further, for example, is that of the considerable number of competitions relating to the science of aesthetics, still new at that time. In the decades around 1800, a truly astonishing number of essays, studies and poems were published on subjects such as 'The true poet', 'The working of the imagination', or 'The characteristics of pastoral poetry'. A considerable share of these consisted of entries for competitions held by societies, and the same is true of publications on literary-historical subjects. It would thus not be unreasonable to seek the 'paternity' of the first literary history in the Netherlands, the various 'fathers' of which are identified in this volume, not so much in individual authors, but in the associational world as a whole.

Conclusion

The point made just above in relation to societies also applies to the individuals who belonged to them: time and again, it is amazing to see how much they did, how much they wrote, and how much they managed to achieve with limited resources. The trials and tribulations of a number of them have been brought together in this volume. These individuals were far from being the least gifted and least active representatives of the Dutch cultural elite of their time. Despite this, one is struck by the degree of disdain

Amsterdam University Press

with which these central figures have often been discussed in historical surveys, precisely because they were – and wanted to be – 'amateurs' in many respects. The fact that we have attempted to correct this negative picture means that the tone of the chapters in this volume, just like that of the writings of the twelve central figures themselves, has sometimes assumed a rather defensive and apologetic air; an example of continuity in Dutch culture, no doubt, but one that is a subject for a different volume.

Amsterdam University Press

Index

Abbey of Egmond 259, 269-70
accents (spelling) 38, 126-7, 129
accusative masculine definite article 126
Adelung, Johann Christoph 39, 55, 155-60, 162, 217
aesthetics 60, 66, 84, 90-1, 94, 303
age of Dutch language 38, 56, 196
Alexander I, Tsar 80
Allart, Johannes 215
van Alphen, Hieronymus 100
amateur academics 234, 298, 304
Amsterdam, University of 19, 103
Anacreon 178
analogy, principle of 112, 156
ancient sources 205, 209, 288; *see also* classical sources
annotations 60-1, 66-7, 129n45, 208, 262, 263n43
Anslijn, Nicolaas 92
anti-Dutch attitudes 107, 123, 125
Antwerpschen Almanach ('*Antwerp Almanac*') 192
archaisms 59, 126
Aristotle 61, 176, 182
Arndt, Ernst Moritz 55
Arntzenius, R.H. 279
ars diplomatica 219, 222, 224
Athenaeum Illustre 208, 217, 279
aurea mediocritas 173
Austria 13, 122, 188-9
awards/ medals *see* prizes/medals/awards

Barafin, Pierre 194
Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte ('Batavian Society of Empirical Philosophy') 16, 171
Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde ('the Dutch/ Batavian Society for Linguistics and Poetry') 99, 114, 146, 280
Batavian Republic 13-4, 30, 79, 146-7, 205, 221, 243, 249, 255, 303
beauty of language 54, 59, 112, 133-5, 153, 179, 195
Beauzée, Nicolas 156
Beets, Nicolaas 170, 281
Belgian Revolution 66, 81, 105, 121, 124, 170, 191, 230, 262, 300
Belgium
  Congress of Vienna 13, 122
  'Dutch,' definition of 19
  Flemish movement 191
  independence 15, 54, 188-9
  Willems 187-8, 195
  see also Brussels; Flemish; Southern Netherlands; Wallonia
Bellamy, Jacobus 89, 177-8, 246
belletristic approach to rhetoric 29, 60, 154, 300
van den Bergh, L.P.C. 85
Bergman, J.T. 130
Bergmann, Georg 190-1
van Berkhey, Jan le Francq 246
Berlin Society for German Language (Berliner Gesellschaft fur Deutsche Sprache) 260
Bible 167, 169-70, 173-4, 178, 182, 209, 239
Bilderdijk, Willem
  as cultivator of Dutch culture 20
  van Dijk 242, 246
  Kinker 100, 103, 112, 114
  and literary societies 108
  Lulofs 53, 63
  medals 171
  van der Palm 180-1
  Siegenbeek 32
  Simons 83, 87, 91, 94
  de Vries 279-81
  van Wijn 253-4, 259-60, 271
  Willems 200
bilingualism 189, 201-2
van de Bilt, I. 215, 217
Blair, Hugh 29, 60-1, 150, 154, 158, 300
Blyenburg, Jan 235
Boerhaave, Herman 79, 161n57
Boer-movements 122
Boers, Carolus 258
Boethius 285
Bolomey, Benjamin 236
Borger, Elias Annes 178, 180
Bosch, Bernardus 278
de Bosch, Jeronimo 27n5, 62-3, 279, 281, 283, 289-91
Bosscha, Herman 60
Bowring, John 65, 182
Brabant 128, 134, 189, 194, 199
Brandt, Geeraardt 52, 60, 114, 286
de Brune de Jonge, Johan 286
Brussels 121-4, 129-31, 140
Brussels Athenaeum 19, 121, 123-4, 127
Burgundian rule 37-8, 135, 219
Burman, Petrus 242
Busken Huet, Conrad 89
Byron, Lord 60

Calvinism 15
van Cappelle, Johannes Pieter 86
Casanova, Pascale 193
case 154, 158, 211
Catholicism *see* Roman Catholic Church
Cats, Jacob 52, 60, 63, 83, 89-90, 93, 285
censorship 14
chairs, university
  Bilderdijk 103
  establishment of 76
  Kinker 97-8, 103-5
  Kluit 218-9

Amsterdam University Press

Lauts 119, 121
Lulofs 50-1
Siegenbeek 28, 299
Simons 77, 80-1
Weiland 148
see also professorships
chamber plays 134
chambers of rhetoric 35, 38, 200, 244
characteristics of Dutch people 41, 61, 281
Charles the Great 131
charters 217, 219, 222, 256
Church/ State separation 14
Cicero, Marcus Tullius 59, 61, 103, 106, 114, 173-6, 182, 281
civil society 150-1, 157-8, 175, 243
classical sources
imitation and good authorship 62-4
influence on figures in book (generally) 298
Lulofs 50, 61
van der Palm 167-8, 170-3, 176, 178, 182-3
Siegenbeek 29, 50
Simons 77
source of rules governing art 83
de Vries 279, 281, 288
de Clercq, Willem 68, 76, 86
clergymen
van der Palm 168, 178n44, 298
Siegenbeek 27, 298
Simons 74-6, 86, 298
Weiland 145, 147, 298-9
Clignett, Jacob Arnold 272
climatological theories 132n59, 162
codification of Dutch 19, 33-4, 146, 223-4; *see also* dictionaries; grammars; spelling; standardization
Colenbrander, H.T. 139, 170
colonies 13, 121-2, 140
comparative linguistics 55-6, 68, 101, 103, 153-4, 212-3
competitions *see* prizes/ medals/ awards
compounding words 38, 57, 126, 216
Concordia 121
Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de 11, 151-3, 159-61
Congress of Vienna 122, 188
conscription 14
conservatism 103
Coornhert, Dirck Volkertszoon 51, 137, 283, 285
Corneille, Pierre 177, 183, 196
cosmopolitanism 98, 100
da Costa, Isaäc 87, 180
Coster, Laurens Janszoon 134, 170, 180
Counter-Remonstrants 245
Cracco, Domien 199
Cras, H.C. 169, 219, 258
critical philosophy 99-100
cultivated spoken Dutch 157-8
cultural associations 15-6, 121, 257; *see also* societies
cultural nationalism
definition of 10
van Dijk 232, 238-9, 247-9
Dutch studies as focal point of 17
Kluit 206
Lauts 140
literature on 11
Lulofs 54
van der Palm 167-8, 170, 182-3
seen as elite phenomena 10-1
Siegenbeek 31
de Vries 278

Dark Age literature 67-8
De Arke Noach's (1799) 279
De Gids 62
De Goudsbloemen 257
de Harduwijn, Justus 199
De Staël 132n59
de Decker, Jeremias 281, 286, 289
de Deugd, C. 83
Deventer, University of 19
dialects 59, 156-8, 194, 199, 217
dictionaries
calls for 10
of homonyms 127
Kluit 215-7
Lauts 120-1, 127-9
learned societies 20
Siegenbeek 40
de Vries 282-3
Weiland 146-7, 155, 159, 215
van Wijn 261
Dictionary of the Dutch Language (*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*) 9, 214-6
van Dijk, Jacob 20, 229-51, 298
Diligentia and Doctrina et Amicitia 171
diminutive suffix *-ke* 126
domestic life as a subject 81, 282, 289
double negation 126
Dulces Ante Omnia Musae 20, 207
'Dutch,' definition of 19, 27
Dutch as a foreign language 127, 132, 194
Dutch/ Batavian Society for Linguistics and Poetry' (Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde) 99, 114, 146, 280
Dutch history 12-7, 217-24, 262-7
Dutch independence 31
Dutch Reformed Church 147
Dutch Revolt 38
dutchification 122-4, 138-9, 198

education system 18, 33, 40, 107, 113, 122, 130, 154, 168, 301-2
van Effen, Justus 234
Eighty Years' War 38, 263
elite phenomena, cultural nationalism seen as 10-1

Amsterdam University Press

elite speech, as model 156-8
elocution 174, 177
eloquence
  included in Dutch studies 17
  Kinker 103, 106, 111, 114
  Lulofs 60
  van der Palm 169, 172, 174
empiricism 148-50, 155-7, 210
England
  Dutch literature in 65n43
  historical relations with Low Countries 13
  literature 62
English 54, 136, 161
Enlightenment 98-100, 103, 131, 148-50, 173-4, 206, 234
ethnolinguistic essentialism 9
etymology 10, 35, 54, 109, 112, 149, 161, 258, 261
euphony 32, 35-6, 39, 133-4
Euripides 173, 176, 182
exempla 29

Fabius, Jan 107
fairy tales 61
Falck, Anton Reinhard 104, 107-8, 109n64, 123-4, 130, 139, 196, 279, 282
fatherland and language 35, 39-40, 43, 98, 108, 131-2, 136-7, 140, 195
Feith, Rhijnvis 100, 108, 281
Feitsma, A. 160
Felix Meritis 171
filologie (philology) 10
Flanders 189, 194, 198-9
Flemish 128, 134, 189, 191, 198-9, 285
Flemish movement 19
Flemish people 124; *see also* Wallonia
folk linguistics 132
folk songs 260, 264
folklore studies 11
Fontaine, Jean de La 191
foreign languages
  assimilation into Dutch 57
  Dutch as a foreign language 127, 132, 194
  learning of 107
  loanwords from 37-9, 42, 57, 59, 111-2, 114, 126-7, 134-6
  using vernacular to limit the influence of 53
  value of 53-5
  see also English; French; German
foreign literature 53-4, 60, 62, 92, 108, 134; *see also* classical sources
forgeries 264
Fourth Anglo-Dutch War 13
France
  historical relations with Low Countries 13-4, 31, 52, 79-80, 122, 188, 221
  literature 62, 136, 286
  occupation by 14, 53-4, 79-80, 82, 98, 128, 168-9, 192-3, 221, 284, 288
  poetry 66
  pro-French attitudes 219-20
Franconian 56, 132
Franeker, University of 18, 26, 76, 157, 160, 206n1
Fransen van Eck, Cornelis 64
Frederik Hendrik van Oranje, 88
freedom, and literature 242-3, 247-8
freemasonry 99, 100n9, 104-5
French
  anti-French sentiments 38, 84, 189, 193-4, 196, 201, 282, 284, 288, 292
  avoiding 259
  in Belgium 54
  cross-fertilization of ideas 161
  frenchification 37-9, 42-3, 53-4, 92, 122-3, 135, 140, 189, 194
  French-speaking elites 15
  influence on Dutch 37-40, 44, 56, 285, 288
  for lectures 106-7
  as lingua franca 194
  literary language status 193-4, 196
  loanwords from 37
  as prestige language of elite 189
  in secondary schools 122-4
  in Southern Netherlands 122-3, 188-90, 198
  in universities 108, 110
  Willems 201-2
French Revolution 13, 189, 221, 284
Friesland 19
Frisian 132, 157
Fruin, Robert 222

Geel, Jacob 74, 262
gender (of nouns) 103, 137, 210-2, 244
general public, education of 99, 122, 130
genre conventions 31
German
  Adelung 55
  in contact with Dutch 39-40
  cross-fertilization of ideas 161
  Dutch not offspring of 52, 196
  grammars 154-5
  High German 52, 55-6, 131, 133, 212
  Lauts on 125
  literature 136
  loanwords from 57
  Low German 56, 132, 267
  relationship to Dutch 52, 55-6, 132-3, 196, 213
  in Southern Netherlands 188
Germanic language family 41, 55-6, 84, 129, 132, 196
Germany
  learning from 54
  legal history 218
  literature 60, 62, 77
  poetry 63, 78
Ghent, University of 19-20, 130, 135
Glasius, Barend 86

Amsterdam University Press

global citizenship 100
glossary of outdated words 282-3
van Goens, Rijklof Michael 255, 258
van der Goes, Johannes Antonides 52, 63, 258
Goethe 173, 176, 179, 183
Golden Age
  van Dijk 245
  effect on study of the Middle Ages 300
  Kinker 114
  Lulofs 51, 63-4
  Siegenbeek 31, 35-7, 43
  Simons 81, 83, 88, 92-3
  de Vries 278, 285, 287
grammar
  gender (of nouns) 103, 137, 210-2, 244
  history of Dutch studies 17
  Huydecoper 244
  Kinker teaching 109-15
  morphology 38, 103, 133, 154
  parts of speech 102, 111, 154, 159
  personal pronouns 156
  prepositions 158
  Siegenbeek's opinion on 29-30
  syntax 42, 102-3, 106, 110-2, 133, 154, 158-9
  verbs 112, 126-7, 155, 158, 214
  word order 120n3
grammars (written guides to grammar)
  first publication of 19
  government-authorized 145
  Kinker 102-3, 106
  Lauts 121, 124-7
  learned societies 20
  van Lennep 106, 111
  Moonen 211, 214
  national grammars 33
  van der Palm 168
  Siegenbeek 32-3, 126
  Tollius 18
  Weiland 32-4, 99, 110-1, 114, 126, 145-65, 212, 224
Greek classics 51, 60, 63, 173, 299
Greek language 26, 149-50, 162, 214
Grimm, brothers 9-10, 300
Grimm, Jacob 68, 254, 260, 266-7
Groningen, University of 50, 76
Groot, Hugo de (Grotius) 38, 196, 210, 287, 289-90
gunpowder disaster (Leiden) 223

ter Haar, Berard 283
Habsburg, House of 13, 38, 188, 219
Halbertsma, Joast Hiddes 9n1
van Hall, M.C. 131, 169
van Hamelsveld, IJsbrand 172
handbooks
  Lauts 119-20, 125-9
  Lulofs 54-62
  see also grammars (written guides to grammar)
Harderwijk, University of 18, 76, 151-2, 208
Hebrew 174
van Heelu, Jan 56, 262, 264
Helmers, Jan Frederik 53, 60, 63, 108, 114
van Hemert, Paulus 100, 147
Hemsterhuis, Tiberius 149-51, 156-7, 160-2
Herder, Johann Gottfried 11, 149, 160, 162
heritage protection 170
High German 52, 55-6, 131, 133, 212
high versus mass/ popular culture 10-1
historical literary studies 253-76
historical overview 12-7, 217-23
historiography 53, 169, 188, 219, 232, 247
history of Dutch language
  age of Dutch language 38, 56, 196
  van Dijk 241-2
  first written histories 20
  Lauts 125, 132
  Lulofs 55-6
  van Wijn 260
  Willems 196-7
history of Dutch literature
  classified by geography 199
  van Dijk 232, 241-7
  Kinker 112
  Siegenbeek 26, 29-31, 33, 36
  van Wijn 260-71
  Willems 196
hoaxes 74, 264
Hoffman von Fallersleben, August Heinrich 73, 260
van Hogendorp, Gijsbert 169
Hollandsch 56
Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen ('Holland Society of Sciences'; 1752) 16, 86
Hollandsche maatschappij van fraaije kunsten en wetenschappen ('the Holland Society of Arts and Sciences') 99, 171, 181
Holtrop, Johannes Willem 262
Homer 173, 176, 281
homonyms, dictionaries of 127
Hooft, D. 169
Hooft, Pieter Corneliszoon
  van Dijk 242
  Kinker 114
  Kluit 211
  Lauts 133
  Lulofs 52, 59-60, 63
  van der Palm 176
  Siegenbeek 31, 35-7, 40
  Simons 79, 83, 86, 88-90, 93
  de Vries 285-6
van Hoogstraten, David 114, 210-1, 224, 299
Hoogvliet, Arnold 114, 235, 245, 247
van den Hoonaard, W. 230-2, 249
Horace 63, 179n48
House of Habsburg 13, 38, 188, 219
House of Orange-Nassau 13, 188
Hovens, Daniël 239
Huisinga, Pieter 278, 286

Amsterdam University Press

humanitarian ideals 100
Humboldt, Alexander von 41
von Humboldt, Wilhelm 12
Huydecoper, Balthazar 39, 74, 114, 208-9, 211, 244, 258, 264, 272
Huygens, Constantijn 52, 63

idealized language, Dutch as 125
imagination 61-2, 83, 90, 94, 176, 240, 289, 303
imagined communities 140
imitation 62-4
Immerzeel Jr., Johannes 200
Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts (Keizerlijke en Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen en Letteren) 257
institutions and the rise of Dutch studies 17-8
international status of Dutch 190, 193
invention 61, 174
irrational aspects of literature 62

Jacob 's-Gravesande, Willem 150, 161n57
Jacotot, Joseph 107
de Jager, Arie 27n5, 61
Japan 154
Jonckbloet, Willem Jozef Andries 62, 67-8, 262
de Jonge, J.C. 258, 261, 267, 272
journals 16, 180, 199, 207; *see also* magazines

van Kampen, Nicolaas 68, 92, 231
Kant, Immanuel 99-100, 102, 104
ten Kate, Lambert 39, 112, 114, 132n60, 148, 150, 154-6, 160-2, 209-10
Keizerlijke en Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen en Letteren ('Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts') 257
Kemper, J.M. 281
Kiliaan, Cornelis 54, 199
Kingdom of Holland 14, 230
Kinker, Johannes 19, 32, 97-117, 133, 298-300, 302
Kist, Ewald 178
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb 60, 132n60
Kluit, Adriaan 19, 34, 114, 146, 205-27, 268, 298-300
knighthoods 271, 283
Kolijn, Klaas 259, 264
Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) 14, 85, 105, 109, 260-2, 263n43, 266
Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde, en Schoone Kunsten ('the Royal Dutch Institute of Sciences, Literature, and Arts') 14, 86-7, 101, 106, 170-1, 253, 259, 271, 282
Kops, Willem 244, 286
Koran 167, 170, 173, 178, 182
Kreet, Hendrik Arnold 206-7, 212
Kroon, A.W. 262
Kunst Wordt door Arbeid Verkregen ('Art is Attained through Labour') 237
Kunstliefde Spaart Geen Vlijt ('Art-loving is forever diligent') 79, 232, 235, 257

language change (diachronic) 157-8
language learning 109, 113
language mechanism 102, 112
language planning 33
language policies
  Batavian Republic 303
  debates over 194-5
  King Willem I's nation-building language policy 15, 50, 58, 107, 122-3, 138-9, 188-9, 192-4, 303
  rise of national language policies 12
  rise of official language policies 19
  second King Willem language resolution 193-4, 196, 198
language resolution 193-4, 196
language teachers, shortages of 123
language theory 101-3, 106
language universals 101
Lastdrager, Abraham Johannes 113
Latin 56, 106, 136, 150, 207, 210, 217, 219, 279; *see also* classical sources
Lauts, Ulrich Gerhard 19, 119-43, 298-300
lawyers
  Kinker 99, 103, 298
  Lulofs 50, 298
  van Wijn 255, 298
learned societies *see* societies
Lebrocquy, J.H. 28
lecturing in Dutch 81, 83, 106-7, 110, 130, 208, 219
Lefèvre, Jean Lambert Joseph 100n9
Leibniz, G.W. 132n60
Leiden University *see* University of Leiden
van Lelyveld, Frans 206-7, 258
van Lennep, David Jacob 169, 279, 281, 291
van Lennep, Gerrit 105-6, 111
Leopold I, King 15, 188
letterkunde (study of letters) 10
Letterkundig Magazijn van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak ('Literary Magazine of Science, Art and Taste') 180
Leuven, University of 130
levensberichten ('biographies') 28
lexical purism 37, 43
lexicography 147-8, 159, 216; *see also* dictionaries
lexicon, Dutch 38-9, 42
Liège, University of 19, 97-8, 103-15, 130, 133
Limburg 134, 189, 198
Linguaque Animoque fideles 206-7, 258
linguistics
  Kinker 101-2, 109-10
  Kluit 206, 224
  Siegenbeek 32-3
  Weiland 146, 148-53, 161-2
  van Wijn 261
  Willems 195-6
literacy rates 15
literary almanacs 192, 199-200
literary anthologies 135, 289-90
literary circles 196, 258; *see also* societies

Amsterdam University Press

literary historicism 284
literary histories
  van Dijk 238-41
  first publication of 20
  and the Golden Age 92
  Kinker 108, 111
  Lauts 121, 131-8
  Lulofs 62-8
  national value of Dutch authors 64
  New School literary historians 62, 68
  van der Palm 173, 177-82
  Siegenbeek 28-31
  Simons 77, 87-93
  Southern literature 199
  de Vries 277-96
  van Wijn 262-7
  Willems 199
literary language status 193
literary networks 99
literary scholarship 62-4
literary societies
  van Dijk 235-7, 246-7
  influence on spelling 128
  King Willem I 200
  Kinker 108, 115
  Kluit 206-9
  Lauts 121
loanwords
  Kinker 111-2, 114
  Lauts 126-7, 134-6
  Lulofs 57, 59
  Siegenbeek 37-9, 42
local varieties 156; *see also* dialects
Locke, John 11, 150
Longinus 28-9, 174
Loots, Cornelis 114, 279
Louis Napoleon I, King 14, 79, 101, 168, 256, 259, 271
Louvain, University of 19
Low German 56, 132, 267
Low Saxon 56
Lublink, Jan 248
Lulofs, Berthold Hendrik 18-9, 49-71, 132n60, 181, 298-300
Luther, Martin 136
Luxembourg 14-5, 107, 122
Luzac, Jean (Johan) 220-3

van Maanen, Cornelis Felix 27n5, 107, 121n6, 123, 139, 190
Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'; 1766)
  commissioning of grammar 161
  dictionaries 215-7, 261
  history of Dutch studies 16, 20
  Kluit 208
  Lauts 121n4
  van der Palm 171
  private initiative 303
  rhetoric 244
  Siegenbeek 26-7, 28
  Simons 77, 84, 86, 88
  spelling 214n26
  Tydeman 152-3
  de Vries 282, 286
  Weiland 145, 147, 149-50
  van Wijn 253, 258-9, 271
Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen ('Society for Public Welfare') 32, 121, 230
Macrobius 264
van Maerlant, Jacob 54, 56, 67, 259-60, 264, 265, 270, 285
magazines 16, 62, 169, 180, 192
de Malnöe, Anthony 152-3
Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde 137, 285
mass/ popular culture 10-1
mediaeval Dutch 213; *see also* Middle Dutch
mediaeval history 222
mediaeval literature 67-8, 74, 88, 191, 205-6, 209, 267-71, 300
medium of instruction, Dutch as 81, 83, 106-7, 110, 130, 208, 219
Meerman, Johan 255
van Meerten-Schilperoort, A.B. 281
Meijer, Gerrit Joan 64
Mennonites 27-8, 209, 279
van Merken, Lucretia Wilhelmina 114, 242
metaphor 77
Michaelis, J.G. 162
Michaelis, Johann David 11
Middle Ages 88, 94, 134, 191, 219-20, 222, 243, 278, 300
Middle Dutch 73, 125, 134, 210, 212, 217, 266, 268
mind, and language 151-3
Minima Crescunt 149, 207, 258
Mnemosyne (1815-1828) 27
monosyllables 38
Moonen, Arnold 211, 214, 299
moral/ religious character of Dutch 42-3
morality 83, 169-70, 180-1
morphology 38, 103, 133, 154
Muntinghe, Herman 50
Museum (1812-1817) 27
Museum voor Wetenschappen en Letteren ('Museum for Sciences and Literature') 121, 129-31
van Musschenbroek, Petrus 234
mythology 66, 84

Napoleon Bonaparte 14, 42, 79-80, 169-70, 188, 278, 284
'national,' definition of 11
national anthem 138, 283
National Archives of The Hague 139, 255-6, 261, 269
national character and language 32, 51-4, 172
national happiness 88

Amsterdam University Press

national philology, rise of discipline on 12
national society for Dutch 207
national virtues 64, 90, 172
nationalism
and cultivation of mother tongue 152
Kinker 98, 113-5
Kluit 211-2
Lauts 120, 124-6, 129, 132, 134, 138
and literary societies 108
nationalistic thinking in Golden Age poetry 64
Siegenbeek 40-3
Simons 87
van Wijn 263
nationalization 17
nationalization of language 33
nation-building
and Dutch literature 135
Kinker 113-5
Lauts 133
Southern Netherlands 189-90
nationhood
importance of Vondel 66
Kinker's ideas on nation and language 98
and language 150
and literature 199
Lulofs's ideas on language and 51-4, 64
and poetry 90
Siegenbeek 40-4
and Siegenbeek's chair 30
Simons' poetry 82
Southern Netherlands 188
Weiland 157-8, 160
Nederduitsche 56, 188n4, 189, 240
Nederlandsch 56
Neerlandistiek (Dutch studies), rise of 17-20
New School literary historians 62, 68
new word creation 57, 126, 133
newspapers 139; *see also* periodicals
Nibelungenlied 132
Nieuwland, Pieter 285, 289, 291
Northern versus Southern varieties of Dutch 126, 129, 136, 194, 196
noun gender 103, 137, 210-2, 244

Ockerse, Willem Anthony 172
official language *see* language policies
Old Dutch 213
Old Frisian 56
Old School literary historians 62, 67-8
van Oldenbarnevelt, Johan 287
Orange, House of 13, 188
Orange Free State 122
Orange movement 13-4, 98, 169, 175, 201, 220-1, 236, 246, 279-80, 300
oration
Kinker 103
Lulofs 50
van der Palm 168, 171-83, 302
de Vries 279
Order of the Netherlands Lion (Knight's Cross) 50
orthography
first publication of 19, 26, 32
Kinker 103
Lauts 126
Siegenbeek 26, 32
Weiland 148
see also spelling
Ossian 259
van Oudendorp, Franciscus 255
Ovid 63, 281

Paape, Gerrit 246
palaeography 219, 224
van der Palm, Johan Hendrik 167-85
biography 168-71
clergy 298
Kinker 108, 114
oration 302
rise of Dutch studies 19
Siegenbeek 25, 27n5, 33-4
Simons 76, 83, 99n7
Weiland 146, 148, 212
van Wijn 256
Paludanus, Petrus 258
parts of speech 102, 111, 154, 159
Patriot movement 13, 169, 175, 219-21, 232, 237, 246, 248-9, 279-80, 300
patriotic spirit
Kinker 100, 114
and language 128
Lauts 131
Lulofs 58, 64
van der Palm 169, 172
and poetry 53
Simons 78, 81, 86
Weiland 147
van Wijn 255
Peace of Utrecht 287
periodicals 16, 20, 279, 281; *see also* journals; magazines
van der Perre, Johan Adriaan 178
personal pronouns 156
philanthropy 174
Philip II, King 218-9
philosophy
cross-fertilization of ideas 161
Kinker 99, 101-4, 107, 111
and science 149
social aspects of language 150
Weiland 155, 160
Plato 281
poetry
aesthetics 90-1, 94
amateur 234-6
archaisms 126
classical literature 63
van Dijk 231-2, 234-5, 238, 241-8
and disciplinary boundaries 302

Amsterdam University Press

grammar/ spelling as part of elite culture of 17
Kinker 98, 302
Kluit 208-9
Lulofs 50, 53, 62, 64-9
and national glory 53
van der Palm 173-4, 178-80
'Puikdichters' (elite poets) 244, 249
reflection about Dutch nationhood 15
religious poetry 78, 80, 82
Simons 88-93
translations of German 78
de Vries 51n8, 278, 281-9
van Wijn 262, 264, 266
Willems 192-7, 200
poetry societies 16, 75, 90-2, 191, 206-9, 246-7
polite speech 34
political science 222-3
politics
van Dijk 248
and discontinuity 300
Kinker 105, 108
Kluit 218, 220-4
Lauts 122, 125-6
Lulofs 50
van der Palm 169, 180
Simons 78, 81
de Vries 279, 287
Weiland 147
Poot, Hubert Corneliszoon 235, 242, 245, 286
Pope, Alexander 258
popular culture 10-1
positivism 149
prehistory of Dutch 132
prepositions 158
prescriptivism 99, 156, 198
primacy of authors' language 156, 211
print, rise of Dutch-language printed works 16
printing, invention of 134-5, 172, 180
private societies 16-7; *see also* societies
prizes/ medals/ awards
van Dijk 237-41, 248
Kinker 99
van der Palm 171
Simons 75, 79, 86, 91
and societies 303
de Vries 280, 283
Weiland 162
Willems 191, 197, 200
Pro Excolendo Jure Patrio 282
professorships
Kinker 104-5, 299
Kluit 217-9, 299
Lauts 299
Lulofs 299
Siegenbeek 28, 299
Simons 77, 80-7, 299
Wassenbergh 150
Weiland 147
pronouns 211
pronunciation
Dutch versus German 39
Kinker 105, 110-1, 113
Lauts 124n19, 127, 132n59
Siegenbeek 41
and spelling 34, 213
propaganda 125-6, 133
prosody study 99, 103
Protestantism 35, 135, 138, 147, 153
Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap ('Provincial Utrecht Association'; 1773) 16, 282
Prussia 13, 188, 237
purifaction of Dutch 37
purification of Dutch 38
purism, linguistic 37, 43, 111-2, 125, 284
purity 59, 77, 133-5, 200, 281

Quetelet, Alphonse 130
Quintilian 29, 59, 61, 176, 182

Racine, Jean 176-7, 183, 196
rangaku (Dutch in Japan) 154
rationalism 102-3, 149-50, 158
realism 61, 83
Realiteit, Pieter 61
redutchification policies 122-3
Reformation 135, 285
reformist associations 15-6
regional/ social differences 34, 114, 156, 209
regularity of Dutch (syntactical) 112
religion 14, 77, 150, 153, 167, 169-70, 172-3, 242, 283, 287, 290
religious poetry 78, 80, 82
Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn 88
Remonstrant Church 147, 245
Republic of the United Netherlands 12, 205-6, 221-2, 224, 230, 234
Republic of the United Provinces 122
resistance poetry 80, 82
revival of Dutch language 37
Reynaert stories 134-5
rhetoric
chambers of rhetoric 35, 38, 200, 244
van Dijk 243-4
history of Dutch language 197
included in Dutch studies 17
Kinker 103, 114
Lulofs 58-62, 68
and national glory 53
van der Palm 167-8, 171-7
Siegenbeek 28-31
de Vries 278
van Wijn 261, 264
Willems 191, 200
Richter, Jean Paul F. 125
Roggeveen, Arent 234
Roggeveen, Jakob 234
van Roijen, Henricus 256

Amsterdam University Press

Roman Catholic Church 13-4, 35, 104, 108n58, 135, 137-8, 244
Roman classics 51, 60, 63, 242, 264
Romance languages 41
Romanticism 60-2, 82, 131-2, 160, 173, 177, 182-3
Rotrou, Jean 196
Royal Art Gallery 14
Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences 101
Royal Dutch Institute of Sciences, Literature, and Arts (Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van wetenschappen, letterkunde, en schoone kunsten) 14, 86-7, 101, 106, 170-1, 178-9, 183, 253, 259, 271, 282
Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) 14, 85, 105, 109, 260-2, 263n43, 266
Royal Marine Institute 121
rudeness/ impoliteness 42
Ruhnken, David 255
rules governing art 83
de Ruyter, Michiel 52

Salic 132
Salomo 169
van Santen, Laurens 27n5, 28, 30, 43
satire 137, 279
Saussure, Ferdinand de 150
Scheidius, Everardus 161
Scheltinga, Gerlach 255
Schiller, Friedrich 60, 183
Schola Hemsterhusiana 149, 160-2
school inspectors 28, 34, 86, 168, 302
schools *see* education system
Schrant, Johannes 20, 135
Schrijftaalregeling ('lit. written language regulation') 33
Schultens, Albert 149, 162
Schultens, Jan Jacob 147, 149, 162
science, popularization of 122
scientific information in vernacular 16
scientification of language/ literature study 68, 148-50
Scottish Enlightenment 149-50
second language learning 107
secondary school education 122-4, 127
self-knowledge 171, 181-2
Serrure, Constant-Philippe 267, 271-2
Seume, Johann Gottfried 90
Shakespeare, William 64, 136
shibboleths 126, 129
Siegenbeek, Matthijs 25-47
  biography 27-8
  on classical literature 63
  clergy 27, 298
  death of 68
  grammar 126
  and Kinker 110, 112, 114
  linguistics 32-43
  literary history and rhetoric 28-31, 64, 86, 92, 199, 231
  and Lulofs 51, 55
  professorships 18, 299
  rules governing art 83
  and Simons 77, 79
  social networks 27
  spelling 19, 26, 32-6, 99, 128, 146, 214, 302
  on Vondel 90
  and de Vries 278, 286-7
  and Weiland's grammar 146, 212
  and van Wijn 272
  and Willems 200
Siewertsz van Reesema, Abraham 179
silent letters, and spelling 35
Simons, Adam 19, 73-96, 299
simplicity 171-3, 182-3, 281
Six van Chandelier, Jan 281
Smith, Adam 150, 158
social aspects of language 150, 157-8, 211-2
social mobility 16-7
social stratification 189
societies
  contributions to cultural nationalism 16
  and discontinuity 300
  historical overview 16-7, 20
  as 'intertraffic of the mind' 162
  Kinker 98-9
  Kluit 206-9
  Lulofs 50
  van der Palm 170-1, 183
  role of 302-3
  Siegenbeek 26-7
  Simons 75, 86
  de Vries 282-3, 286
  Weiland 149
  van Wijn 257-62
  Willems 201
Society of Dutch Language and Literature *see* Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde
Sophocles 173, 176-7, 182
South Africa 122
Southern Dutch 126, 129
Southern Netherlands
  French in 122-3, 188-90, 198
  historical overview 13-5
  Lauts 122, 133
  professorships 300
  Willems 187-204
  see also Belgium; Luxembourg
Southern versus Northern varieties of Dutch 126, 129, 136, 194, 196
sovereignty 12, 14, 98, 108, 135, 180, 218-20, 224
van Spaan, Joannes 235-6
Spain 38, 122, 218
spelling
  accents 38, 126-7, 129
  van Dijk 244
  first official rules for 146
  first publication of 26, 32

Amsterdam University Press

history of Dutch studies 17
Kluit 210-4, 224
Lauts 124n19, 126-9
learned societies 20
van der Palm 168
and pronunciation 34, 213
for schools 32
Siegenbeek 19, 26, 32-6, 99, 128, 146, 214, 302
vowel spellings 213-4
in Weiland's grammar 154, 159
Spiegel, Hendrik Laurenszoon 51, 138, 285
spirit of a people, language as 160
Sprenger van Eijk, J.P. 230, 235, 239, 249
van St. Aldegonde, Marnix 137, 285
standardization 206, 210-2, 223-4; *see also* codification of Dutch; dictionaries; grammars (written guides to grammar)
Staring, A.C.W. 67
Statenvertaling ('States Bible') 209
Steenwinkel, Jan 272
Stevin, Simon 38, 57
Stijl, Simon 114
Stoke, Melis 56, 210, 243, 264, 270, 285
strong verbs 112, 155, 158
Stuart, M. 106, 114
Studium Scientiarum Genitrix (Rotterdam society) 75, 171, 231-2, 236-41, 248-9
Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms (SPIN) 11
style/ stylistics 29, 38, 58-62, 109, 111, 172, 174, 176, 178
stylised prose/ sermons 17
superioritas territorialis 218
Swalmius, Cornelis Jacobus 236
synonyms 110-1, 133
syntax 42, 102-3, 106, 110-2, 133, 154, 158-9
synthetic versus analytic constructions 158

Tacitus 106
Tandem 108, 115
taxes 14
Ten Days' Campaign 15
territorial expansion 54
theatre 101-2, 134, 136n75, 139, 194
Thorbecke, Rudolph 222
Tielemans, Jean-François 109
Tollens, Hendrik 60, 63, 108, 178-81, 200, 208, 281
Tollius, Herman 18, 26n3, 206, 258, 300
Tot Nut der Jeugd (Antwerp) 191-2, 200
translated materials
Adelung's grammar 155
Bible 209-10
history of Dutch studies 16, 299
Hugh Blair's work 60
influence of French 285
Kinker's 106
Kluit as translator 209-17
and literary societies 108
Lulofs 50
Siegenbeek's 28
Simons' translations of German poems 78
Willems's poems 195
van Treuren, Jan 235
Tromp, Cornelis 52
Trotz, Christiaan 206, 219
truth, Dutch love of the 42
Tydeman, Hendrik Willem 27n5, 258
Tydeman, Meinard
history of Dutch studies 17-8, 20
on importance of Dutch 208
literary societies 207
Lulofs 58
Siegenbeek 27n5, 34
Weiland 146, 151-3, 160-1, 212

unified language, Dutch as 134
United Kingdom of the Netherlands 14-5, 19, 54, 98, 105, 121-2, 133, 138, 188, 262
universal cosmopolitanism 98
Université Libre de Bruxelles 130
University of Amsterdam 19, 103
University of Deventer 19
University of Franeker 18, 26, 76, 157, 160, 206n1
University of Ghent 19-20, 130, 135
University of Groningen 50, 76
University of Harderwijk 18, 76, 151-2, 208
University of Leiden
Kinker 103, 105, 109
Kluit 205-7, 218-20, 223
Lauts 129n45
van der Palm 168, 175n30, 287n46
rise of Dutch studies 18
Siegenbeek 25, 28
Simons 74-6
Weiland 145-6, 160, 162
University of Liège 19, 97-8, 103-15, 130, 133
University of Louvain 19, 130
University of Utrecht 19, 73, 76, 78, 80, 152, 206-7
urban bourgeoisie 15
usage versus prescriptivism 156

Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen ('Patriotic Literature') 180
vaderlandsliefde ('love for the fatherland') 131-2
Valckenaer, L.C. 149-50
van Maerlant, Jacob 54, 56, 67, 259-60, 264-5, 270, 285
variation, linguistic 114, 156
van Velthem, Lodewijk 217, 265
verbs 112, 126-7, 155, 158, 214
Vergilius 63
vernacular culture, in definition of cultural nationalism 10
Verwer, Adriaen 209-10, 213, 224
Visscher, Roemer 285
Visser, Jacob 266
Vlieg, Carolus 232
vocabulary of Dutch 57

Amsterdam University Press

van den Vondel, Joost
as authority on correct usage 211
van Dijk 235, 242, 244, 247
Kinker 114
Lauts on 133
and literary societies 108
as literary source 217
Lulofs 52, 60, 63
Lulofs on 62
Lulofs's admiration for 64-9
van der Palm 176
Siegenbeek 31, 33, 35-7, 40
Simons 83, 88-90, 93
de Vries 285-6, 289-90
Willems 192-3
Voortrekker movements 122
Voss, Johann Heinrich 50, 60, 173, 179, 183
vowel spellings 213-4
Vreede, Pieter 248
de Vries, Abraham 291-2
de Vries, Jeronimo 277-96, 298
death of 68
van Dijk 231
literary histories 199
Lulofs 51
Siegenbeek 20
van Wijn 271
Willems 200-1
de Vries, Matthias 68, 147, 212, 214-5
vuris unitaris 30

Wagenaar, Jan 114, 262-4
Wagevier, C.J. 113
Walcheren 217
Wallonia 15, 107, 124, 189, 198
Wannowski, Stephan 102n19
Wassenbergh, Everwinus 18, 26, 58, 150
te Water, J.W. 218n33
Weiland, Pieter 145-65
biography 147-8
clergy 298
death of 148
dictionaries 146-7, 155, 159, 215
grammars 19, 32-4, 99, 110-1, 114, 126, 145-65, 212, 224
Kinker 99, 110-1, 114
Kluit 212
Lauts 126
Siegenbeek 32-4
Simons 76-7, 80
on status of Dutch 301
working life 299
welsprekenheid see rhetoric

Werken der Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde ('Proceedings of the Batavian Society for Linguistics and Poetics,' 1804-1810) 27
Wesseling, Petrus 206
Westerbaen, Cornelis Willem 281, 291
Westerman, Marten 290-2
van Wijn, Hendrik 20, 114, 132n60, 207, 253-76, 278, 287, 298-9
van de Wijnpersse, Samuel Johannes 100
Willem Frederik, Prince 14
Willem I, King of the Netherlands
Kinker 98, 105
knighting of de Vries 283
knighting of van Wijn 271
Lulofs 50, 58
nation-building language policy 15, 50, 58, 107, 122-3, 138-9, 188-9, 192-4, 303
public education 130-1
rise of Dutch studies 14-5, 18
study of Dutch grammar 119
subscription to poetry anthology 290
United Kingdom of the Netherlands 122
van Wijn 257
Willems 188-9
Willem II, King 50
Willem IV, Prince 13
Willem of Orange 137-8
Willem V, Stadtholder 13, 220-1, 255
Willems, Jan Cornelis 190-1
Willems, Jan Frans 19, 27n5, 136, 187-204, 262, 283, 298
te Winkel, Jan 74, 266
te Winkel, Lambert 212, 214-5
Wiselius, Samuel Iperuszoon 201-2, 282
Witsen Geysbeek, Pieter Gerardus 65, 231
de Witt, Johan 287
women 16, 99
Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (Dictionary of the Dutch Language) 9, 214-6
Woordhouder, Toussaint 235, 237n23
van der Woordt, Anthony 90
word order 120n3
Wordsworth, William 83
written versus spoken language 211
Würth, Jean François Xavier 108-9, 114

Ypey, Annaeus 20, 56, 132n60

Zeeuws Genootschap van Wetenschappen ('Zeeland Society of Science') 171, 282
Zeeuwsch Genootschap ('Zeelandic Society') 16, 257
Zwier van Haren, Willem and Onno 281, 286, 289, 291-2

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press