Lucas van der Deijl

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1   Introduction

Abstract: Many philosophical books that shaped the intellectual debates of the Dutch Early Enlightenment (1640-1720) were quickly translated in Dutch, opening up those debates to audiences who could not read Latin, French or English. However, publishing translations of controversial books by representatives of the so-called 'New Philosophy' – such as Benedict de Spinoza, René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes – often involved serious risks for translators and publishers. Their willingness to accept those risks sparks many questions about their motives, intended readers and translation strategies. This chapter contextualises those questions by describing the intellectual conditions, social circumstances and linguistic practices of the translators foregrounded in this study. It also introduces the computational methodology and central thesis of this book.

Keywords: early modern philosophy, Dutch Republic, translation culture, book history, computational methods

In 1693 and 1694, two different Dutch editions of Benedictus de Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) appeared on the Dutch book market. Both editions contained translations of one of the most controversial books in history – a 'book forged in hell' according to every theologian who cared to comment.[1] Spinoza's treatise was banned almost everywhere in Europe. It made 'Spinozism' a synonym for atheism in many languages: a label with the power to crush reputations, burn books, and lock up their authors – even in the relatively tolerant book trade of the Dutch Republic. And yet in the 1690s there were two publishers, Henricus Koenraad and Hans Jürgen van der Weil (both names were pseudonyms) who simultaneously and independently decided to risk all that for a Dutch edition. Of all the questions sparked by this curious coincidence in Dutch book history, we might just start with the simplest: why?

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1   Nadler, *A Book Forged in Hell,* xi.

Anyone who seeks an answer in the two editions will only find more questions. The 1693 edition contains no paratextual material written by anyone other than Spinoza, but fortunately the 1694 edition opens with a note to the reader signed by Hans Jürgen van der Weil. Why did he expect the demand for Spinoza's book to be high enough to justify investing in another Dutch edition less than a year after the first? What made him accept the financial risks, not to mention the safety risks, of printing a book not only prohibited by law but also actively censored by the Church? Instead of answering those pressing questions, 'Hans Jürgen van der Weil' reserved the first four pages for a personal rant against the Latin marginalia – the many words glossed with Latin terms printed in the margins – in his competitor's edition from 1693. These Latin terms may give the impression of learnedness, but, van der Weil complains, they are in fact utterly useless. It made no sense to print the Latin terminology for readers who did not understand Latin, and his implied readers certainly did not – for why else would they read a translation? Moreover, it was ridiculous to cram the pages with Latin words like *Spiritus* or *Fundamenta* or *Imagines*, which were so common that 'there cannot be any doubt' about their meaning.[2] In addition to our question about the motivation for printing another Dutch edition of *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hans Jürgen van der Weil prompts us to ask a second question: why print it in this form? How should we explain the apparent importance of the vocabulary in the glosses, these literally marginal features of this highly contested text?

A comparison to a Dutch edition of a similar philosophical text brings us closer to an answer to that question. In a preface to Jacob Copper's 1682 translation of René Descartes's *L'Homme* (1662), he phrases a curious apology for the many loanwords (*bastaart woorden*) that were slipped into the text. Copper explains his refusal to use purist Dutch words with the same argument Hans Jürgen van der Weil used to justify his refusal to include the Latin glosses: his readers, Copper argues, would understand the more common loanwords much better than purist synonyms.[3] Why should he go to great lengths to purify his language? Only for the complacency of 'a few nit-pickers' (*eenige vieshoofden*)? Apparently Copper did not expect to find those nit-pickers among the close friends who encouraged him to translate Descartes and publish his translations. The translator knew the linguistic

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2   'daar geen twijfel over valt'. Anonymous, 'De drukker aan den leeser', front matter in Anonymous [= Spinoza], *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, *2[r]–*3[r].
3   'Den overzetter tot den lezer', front matter by Copper in Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*, *r–*v.

conventions that applied to his work – avoiding loanwords – but decided to ignore them for sociolinguistic reasons, adjusting his language to be better understood within his social context. Hans Jürgen van der Weil – whoever he was – used sociolinguistic arguments in similar ways to overrule the norm of including Latin glosses that had prevailed in previous translations of Spinoza's work. He could leave out the marginalia because *his* readers would consider them useless, if not pretentious.

These prefaces by van der Weil and Copper already give away one of the central tenets of this study: shortly after publication, early modern philosophical books like Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and Descartes's *L'Homme* were translated into Dutch for various groups of readers, by translators who adjusted the form and language of their translations depending on their intended readership. Van der Weil's and Copper's urge to justify their deviation from certain linguistic norms can be deconstructed as an attempt to distinguish themselves from the linguistic and perhaps also intellectual motives of the 'nit-pickers' who apparently established those norms in previous translations of the same authors. In this study I will examine that attempt to create new linguistic norms by translators of highly complex but also highly debated philosophical books. In short, this book addresses the two simple questions sparked by van der Weil: why print translations of these books, and why in this form?

In my answers to these questions in the chapters to follow, I will view the styles, word preferences, and translation choices of several translators as symptoms of a philosophical attempt to reduce confusing elements in the Dutch language. Partly inspired by the very rationalist ideas conveyed in their translations, Dutch translators and editors of early modern rationalist philosophers tried to develop a variant of the vernacular tailored to the 'natural light' – a common metaphor for human reason in early modern discourse. This quest for a new language for the natural light reflected the rationalist conviction that language was fundamentally unreliable as a medium for communicating rational knowledge. Several key texts from the Early Enlightenment addressed the semantic instability and inaccuracy of (Biblical) language, or stated the importance of using clear and understandable words. Although most debaters agreed about the fallibility of language, they defended different positions regarding the relationship between language and reason. I will argue that while Descartes and Spinoza simply accepted the inherently unreliable nature of language, proposing reason as the infallible remedy to human error, Dutch freethinkers such as Lodewijk Meijer (1629–1681) and Adriaan Koerbagh (1632–1669) tried to find a linguistic solution to this problem. They compiled dictionaries of

loanwords to correct misconceptions and to open up learned discourse to unlearned readers. If any of the nit-pickers mentioned in Copper's preface are to be identified, Koerbagh and Meijer would be prime suspects.

Their pragmatic position resembled the intellectual turn, described by historian Quentin Skinner, that Thomas Hobbes experienced while writing his rhetorical masterpiece *Leviathan* (1651): the change from a fundamental scepticism towards language as a medium for rational knowledge to a pragmatic embracing of the power of rhetoric.[4] Like Hobbes, Dutch rationalists and translators acknowledged the necessity of using the emancipating power of the vernacular when confronted with religious discord and political disunity in their society. I will argue that this so-called 'Hobbesian Turn' – the revision of the rationalist view on the relationship between language and reason – is reflected in Dutch translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes. I therefore propose that the Dutch Early Enlightenment be understood as a rationalist attempt to revisit the relationship between reason and language, with the aim of improving specific rhetorical positions in local, vernacular debates about philosophical, metaphysical, and theological issues, such as the freedom of conscience, natural law and cosmopolitanism, political sovereignty, and medical discoveries.

To substantiate that thesis, this book presents a comparative and computational history of the Dutch transmission of the New Philosophy in the Dutch Early Enlightenment (1640–1720). The term 'New Philosophy' refers to a heterogeneous collection of philosophical systems challenging the authority of Classical and Biblical knowledge in the seventeenth century. More specifically, this study examines Dutch translations of philosophical treatises written by three influential 'New Philosophers': French natural philosopher and mathematician René Descartes (1596–1650), English political theorist Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), and Jewish-Dutch philosopher Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677). I will read their translated works in the context of early modern debates on the relationship between language and reason. Part I – 'Reforming the language of philosophy' – develops a new thesis on a key issue in those debates: the possibilities for repairing the ambiguity and semantic instability inherent to any language. This part interprets the language theory and lexicography of Lodewijk Meijer and Adriaan Koerbagh as a coherent rationalist project to create linguistic transparency in the vernacular. Part II – 'Translating the New Philosophy' – evaluates how this rationalist project affected the first Dutch translators of Descartes, Spinoza and Hobbes: Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (1619/1620–1682), Pieter Balling (?–?),

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4   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*.

Abraham van Berkel (1639–1686), and Stephan Blankaart (1650–1704). The aim of this study is to reconstruct the relationships between the social and intellectual background of the translators, between translation practices and rationalist language theories, and between individual idioms and lexical conventions in early modern Dutch discourse.

Those relationships only become visible from a comparative angle, viewing multiple texts in connection to the wider textual culture in which they were published. Therefore, this study develops a computational methodology to examine the formal characteristics of early modern discourse about the New Philosophy at a corpus level. Similar to recent dissertations concerned with comparative questions about Dutch cultural history, my research is based on a mixed-methods approach that integrates literary analysis – tailored to the micro-level – with computational scripts designed to answer comparative questions on the macro-level based on a small sample of early modern Dutch text production.[5] I aim to show that a computational approach based on quantified intertextual relationships yields valuable insights even with a corpus that is relatively small compared to the massive volumes available to computational linguists and scholars of English literature. The current state of the digital archive is insufficient for making valid claims about longitudinal trends in Dutch historical debates concerning the New Philosophy, but it does offer a useful sample of early modern discourse in general. As long as historical observations are rooted in the available source material, sampling opens up promising possibilities for a systematic contextualisation of specific genres, *in casu*: Dutch translations of the New Philosophy. These translations did not appear in an intellectual, social, and linguistic vacuum, and should not be studied without including that context. Adopting a computational methodology is crucial for the systematic examination of the linguistic conditions in which the New Philosophy was read, translated, and adapted during the Early Enlightenment. This book makes a case for the necessity of integrating computational approaches when asking comparative questions in the context of historical research – not through theoretical reflections on the epistemological value of computational evidence, but simply by doing it. The proof is in the pudding.

Nevertheless, it is important to be upfront about the limits of my computational approach for the specific questions at stake. The most important limits concern data availability and data harmonisation. First, the volume of the digital archive for early modern Dutch textual material leaves much

5   E.g. Wevers, 'Consuming America'; Koolen, 'Reading Beyond the Female'; Smeets, *Character Constellations*; van Lange, *Emotional Imprints*; Lassche, 'Information Dynamics'.

room for improvement. The total digital corpus studied in this study consists of manually produced, machine-readable transcriptions of 395 different editions of Dutch texts printed between 1640 and 1720. This sample includes a considerable part of all digitised copies of printed books currently available and yet it comprises less than 1.0% of the 40,738 editions printed between 1640 and 1720 documented in the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN).[6] The inevitable biases involved in such a low proportion do not allow for a balanced sample of the total textual culture in terms of author gender, genre, location, or publication year. Second, the lack of spelling standardisation in early modern Dutch complicates computational analysis. Additional preprocessing is required to harmonise the texts in terms of spelling normalisation and lemmatisation. In Chapter 3 I explain the measures I took to reduce the effect of spelling variation and morphological variation.

Every analysis reported in this book – either quantitative or qualitative – is grounded in the assumption that Dutch translators of the New Philosophy were shaped by (1) the intellectual conditions, (2) social circumstances, and (3) linguistic practices of early modern textual culture. Understanding the role of translators in the Dutch Early Enlightenment requires reconstructions of their involvement in then-current local debates, their position in specific publishing and reading circles, and their navigation through the socially diverse and multilingual Dutch Republic. Such reconstructions reveal that translators were not just puppets employed to disseminate the great minds of the Early Enlightenment – which is how they are primarily viewed in the historiography of the Dutch Early Enlightenment, also known as the 'Radical Enlightenment'.[7] Instead, the first Dutch translators of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes functioned as pro-active brokers of ideas whose translation strategies challenged the rationalist scepticism about language expressed in their source texts. They intervened in the intellectual, social and linguistic conditions of their work by selectively avoiding loanwords, annotating less familiar philosophical terminology, or expanding upon the source for clarification. To understand how these translation strategies were shaped by the intellectual conditions, social circumstances, and linguistic practices on a local level, we first need to assess how the interplay of these conditions affected the Dutch Early Enlightenment at large.

6   In July 2021, the research interface Nederlab (https://www.nederlab.nl/ (accessed March 31, 2025)) offered access to 626 machine-readable copies of printed texts first published between 1640 and 1720 and currently available on the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL), the most comprehensive collection of full digital copies of literary texts. The size of the production between 1640 and 1720 is based on Jagersma, 'Pamflethandel', 73.

7   Cf. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; 170, 278, 288.

1.1   Intellectual conditions: The Dutch Early Enlightenment

Several historians have recorded how Dutch freethinkers began to question the accepted beliefs in metaphysics, theology, and political theory from the 1650s onwards. In 2001, Jonathan Israel published an influential grand narrative about what he defines as the Radical Enlightenment: 'an intellectual and socio-cultural movement that first assumed its basic features during the third quarter of the seventeenth century'.[8] Israel points to Spinoza and his intellectual companions from Amsterdam and Leiden – commonly referred to as *Spinoza en zijn kring* (Spinoza's circle), or *le cercle spinoziste* – as the philosophical origin of this Radical Enlightenment.[9] He views the Enlightenment as a predominantly *philosophical* project fuelled by a dialectic between 'radical' and 'moderate' thinkers. The radicals combined an 'immense reverence for science, and for mathematical logic, with some form of non-providential deism, if not outright materialism and atheism along with unmistakably republican, even democratic tendencies'.[10] The moderates, on the other hand, tried to harmonise 'reason combined with faith and tradition'.[11] While the moderate Enlightenment became mainstream during the eighteenth century, the Radical Enlightenment, Israel insists, was to become the prime cause of the great philosophical and political revolutions preluding the modern age. Key to Israel's thesis is the supposed continuity between the radical philosophical momentum emerging around Spinoza during the 1660s in the Dutch Republic and the radical wing of the eighteenth-century High Enlightenment in France and elsewhere, which reached a political climax during the French Revolution.

Situating Spinoza at the root of the radical branch, Israel deviates from an earlier interpretation of the Radical Enlightenment proposed by Margaret Jacob.[12] She also stresses the relationship between philosophical materialism and political republicanism: the intellectual programme of the Radical Enlightenment was characterised by 'a commitment to

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8   Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; Israel, '"Radical Enlightenment". A game-changing concept', in *Reassessing the Radical Enlightenment*, ed. Ducheyne, 15.

9   Israel, 'Radical Thought', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden* Age, eds. Helmers and Janssen, 370. The phrase 'Spinoza en zijn kring' as well as the importance of Spinoza's social milieu was first articulated in Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring.* The concept of Spinoza's circle generated a wealth of studies on the social conditions of Spinoza's philosophical development, including Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza*; Lavaert and Schröder, eds., *The Dutch Legacy*; and even literary adaptations such as Noordervliet, *Vrij man*; Rovere, *Le clan Spinoza.*

10   Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 11–12.

11   Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 11.

12   Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment.*

republicanism, a turn toward materialism or atheism, and a search for a purely naturalist form of religious behaviour'.[13] Unlike Israel, however, Jacob identifies late seventeenth-century English philosophers such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727) as the inspiration of this intellectual movement, which surfaced in Freemasonry meetings in The Hague during the 1710s. According to Israel, the origins lie earlier and elsewhere. Putting Spinoza's activities from the 1660s and 1670s firmly centre stage, Israel paved the way for many historians who would reconsider the impact of Spinozism on early modern Dutch culture. For example: Henri Krop published a detailed overview of Spinoza's cultural reception in Dutch history, Inger Leemans assessed the late seventeenth-century adaptation of philosophical radicalism in Dutch pornographic literature, Michiel Wielema documented Spinoza's impact on early modern debates in the Dutch Reformed Church, and Jetze Touber interpreted Spinoza's biblical criticism in the context of contemporary philological traditions.[14] Although Israel's thesis considering the presumably far-reaching influence of Spinoza's ideas after 1720 remains a matter of dispute, few historians nowadays underestimate the cultural significance of Spinozism in late seventeenth-century Dutch society.

Israel's account is nevertheless challenged by narratives staging a larger number of protagonists. For example, in Wiep van Bunge's view on Dutch intellectual history, the varied reception of Descartes is considered equally important. In contrast to Israel's understanding of the Radical Enlightenment as a coherent movement with consistent philosophical objectives, van Bunge stresses the heterogeneity and incoherence of what he calls the 'early Dutch Enlightenment': 'Maybe one of the obstacles for clearly identifying the early Dutch Enlightenment as a separate and important factor in the promotion of ideas, should be attributed to the clumsy fact that it appears to lack a "goal".'[15] Van Bunge thus emphasises the diverse adaptations of the New Philosophy: not just the Dutch academic reception of Descartes, but also vernacular authors who appropriated Cartesianism in theological or political discussions. In the vernacular domain, the success of Descartes's ideas depended on their usability in theological and political discourse, whereas at Dutch universities Cartesianism was only able to

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13   Jacob, 'The Radical Enlightenment. A heavenly city with many mansions', in *Reassessing the Radical Enlightenment*, ed. Ducheyne, 48.

14   Krop, *Spinoza. Een paradoxale icoon*; Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*; Wielema, *The March of the Libertines*; Touber, *Spinoza and Biblical Philology.*

15   Van Bunge, 'Introduction', in *The Early Enlightenment*, ed. Van Bunge, 7.

flourish because the theological implication of Descartes's metaphysics was carefully neutralised.[16] This diverse, successful, and relatively early reception of Cartesianism (and later Newtonianism) is what distinguished the *Dutch* Early Enlightenment from similar episodes in European intellectual history.[17] Cartesian philosophy spread so quickly that it even became 'largely synonymous with "modern" philosophy' in Dutch discourse.[18] According to van Bunge, the Dutch Early Enlightenment started around 1650 'when Cartesianism hit the academic culture of the Netherlands and when the Republic embarked on its first Stadholderless age'.[19] The intellectual freedom associated with the cultural and economic prosperity during the First Stadtholderless period (1650–1672) created a fertile ground for Enlightened debate.

Descartes and Spinoza thus occupied a central place in the historiography of the Early Enlightenment. Both philosophers propagated intellectual autonomy and defended the freedom of thought against the severe attacks from the powerful theologians in the Dutch Republic. At first glance, this freedom of thought applied to every literate man or woman, almost like a universal right in the modern sense. Lay persons who did not read Latin were apparently encouraged to participate in philosophical debate. Spinoza for example, who wrote all his books in Latin, allowed his friends to publish a translation of his *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* (1663) in 1664 and possibly edited the translated text of his undated *Korte verhandeling*.[20] Descartes went even further, writing several books in his native French. In *Discours de la méthode* (1637), he justified the preference for his mother tongue with a social distinction between Latin and French discourse:

> And if I am writing in French, my native language, rather than Latin, the language of my teachers, it is because I expect that those who use only their natural reason in all its purity will be better judges of my opinions than those who give credence only to the writings of the ancients.[21]

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16 Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 70; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 311; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 67.

17 Van Bunge, 'Introduction', 9.

18 Van Bunge, 'The Early Dutch Reception', in *The Oxford Handbook of Descartes and Cartesianism,* eds. Nadler, Schmaltz and Antoine-Mahut, 418.

19 Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 158.

20 Mignini, 'Inleiding', in *Korte geschriften*, by Spinoza, eds. Akkerman et al., 239–240.

21 Descartes, 'Discourse on the Method', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 151.

Elsewhere, in *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii* (written around 1628, first published in Latin in 1701), Descartes claimed that 'people who have never devoted their time to learned studies make sounder and clearer judgments on matters which arise than those who have spent all their time in the Schools'.[22] The French philosopher not only assumed literate lay readers would be able to appreciate his ideas; he also expected them to be better judges of his work because they were not corrupted by ancient knowledge. Such claims echoed the idealised views of the rational purity of the unlearned that had become a popular topic among early critics of scholasticism.[23]

And yet, both philosophers also fenced off important parts of their work to vernacular readers. Descartes deliberately wrote his main work, *Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1641), in Latin as he considered it unwise to publish a full account of his philosophical system in 'a book written in French and designed to be read by all and sundry, in case weaker intellects might believe that they ought to set out on the same path'.[24] Spinoza, in turn, bluntly recommended the 'common people' ignore his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670):

> I don't ask the common people to read these things, nor anyone else who is struggling with the same affects as the common people. Indeed, I would prefer them to neglect this book entirely, rather than make trouble by interpreting it perversely, as they usually do with everything.[25]

The philosopher even prevented a Dutch translation of the treatise from being printed in 1671.[26] Because of his emphasis on the political need for obedience by the intellectually or emotionally inferior 'common people', Spinoza has been re-evaluated as a conservative and anti-democratic thinker – a provocative interpretation that contradicts his reputation as an early advocate of democratic politics.[27] Spinoza's rejection of the equality between

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22   Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 16.

23   Nauta, *Philosophy and the Language*, 68.

24   Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. II, 6.

25   Spinoza, 'Theological-Political Treatise', in *The Collected Works*, ed. Curley, Vol. II, 75.

26   For a reconstruction of the Dutch translation history of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* see: van de Ven, '"Van bittere galle"'; van der Deijl, 'The Dutch Translation and Circulation', 211–219.

27   Kal, *De list van Spinoza*.

men and women also reminds us of the distance between his political theory and modern concepts of equality and democracy.[28]

Current historiography of the Dutch Early Enlightenment often fails to acknowledge the implications of the language preferences among its intellectual heroes. The decision to write in Latin instead of Dutch or French had social, political, and philosophical consequences. These philosophers talked the talk of intellectual autonomy, but only to the privileged few who could speak their language. This study foregrounds authors who also walked the walk – who compiled dictionaries and translated philosophical texts in order to enable participation in Dutch philosophical debate. Several members of Spinoza's circle followed the philosopher intellectually but took a different stand regarding the dissemination of their controversial ideas. Radical thinker Adriaan Koerbagh opened his unpublished treatise *Een ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen* with a telling justification for his decision to write in Dutch, a language 'that is or should be known to all of the people': his ideas concerned everyone, 'the entire people'.[29]

While some translators and freethinkers writing in Dutch agreed with Spinoza about the incompetence and simplicity of the unlearned, they were generally less pessimistic about the possibility of educating them. Both Meijer and Koerbagh – two close friends who also knew Spinoza personally – published loanword dictionaries helping Dutch readers to understand 'Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and other' jargon in learned and legal discourse.[30] Their dictionaries aimed to purify the Dutch language from foreign influences: the entries contain loanwords and jargon (*bastaart-woorden* and *konstwoorden*) from foreign languages, for which they provide Dutch alternatives. Koerbagh's dictionary became notorious because he criticised the accepted meaning of key theological terms. He argued, for instance, that, etymologically, the word *bibel* (bible) was a Greek barbarism for the Dutch *boek* (book), sneeringly adding that theologians incorrectly

28   Spinoza expressed his opinion on the position of women most explicitly on the last page of his unfinished *Tractatus Politicus* (1677). For an overview of feminist critiques and interpretations of Spinoza's work, see Sharp, 'Spinoza and Feminism', in *A Companion to Spinoza*, ed. Melamed, 422–430.

29   'die taal, welk by al 't volk bekend is, of behoord bekend te sijn'; 'ter oorsaak dat de saaken, die wy tot nut des volks en staat in aller ernst (…) sullen verhandelen, raakende sijn den gantschen volke'. Koerbagh, *Adriaan Koerbagh a Light Shining*, ed. Wielema, 13. On Koerbagh see: Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*; van Bunge, 'Introduction', in *Adriaan Koerbagh a Light Shining*, by Koerbagh, ed. Wielema; Laurens, *De rede: bron van geluk*.

30   Cited from the title page of Koerbagh, *Een bloemhof*. On the relationship between Koerbagh and Meijer see Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 120.

reserved the word for one specific book only. On etymological grounds he also criticised the prevailing meaning of words like *triniteyt* (trinity), *satan* (Satan), *catholijke Religie* (Catholic religion), and *transsubstantiatie* (transubstantiation). In Koerbagh's attack on superstition, the purification of contemporary dogma and the purification of the Dutch language were two sides of the same coin. In order to change the signified one needed to change the sign.

The stakes were high in these lexicographical projects: Koerbagh and Meijer expected that a switch to Dutch would enable substantial progress for the arts and sciences. Using similar argumentation, they both explain why it was necessary to develop Dutch as a language of the arts and sciences: primarily because of the many valuable hours wasted on learning the Latin lingua franca, whereas that time could be used for actual study if key texts were available in Dutch. In some cases Dutch authors already equalled the most learned among the Greeks, Koerbagh observes, and others even surpassed them. He invites his reader to imagine the excellence of their achievements if they were able to read the canonical works in their mother tongue.[31] It would have allowed the great minds of their era to discover new and unknown knowledge instead of merely reproducing the Ancient and Renaissance heritage.[32] Meijer reminds his readers that the Romans and the Arabs had inherited their 'Wisdom' from the Greeks, who were in turn descendants of the Egyptians. These great civilisations had managed to surpass their predecessors by adapting and translating the old heritage, and Meijer expected the Dutch to do the same with the Ancient tradition. He concludes his preface by rejecting the *verouderde waan* (outdated delusion) that the chick will never become wiser than the hen.[33] The Dutch chick bred by the Ancient hen was destined to eventually free itself from its Greek and Latin heritage.

Meijer thus reserved a key role for translations in his *Bildung*-ideal avant la lettre – and it was not just an ideal. Translations offered the most important gateway into the knowledge economy of the Early Enlightenment. A handful of individuals – Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (1619/1620–1682), Pieter Balling (?–?), Stephan Blankaart (1650–1704), Jacob Copper (?–?) – are to be credited for the fact that almost all books by Descartes and Spinoza became available in Dutch during the seventeenth century. In the prefaces of their

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31   Koerbagh, *Een bloemhof,* 2r–2v.

32   'in 't navórschen van nóch onbekende zaaken'. Meijer, *L. Meijers woordenschat,* 5th reprint, xix.

33   Meijer, *L. Meijers woordenschat,* xx.

translations, they stress the importance of open access to philosophical discourse. Glazemaker for example explicitly states his aim of bringing Cartesianism to unlearned readers through translation, which would 'extend the pales of the Cartesian Philosophy, and share her with the Dutch who are not versed in Latin'.[34] Although such expressions of servitude were common among Renaissance translators, it is characteristic that Dutch translators of philosophical texts emphasised the function of their work instead of its literary merits.[35]

However, the enlightenment of the people was not their only motivation. Translators like Glazemaker and their publishers met a real demand, which also created commercial opportunities. At the end of the century, the Dutch Republic was home to a vibrant culture of discussion where 'all sorts of laymen, some of them female, with little or no Latin at all now felt able and entitled to take part in highly obtuse metaphysical disputes'.[36] Many of them relied on translations. Dutch translators thus addressed a larger, more diverse readership than the actual authors of the New Philosophy. It is emblematic that so many freethinkers related to Spinoza's circle produced translations of philosophical texts: not only the aforementioned Glazemaker, Balling, and Meijer, but also schoolmaster Abraham van Berkel (1639–1686), silk trader Ameldonck Blok (1651/52–1702), theatre director Johannes Bouwmeester (1630–1680), and medical doctor Pieter van Gent (?–?).[37] From the onset of the Early Enlightenment, these individuals not only acknowledged but also facilitated the Enlightened imperative to use reason publicly. For them, intellectual innovation went hand in hand with the development of new ways of reading and writing: vocabularies, hermeneutics, and rhetorical strategies. A vernacular Enlightenment required access to books and, most of all, a transparent language understood by every reader gifted with reason: a new language for the natural light.

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34   'de palen der Cartesiaansche Wijsbegeerte wijder uit te breiden, en haar ook aan de Nederland-ers, de welke onkundig in de Latijnsche taal zijn, deelachtig te maken'. Glazemaker, 'Voorreden van den oversetter', front matter in Clauberg, *Nadere uitbreiding*, *3[v].
35   Hermans, 'Images of Translation', in *The Manipulation of Literature*, ed. Hermans, 117.
36   Van Bunge, 'The Use of the Vernacular', in *Bilingual Europe*, ed. Bloemendal, 171.
37   On the translating activities of van Berkel see Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*; Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', in *The Dutch Legacy*, eds. Lavaert and Schröder. On Ameldonck Blok see Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, 36; Vermij, 'De Nederlandse vriendenkring'. On Johannes Bouwmeester's translating activities see: Klever, 'Hoe men wijs wordt'. On Pieter van Gent as a translator see Spruit, 'Het Vaticaanse manuscript'; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, 35–50; Omero and Giovanni, *Il carteggio*.

1.2   Social circumstances: Two generations of translators and publishers

Ideals about language and reason were meaningless if they did not have specific social contexts in which to resonate. Therefore we must also reconstruct the social circumstances of the Dutch Early Enlightenment. Scholars of the first Dutch translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes will be quick to note that these texts emerged in a relatively small and closely related group of translators, editors, and publishers. In this book I will consider 30 translations of 27 philosophical treatises.[38] Apart from three anonymous translations, this corpus depended on only five translators – Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, Pieter Balling, Stephan Blankaart, Jacob Copper, and Abraham van Berkel – and three publishers: Jan Rieuwertsz, Jacobus Wagenaar, and Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. Nearly all publishers and known translators can be connected directly or indirectly to Spinoza's circle. Besides Jacob Copper, a physician from Den Briel, they all participated in a publishing network out of Amsterdam serving the market's demand for the New Philosophy.

This concentration of human capital in one specific corner of the early modern knowledge economy raises questions about the social and ideological profile of the individuals involved. One might be tempted to assume a certain degree of intellectual homogeneity among translators of the New Philosophy. However, the assumption that social ties indicate shared intellectual sympathies should always raise some suspicion, simply because friends do not always agree with each other. Moreover, in the competitive book industry of the Dutch Republic, money was always a concern. Intellectual motives were often on a par with commercial or financial needs. Glazemaker for example was one of the exceptional 'professional' translators in early modern Europe who may have earned a comfortable living with his pen. Previous scholars characterise him as a pragmatic and therefore productive translator, apparently mostly driven by commissions, who translated faithfully but also mechanically.[39] And yet, even his oeuvre contains clear ideological affinities that are overlooked if he is mainly viewed as a puppet employed by publishers to keep the presses going (see Chapter 4). Despite their differences, Dutch translators of the New Philosophy all married into the same intellectual family. Each was in his own way ideologically committed to the books by

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38   Chapter 3 offers a detailed corpus description. Appendix A offers an overview of the 18 translations included in the so-called Translation Corpus.
39   Burke, 'Cultures of translation', in *Cultural Translation*, eds. Burke and Po-chia Hsia, 13; Hermans, '1550–1700', in *Vertalen in de Nederlanden,* eds. Schoenaers et al., 267–268.

Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes that he set out to translate. Understanding their ideological commitments requires a careful reconstruction of each translator's social circumstances.

The publishers connected with Spinoza's circle offer a good place to start. In the history of the Dutch Early Enlightenment, two in particular stand out as key brokers of people and books: Jan Rieuwertsz I (ca. 1617–1687) and Jan Claesz ten Hoorn (1639–1715). Although operating in different periods and for different readerships, they played similar roles in the vernacular dissemination of the New Philosophy. In order to understand their individual positions I will distinguish between two waves in the Dutch translation history of the New Philosophy, 1656–1684 and 1687–1694 respectively. Rieuwertsz played a prominent role in the first wave; ten Hoorn in the second.

Rieuwertsz entered the book trade in 1644. He opened a bookshop in the Dirk van Assensteeg (currently Dirk van Hasseltsteeg) and later, in 1675, moved to the Beursstraat.[40] This Mennonite publisher was to become notorious for attracting and publishing a variety of religious (Socinian) dissidents – a reputation that did not escape the attention of the consistory of the Reformed church.[41] His shop was a meeting place for prominent freethinkers in the city, including Spinoza, Meijer, and the Jesuit Latin teacher Franciscus van den Enden (1602–1674).[42] While a comprehensive study on Rieuwertsz still remains to be written, few scholars underestimate his central position in the socio-intellectual climate of Amsterdam during the second half of the seventeenth century.[43] Translations of nearly all books written by Descartes and Spinoza appeared under his imprint between 1656 and 1684. Most of them were translated by Glazemaker and prepared by the first 'generation' in Spinoza's circle, including most notably Meijer, Balling, Bouwmeester, and the Mennonite merchant Jarich Jellesz (?–1683).[44]

At the end of the 1680s, when most members of the first generation were no longer alive, Jan Claesz ten Hoorn took over Rieuwertsz's role as Amsterdam's main publisher of the New Philosophy in translation. In

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40 Visser, '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 311.

41 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 113; Manusov-Verhage, 'Jan Rieuwertsz', in *Spinoza to the Letter*, eds. Akkerman and Steenbakkers, 239–240; Holzhey, '"Als gy maar schérp wordt"', 67.

42 On van den Enden's place in Spinoza's circle and Rieuwertsz's collegiant network, see Mertens, *Van den Enden en Spinoza*, 56.

43 Visser '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 314; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 279; Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 277; Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 105; Nadler, *A Book Forged in Hell,* 214.

44 The contribution of each of these individuals is documented in detail in Steenbakker's *Spinoza's Ethica from Manuscript to Print*. On Rieuwertsz and the printers of Spinoza's works, see Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', 286–288.

1687 ten Hoorn would have published a Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) if the Reformed Church's consistory had not intervened, forcing him to interrupt the printing and burn the manuscript.[45] On 22 March 1690, ten Hoorn was granted the privilege, by the States of Holland and West-Friesland, of being permitted to publish the complete works of Descartes in the Dutch language. Within two years he managed to produce the most complete edition of Descartes's works ever to appear in Dutch, printed in four illustrated quarto volumes.[46] This was an expensive project even for a successful bookseller like ten Hoorn, which is probably why he produced the collected works in collaboration with his brother, the notorious publisher of novels and pornography Timotheus ten Hoorn (1644–1715).[47] Consultation with *verscheyde Wijsgeeren* (various Philosophers) convinced him that he would earn back the *groote onkosten* (great expenses) involved.[48] Ten Hoorn expected there to be sufficient demand because vernacular editions of Descartes's work had been out of stock for years after the printing of the first translations by Glazemaker published with Riewertsz between the 1650s and the early 1680s. Ten Hoorn's *Alle de werken* offered reprints of Glazemaker's translations but also issued four new translations produced by his good friend Stephan Blankaart. It is likely that ten Hoorn acquired manuscript versions of unpublished treatises by Descartes indirectly; with a little help from two members of the 'second generation' in Spinoza's circle: Pieter van Gent and German philosopher Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708).

Rieuwertsz and ten Hoorn produced books in a city crowded with book-sellers. During the seventeenth century, Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic became the capital and centre of the European book trade. Estimates of the annual number of publishers active in the Dutch Republic between 1650 and 1700 range between 300 and 450.[49] Their production was massive: Rindert Jagersma counts 69,987 surviving editions printed between 1600 and

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45   This affair is described in the articles by Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and Spinoza's *Tractaet*' and van der Deijl, 'The Translation and Circulation'.

46   Descartes, *Alle de werken van de heer Renatus Des-Cartes*. Vols. 1–4 of 4 vols.

47   Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 175; 280; Anonymous, *Relaas van de beroertens*. On Timotheus ten Hoorn see Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 175–180; Peeters, 'Leven en bedrijf van Timotheus ten Hoorn'.

48   Ten Hoorn, 'De boek-verkooper aen den leser', front matter in Descartes, *Alle de werken van de heer Renatus Des-Cartes*. Vol. 1 of 4 vols.

49   Rasterhoff, 'The Markets for Art, Books, and Luxury Goods', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, eds. Helmers and Janssen, 251. Cf. Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries*.

1700 in the records of the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands.[50] If lost books and single-sheet prints are taken into account, the numbers are even higher. Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen present a total estimate of 300 million copies of over 360,000 editions printed before 1700 in the Dutch Republic.[51] The Dutch printing industry produced ten times more books per capita than the French or the Spanish.[52] Specialisation was required in such a competitive economy. Big players like Johannes Janssonius from Amsterdam or Abraham and Bonaventura Elzevier from Leiden imported and exported scholarly and literary books in Latin and French from all over Europe, serving an international class of learned readers.[53] Others specialised in specific genres for the domestic market. Firms run by the Houthaeck and Lescailje families for example mostly sold plays staged in the Amsterdam city theatre (Amsterdamse Schouwburg).[54] Within this diverse trade segmented by genres and readerships, ten Hoorn and Rieuwertsz represented only a small niche. What was their position in the Republic's reading culture?

Piet Visser estimates that 10–15% of the more than 230 editions produced by Rieuwertsz can be classified as 'non-religious' books: 'medical, scientific, and mathematical works, historical and literary writings, a bit of occasional printing, and a remarkable number of travelogues'.[55] The rest comprises publications of a 'religious-philosophical' nature. This category also applies to the many pamphlets Rieuwertsz fed into the *Lammerenkrijgh* (War of the Lambs), a controversy during the 1650s and 1660s amongst his fellow members of the Mennonite congregation Bij het Lam (see Chapter 4). Rieuwertsz's publishing activities were dedicated to controversies at the fringes of what the Reformed Church would tolerate. The titles in his shop primarily attracted Remonstrants, Mennonites, Cartesians, and Spinozists.[56] Rieuwertsz's Dutch editions of Descartes and Spinoza were probably bought and read by these religious and philosophical minorities.

Despite his similar interest in translations of Descartes and Spinoza, ten Hoorn was a different kind of publisher. His bookshop, located across from the Oude Heeren Logement (currently Grimburgwal), specialised in cheap print for a large audience: mostly Dutch travel literature and medical books.

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50 Jagersma, 'Pamflethandel', 61.

51 Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 16; 397.

52 Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 11.

53 Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 269.

54 Blom, *Podium van Europa*, 67–68. On the commercial position of Lescailje see van Gemert et al., 'Big Business!', 16–19.

55 Visser, '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 312.

56 Visser, '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 314.

His medical library included lucrative editions by writing physicians such as the aforementioned Stephan Blankaart, Cornelis Bontekoe (1644–1685), and Heydentrijk Overkamp (?–1693), with a special interest in sexuality and reproductive health.[57] He regularly collaborated with his brother Timotheus, who published several pornographic novels for a similarly broad readership. Jan Claesz applied various commercial strategies to boost sales and make his customers return to the shop.[58] Michiel van Groesen characterises the development in ten Hoorn's publishing activities throughout his active years as a transition from 'fact to fiction'. Factual or quasi-factual travel accounts and medical books were gradually complemented by adventure stories about pirates and the colonial trade – genres that probably sold even better. However, commercial strategy compromised the reliability of his books: 'Fact and fiction were intertwined in a way that made it difficult for his loyal readership to gauge what was true and what had been made up.'[59] Ten Hoorn's intellectual interests were secondary to his commercial motives. In the end, Rieuwertsz was of course a businessman as well, but his publishing activities also supported an ideological agenda. Whereas Rieuwertsz welcomed a specific group of readers and dedicated his career to the improvement of religious tolerance and truth, ten Hoorn was more interested in keeping his business alive for anyone who could spare a few *stuivers* (five-cent coins).

Thus, different publishers with different motives serving different readerships invested time and money into publishing translations of the same philosophical texts. Same texts, different readers: apparently the New Philosophy appealed to vernacular readers for varying reasons. Moreover, these groups of readers must have been large enough for Rieuwertsz and ten Hoorn to accept the financial risks, not just in terms of printing costs, but also considering censorship in the Dutch Republic.[60] For even in the Republic's liberal publishing climate there were serious legal restrictions on the production, teaching, and dissemination of works written by Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza. A 1653 decree by the States of Holland that officially

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57   Cf. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 279.

58   Van Groesen, 'The Atlantic World in Paperback', in *Imagining the Americas*, ed. van Groesen, 230.

59   Van Groesen, 'The Atlantic World in Paperback', 230.

60   Various scholars assessed the (in)effectivenes of censorship in the Dutch Republic. See for example: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment,* 276; Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World,* 11–13; van Eijnatten, 'Van godsdienstvrijheid naar mensenrecht', 2; van Marion, 'Verboden in de Gouden Eeuw', in *Boeken onder druk*, ed. Mathijsen, 31; Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht', in *Boeken onder druk*, ed. Mathijsen, 50; Jagersma, 'Pamflethandel', 109.

prohibited publications and gatherings by Socinians – followers of the Italian antitrinitarian theologian Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) – effectively offered legal grounds to raise suspicion about authors with Cartesian sympathies as well.[61] Furthermore, on 19 July 1674 the High Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland issued the *Placaet van den Hoven van Hollandt, tegens de Sociniaensche boecken Leviathan en andere* against the publication and circulation of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670), Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651)*,* Meijer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* (1667) and Frans Kuyper's *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* (1668).[62] While the general effectiveness of such decrees remains a matter of scholarly debate, censorship was not an academic matter for those affected by it. The infamous cases of Aart Wolsgryn, Adriaan Koerbagh, Ericus Walten, and Jan ten Hoorn himself prove that intervention by the Church and civil authorities could jeopardise financial investments, or worse, lead to imprisonment of the publishers and authors involved.[63] It is telling that almost all Dutch translations of Hobbes and Spinoza appeared without the full names of their translators and publishers. The risks were real, but apparently did not outweigh the potential financial profit expected from publishing controversial treatises. Who and what justified that expectation? What made non-academic readers willing to spend their money on translations of treatises that could be philosophically complex, mathematically challenging, or stylistically inaccessible? Answering such questions requires a careful reconstruction of the social circumstances and local debates in which translators claimed their place.

1.3   Linguistic practices: Translating in the Dutch Republic

Besides intellectual conditions and social circumstances, a third dimension modulated the translation history of the New Philosophy: the linguistic conventions and translation practices in the multilingual publishing climate of the Dutch Republic. Early modern Dutch translators of philosophical treatises operated in a gradually changing textual culture. These changes concerned the uptake of a vernacular that was itself gradually changing, the function of translations in the transnational and multilingual book

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61   Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 73.
62   *Groot placaet-boeck* [..]. Vol. 3 of 9 vols., 523–524. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 275–276. Cf. Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 344.
63   On the grounds for prosecution in Wolsgryn's case see Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 292–293. On Walten see R. Jagersma, 'Het leven van de polemist', 41–42; Jagersma, 'Pamflethandel', 367–456. On ten Hoorn see Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and Spinoza's *Tractaet*'.

trade, and the relationship with rhetorical traditions. While such general trends in the history of literature and translation cannot explain the form and style of individual texts, they do offer a framework that allows us to position translations within the fabric of Dutch textual culture.

Hastened by the Reformation and the rise of the printing press, the hegemony of (Neo-)Latin in European textual culture began to decline from the sixteenth century onwards.[64] Latin remained the norm in the domains of science and natural philosophy, but even there the boundaries between languages became increasingly permeable. Various scholars portrayed the early modern period as an era of transition characterised by multilingual interaction and co-existence, rejecting the binary view that Latin and vernacular discourses were closed and separate circuits.[65] Even if several milestones in the philosophical canon – Galileo's *Dialogo* (1632), Descartes's *Discours* (1637), Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) – first appeared in the vernacular, Neo-Latin translations always followed soon after and contributed considerably to their fame in the Neo-Latinist Republic of Letters.[66] Vice versa, vernacular translations sparked new readings and commentaries of both Latin and Neo-Latin texts in various European languages.[67] Moreover, with the rise of the vernacular, translations between modern languages became increasingly important as well. A considerable degree of the success of the Amsterdamse Schouwburg depended on Dutch adaptations and prose translations of Spanish, French, Italian, and even English plays.[68] Owing to translation, early modern prose novels by Spanish author Miguel de Cervantes, Scottish poet John Barclay, and French noble Honoré d'Urfé enriched Dutch literary history.[69] In some cases, Dutch translations even provided the model for interpretations in yet other European languages.[70]

The high demand for intermediaries between languages and between classical and vernacular domains of knowledge also changed the function and strategies of the translator. Whereas translating had traditionally been

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64 Jagersma, 'Pamflethandel', 100–102.

65 Bloemendal, 'Introduction', in *Bilingual Europe*, ed. Bloemendal, 2; Deneire, 'Neo-Latin Literature and the Vernacular', in *A Guide,* ed. Moul, 36; Leonhardt, *Latin*, 10.

66 Bloemendal, *Latijn*, 190; Pantin, 'The Role of Translations', in *Cultural Translation*, eds. Burke and Po-chia Hsia, 178.

67 Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee, 'Introduction', in *Translation and the Book Trade*, eds. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee, 12; see also Rens and van Eemeren, *Genres in het ernstige Renaissancetoneel.*

68 Blom, *Podium van Europa*, e.g. 60. On the Dutch adaptation of English drama see pp. 105–106; Hermans, '1550–1700. De wereld binnen taalbereik', 255.

69 Van Gemert, 'Stenen in het mozaïek', 23–25; Parente, 'Romancing the Nation'.

70 Burke, 'Cultures of Translation', 27.

instrumental as an exercise for learning the classical languages, within early
modern printing culture the skill became highly valued for different rea-
sons.[71] Instead of merely imitating the past to master Cicero's language, the
early modern translator was increasingly tasked with satisfying the needs of
readers in the present. With the growing importance of this reader-oriented
approach, translation acquired the potential for social reform. Luther's
Bible from 1534 – written for 'the mother in the house, the children in the
street, the common man in the market' – had fulfilled this potential most
dramatically.[72] A century later, translation became a threat to the authority
of the Protestant Church itself. While the 1637 Dutch *Statenvertaling* had
been initiated during the 1618–1619 Synod of Dort, the Church remained
especially wary of translations of books that undermined the Reformed faith,
such as Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and Hobbes's *Leviathan*.
The outrage and attempts at censorship by Dutch church ministers with
regards to libertine authors writing in Dutch (Balthasar Bekker, Frederik
van Leenhof, Isabella de Moerloose, Adriaan Koerbagh, Ericus Walten)
also confirms the fear of the mobilising force of the vernacular. For similar
reasons, producing new Bible translations was not the priority of English,
German, and Dutch theologians during the second half of the seventeenth
century and the first half of the eighteenth century. Instead, their scholarship
was dedicated to a close scrutiny of the original texts that served as a defence
against the arrogance of radical critics like Meijer, Spinoza, and Toland.[73]
Translators were agents of social change, and therefore faced opposition
from those in power.

However, despite their obvious attempts at social reform, some of the
translators foregrounded in this study only partly fitted the reader-oriented
paradigm. Their efforts to bring the New Philosophy to vernacular read-
ers do imply a reader-oriented approach in theory. My case studies will
reveal complex relationships with the sources, but in general, conveying
the message was more important than maintaining the authenticity and
linguistic integrity of the source. However, prioritising the reader's needs
seems to be at odds with Koerbagh's and Meijer's normative programme
of linguistic reform. Previous studies have revealed that translators like

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71   Jansen, *Imitatio*, 144.

72   Cited in Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, 11–12. The original quote reads: 'denn man
mus nicht die buchstaben inn der Lateinischen sprachen fragen / wie man sol Deudsch reden
/ wie diese Esel thun / Sondern man mus die mutter ihm hause / die kinder auff der gassen /
den gemeinen man auff dem marckt drümb fragen'. Luther, 'Ein sendbrief D. M. Luthers', in *Dr.
Martin Luthers Werke*, Vol. 30, Part II, 632–646.

73   Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, 50.

Glazemaker and Balling were influenced by Meijer's purist ideals.[74] We also know that these ideals remained, in fact, ideals: purist vocabularies deviated from regular Dutch language use in the early modern melting pot of languages and dialects, where the use of loanwords was (as it still is) completely normalised. In other words, purist language norms did not necessarily increase readability and accessibility for lay readers. Quite the contrary: Jacob Copper's explicit refusal to use purist language in his 1682 Descartes translations indicates that purisms were even likely to estrange readers from the terminology of the New Philosophy.[75] Purist translators 'foreignised' their sources in a different way: instead of bringing their readers back to the foreign country of the past, they sent them forward to the utopia of the future.

In their negotiation between the technical or even purist vocabularies of philosophy and the 'common speech' of ordinary language users, translators prolonged a tradition that was much older than Koerbagh's and Meijer's attempts at linguistic reform. Lodi Nauta traces this association between intellectual and linguistic reform back to the humanist critique of scholasticism articulated by Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), and others. He observes a change in the object of language critique from the earliest humanists to pre-Enlightenment philosophers like Hobbes and John Locke:

> The main target of the Enlightenment critique of language was thus no longer the technical language of the scholastics [...]; the dominant focus had shifted to the political and social vocabulary that was believed to keep people in enslavement.[76]

Hobbes's views on language arguably prefigured this shift because of his sensitivity to the political risks of abusing language through rhetorical manipulation. He was critical of scholastic terminology, but also held ambivalent views about common speech, which he considered a source of misunderstanding, confusion, and superstition.[77] Hobbes's paradoxical solution was to rely on clear definitions only, and to redefine ambiguous

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74   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works', 103; 108; Akkerman, 'Glazemakers wijze van vertalen', in *Glazemaker 1682–1982*, ed. Keyser, ix; Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 207.

75   Copper, 'Den overzetter tot den lezer', front matter in Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*, *r–*v.

76   Nauta, *Philosophy and the Language*, 18.

77   Nauta, *Philosophy and the Language*, 181.

terms based on the accepted meaning of those terms in ordinary language. In Nauta's words: 'We should avoid its ambiguity by clearly defining our terms, yet these definitions cannot stray too far [from ordinary language, LvdD] either.'[78] This conflict between redefinition and the inevitability of common language was also a fundamental challenge to translators who wished to reform the vernacular. As compilers of normative dictionaries, Koerbagh and Meijer could ignore the inevitability of common language to a certain extent. For translators, however, following the rules of common language was a sine qua non. In the end, they had to deliver a readable interpretation of the source that could be sold to actual Dutch readers. The case studies in this book will reconstruct how translators of the New Philosophy dealt with that dilemma: the contradictory aims of reforming the Dutch language while helping their readers to understand the source.

1.4   Questions and structure of this book

To find an appropriate language for the natural light, translators negotiated between intellectual conditions, social circumstances, and the linguistic practices of early modern Dutch discourse. What determined the outcome of those negotiations? How did the first Dutch translations of the New Philosophy express the rationalist principle that language was an unreliable medium for rational knowledge? What was the social and intellectual background of their producers, and what was at stake in the local debates in which their translations were intervening? How were translation practices simultaneously conditioned by specific socio-linguistic norms and general conventions in early modern Dutch discourse? These will be the leading questions of this book.

   Part I ('Reforming the language of philosophy') will approach the early modern debates about language and reason from the perspectives of Lodewijk Meijer and Adriaan Koerbagh. These freethinkers were closely related to (Meijer) and loosely associated with (Koerbagh) Spinoza's circle and they both occupied key positions in the Dutch reception of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes. Based on the language theories that Lodewijk Meijer developed in his *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* (1667) and in dialogue with previous research by Quentin Skinner, Chapter 2 proposes an interpretation of Meijer's and Koerbagh's intermediary, pragmatic position as a Dutch variant of the 'Hobbesian Turn', a revision of the relationship between language and reason

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78   Nauta, *Philosophy and the Language*, 183.

that exchanged rationalist scepticism regarding language for rhetorical pragmaticism. In Chapter 3, I complement this theoretical discussion with a computational analysis of the nature and impact of the lexicographical projects by Meijer, Koerbagh, and their predecessor Johan Hofman, with a special focus on Koerbagh. Computational methods allow me to quantify the influence of their linguistic purism: both on early modern Dutch discourse in general, and on the translators of the New Philosophy in particular.

Part II ('Translating the New Philosophy') subsequently regards the Dutch translation history of the New Philosophy through the lens of four case studies about the first and most important Dutch translators of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes: Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, Pieter Balling, Abraham van Berkel and Stephan Blankaart. Each case study starts with a reconstruction of the intellectual conditions and social circumstances of the translator in question. These profiles present the four translators as actors who used translation as a rhetorical intervention in different local debates. The second section of each case study is dedicated to the practices of translators: their methods of translation, treatment of sources, and attempts to reduce misunderstanding. This two-fold structure mirrors Peter Burke's distinction between 'the ends (or "strategies") and the means (the "tactics" or "poetics") of early modern translators'.[79] Burke defines the poetics of translation 'not in the sense of rules to be followed mechanically but rather as what the French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu called a "habitus", in other words a principle underlying and controlling spontaneity and improvisation'.[80] *Habitus* has elsewhere been defined as 'the system of durable dispositions and beliefs that underlies a given culture, acquired by individual members through socialization'.[81] A translator's poetics was conditioned by such socially determined systems of durable dispositions and beliefs, including possibilities for collaboration, access to source variants, and the preferred vocabularies and modes of speech among his implied readers. Practical and social circumstances restricted a translator's 'spontaneity' considerably. By analysing translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes against their socio-intellectual background, I propose that the first Dutch transmission of the New Philosophy be read simultaneously as a product of a specific habitus and as a rhetorical intervention in the socio-intellectual conditions of that habitus by individuals.

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79   Burke, 'Cultures of translation', 11.
80   Burke, 'Cultures of translation', 25.
81   Leith et al., eds., 'Pierre Bourdieu 1930–2002', in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 1674.

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Part I

Reforming the language of philosophy

2   The Hobbesian Turn

Language and reason in the Dutch Early Enlightenment

Abstract: The key to understanding the function of translations of the
New Philosophy in the Dutch Early Enlightenment lies in their form.
Studying the linguistic purism in these editions reveals that the transla-
tors involved challenged the rationalist principle that language is an
unreliable medium for rational knowledge. This chapter introduces the
implications of that principle by reading two philosophical novels as an
allegory of the philosophical and linguistic reorientation implied by the
New Philosophy: *Het leven van Philopater* (1691) and *Vervolg van 't leven
van Philopater* (1697). In response to Quentin Skinner's work on Thomas
Hobbes, this chapter argues that Dutch lexicographers and translators
of the New Philosophy proposed an alternative to that reorientation in
their views on language and reason.

Keywords: language philosophy, linguistic purism, lexicography, rhetorics,
rationalism

How did the first Dutch translations of the New Philosophy express the
rationalist principle that language is an unreliable medium for rational
knowledge? An excellent starting point for answering that complex question
can be found, surprisingly, in two late seventeenth-century novels: *Het leven
van Philopater, opgewiegt in Voetiaensche talmeryen* (1691) and its sequel
*Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater geredded uit de verborgentheeden der
Coccejanen* (1697), commonly attributed to Johannes Duijkerius.[1] Much has

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1   It is questionable, however, whether Duijkerius also authored the *Vervolg*. During the
process preceding its ban, he explicitly denied having written the sequel, and the prosecutor
either believed him or did not consider it lucrative to fine this poor hack writer and unemployed
minister. In any case, Duijkerius was not convicted, despite testimony about his intentions to
bring out a sequel, offered by his own roommates and none other than Balthasar Bekker, who had
discussed the first *Philopater* novel after bumping into its author in an Amsterdam bookshop.

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already been written about the *Philopater* novels, which were the focus of a spectacular controversy after the Church pressured local authorities to ban the *Vervolg*.[2] More than any other literary text, the story of Philopater – about his intellectual growth from an orthodox Calvinist towards a Spinozist freethinker – engaged with the themes and vocabularies of the New Philosophy. Philopater's *Bildung*, narrated in the two prose novels, can be read as an allegory of the philosophical and linguistic problems involved in the quest for a new language for the natural light. Imagining the philosophical impact of new ideas about language as a moment of speechlessness, the two novels help us to assess the revision of the relationship between language and reason that took place during the Dutch Early Enlightenment. I will refer to that revision in this chapter as the 'Hobbesian Turn'.

2.1   Philopater's speechlessness

The two novels tell the story of a young man named Philopater, his teacher Physiologus, his friends Philologus and Philomathes, and their search for the truth. Their allegorical names symbolise their intellectual positions. Philopater at first represents orthodoxy: he is the one 'who loves his father' and his principles.[3] Physiologus is a 'natural philosopher', Philologus a philologist, and Philomathes a mathematician.[4] Philopater's journey first leads from the orthodox Calvinism of Gisbertus Voetius to the more liberal Bible hermeneutics of German theologian Johannes Cocceius. The Cocceian approach to Scripture was known for its historical interpretation of Biblical prophecies and its supposition that logical harmony was to be found in Scripture. Cocceius paved the way for a Cartesian theology 'with a light millenarian flavour' among Dutch theologians.[5] Poor Philopater cannot withstand the Cocceian urge to unravel the hidden signs in Scripture.

And yet, the differences in style and spelling between the two parts make it difficult to believe that Duijkerius (alone) was responsible for the *Vervolg*, as Leemans has already pointed out. See: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 318; Jongenelen, 'Philopater', 293.

2   See: Maréchal, 'Inleiding', in *Het leven van Philopater*, by Duijkerius, ed. Maréchal; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; 315–320. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 292–297; van Bunge, 'Philopater', 10–19; Jongenelen, 'Philopater'.

3   Maréchal, 'Inleiding', 45.

4   See Maréchal's glosses on their names in: Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater*, 140; 101; 146.

5   Van der Wall, 'Between Grotius and Cocceius', in *Hugo Grotius Theologian*, eds. Nellen and Rabbie, 201.

Like a Dutch brother of Don Quixote, he works himself into a delirious rage, attempting to explain every verse as a hidden prophecy.[6] Finally, an anonymous 'Proponent', a theology graduate about to be appointed by the Reformed Church, comes to the rescue. He is a liberal theologian, a freethinker who is said to have 'built his studies on entirely different grounds'.[7] The Proponent relieves Philopater from his superstition in a furious, quasi-Spinozist monologue about the linguistic obscurity of Scripture. Eventually Philopater and his friend Philologus accept Spinozism as their future doctrine at the end of the first part. The second part, the *Vervolg*, stages a more outspoken dialogue about various Cartesian and Spinozist ideas. Besides addressing several contributions to the contemporary debate on Spinozism – such as Balthasar Bekker's *De betoverde weereld* (1691), Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus's *Medicina Mentis* (1687), Willem Deurhoff's *Voorleeringen van de heilige godgeleerdheid* (1687) and Willem van Blijenbergh's anti-Spinozist *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der h. schriften* (1674) – the *Vervolg* also provides a summary and a materialist interpretation of Spinoza's *Ethica* and several parts of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.[8]

While telling a coming-of-age story about Spinozism, these novels also engage with the debate about language and rhetoric as sources of deception and confusion. In the first 'Voorreden' Duijkerius explicitly voices his disdain for the tendency among Dutch theologians and ministers of the Reformed Church to mislead the people with embellished language.[9] True knowledge of the essence of things did not matter to them at all, Duijkerius observes. It was more important to master the theatrical tone and gestures ('*uytspraek en gesten*') typical of the language of the pulpit. Duijkerius complains that rhetorical skill and fluency of speech were

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6   'Ondertusschen onsen *Philopater* vast voortgaende, met alles voor de vuyst wat hem in het N. Testament voorquam (also hy met het Oude gedaen werck had) tot Prophetien te maecken'. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 98.

7   'welckers *Studien* uyt een gehele *andere grond* opgeboejt [zijn]'. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 114. Maréchal speculates that this Proponent from Franeker has been inspired by philosopher Gijsbert Wessel Duker, who defended a controversial dissertation at the university in Franeker in 1685. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 114.

8   Based on Hubbeling's interpretation of *Philopater*, Maréchal notes that the novels ignore Spinoza's ideas about the immortality of the soul from part V of his *Ethica*. Philopater and his friends explicitly reject the immortality of the soul, thus representing the radical, materialist interpretation of Spinozism that made Spinoza's ideas highly controversial. Maréchal, 'Inleiding', 29–30; Hubbeling, 'Philopater', 200.

9   This criticism was probably caused by the author's frustration about his own stuttering, the main reason for his failed career as a minister in the Reformed Church.

valued more highly than reason and intellect. Linguistic simplicity and transparency – using the word 'ship' for a ship and 'monkey' for a monkey ('een *schuyt* een *schuyt* en een *aep* een *aep'*) – are not considered virtues according to public opinion: the rhetorically gifted will always win the hearts of the people.[10] He adds that there is no difference between the appreciation of written and spoken language. Like sermons delivered in church, learned books are valued most if they feature 'an infinite number of bombastic *words*', and if they are crammed with 'pleasant tales' and 'sweet digressions'.[11] Clearly, Duijkerius's ideal for the language of reason is the opposite: transparent, direct, and sober.

This opposition between linguistic transparency versus semantic instability becomes visible not only in the prefaces but also in the plot of the *Philopater* novels. Literary historian Gerardine Maréchal places Philopater's life in the literary tradition of confession-narratives tracing back to Augustinus's *Confessiones* (AD 397–400).[12] As they contain all the traditional elements of these autobiographical memoires – a description of the protagonist's sins, the moment of conversion, and the confession of the newfound faith – Maréchal proposes the first *Philopater* novel be read as the confession of sin and the second as the confession of faith: a confession of Spinozism, in this case. According to her reading, the conversion, at the end of the first part, becomes a crucial moment in the narrative. It describes Philopater's philosophical *agnitio*, caused by the Proponent's monologue on language and Bible hermeneutics.

The conversion scene starts with an encounter between Philopater, Philologus, and the anonymous Proponent, who visits the two students in Philopater's home. He and Philologus, buried in yet another exercise in Bible study, ask the Proponent to share his opinion about the return of Christ and the thousand-year Reign of Jesus. In response, the Proponent lectures them about their fundamental misunderstanding of the semantics of Biblical language. He opens with a firm rejection of the Cocceian adage written in capitals on the titlepage of Philopater's Bible copy: 'the words mean anything that they could mean' ('DE WOORDEN BETEKENEN, ALLES

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10   Anonymous [= Duijkerius], 'Voorreden', front matter in Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 47.

11   'De *styl* van schryven heeft hier groote gemeenschap met de *Tong*; en niet selden werden die *boecken* voor de *geleerste* gehouden, die met een oneyndig getal hoogdravende *woorden*, met *aengenaeme* vertellingen en *liefelijcke* afweydingen, door gelardeert zijn'. Anonymous [= Duijkerius], 'Voorreden', front matter in Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 48.

12   Maréchal, 'Inleiding', 26.

WATSE BETEKENEN KONNEN').[13] He continues to explain in depth why this axiom (*Grond-regel*) is false: it opens the door to an anything-goes hermeneutics that makes Scripture a puppet in the hands of manipulative readers. Besides this practical risk of misinterpretation and appropriation, there are linguistic arguments against Philopater's hermeneutics, the Proponent argues. Philopater and his friend seem to have forgotten that words merely signify concepts: they are nothing more than 'merckteeckenen *van onse bevattingen*'.[14] The Proponent emphasises the point by quoting (without naming the source) the first sentence from Pieter Balling's philosophical pamphlet *Het licht op den kandelaar* (1662): 'the things do not depend on words, but the words on things', proving that objects in reality precede the words invented to signify them.[15]

Besides this arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified – as linguist Ferdinand de Saussure would phrase it more than two centuries later – Philopater and Philologus are asked to consider the possibility that even the language of the Old Testament is 'just a language, merely having all the properties of a language'.[16] 'Hebrew is no exception to the rule in any language that most of the words are ambiguous' (*dubbelsinnig*).[17] 'Words,' the Proponent continues, 'do not reveal anything about the essence of things.' The only justified conclusion Philopater could have reached during his tireless attempts to decipher Scripture should be that the Hebrew language is among the most thorny and difficult ever 'invented' (*uitgevonden*).[18] The Proponent furthermore overwhelms the naïve students with linguistic arguments against a Cocceian approach to the Bible. They are told to take into account the style and punctuation of the books of the Bible, but also to read the Biblical 'histories, allegories,

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13   Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 115–116. Capitals in source.

14   Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116.

15   'Hier uyt blijckt aen de eene sijde dat de *saecken*, niet om de *woorden*, maer de *woorden*, om de *saecken* zijn; als oock aen de andere dat in order de *saecken* eerder als de *woorden* geweest moeten hebben.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116. Wiep van Bunge points to this intertextual reference in his 2003 article. Van Bunge, 'Philopater', 13.

16   'Sal 't evenwel daerom niet waeragtig zijn, dat het maer een *Tael* is en slegts alle eygenschappen van een *Tael* heeft?' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116.

17   'Wijders is 'er wel iets bekender dan dat alle Taelen, hoe overvloedig deselve oock in woorden soude mogen wesen, dit met elkanderen gemeen hebben, dat hunne meeste woorden dubbelsinnig en van verscheydene betekenissen zijn.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116.

18   'Wijders, gy lieden Monsieurs, die uwe daegelijckse oeffeningen nu so langen tijt op de Hebreeuwsche taele hebt geleyt, kunt onmooglijck niets minder ondervonden hebben dan datse een van de distelagtigste en moejelijckste is die er uytgevonden.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116–117.

analogies, allusions, etc.' in the context of the relevant 'places, persons, and periods'.[19] And even if the meaning of such stylistic devices can be reconstructed correctly, the Proponent claims, Bible critics lack a decent Hebrew grammar.[20] In Platonic terms, the Proponent warns that Philopater and Philologus will only find the 'shadow' of the Bible's truth if they choose to continue on their current path.[21] Abandoning their false assumptions, on the other hand, would liberate them from superstition and ultimately teach them the truth about 'what God is'.[22]

The Proponent's monologue appears to be directly inspired by Lodewijk Meijer's 1666 *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres*. Like many of his Dutch contemporaries, Meijer recognised the theological and political potential of Cartesianism. With his *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* he aimed to put an end to theological discord once and for all by applying the Cartesian method to Bible interpretation. Christian theologians of all denominations, ages, and areas, Meijer complains, have only ever employed their intellect to prove their superiority over others who happened to read the Bible differently.[23] They have been falsely projecting their personal thoughts and feelings onto God's Word. Meijer's Cartesian approach led him to dismiss all those external opinions and to search instead for unquestionable grounds upon which a rationalist theology could be based. He argues that the text of the Bible offers this axiomatic foundation: theological claims should be grounded in Scripture and Scripture only. The 'Palace of the most holy Theology' was to be built on rock instead of sand.[24]

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19   'Niet minder dientmen om de Historien, Allegorien, sinspeelingen, gelijckenissen, enz. die'er in voorkomen wel te verstaen op de omstandigheden van plaetsen, personen, en tijden.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 117.

20   This remark seems to refer to Spinoza's attempt to develop such a grammar, which was included in Spinoza's 1677 Latin *Opera Posthuma*.

21   Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 123.

22   'In tegendeel, so ge uw geest uyt dese dreck opbeurt en tot hoger dingen te bespiegelen gewent, [...] het waengeloof sult ge alsdan verfoejen, de blinde superstitie veragten; en ge sult dan regt leren kennen *wat God is*.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 123.

23   'Dit is oock oorsaeck van dat de Christelijcke Theologanten van alderhande soorten, ouderdom en gewesten in hun disputatien altijdt voornamelijck hier meê besich hebben geweest, en alle de krachten van hun vernuft en geleertheyt hier op ingespannen hebben, dat sy souden vroedmaecken en toonen dat de Schrift het geen, dat sy, en niet dat hun tegenstrevers seggen, wil beteeckenen en te kennen geven.' Anonymous [= Meijer], *De philosophie d' uytleghster der h. schrifture*, 4[v].

24   'want ons voorneemen was het Paleys van d'alderheyligste Theologie niet op het sant, maer op de steen te bouwen'. Anonymous [= L. Meijer], *De philosophie d' uytleghster der h. schrifture*, 4[v].

This is where linguistics enters the arena. Proper insight into the function of language is considered a prerequisite for a reconstruction of the origin and meaning of the books of the Bible. After a brief introductory chapter, Meijer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* begins with three chapters on linguistics, discussing (1) the basic elements of language; (2) semantic problems in general; and (3) semantic problems in Scripture in particular. The Proponent from the *Philopater* novels follows the same line of argumentation. His aforementioned statement that words are nothing more than signs invented by humans ('merckteeckenen *van onse bevattingen*') seems to be borrowed from Meijer's second chapter, where proposition 4 states that words are 'signs of our concepts' ('*merckteeckenen der dingen, of eerder, gelijck wy achten, der bevattinghen*').[25] This definition leads both Meijer and the Proponent to the claim that most words in almost any language are ambiguous. Meijer establishes, quoting Roman rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, that there is no word to be found with only one meaning ('*in voegen dat eenige Philosophen achten dat 'er niet een woort is, 't welck niet meer dingen beteeckent*').[26] The Proponent, in turn, claims that in any given language, however rich its vocabulary may be, most words are ambiguous ('*dat hunne meeste* woorden *dubbelsinnig en van verscheydene betekenissen zijn*').[27] Meijer continues discussing several examples of linguistic ambiguity. Both Meijer and the Proponent argue that Biblical language is not exempt from this universal ambiguity of language. In chapter 4, Meijer claims that the examples of linguistic ambiguity he discusses in chapter 3 are as likely to occur in Scripture as in any other text. It is therefore beyond doubt that even Scripture is 'obscure and ambiguous'.[28]

The Proponent's lecture hits home. He leaves Philopater and Philologus speechless for almost a full hour.[29] The verbose, talkative students with their fancy terminology are suddenly at a loss for words. Their conversion to Spinozism is represented as a purely mental process, taking place beyond the linguistic realm. A fragment from the *Vervolg*, referring back to the

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25   Anonymous [= L. Meijer], *De philosophie d' uytleghster der h. schrifture,* 5.

26   Anonymous [= L. Meijer], *De philosophie d' uytleghster der h. schrifture*, 20; quoted again on page 35.

27   Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116.

28   ''t is buyten alle twijffel, niet alleenlijck dat de Schrift duyster en twijffelachtigh is, maer dat oock, dewijl sy uyt woorden bestaet, alle d'opgetelde soorten van duysterheden en twijf-felachtigheden daer in plaets konnen hebben, is 't niet alle, ten minsten het grootste deel, en de voornaemsten'. Anonymous [= Meijer], *De philosophie d' uytleghster der h. schrifture*, 38.

29   'Byna een geheel uur lang was'er niemant van hun beyden, die een enckel woordt sprack.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 123.

moment of the revelation, again highlights the speechlessness it caused and compares the frozen Philopater and Philologus to 'busts of old Roman emperors'.[30] Rationalist language theory and Spinozist Bible criticism opened their eyes to the truth, causing a muting, petrifying experience that immediately rendered their worldview as outmoded as those Roman statues. The Proponent not only introduced Philopater to a different worldview but also initiated him into a new language. When the protagonist finally opens his mouth to speak, he utters: 'Well my friend, what do you think? This is a completely different language than the one we have heard over the course of our *Studies*.'[31] Philopater's philosophical quest is fulfilled, culminating in not just a philosophical conversion but a linguistic one as well. After a long moment of speechlessness, the old language is replaced by a new one, enabling him to rebuild his philosophical system entirely anew.

Rationalist language theory thus takes centre stage in the crucial scene of Philopater's conversion to Spinozism. A plea about the historicity of Biblical language and the unstable relationship between words and concepts provides the spark that ignites Philopater's (partial) embrace of Spinoza's metaphysics in the *Vervolg*. Philopater's intellectual *Bildung* mimics the philosophical argument developed by some of the language theorists and early Spinozists from Spinoza's circle. These theorists regularly opened their philosophical treatises with a reflection on the semantic instability of words – including Pieter Balling, whose work *Het licht op den kandelaar* was quoted in the Proponent's monologue ('the things do not depend on words, but the words on things').[32] The Proponent furthermore seems to allude to Koerbagh's *Een ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen* (finished in 1668 but never printed) as he pretends to quote St. Peter when calling Scripture 'a light shining in dark places' ('*een ligt, schynende in een duystere plaetse*').[33] Duijkerius was clearly familiar with the debates about language in Spinoza's circle.

The *Philopater* novels imagine a conversion to Spinozism as a moment of speechlessness caused by a revelation about the true nature of language. A rejection of language and rhetoric on philosophical grounds is answered

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30   'dat ze *beide* de *figuur*, zoo *stom* al of ze *borstbeelden* der *oude roomsche keizeren* waren, vertoonden'. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 133.

31   'Wel mijn vriendt wat dunckt uw, dit is een geheele andere tael, als die we geduurende den loop van onse *Studien* gehoort hebben.' Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 123.

32   '*dat de* saecken, *niet om de* woorden, *maer de* woorden, *om de* saecken *zijn*'. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 116.

33   Maréchal mentions the allusion in a note in her edition of the Philopater novels. Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater,* 117.

with silence. I consider this imagination an apt representation of the scepticism about language that emerged after the Reformation and preceded the Enlightenment. Historians of science have explained this shift as a crucial phase in the history of knowledge.[34] For example, in his global history of human knowledge *Een wereld van patronen. De geschiedenis van kennis* Rens Bod describes how late Medieval manuscript hunters and humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) and Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457) paved the way for the discipline of philology, which offered a systematic method to study, but also undermine, the authenticity of Ancient and Biblical texts:[35]

> We find that during the first century of humanism (about 1350 to 1450) the attitude regarding texts changes dramatically. Whereas in Petrarch we find an uncritical respect for anything related to Antiquity, in Valla such respect has changed into a sceptical position. Not a single text is sacred to him. Sources could have been corrupted, or forged, and it is up to the humanist to separate the wheat from the chaff.[36]

According to Bod, the early philologists were the first to develop the empirical cycle that would enable the natural sciences to make such revolutionary progress during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[37] Both in Philopater's conversion and in the (Western) history of science at large, linguistic scepticism was the main prerequisite for finding the foundation upon which true, rational knowledge could be built.

2.2   Revisiting the relationship between language and reason

Philopater's speechlessness illustrates how the new rationalist way of thinking sparked discussions about epistemology and language, about the representation of knowledge, and about linguistic reform. To historicise and contextualise this late seventeenth-century representation of the relationship between language and reason, we need to take a step back and look at the long history of these debates. Because while the epistemologies of

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34 Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*.
35 On Poggio see Greenblatt, *The Swerve*.
36 'Waar we bij Petrarca een kritiekloze eerbied voor alles wat naar de oudheid riekt aantreffen, is deze eerbied bij Valla omgeslagen in een sceptische houding. Geen enkele tekst is heilig voor hem. Bronnen kunnen zijn gecorrumpeerd of vervalst, en het is aan de humanist om het kaf van het koren te scheiden.' Bod, *Een wereld vol patronen*, 263.
37 Bod, *Een wereld vol patronen*, 298.

Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes informed Dutch discourses about language and knowledge from the 1650s onwards, vernacular authors also drew upon earlier programmes for language reform dating back to the sixteenth century. Koerbagh and Meijer were not the first to propagate the vernacular for the advancement of philosophy and the dissemination of knowledge. They borrowed arguments from earlier debates about the position of the Dutch language in the multilingual Low Countries.[38] Decades earlier, Hugo Grotius had already advocated the use of the vernacular in the scientific domain. He also claimed that the Dutch could reach great heights if Dutch scholars would start writing in their mother tongue.[39] Driven by similar ambitions, prince Maurits of Orange established the *School voor Nederduytsche Mathematique* in Leiden in 1600, a school for Dutch education in military engineering, and in 1617 Dutch playwrights Samuel Coster, Gerbrand Bredero, and Pieter Hooft founded an institution dedicated to theatre and higher education in the vernacular: the *Nederduytsche Academie* in Amsterdam.[40] In the preface to his 1654 reissue of Johan Hofman's loanword dictionary *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat* (1650), Meijer explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness to previous authors like Grotius who had 'taught the Arts and Sciences to speak Dutch'.[41] Moreover, with their efforts to purify the Dutch language from foreign influences, Meijer and Koerbagh joined a long line of language innovators criticising the perceived contamination of the vocabulary by loanwords. To use Alisa van de Haar's words: 'discussions on loanwords did not confine themselves to one language, or to one century'.[42] In the Dutch context this tradition included most notably mathematician Simon Stevin (1548–1620) and philosopher Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590).[43] Linguist Joos Lambrecht (1491–1556/1557) and lawyer Jan van den Werve (1522–1576) had published Dutch loanword dictionaries as early as 1546 and

38   For an overview of these debates in a European context, see van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 93–141.

39   Van der Wal, 'Grotius' taalbeschouwing', 20–21. Cf. Meijer, 'Den Neederduitschen taallieveren gheluk en voorspoedt', in Meijer, *L. Meijers Woordenschat*, xx.

40   Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, 235.

41   Meijer, 'Den ghoedtwillighen leezer gheluk en voorspoedt', in Meijer, *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat*, *3v.

42   Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 263.

43   Articulations of their purist ideals can be found in Coornhert's preface 'De vertaelder totten leser' from his translation of Cicero's *De Officiis*, titled: *Officia Ciceronis, Leerende wat yegelick in allen staten behoort te doen* (Haarlem: J. van Zuren, 1561); Coornhert's 'Voorreden' appended to Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel's *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (Leiden: C. Plantijn, 1584), and Stevin's essay 'Vytspraeck vande weerdicheyt der Dvytsche tael' included in his *Beghinselen der weeghconst* (Leiden: Plantijn, 1586), IX–XII.

1553, and the 1599 edition of Cornelis Kiliaan's dictionary *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae* also provided an appendix with common loanwords: *Appendix peregrinarum, absurdarum adulterinarumque dictionum*.[44]

There were several recurring arguments for language purification in the debate about linguistic purism, but Meijer and Koerbagh were mostly driven by a rationalist urge to reduce the confusion and semantic uncertainty caused by loanwords. Unlike Stevin, they did not ascribe superiority and seniority to the Dutch language compared to other languages. Neither were they motivated by patriotism or by an artistic desire to restore the Dutch language to a mythical purity before it got tied to the 'long lasting racks of the Latin language rules', as Coornhert has phrased it.[45] Instead, the prefaces to their dictionaries emphasise the negative effects of loanwords on the use of reason in contemporary discourse: they led to confusion, deception, and ignorance. Meijer and Koerbagh contended that the Dutch language – like French, Italian, and Spanish – had suffered from the 'unbearable yoke of Roman bondage'.[46] It had been polluted and obscured by centuries of influences from theological, philosophical, and legal discourses in Latin and French. Furthermore, Meijer lamented, the 'unlearned populace' (*onkundigh ghraauw*) expressed their pretension to erudition by overloading their language with foreign terminology.[47] A similar passage occurs in the preface to Koerbagh's first (legal) dictionary, *'t Nieuw woorden-boek der regten* (1664). He mocked the attorneys and authors who, lacking a formal education, feigned learnedness by using Latin words without knowing their meaning, 'like the Indian parrot, which mimics human words without reason'.[48] This parrot provided the ultimate metaphor for Koerbagh's project: reclaiming the language was a way to disarm the theological and legal elites, liberating the people from parroting their rulers. He empowered his readers to think *and* speak independently in their own language. Such liberation required dictionaries that not only provided translated terminology, but also offered conceptual corrections and explanations in their entries.

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44   On linguistic purism in Dutch and other languages see van der Wal and van Bree, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*, 195–198; 222–226; van der Sijs, ed., *Taaltrots: Purisme in veertig talen*. For an overview of foreign influences in modern Dutch, see: van der Sijs, *Van Dale groot leenwoordenboek*.

45   'na de langdurighe pynbancken der wetten vande Latynse tale'. Coornhert, 'Voorreden' front matter in Spiegel, *Twe-spraack van de Nederduitsche letterkunst*, 8.

46   'het ondraaghlijk juk der Roomsche slavernije'. Meijer, 'Den Neederduitschen taallieveren', vii.

47   Meijer, 'Den Neederduitschen taallieveren', v.

48   'gelijk den Indiaanschen klap-vogel, die sonder verstant de woorden der menschen na-bootst'. A.K. [= Adriaan Koerbagh], 'Goedgunstige leesers', front matter in Koerbagh, *'t Nieuw woorden-boek der regten*, *vi.

Koerbagh's lexicographical work thus aimed to resolve the unreliability of the Dutch language as a medium for true knowledge. Thought itself remained stuck in old tradition as long as it continued to be communicated in the languages of the past. The semantic instability and inaccuracy of (Biblical) language was an important topic in many key texts that shaped the Dutch Early Enlightenment, such as Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), Meijer's *Philosophia S. Scriptura Interpres* (1666), Koerbagh's *Een ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen*, and Pieter Balling's aforementioned *Het licht op den kandelaar* (1662). Relieving oneself of this burden of linguistic confusion, this inheritance from the past, required the invention of a new vocabulary and a new hermeneutics. Pieter Balling, Spinoza's first Dutch translator, even argued for a completely new language: 'So that then, if one should want to better instil the things in someone through words and arguments, one would be required to invent new words, and consequently a whole new language.'[49] While Balling seems to have dismissed this project as an absurdity, Koerbagh actually tried to realise that ideal. He used the dictionary as an instrument to not just explain but also critically redefine theological terminology such as 'prophet', 'trinity', and 'bible'.

Scepticism about the reliability of language was also fundamental to Cartesian and Spinozist epistemology, although Descartes and Spinoza held different views about the possibilities for linguistic reform. In the second part of his *Ethica* (1677), Spinoza distinguishes between three kinds of knowledge: imagination, reason, and intuitive knowledge. Knowledge of the first kind, imagination, is to be considered 'the only cause of falsity', whereas reason and intuitive knowledge were necessarily true.[50] Spinoza allocates knowledge perceived through words and signs to the first category, effectively dismissing all linguistic communication as being potentially false. From his point of view, Spinoza probably regarded his friends with amusement as they tried to fix the language problem through purification and promotion of the vernacular. After all, if rational knowledge does not depend on signs, language reform merely replaces one unreliable sign system with another. Discussing the interpretation of Scripture in his *Tractatus*

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49   'Zoo dat dan, indien men door woorden, en redenen iemandt de zaken zelven, beter zoude willen indrucken, men van noden hadde, nieuwe woorden, en by gevolgh een heele nieuwe taal te vinden.' Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht op den kandelaar*, 3. On Balling's language critique see Krop, *Spinoza. Een paradoxale icoon van Nederland*, 91–92; Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza*, 16–19.

50   Spinoza, 'Ethics', in *The Collected Works of Spinoza*, ed. Curley, Vol. I, Part II, proposition 41, 478.

Theologico-Politicus (1670), Spinoza acknowledges the impossibility of changing the meaning of words:

> Anyone who tried to do this would be forced, as part of the process, to explain all the authors who wrote in that language and used that word in its accepted meaning. Either he would have to do this according to the temperament and mind of each author, or else he would have to distort them very carefully.[51]

While utterances are often misinterpreted, the meanings of words, Spinoza insists, cannot be changed because meaning depends on common language usage. Decent language training and linguistic tools such as grammar books and vocabularies were vital for recognising and criticising such misinterpretations – Spinoza himself worked on a Hebrew grammar to help other philologists understand the syntax and semantics of the Biblical sources. But it was pointless to attempt to change the meaning of language. One could only reach true knowledge about God or Nature through the second and third kinds of knowledge, both of which independent of language.

Compared to the freethinkers from Spinoza's circle, Descartes was less interested in matters of theology and Bible hermeneutics. But even for him, there was little truth to be found in the knowledge accumulated and preserved in the written world. Language and rhetoric were considered antithetical to philosophy and deduction. In *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii* he writes: 'In the vast majority of issues about which the learned dispute, the problem is almost always one of words.'[52] The old method of formulating rational arguments in syllogisms was to be transferred 'from philosophy to rhetoric', as Descartes considered them merely reproductions of existing arguments instead of instruments for arriving at new conclusions.[53] This (old) opposition between philosophy and rhetoric exemplifies the Cartesian assumption about the existence of intersubjective common notions. These common notions are grounded in the 'natural light' of reason, as opposed to empirical or revealed knowledge based on rhetoric or perception.[54] Only

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51   Spinoza, 'Theological-Political Treatise', in *The Collected Works of Spinoza*, ed. Curley, Chapter VII, 179.
52   Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 53.
53   Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 37.
54   Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 201–202.

clear and distinct ideas could serve as a solid foundation for the truth. For similar reasons Descartes rejected the habit of providing definitions that only obscure the words they are meant to clarify.[55] He regularly criticised such obscure terminology and definitions from the Scholastics. If complex explanations are needed for presumably self-evident terms like 'place' and 'movement', then they are apparently not self-evident after all, and are therefore unfit for science and philosophy.

The Cartesian method promised a way out of what Richard Popkin calls the 'crise pyrrhonienne', the sceptic crisis of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[56] The Reformation had created an intellectual and political crisis where different knowledge systems and religious traditions competed for the (holy) truth. Marrigje Paijmans introduced the similar notion of a 'crisis of truths' to denote the epistemological uncertainty resulting from the political and religious fragmentation in the Dutch Republic.[57] But thanks to Descartes, trust in the human mind was temporarily restored. His method made it possible again to attain 'clear and distinct ideas'. Descartes's efforts to develop a deductive method originated in a widely felt need to reestablish common ground in a post-Babylonian world of philosophical disagreement and religious discord. Spinoza's ambitions with the 'geometric' order of his *Ethica* – written in a dense structure of axioms, propositions, and demonstrations inspired by geometric deduction – were similarly high. Spinoza employed his philosophical genius for maintaining peace in a religiously divided country, showing his readers how to be rational members of a peaceful commonwealth.

While the medical doctors Koerbagh and Meijer agreed with Descartes and Spinoza about the diagnosis and the symptoms of the crisis of truths, they disagreed about its remedy. Descartes and Spinoza maintained an opposition between reason and rhetoric. They propagated a geometric, language-independent method to obtain new and valid knowledge based on rational or 'intuitive' knowledge. For Koerbagh and Meijer, on the other hand, words and ideas were connected, which made linguistic reform an instrument for conceptual innovation. While Spinoza and Descartes rejected the possibility of lexical change and devalued the function of definitions, Koerbagh and Meijer used the genre of the dictionary to liberate their fellow citizens from false beliefs. Their position aligned with the philosophical

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55   Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 49.

56   Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*, 17; van Bunge, 'Johannes Bredenburg', 243.

57   Paijmans, 'Dichter bij de waarheid', 17.

development of a third major rationalist who played a key role in the Dutch Early Enlightenment: Thomas Hobbes.

On the stage of Dutch intellectual history, Hobbes was only present through stand-ins. Unlike Descartes and Spinoza, he never settled permanently in the Dutch Republic nor did he rely primarily on the Dutch book trade for the dissemination of his works. Spending his life in the service of England's high nobility, the philosopher produced his books in a setting completely different from the other two protagonists of this study, who appreciated the quiet isolation of small towns in Holland. Despite his physical distance to the Dutch Republic, however, Hobbesian ideas soon surfaced in the vernacular discourse on political theory during the seventeenth century. Even more than Descartes and Spinoza, Hobbes depended on cultural brokers for the Dutch reception of his thought, like Lambert van Velthuysen and Pieter de la Court, who responded to his political philosophy; like Johannes Blaeu, who published Hobbes's *Opera Philosophica* in 1668; and like the schoolmaster and radical thinker Abraham van Berkel (1639–1686), the first Dutch translator of Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) in 1667.

Contrary to Descartes and Spinoza, Hobbes changed his mind about his earlier attempts to separate reason from eloquence, the linguistic art of persuasion. As Quentin Skinner argues in his *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996), Hobbes's early work responded to the 'rhetorical culture of Renaissance humanism' more than to the epistemological challenge of pyrrhonism.[58] The philosopher's rationalism was first informed by a desire to abandon the relativist rhetorical culture which taught students the ability to argue *in utramque partem* – to both defend and oppose a given proposition.[59] The association between eloquence and reason made the idea acceptable that any well-argued statement could be true, which undermined political stability and therefore also undermined the social contract with the sovereign. Like Descartes and Spinoza, Hobbes initially viewed language and rhetoric mainly as a flawed and misleading medium for rational knowledge. Instead, he aimed to develop a political philosophy and civil science on rational grounds that could serve the stability of the state. By resolving confusion, he hoped to contribute to political harmony and prevent the people from reverting to the state of nature where they are torn apart by war and lawlessness. If used correctly, reason should be persuasive in itself – that was the idea. Hobbes thus tried to detach reason from eloquence in the scientific realm.

58 Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 9.
59 Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 299.

Years later however, Hobbes paradoxically came to write 'a belated but magnificent contribution to the Renaissance art of eloquence': *Leviathan* (1651).[60] Any reader could confirm that this was not only a groundbreaking philosophical treatise, but also a literary masterpiece. What happened to the rationalist Hobbes? Inspired by François de La Mothe le Vayer, a theorist of rhetoric whom Hobbes met in France, and prompted by the English civil war (1642–1651) culminating in the dramatic execution of Charles I in 1649, the English philosopher felt obliged to revisit his earlier position. He could not bear the idea of having to watch his beloved monarchy fall apart while he was unable to stop the kingdom's catastrophic degradation into the state of nature. To get his message across among a large, unlearned reading public, he simply could not afford to discard the power of eloquence.[61] In the interest of political stability, it was permitted to employ the art of rhetoric and language for the rationalist cause.

With this remarkable change of mind, Hobbes's philosophical development combines the two positions represented by Meijer and Koerbagh on the one hand and Descartes and Spinoza on the other. It is clear that Koerbagh engaged with Hobbes's work intensively, helping his friend Abraham van Berkel to find a printer for the latter's Dutch translation of *Leviathan* (see Chapter 6). Koerbagh's optimism about conceptual change through linguistic reform echoes Hobbes's assumption (articulated in *Leviathan*) that language – 'the most noble and profitable [human] invention of all other' – can be instrumental to our rational abilities under certain circumstances.[62] In his chapter 'Of Speech' from *Leviathan*, Hobbes supports this proposition with the example of a man who is able to generalise about the shape of the triangle only because he can put the general rule defining its shape into words.[63] Hobbes's emphasis on the importance of new definitions for philosophical progress may also have inspired Koerbagh's critical lexicography. The English philosopher compared those who failed to critically revise the definitions of their predecessors to 'birds that entring by the chimney, and finding themselves inclosed in a chamber, flutter at the false light of a glasse window, for want of wit to consider which way they came in'.[64]

We could view Koerbagh's and Meijer's critical lexicography as an attempt to prevent their readers from becoming parrots, or trapped birds, by leading

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60   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 4; Cf. Cantalupo, 'Hobbes's Use of Metaphor', 21.
61   Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 94.
62   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 24.
63   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 27.
64   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 28.

them back to the chimney. They seemed to assume that rationalism could be disseminated and promoted through linguistic and rhetorical means *even though* language is an inherently flawed, ambiguous and therefore anti-rationalist medium. That pragmatic assumption is a typical late-Hobbesian position, and in this study I will argue that this position became typical of the Dutch Early Enlightenment. I will therefore define the 'Hobbesian Turn' as the paradoxical intellectual position that considered language and linguistic reform inevitable instruments for promoting rationalism and rationalist behaviour, while also acknowledging the rationalist critique that language is a flawed medium for rational knowledge due to its inherent ambiguity. Like Philopater, many freethinkers and translators involved in the dissemination of the New Philosophy were deeply convinced that a rationalist search for the truth is a language-independent, mental process that can only be distorted by the confusion inherent in the use of any language. But nevertheless, like Duijkerius, they resorted to linguistic means – novels, dictionaries, translations – in their attempt to bring about philosophical reform through linguistic reform.

2.3   Conclusion

In this chapter I proposed a new theory about the status of language in rationalist debates from the Dutch Early Enlightenment. I read the two Philopater novels as an allegory of the revolutionary, Cartesian insight (postmodernist avant la lettre) that any language, including that of the Bible, is prone to lead to ambiguity, misunderstanding, and disagreement. The implication of that insight was that any philosophical or theological search for the truth completely depends on the mind only, and cannot rely on what Spinoza calls knowledge of the first kind: received knowledge mediated by signs, including words. Unlike Spinoza, however, many freethinkers who became influential during the Dutch Early Enlightenment – most of them members of Spinoza's circle – believed that rationalism could still be promoted through linguistic means. Like Hobbes, who preferred a pragmatic position regarding the instability of language when the political circumstances called for it, Dutch intellectuals such as Koerbagh, Meijer, and Balling actively tried to reduce the confusing elements in the Dutch language in order to make the language more fit for the purpose of 'Enlightenment' – spreading the natural light of reason. This chapter developed the hypothesis that this so-called Hobbesian Turn in the discourse on language in the Dutch Republic became fundamental to the Dutch Early

Enlightenment at large. In the next chapters, I will examine whether and how this 'Hobbesian Turn' in vernacular debates is reflected not only in the lexicographical and philosophical works of Koerbagh and Meijer, but also in early modern Dutch discourse in general and in the Dutch translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes in particular.

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3   Enlightened vocabularies

Loanwords and philosophical terminology in early modern
Dutch discourse

Abstract: Some translators of the New Philosophy viewed linguistic purism
as one of the ways to making the Dutch language fit for the purpose of
communicating rationalist knowledge. Previous scholars argued that
their lexical preferences were determined by the purist norms proposed
by Lodewijk Meijer and Adriaan Koerbagh, who used lexicography and
etymology as support for their radical criticism on orthodoxy and Calvinist
theology. In this chapter, computational methods are applied to test this
hypothesis that translators of the New Philosophy were more likely than
their contemporaries to follow the purist norms propagated by Meijer and
Koerbagh. It describes and evaluates a method designed to automatically
detect and quantify loanwords and philosophical terms in early modern
Dutch texts.

Keywords: multilingualism, loanwords, historical lexicography, lexical
analysis, computational methods

The roots of the Dutch discourse about the relationship between language
and reason can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when authors like
Stevin and Coornhert were already making a case for a clear and purist
Dutch. Their advocacy of a Dutch lingua franca remained influential in
debates about language politics and linguistic rationalism throughout the
seventeenth century. This persistent belief in the possibility of bringing
about philosophical reform, religious liberation, and even political change
through linguistic reform is fundamental to the intellectual position I
defined as the 'Hobbesian Turn'.

But what exactly justified that belief? Did Adriaan Koerbagh have any
reason to assume that readers would abandon their belief in Jesus Christ as
the son of God if he told them – as he sneeringly did in his *Bloemhof* – that
the etymological meaning of 'Christus' is 'smeared' (*besmeerde*), because the

Jews used to anoint ('smear') their kings and prophets? Some of Koerbagh's explanations were clearly satirical, but he and Meijer nonetheless truly believed in the revolutionary potential of the dictionary. In reality however, language users are stubborn. They rarely submit to theoretical ideals or prescriptive language norms. In the second half of the seventeenth century (Neo-)Latin still dominated in the main domains of knowledge: theology, philosophy, medicine, law. The popularity of early modern loanword dictionaries by Johan Hofman, Meijer, and to a lesser extent Koerbagh should therefore primarily be explained by the need to *understand* the foreign terminology which was ubiquitous in early modern texts. To what extent were these dictionaries, inspired by the rationalist search for a new language for the natural light, also applied as normative guidelines? Were the translators of the New Philosophy more likely than their contemporaries to follow the purist norms propagated by Meijer and Koerbagh?

In this chapter I turn to a computational methodology to answer these comparative questions. I aim to empirically test the feasibility of the Hobbesian Turn as a theoretical position. In order to assess whether Dutch translators of the New Philosophy adjusted their language to meet certain linguistic standards that may have been influenced by the Hobbesian Turn, I first need to establish how common or uncommon those standards in fact were. I will focus on two lexical categories – loanwords and philosophical terminology – and I will compare the frequencies of these categories in translations of philosophical texts and in a larger sample of early modern Dutch discourse. Before I discuss the results of this exercise, I will first introduce the building and preprocessing of the corpus and the methods used to analyse its vocabulary.

3.1   Corpus

The total Corpus consists of 383 distinct texts printed between 1640 and 1720. It is divided into two sub-corpora:

1. The Translation Corpus: 18 Dutch translations of the main philosophical texts written by Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza
2. The Test Corpus: 365 Dutch texts from various genres printed between 1640 and 1720

All texts selected for the Corpus were required to meet three criteria. First, a manually produced, high quality transcription needed to be available. I

decided against the use of automatically created transcriptions, because a corpus based on Optical Character Recognition (OCR) would contain too many transcription errors. Using even the best OCR systems, enhanced by a Dutch state-of-the-art post-correction procedure like Text-Induced Corpus Clean-up (TICCL) and equipped with linguistic resources such as a Dutch historical name list and lexicon, achieves a word accuracy rate of 94.5% at best, meaning that for every twenty words one would not be transcribed correctly.[1] Transcription errors not only decrease the overall quality of the text, but also increase the error rate at subsequent stages during preprocessing, such as spelling normalisation and lemmatisation. Therefore, I decided to use manual transcriptions only. Most of those transcriptions were obtained from open text repositories such as the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL) and the Census Nederlands Toneel (Ceneton). Others have been transcribed with the assistance of students at the University of Amsterdam directed by Lia van Gemert and the Stichting Vrijwilligersnetwerk Nederlandse Taal directed by Nicoline van der Sijs and Hans Beelen.[2]

Secondly, only printed texts have been selected, because this study addresses the reception of the New Philosophy in Dutch *public* discourse.[3] Handwritten texts contributed significantly to the reception of the New Philosophy, but the confined realm of the manuscript and the 'scribal publication' obeyed different laws than the public sphere, which was constituted by texts that were printed, distributed, and sold but also prohibited, confiscated, and destroyed.[4] Socially, financially, and politically, authors exposed themselves to higher risks when entering the printed domain. Those risks determined what and how they could write publicly. Because of such differences between the handwritten and printed world, the reception of the New Philosophy in manuscript would require a distinct approach tailored to the medium's specific features and problems. That approach remains beyond the scope of this study.

1   Reynaert, 'OCR Post-Correction Evaluation', 968.

2   I am grateful for the invaluable help offered by the Stichting Vrijwilligersnetwerk Nederlandse Taal. All texts transcribed by the Stichting are marked in Appendix A 'The Translation Corpus'.

3   There is one exception: Spinoza's *Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand*, included in the Translation Corpus. The text only survives in manuscript, but I consider it too important for the Dutch reception of Spinoza's early work (see Chapter 5) to be exempt from further analysis.

4   Cf. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century England*; van Miert and Nellen, 'Media en tolerantie in de Republiek der Letteren'; van der Deijl, 'The Dutch Translation and Circulation', 228–231.

The third and final criterion concerns the historical period to be covered by the corpus: from 1640 to 1720. This period's starting point aligns with the consensus in the existing historiography on the Dutch Early Enlightenment. During the 1640s the New Philosophy became a force to be reckoned with in the Dutch Republic. From 1640 onwards, progressive philosophers at the universities in Utrecht and Leiden who were sympathetic to Descartes's revision of Aristotle – such as Henricus Regius, Johannes de Raey, Adriaan Heereboord, Johannes Clauberg, Lambert van Velthuysen, and Frans Burman – started to clash with the Calvinist theologians headed by Gisbertus Voetius, igniting a series of vicious debates about the Cartesian worldview. While these debates originated in academic disputations, they soon affected readers elsewhere as well. For example, when Descartes intervened in the conflict between the Utrecht professors Voetius and Regius with his *Epistola ad G. Voetium* in April or May 1643, an anonymous Dutch translation appeared within months in Amsterdam.[5] During the 1640s, as Verbeek has put it, 'Cartesianism was no longer confined to one or two universities but began to be something of a national problem.'[6] Van Bunge goes even further, calling the rise of Cartesianism from the 1640s onwards 'a decisive break in Dutch intellectual history'.[7] Descartes's intellectual legacy created fertile ground in which radical theological and political critiques – Dutch Spinozism and Hobbesianism – could take root throughout the following decades. Israel dates the origins of this Radical Enlightenment to the 1650s and 1660s, while van Bunge documents the launch of 'far more radical varieties of Dutch "Cartesianism"' during the 1660s and 1670s.[8]

Dating the end of the Dutch Early Enlightenment is more difficult than identifying its origin, but historians of Dutch science and philosophy tend to agree that the period after 1720 was profoundly different.[9] With Newtonian ideas gaining a foothold at Dutch universities after 1715, the Cartesian paradigm permanently lost its scientific significance. Furthermore, Newton's system armed critics of Spinoza's presumed atheism with new arguments, such as Bernard Nieuwentijt's *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen* from 1715. While this book proves that Spinozism was still considered a fundamental threat to Christian society at the time, it also show that there was clearly little left of Spinoza's intellectual momentum from the 1660s and

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5   Descartes, *Brief van Rene Des Cartes*.

6   Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch,* 50.

7   Van Bunge, 'Introduction', 8.

8   Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 11–12; van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 83.

9   Israel, 'Radical Thought', 387; Krop, *Spinoza. Een paradoxale icoon*, 143.

1670s. Van Bunge claims that Frederik van Leenhof published the last Dutch Spinozist text of any significance: *Den hemel op aarden* (1703).[10] After 1720, the Dutch Republic was no longer the centre of emerging Enlightenment thought, and the New Philosophy ceased to exert its social and political influence on Dutch vernacular debates.

The Translation Corpus

The Translation Corpus consists of the first Dutch translations of 18 philosophical texts written by Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza. All translations first appeared between 1656 and 1693. In some cases I will consider the translated oeuvre of each philosopher separately, naming these selections the 'Corpus Descartes', the 'Corpus Hobbes', and the 'Corpus Spinoza' (see Appendix A). As it proved to be impossible to obtain transcriptions of all relevant translations ever published between 1640 and 1720, the Translation Corpus constitutes a sample, not a comprehensive collection. The Corpus Descartes omits, for example, the aforementioned anonymous translation (1643) of *Epistola ad G. Voetium*, Glazemaker's translation (published in 1659)[11] of the essays (*La Dioptrique*, *La Géométrie*, and *Les Météors*) appended to *Discours de la méthode*, and the Dutch translations (both published in 1684)[12] of *La Recherche de la vérité par la Lumière Naturelle* and *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii*. Furthermore, the Corpus Hobbes does not include the anonymous Dutch translation (published in 1675) of *De Cive*.[13] The Corpus Spinoza is complete.

The Translation Corpus thus offers a representative sample of the earliest Dutch translations of the New Philosophy, taking into account as many different translations as possible. The Corpus was restricted to a maximum of one edition for each translation, in order to avoid a bias in favour of texts translated or published more than once. Whenever I needed to choose between different translations of a source, I preferred those produced by one of the subjects of my case studies: Glazemaker, Balling, Van Berkel or Blankaart. Finally, if different editions were available of the same translation, I decided to include the first edition. All digital transcripts from the Translation Corpus are available on GitHub and have been archived at Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS).[14]

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10   Van Bunge, *De Nederlandse Republiek*, 85.
11   Descartes, *Proeven der wysbegeerte*.
12   Descartes, *Brieven: Derde deel*.
13   Hobbes, *De eerste beginselen van een burger-staat*.
14   Van der Deijl, 'A New Language' (DANS Dataset); https://github.com/lucasvanderdeijl (last accessed 31 March 2025).

The Test Corpus

The Test Corpus consists of 365 Dutch texts of various genres printed between 1640 and 1720 (see Appendix B). The editions included in this heterogeneous collection have been selected from three repositories:

1. The UvA Corpus: 46 prose texts printed between 1678 and 1696, transcribed and collected for various projects at the University of Amsterdam, under the supervision of Lia van Gemert
2. The Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL): 242 Dutch texts from various genres (1640–1720)
3. The Census Nederlands Toneel (Ceneton): 77 Dutch plays (1640–1720)

All digital transcripts from the UvA Corpus are available on GitHub and have been archived at Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS).[15] Any other text from the Test Corpus can be downloaded from the websites of DBNL and Ceneton directly.[16]

The function of the Test Corpus is to provide a general sample of early modern Dutch printed discourse. As such, it includes not just books originally written in Dutch by early modern authors, but also Dutch translations and adaptations of texts from other language fields and historical periods. Nor was the selection restricted to books from the United Provinces. Since Dutch-language editions printed in cities such as Brussels, Antwerp, and Bruges were also sold and read in the Northern Netherlands (as they are today), I saw no reason to exclude them. I tried to make the selection as diverse as possible, but like all samples, the Test Corpus is limited in many ways. The limited availability of manually transcribed digital copies inevitably introduced a number of imbalances. I will discuss the four most important biases: author gender, genre, location, and publication year.

The first and most important limitation of the Test Corpus is its gender imbalance. There are 203 named authors and 169 named publishers in the Corpus. While these numbers can be expected to represent a considerable diversity of perspectives and styles, female voices are virtually absent. The male/female ratio is depressingly imbalanced: only 2 out of the 282 named authors are female (0.7%) – Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701)

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15   Van der Deijl, 'A New Language' (DANS Dataset); https://github.com/lucasvanderdeijl (last accessed 31 March 2025).

16   https://www.dbnl.org/ (last accessed March 31, 2025); https://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/ (last accessed 31 March 2025).

and Maria de Wilde (1682–after 1755), although it is possible that more women writers contributed to the 83 titles with anonymous authors. Women authors have always been underrepresented in early modern literary history due to both scholarly biases and historical inequalities with regards to financial independence and access to education.[17] But the digital archive seems to have erected extra barriers for female authors: 0.7% is not even close to the proportion of female authors discussed in recent literary history.[18]

Second, the Test Corpus is biased towards the genres that traditionally belong to the domain of literary history: drama, songbooks, prose fiction, poetry, and emblem books. Histories, theological treatises, and medical books are included in lower numbers. Texts that would qualify as pamphlets are absent due to the poor availability of digitised copies – an important lacuna given their key role in early modern debates.[19] Figure 3.1 shows the most frequent genre labels allocated to the titles from the Test Corpus. All genre labels have been derived from the subject field 'Onderwerpstrefwoord' (subject key word) in the bibliographical descriptions of the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN), with the exception of 'Prose fiction'. That label was applied manually to most documents from the UvA Corpus, many of which were categorised with only the generic label 'Dutch language and literature' in the STCN.

Third, a majority of the texts in the Test Corpus have been produced by publishers from Amsterdam. One way to create a balanced sample representing the diversity of dialects and spelling preferences in the Low Countries would have been to collect texts published in all corners of the Dutch language field. Yet while the books in the Test Corpus appeared in no fewer than 31 different places, ranging from Bolsward to Brussels and from Medemblik to Mechelen, 255 editions (69.9%) came from Amsterdam (Figure 3.2).

Fourth, the texts in the Test Corpus are not equally distributed over the target decades (1640–1720). The distribution (Figure 3.3) reveals a peak in the 1680s, with 88 texts published in that decade. The imbalance is mostly due to the relatively short historical period covered by the UvA Corpus. All texts from this collection appeared between 1678 and 1696, and nearly all of them during the 1680s.

17   Cf. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen et al., eds., *Met en zonder lauwerkrans*, 2–4; 30.
18   Cf. van der Deijl et al., 'The Canon of Dutch Literature', 12.
19   Cf. de Kruif et al., eds., *Het lange leven van het pamflet*; Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw.*
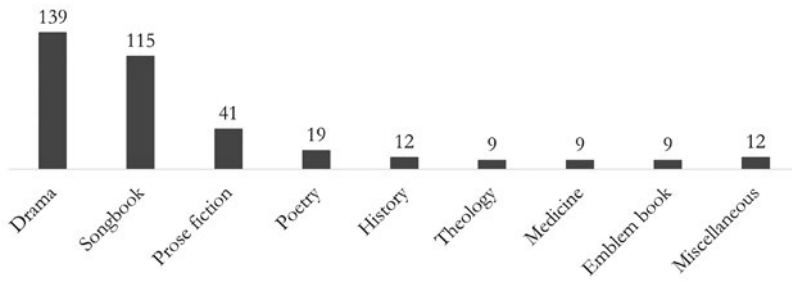
Figure 3.1 Genre labels in the Test Corpus
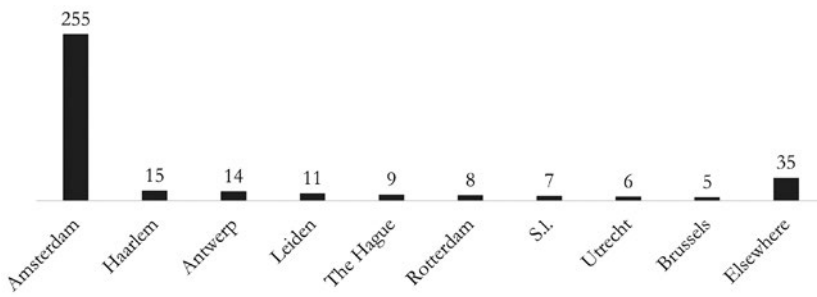
Figure 3.2 Places of publication in the Test Corpus
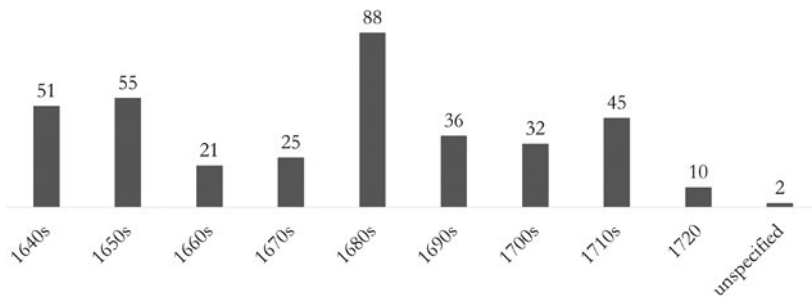
Figure 3.3 Number of documents included in the Test Corpus per decennium[20]

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20   There are two texts in the Corpus with unspecified publication dates, but based on annotations provided by the STCN (e.g. an author's dates of birth and death) it is certain that they were published between 1640 and 1720: Anonymous, *Kruis gezangen of hémelweg* (Amsterdam, for the author) and J.W.D.V., [*De*] *Franequer los-kop; of holbollige student* (Amsterdam, s.n.).

3.2   Preprocessing

The Dutch Republic was populated by speakers of various languages and variants of Dutch, while its key position in the European and colonial trade attracted visitors from all over the globe. These conditions turned the Republic into a multilingual melting pot with a large degree of linguistic variation. While the first initiatives to standardise the Dutch language started in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Dutch textual culture drew from a pool of variants of Dutch, with substantial linguistic variation in grammar, lexicon, and spelling in written texts throughout the period from 1640 to 1720.[21] Linguistic variation is therefore inherent to the Corpus as well. Unfortunately, such variation complicates computational text analysis. Due to spelling variation, algorithms may fail to treat tokens like *nature*, *natuyre*, and *natuere* as different variants of the word spelled today as *natuur* (nature). Morphological variation causes another problem in the computational analysis: a computer may parse conjugated variants of the same lemma without grasping their kinship, whereas human readers immediately spot the semantic closeness of the tokens *lichaam* (body) and *lichamen* (bodies).

  These problems – spelling variation and morphological variation – need to be addressed to prepare the Corpus for computational analysis. Besides spelling normalisation and lemmatisation, this process of corpus preparation – usually called 'preprocessing' – also involves basic transformations such as sentence tokenisation, word tokenisation, lowercasing, and (in some cases) stop word removal. This section provides a description of the steps taken to reduce spelling variation and morphological variation in the corpus. Although such variation in early modern Dutch cannot be normalised entirely, computational analysis yields valuable and valid results even with partial normalisation. I have opted for pragmatic solutions using the best software available. Below, I will quantify the reduction of spelling variation and morphological variation in the Corpus Descartes and the Corpus Spinoza as a result of preprocessing.

Spelling normalisation
Historians and literary scholars working with digital copies of early modern texts usually try to reduce the degree of spelling variation by normalising

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21   For a history of the Dutch language during this period see van der Wal and van Bree, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*, 200–254; van der Sijs, *15 Eeuwen Nederlandse taal*, 112–152; van der Sijs, *Taalwetten maken en vinden*.

spelling in their corpus. 'Normalising' spelling involves linking differently spelled variants of the same word to a norm, and basing further processing on this norm. I operationalised this type of preprocessing using the spelling normalisation software VARD2.0, developed specifically for early modern English by Baron and Rayson (2008).[22] Baron and Rayson's solution offers a rule-based procedure that creates a respelled layer of an input text, replacing historical spelling variants with their canonical modern spelling, which is mapped to a manually created index of variants. VARD2.0 complements this index of word variants by phonetic matching, creating additional candidate variants based on phonetic codes assigned to each word by the tool. Finally, the algorithm applies a set of rules for letter replacement that can transform unknown variants into known variants from the index based on common letter combinations (e.g. replacing 'ue' with 'uu' to replace the unknown variant *natuere* with the known variant *natuure* of the current spelling *natuur*).

Since the word variant list, the phonetic matching technique, and the letter rules are language dependent, Baron and Rayson's setup of VARD2.0 could not be applied directly to early modern Dutch material. Instead, I used a specific setup trained on early modern Dutch by Kisjes and Wijckmans (2015), which was based on a mapping of spelling variants in the 1637 Dutch States Translation of the Bible.[23] I applied their setup to reduce the spelling variation in the Corpus, maintaining an 85% precision threshold. This threshold indicates that the programme only respells an observed word variant if it is 85% certain (based on frequencies of candidate word variants) that it will accurately normalise spelling (a true positive: *nature* → *natuur*) instead of incorrectly changing the variant into a different word altogether (a false positive: *natuir* → *natrium*).

A manual precision check of all normalised word types from the Corpus Descartes and the Corpus Spinoza indicated that a high threshold of 85% certainty ensures precision scores close to 100% (Table 3.1). Normalised word types were considered incorrect if the edits to the original wordform created a semantically different word instead of a normalised spelling variant, for example when the programme changed *boumeester* into *bonmeester* instead of *bouwmeester* (architect), or *kreuking* (wrinkling) into *krenking* (injury). Fortunately, such cases were exceptional because of the high accuracy

22   VARD 2.0 is freely available at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/vard/availability/ (last accessed 23 May 2025).
23   Liebreks, 'Hoe je Engelstalige software Vroegnieuwnederlands leert lezen'.

threshold, as indicated by the precision scores in Table 3.1. Whenever a word variant is normalised, the normalisation tends to be correct.

Table 3.1   Precision of spelling normalisation ⏎

	Normalised word types	Normalisation errors	Precision
Corpus Descartes	455	5	98.9%
Corpus Spinoza	231	2	99.1%

However, while a careful approach to normalisation achieves high precision, it also yields a low number of interventions. Metaphorically, the programme is like a hunter who only shoots when he is sure to hit his target. Being a careful shooter, he does not shoot often. As with the hunter, the performance of spelling normalisation can be assessed in terms of precision and recall. Precision equals the hunter's 'hit rate' – number of hits per shot – whereas recall would translate into his 'catch rate' – number of shot animals compared to all the game in the forest. In formal terms, precision refers to the proportion of true positives compared to the sum of all true positives and false positives; recall denotes the proportion of true positives compared to the sum of true positives and false negatives. With regards to spelling normalisation, precision refers to the proportion of correctly normalised word variants (hits) compared to all normalised word variants (hits + misses). Recall is about the proportion of correctly normalised word variants (hits) compared to all variants that the programme should have normalised in an ideal situation (shot animals + the game surviving the hunt).

In classification tasks there is usually a trade-off between precision and recall: shooting less carefully reduces the hunter's precision, but increases his recall thanks to accidental hits. This trade-off explains why a high precision standard comes at the cost of a relatively low coverage of the word variants to be normalised. When applied to the Corpus Descartes and the Corpus Spinoza, the setup created by Kisjes and Wijckmans on average normalised only 5.3% and 4.8% (respectively) of the word types in these corpora (see Table 3.2), leaving a substantial share of the vocabulary untouched. The proportion of the word types classified as 'word variants' – word types potentially eligible for normalisation as they are not listed in the index of standardised spelling variants – ranges between 40.8% in the Corpus Descartes and 46.5% in the Corpus Spinoza.

Table 3.2   Performance of spelling normalisation using VARD2.0 in terms of word types. SD = Standard Deviation ⏎

	Word types	Average % variants per text (SD)	Average % normalised per text (SD)
Corpus Descartes	10,973	40.8% (5.3%)	2.9% (0.3%)
Corpus Spinoza	15,030	46.5% (4.8%)	3.5% (1.1%)

It is important to note, nevertheless, that not all remaining word types recognised as 'word variants' by VARD2.0 should be considered 'false negatives' – spelling variants that should have been normalised. These 'word variants' include both spelling variants of known word types and variants of words which are not on the index at all, such as proper nouns, compound words, abbreviations, etc. It does not make sense to normalise spelling in these cases, and so they do not contribute to the number of false negatives.

Moreover, Table 3.3 shows that many of the variant word types are relatively sparse: the proportion of unindexed variation in terms of word tokens is considerably lower, ranging between 15.0% and 16.1%. This means that on average 73.9% to 85.0% of all word tokens are classified as non-variants before normalisation. Normalisation successfully increases that number by transforming a small proportion of the variant word tokens to non-variant word tokens – ranging between 3.4% on average in the Corpus Descartes and 5.3% on average Corpus Spinoza.

Table 3.3   Performance of spelling normalisation using VARD2.0 in terms of word tokens ⏎

	Word tokens	Average % variants per text (SD)	Average % normalised per text (SD)
Corpus Descartes	287,192	15.0% (0.9%)	3.4% (1.2%)
Corpus Spinoza	413,458	16.1% (3.0%)	5.3% (1.3%)

What do these numbers tell us? First of all, Table 3.1 indicates that VARD2.0 does not introduce *additional* noise to the Corpus when a high precision standard is maintained. Spelling normalisation can be viewed as a necessary and valid preparation of the corpus as it reduces the corpus's degree of spelling variation. Secondly, Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 indicate that VARD2.0 fails to normalise a substantial portion of the spelling variation in the corpus: ranging between an average of 16.1% minus 5.3% = 10.7% of all word tokens in the Corpus Spinoza and an average of 15.0% minus 3.4% = 11.6% in the

Corpus Descartes. While not all of these non-normalised tokens are 'false negatives', spelling normalisation with VARD2.0 does not remove all the noise caused by spelling variation.

Lemmatisation

Lemmatisation is the process of transforming inflected word variants into their dictionary form, also known as the 'lemma'. The way input words are treated during lemmatisation depends on their grammatical function. For example, different inflections of the same verb (e.g. reads, reading, read) will be grouped together by their associated infinitive form (read), and nouns noted in the plural (e.g. books) lose their suffix, in this case 's' (book). In the field of Natural Language Processing, tools developed for automatic lemmatisation rely upon language-specific dictionaries and training material, because affixes are language-specific.

Lemmatisation was performed using Frog, a software package that integrates various memory-based tools for linguistic analysis of Dutch text.[24] Frog borrowed its architecture from an older morphosyntactic tagger and dependency parser named Tadpole, developed and described by van den Bosch et al. (2007). They reported a 96.5% accuracy for the part-of-speech (POS) tagger included in Tadpole (and Frog) and a correctness of 79.0% for the morphological segmentation by its morphological analyser.[25] Due to the issue of spelling variation, applying Frog to a corpus of early modern Dutch does not result in similarly high accuracy scores. Unseen spelling variants complicate the procedures required for lemmatisation, such as morphological segmentation and dependency parsing. Morphological segmentation aims to automatically distinguish different morphemes (stem, pre- and affixes, inflections) in Dutch wordforms while tagging their function, which relies on a large database of modern Dutch wordforms – one that does not contain seventeenth-century spelling variants of those morphemes. Van den Bosch et al. furthermore explain that Frog's morphological analyser consults its POS-tagger to assign a grammatical function when dealing with ambiguous morphemes (such as the affix *-en*, which can signify either plural nouns or the infinitive form of verbs).[26] This functionality also performs less well when it encounters unknown morphemes in early modern language.

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24 Frog was developed by Bertjan Busser, Ko van der Sloot, and Maarten van Gompel, integrating software designed previously by Peter Berck, Sander Canisius, and Antal van den Bosch. Frog is available at https://languagemachines.github.io/frog/ (last accessed 31 March 2025) and has been integrated into the CLARIN-NL and CLARIAH infrastructure.
25 Van den Bosch et al., 'An efficient memory-based morphosyntactic tagger', 14.
26 Van den Bosch et al., 'An efficient memory-based morphosyntactic tagger', 7.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that although spelling variation affects these two procedures – POS-tagging and morphological segmentation – and thus lowers recall, it does not require us to compromise on precision. If Frog fails to identify the relevant lemma, the programme simply returns the wordform unchanged, which we can interpret as a 'false negative': the instance should have been lemmatised, but was not. For example, when parsing the token *vont* – a spelling variant of *vond*, third person simple past of the verb *vinden* (to think) – Frog provides a correct part-of-speech tag based on the token's syntactic position, but it simply returns *vont* as the associated lemma (instead of *vinden*) due to an unfamiliarity with this spelling variant. This means that while Frog cannot resolve all morphological variation (leaving many false negatives), it does not introduce erroneous lexical changes (false positives) to the text as a result of lemmatisation errors. Whenever a lemmatised word variant is proposed, the lemma is correct.

Despite its limitations, Frog decreases morphological variation in the corpus considerably. Whereas spelling normalisation reduces the total number of word types by only a few percentage points, lemmatisation achieves an additional reduction ranging between 18.9% and 19.1%, compared to the number of word types after spelling normalisation (Table 3.4). When compared to the situation before preprocessing, the total reduction of word types as a result of the two preprocessing steps amounts to 19.8% in the Corpus Descartes and 20.3% in the Corpus Spinoza.

Table 3.4   Reduction of word type variation after spelling normalisation and lemmatisation ⏎

	Word types before preprocessing	Word types after spelling normalisation	Word types after lemmatisation	Total effect of preprocessing
Corpus Descartes	10,973	10,871 (-0.9%)	8,796 (–19.1%)	–19.8%
Corpus Spinoza	15,030	14,771 (–1.7%)	11,981 (–18.9%)	–20.3%

The percentages reported above confirm that spelling variation and morphological variation cannot be completely normalised. These issues will continue to cause variation in the Corpus. However, the presence of linguistic variation should not be a reason to entirely refrain from using computational methods. After all, noise is inevitable in any digital dataset or, for that matter, source. Spelling normalisation and lemmatisation are necessary to reduce variation, creating a more level playing field where texts written

by different authors and from different genres can be treated more equally. The integrity of the Corpus is preserved because a high precision standard has been maintained for both spelling normalisation and lemmatisation, reducing the error rate to an acceptable minimum. By subjecting all texts in the Corpus to the same preprocessing treatment and the same analytical procedures, we can make meaningful comparisons between texts despite the lack of linguistic standardisation in the Corpus.

3.3   Automatic loanword detection[27]

The aim of automatic loanword detection is to automate the analysis of foreign terminology in early modern Dutch texts. 'Automatic loanword detection' refers to the computational detection of loanwords from multiple texts based on a lexicon of 10,457 distinct loanwords. This lexicon comprises three different but interdependent loanword dictionaries composed and published between 1650 and 1669. Merged into a digital word list, these dictionaries enable an algorithm to parse a text and to count the loanwords in it, both in terms of types (unique words in the text) and tokens (numbers of words in the text). As a result, automatic loanword detection offers a standard for comparing lexical preferences regarding the use of loanwords in multiple texts. It yields useful quantitative evidence for the attitude towards loanwords in a given oeuvre or corpus.

What is a loanword and why is the use of foreign terminology a relevant textual feature? In her Dutch dictionary of loanwords *Van Dale groot leenwoordenboek*, Nicoline van der Sijs distinguishes three types of linguistic borrowing: (1) semantic borrowing (*betekenisontleningen*); (2) translational borrowing (*vertalende ontleningen*); and (3) loanwords and borrowed expressions (*leenwoorden en geleende uitdrukkingen*).[28] Because seventeenth-century loanword dictionaries only included the last category, this analysis will only focus on loanwords and borrowed expressions. Van der Sijs defines a loanword as a word that 'borrows both sound (and/or spelling) and meaning' from a foreign language.[29] Each loanword passes through different stages of integration into the Dutch language and finally loses its borrowed status once language users no longer recognise its foreign

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27   An earlier version of this section was presented as a short paper at DH Benelux 2020: van der Deijl, 'Automatic loanword extraction for early modern Dutch'.

28   Van der Sijs, *Van Dale groot leenwoordenboek*, 34.

29   Van der Sijs, *Van Dale groot leenwoordenboek*, 34.

origin.[30] Automatic loanword detection thus becomes an instrument for studying historical trends in the introduction and integration of foreign terms in Dutch. It can help us to assess the familiarity of loanwords in specific discourses. Moreover, an author's use of loanwords usually depends on the intended readership, genre, and that author's philosophical attitude towards loanwords. Studying loanwords from a quantitative perspective thus contributes to our understanding of the relationship between intellectual conditions, social circumstances, and linguistic practices.

Counting loanwords based on a predefined lexicon is not as simple as it seems. The use of a predefined lexicon in computational analysis inevitably introduces a certain degree of linguistic bias. Lexica are rarely exhaustive and their representativeness and coverage always require evaluation. Moreover, texts need to undergo profound transformation before their words can be matched against a dictionary entry. The morphology involved in transforming sentences to word lemmas requires tokenisation, spelling normalisation, and lemmatisation. As explained in Section 3.2, none of these preprocessing steps is unproblematic, especially when applied to historical Dutch. Therefore, the accuracy of automatic loanword detection also requires validation. In this section I will address its representativeness, accuracy, and coverage. Again, the code, resources, and documentation of this research instrument can be found on GitHub.[31]

The lexicon

The lexicon was collected from three sources: Johan Hofman's loanword dictionary *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat* (1650),[32] Adriaan Koerbagh's infamous purist dictionary *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet* (1668),[33] and the fifth reprint (1669) of Lodewijk Meijer's re-edition of Hofman's *Woorden-schat*.[34] These dictionaries are closely related: like most lexicographers, Koerbagh and Meijer did not compile their *Bloemhof* and *Woorden-schat* from scratch, but borrowed most of their entries from earlier dictionaries. Koerbagh's *Bloemhof* originated directly out of both Hofman's and Meijer's, and also borrowed from the 1599 edition of Kiliaan's

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30   Van der Sijs, *Van Dale groot leenwoordenboek*, 36.

31   https://github.com/lucasvanderdeijl/automatic-loan-word-extraction (last accessed 31 March 2025)

32   Hofman, *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat*.

33   On the reception of Koerbagh's dictionary see Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 109–128.

34   Meijer, *L. Meijers woordenschat*; Meijer and Hofman, *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat*.

influential Latin-Dutch dictionary *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*,[35] which included a separate list of loanwords (*Appendix peregrinarum, absurdarum adulterinarumque dictionum*).[36] 83.1% of the 3,749 loanwords from amongst Hofman's entries re-appeared word-for-word in Koerbagh's.[37] Koerbagh also copied most of Meijer's additions, which in turn drew upon the lexicographical work done by Meijer's half-brother Alhardt Lodewijk Kók (1616–1653).[38] 5,615 entries (66.0%) from Koerbagh's total selection of 8,508 entries also featured the 1669 edition of Meijer's dictionary. Before Koerbagh, Meijer had further appended and reprinted his first edition from 1654 several times: in 1658, 1663, and 1669.[39] The 1663 edition – the last before Koerbagh's *Bloemhof* and most likely Koerbagh's main source – almost doubled the number of loanwords collected by Hofman, bringing together 6,135 loanword entries (*bastaardwoorden*) and 4,840 Latin jargon entries (*konstwoorden*).[40] The Venn diagram in Figure 3.4 shows the number of entries Meijer's 1669 edition (an appended reprint from earlier editions) copied from Hofman's version from 1650 and the number of entries Koerbagh borrowed from the selection included in Meijer's editions before 1669.

Figure 3.4 illustrates the extent to which Meijer and Koerbagh depended on existing lexica. Thus, rather than a lexicon composed by one author, the later editions of both the *Woorden-schat* and the *Bloemhof* represented an accumulation of dictionaries by different Dutch lexicographers: Kiliaan, Hofman, Kók, Meijer, and Koerbagh. In this way, Hofman, Koerbagh, and Meijer jointly provide a reliable representation of contemporary linguistic ideas about loanwords.

Moreover, there were no significant disagreements between Hofman, Koerbagh, and Meijer concerning grammatical categorisation, selection, or notation of loanwords. In conformance with Hofman's and Meijer's dictionaries, the *Bloemhof* mostly features nouns (57.3%), verbs (30.6%), and adjectives/adverbs (10.9%). These numbers approximate the distribution of

35   Kilianus, *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*.

36   On Koerbagh's sources, see Salverda de Grave, *De Franse woorden in het Nederlands*, 12–15.

37   It was possible to conduct an automated comparison because digital transcripts of both the *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat* and Koerbagh's *Bloemhof* are available on DBNL.

38   On the relation between Kók and Meijer see Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 120–123. On the lexicographical contributions of Kók see Salverda de Grave, *De Franse woorden in het Nederlands*, 12.

39   Meijer's dictionary remained in print up to 1805. For an extensive comparison of the different versions of the dictionary edited by Meijer himself, see van Hardeveld-Kooi, 'Lodewijk Meijer'.

40   Van Hardeveld-Kooi, 'Lodewijk Meijer', 158.
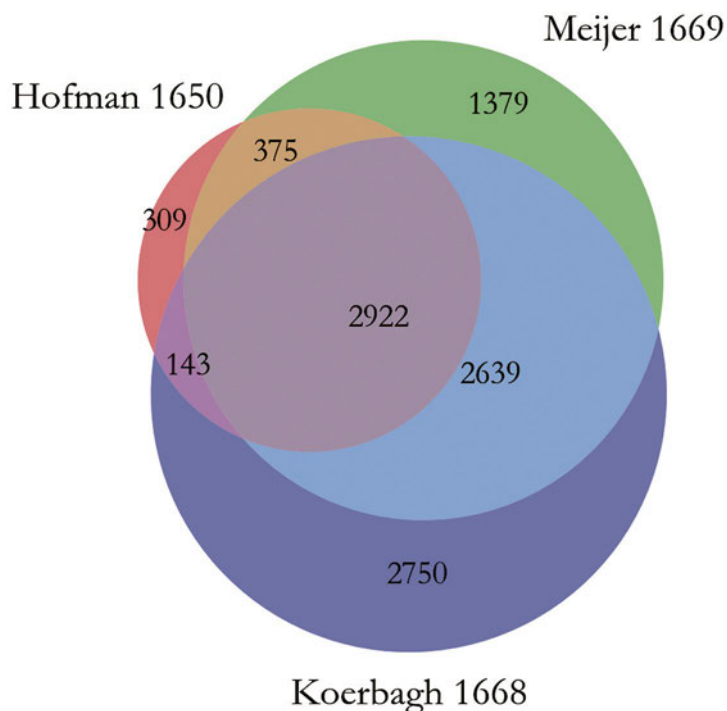
Figure 3.4 Overlapping lemmas in the Hofman, Meijer, and Koerbagh dictionaries ⏎

grammatical categories in Hofman 1650 (N: 50.9%; V: 36.5%; ADJ: 12.3%) and
Meijer 1663 (N: 57%; V: 35%; ADJ: 8%).[41] In 1669, Meijer developed a relative
preference for nouns and adjectives (N: 62%; V: 18%; ADJ: 20%), probably
because he increasingly collected new entries from Latin dictionaries,
including Kiliaan's *Etymologicum*.[42] In all dictionaries, verbs were generally
indexed in the infinitive and adjectives in the uninflected form (without
suffixes such as *-e*, *-er*, or *-en*). Nouns were mostly noted in the singular form
only, although some entries listed both the singular and plural forms (e.g.
both *ingredient* and *ingredienten*, *magistraat* and *magistraten*, *meubel* and
meubelen, etc.) and others provided the plural form only (e.g. *conthoralen*,
referendarien, *reclamanten*, etc.). Because of these similarities in categorisa-
tion, selection, and notation, the separate lexica composed by Hofman,

41   The distribution of grammatical categories in Hofman 1650 and Koerbagh 1668 was calculated
through manual annotation. The numbers concerning Meijer 1663 were borrowed from the
estimated values based on annotated samples in van Hardeveld-Kooi, 'Lodewijk Meijer', 219.
42   Van Hardeveld-Kooi, 'Lodewijk Meijer', 303.

Koerbagh, and Meijer have been merged into one lexicon for this research instrument. Only the cumulative loanword frequencies will be reported in the case studies below.

It must be stressed, finally, that the three lexicographers were mostly concerned with French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew loanwords. Apparently, words originating in other Germanic languages were considered less problematic. Although this tolerance for German (and English) loanwords was quite typical for early modern linguistic purism, linguists today acknowledge the variety of language influences in Dutch and therefore maintain more inclusive, language-independent definitions of loanwords.[43] Therefore, I mention two disclaimers. First, 'automatic loanword detection' is primarily useful for reconstructing the way early modern Dutch authors conformed to normative vocabularies as proposed by Hofman, Meijer, and Koerbagh. That reconstruction is relevant given the prominence of Meijer and Koerbagh within Dutch freethinking circles. However, the method proposed here is insufficient for extracting all words that would qualify as loanwords according to modern definitions and standards from the field of historical linguistics. Second, whenever I use the word 'loanword' hereafter, I refer to Hofman's, Koerbagh's, and Meijer's understanding of that term. I choose to approach linguistic purism as a cultural historian, not as a historical linguist.

Accuracy

What is the accuracy of automatic loanword detection using contemporary loanword dictionaries as its lexicon? The accuracy of a classification task like the one at hand here – classifying all words in a text as either loanwords or non-loanwords – is commonly expressed as a function of its 'precision' and its 'recall' (see 2.2). Precision indicates the number of correctly classified items (true positives, in this case: tokens correctly classified as loanwords) compared to the total number of classified items (true positives + false positives: tokens incorrectly classified as loanwords). Recall is to be understood as the number of correctly identified items (true positives) compared to the total number of items the algorithm should have identified (true positives + false negatives: all actual loanwords in the corpus). In the operationalisation discussed here, precision equals (nearly) 100% because a token is only classified as a loanword if it literally matches with an entry

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43   Van der Wal and van Bree, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*, 197; van der Sijs, *Groot leenwoordenboek*, 30–32; 34–35.

from the dictionary.[44] Hence, any token classified as such according to contemporary definitions indeed qualifies as a loanword.

The method's recall, on the contrary, is lower due to spelling variation, word inflection, and verb conjugation: comparing inflected word variants with their uninflected equivalents as indexed in the dictionary evidently leads to false negatives. Six texts from the research corpus were annotated manually in order to calculate the average number of false negatives and to estimate the procedure's overall accuracy. The 'naïve' approach, without any kind of preprocessing, resulted in a mean recall of 0.69 (Table 3.5). This means that automatic loanword detection identified 69% of all manually annotated loanwords in an average text.

To improve that accuracy, each text from the corpus underwent two transformations: spelling normalisation and lemmatisation. The spelling normalisation software VARD2 was used to reduce spelling variation, with an 85% accuracy threshold, as described in Section 3.2. The aim of this step was mainly to improve the lemmatisation process, which was conducted using Frog. Because neither of these tools was developed specifically for handling early modern Dutch, the error rate of the normalisation and lemmatisation process was relatively high, causing the recall rate to decrease.

In 5 out of 6 texts annotated manually, spelling normalisation and lemmatisation did indeed improve the accuracy, resulting in a mean recall of 0.83 (Table 3.5). This means that for every 100 loanwords in an average text, the method correctly identifies 83. While this result leaves much room for improvement, Table 3.5 shows that the procedure does offer valuable information about variation in the use of loanwords within an oeuvre or between authors. Loanwords are clearly much less frequent in the annotated texts of Glazemaker than in Balling's work or Blankaart's oeuvre. This is a real difference between texts rather than an artefact of our method caused by morphological variation, as it cannot be explained by the variation in recall. In other words, the method's accuracy does not depend on the specific style or spelling preferences of authors, which makes it fit for comparative purposes.

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44   In a small number of cases ambiguity leads to misclassification. Homonyms like 'appel' – meaning 'apple' in its Germanic form but 'appeal' as a French loanword – cause the precision to drop below 100%.

**Table 3.5   Computational extraction of loanwords from raw text versus
        lemmatised text ⏎**

	Lexical features			Recall without preprocessing		Recall with spelling normalisation and lemmatisation	
	Tokens	**Lemmas**	**Loanword lemmas***	**N (tokens)**	**Recall**	**N (tokens)**	**Recall**
Balling, *VdDG*	23,221	2,530	181	131 (341)	0.72	149 (402)	0.82
Balling, *NVdDG*	19,816	2,268	147	112 (231)	0.76	120 (271)	0.82
Blankaart, *DBT*	25,817	4,014	106	82 (198)	0.77	82 (235)	0.77
Blankaart, *VvdC*	10,159	1,836	83	60 (86)	0.72	66 (102)	0.80
Glazemaker, *RvhB*	23,949	2,146	15	8 (49)	0.53	13 (85)	0.87
Glazemaker, *LvdZ*	38,690	2,451	11	7 (58)	0.64	10 (74)	0.91
Mean recall					**0.69**		**0.83**

* Number of distinct loanwords (lemmas) identified through manual annotation ('gold standard').
The reported recall indicates the percentage of this number that was identified automatically. The
actual frequency (tokens) of the identified loanword lemmas (N) is indicated between brackets.

Coverage

The final question to be addressed concerns the overall prominence and
distribution of loanwords in contemporary discourse from the studied
period. One needs a norm against which to compare stylistic prefer-
ences regarding loanwords among translators like Glazemaker, Balling,
and Blankaart. To estimate this norm, all loanwords were automatically
extracted from a subcorpus of 207 texts from the five decades in which
most of the translations in the Test Corpus were published (1650–1699; see
Section 2.1). Preprocessing was conducted as discussed above: spelling was
rudimentarily normalised using VARD2 and all words were lemmatised
using Frog. The results are summarised in Table 3.6: the mean relative
frequency of loanwords in this corpus is 1.59%. This means that for every
10,000 distinct word lemmas in an average text from the Test Corpus, 159
were indexed by contemporary loanword dictionaries and hence can be
classified as loanwords. If the average recall (0.83) were to be compensated
for by calculating the actual average through extrapolation, the frequency
of loanwords could be estimated at 1.91%. However, I will not mention
estimated values in the case studies in order to reduce uncertainty. Finally,
the high standard deviation (0.81%) from the reported average frequency
indicates that there is in fact high variation in the use of loanwords in the
corpus. This suggests that some authors actively resisted foreign terminology
whereas others tended to be less concerned by their use of loanwords. They

saw no harm in using them, or simply followed cultural or socio-linguistic conventions in the discourses they engaged in.

Table 3.6   Loanword frequencies in the subcorpus 1650–1699 ↵

Documents	Tokens	Loanword tokens	Lemmas	Loanword lemmas	Average percentage of distinct loanword lemmas per text (SD)
207	4,879,632	37,686	208,616	1,799	1.59% (0.81%)

Furthermore, Table 3.6 indicates that only a minority of the words indexed by Hofman, Meijer, and Koerbagh actually occurred in contemporary discourse: 1,799 (17.2%) out of the 10,457 loanwords listed in the lexicon appear at least once in the corpus. Salverda de Grave explains this low number by claiming that both Meijer and Koerbagh probably expanded their selections with highly uncommon terms from Latin dictionaries.[45] The fact that less than twenty percent of all loanwords listed in the lexicon actually occurred in the 1650–1699 subcorpus confirms that the coverage of these dictionaries should not be overestimated.

The distribution of those 1,799 distinct loanwords throughout the corpus is highly unequal, roughly following a Zipfian curve (Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6) with its characteristic long tail: 566 (31.5%) loanwords were found in only one document. Figure 3.5b shows the rank-frequency distribution of all loanword lemmas observed at least once, compared to a hypothetical Zipfian distribution, indexed at the highest rank number (1,799). A majority of the observed frequencies, mostly from the curve's middle linear portion, is in parallel with Zipf's law.[46] This means that the distribution of loanwords in Dutch texts printed between 1650 and 1699 is not fundamentally different from the distribution of other nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Overall, loanwords are not used artificially or selectively compared to non-loanwords.

In contrast to the average frequency, the high peak at the left edge of Figure 3.5 represents a subcategory of loanwords that were in fact omnipresent. Apparently, words like *natuur* (nature), *manier* (manner),

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45   Salverda de Grave, *De Franse woorden in het Nederlands*, 16.
46   With a higher index number, the turquoise line would have been plotted higher overall, overlapping with most data points from the blue line, but overestimating the frequencies in the top section. This can be explained from the fact that the loanword lemmas consist exclusively of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, whose frequencies remain much lower compared to the function words ranking highest in a Zipfian distribution of all words in a corpus.
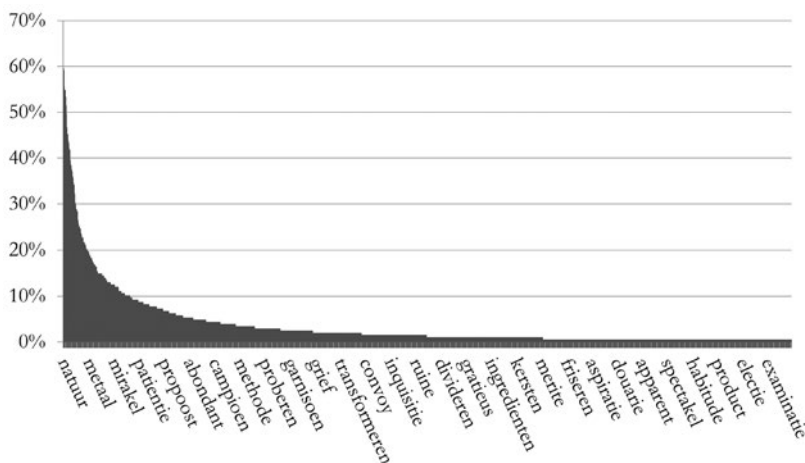
Figure 3.5 Distinct loanword lemmas by percentage of documents from the corpus (N = 207)
featuring the lemma. The x-axis shows only a random selection of the 1,799 lemmas in the corpus
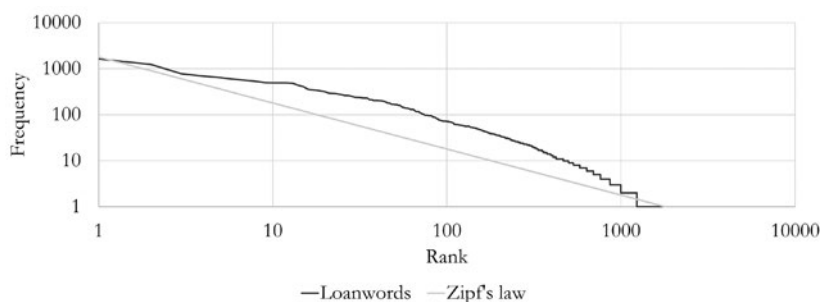
Figure 3.6 Rank-frequency distribution of the 1,799 loanword lemmas in the corpus (N=207)
compared to Zipf's law

prins (prince), *engel* (angel), and *troon* (throne) had been fully integrated
into the Dutch language by the second half of the seventeenth century.
Figure 3.7 contains the most prominent examples of this category. It
offers a different representation of the left end of the distribution in
Figure 3.5, listing the top 25 most frequent loanword lemmas in absolute
numbers. The high frequencies suggests that these loanwords had already
progressed into the final stages of the integration process described by
van der Sijs, where ordinary language users no longer recognised their
foreign origin.[47]

47   Van der Sijs, *Groot leenwoordenboek*, 36.
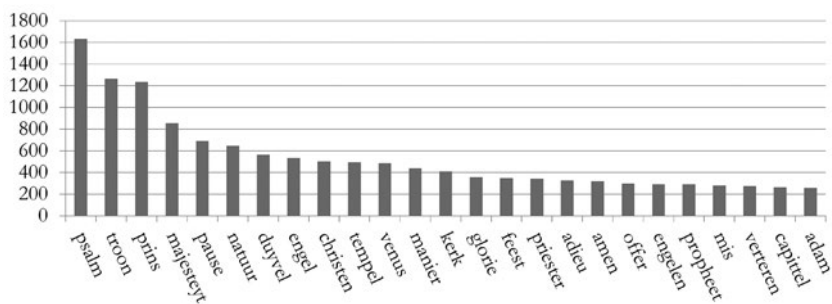
Figure 3.7 Total frequency of occurrence of the top 25 most frequent loanword lemmas in the corpus (N = 207) ⤶

Both ends of the distribution plotted in Figure 3.5 – the ubiquitous versus the very infrequent loanwords – mark the boundaries of what was recognised as a borrowed element in Dutch discourse published between 1650 and 1699. Automatic loanword detection supports the study of such discursive boundaries: which words and word categories were deemed appropriate in which context? What were the conditions for the use of loanwords, and when did authors deliberately avoid them? I will apply automatic loanword detection to historical questions like these.

Results

Figure 3.8 displays the mean loanword frequencies for each translator compared to the Test Corpus, based on automatic loanword detection. It shows that Blankaart's, Balling's, and Glazemaker's loanword use was considerably lower than the mean frequency in the Test Corpus, in terms of both variety (word types) and frequency (word tokens). In some cases the frequency is less than half the frequency in the Test Corpus. These numbers confirm that Blankaart, Glazemaker, and Balling actively tried to avoid foreign terminology in their translations of Spinoza and Descartes.

Van Berkel is the obvious exception. In Figure 3.8 a clear distinction emerges between him and the other translators, who are more inclined to comply with purist norms. But even in texts produced by those purist translators, loanword frequencies are not zero. This is due to the fact that a small portion of the loanword lexicon listed in Figure 3.7 had been fully integrated into the Dutch language. It would have been absurd to replace omnipresent words like *natuur* (nature) and *christen* (Christian) with purist alternatives, if any were available at all. Therefore, it is important to examine not only *how many* but also *which* loanwords were included in a translator's idiom.

Mean loanword frequency
(word types)

Test Corpus (N = 365; 355168 types)	1,79%
Van Berkel (N = 1; 8111 types)	7,63%
Blankaart (N = 4; 3610 types)	0,78%
Balling (N = 3; 5259 types)	0,95%
Glazemaker (N = 10; 11805 types)	0,75%

Mean loanword frequency
(word tokens)

Test Corpus (N = 365; 12292851 tokens)	0,80%
Van Berkel (N = 1; 266372 tokens)	2,39%
Blankaart (N = 4; 51172 tokens)	0,28%
Balling (N = 3; 87692 tokens)	0,36%
Glazemaker (N = 10; 551106 tokens)	0,51%

Figure 3.8 Mean loanword frequency in the Test Corpus compared to each translator from the Translation Corpus ⏎

Figure 3.9 displays the top 15 most frequent loanwords in all translations by van Berkel, Blankaart, Balling, and Glazemaker, ranked by relative percentage of all word tokens.[48] A comparison of the four charts reveals van Berkel's tolerance regarding foreign terminology. Out of the 15 most frequent loanwords in his translations, 8 ended up above the 0.0005 line (occurring 5 times in every 10,000 word tokens), a frequency that is only matched by the inevitable *natuur* (nature) and *profeet* (prophet) in the translations by Glazemaker and Balling. Both the variety and the frequency of loanwords are higher in van Berkel's idiom. Also, his most frequently used loanwords belong to a specific topical category: Hobbes's preoccupation with Bible criticism. Furthermore, the political function of religion is reflected in the most frequent loanwords, such as *regeren* (to rule), *profeet* (prophet), *schriftuur* (Scripture), *paus* (pope), etc.

The loanwords in translations by Blankaart, Balling, and Glazemaker on the other hand are mostly limited to the category of general terms already ubiquitous in contemporary discourse, such as *natuur* (and the adjective form *natuurlijk*, 'naturally'), *manier* (manner) and *vorm* ('form', or the related verb *vormen*, 'to form'). I say mostly, because in some cases loanwords occurred in spite of the availability of a purist alternative used elsewhere in the translations. For example: Blankaart saw no issue with the term

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48 Note that these rankings show only the tip of the iceberg: the full lists comprise much more information about the philosophical terms and topics in each translator's oeuvre. The full lists per translator can be obtained along with the code and documentation used for this analysis, available at https://github.com/lucasvanderdeijl/automatic-loan-word-extraction (last accessed 31 March 2025).
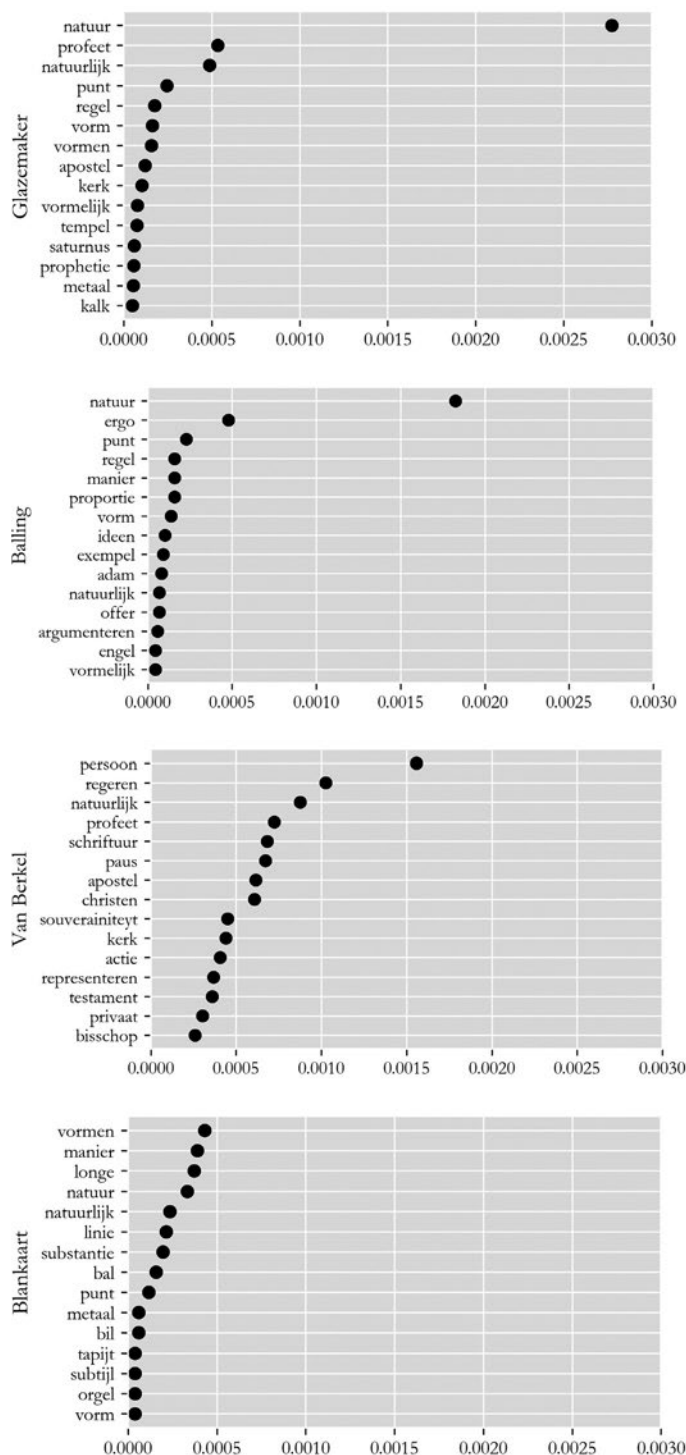
Figure 3.9 Top 15 most frequent loanwords in the Translation Corpus, by translator ↵

substantie (substance), which Glazemaker consistently translated with the purist *zelfstandigheid* (meaning 'independence' in contemporary Dutch). Balling used *argumenteren* (to argue) instead of Glazemaker's preferred purism *redeneren* (to reason). Complete consistency did not exist for these translators, but Figures 8.1 and 8.2 confirm that Blankaart, Glazemaker, and Balling made a systematic attempt to reduce the foreign terminology in their philosophical translations to a bare minimum.

3.4   Detection of philosophical terminology

The philosophical desire for a new language started with a search for new words. Balling explicitly stated the sequential relationship between the two linguistic levels: 'if one, through words and arguments, should want to better instil the things in someone, one would be required to invent new words, and consequently a whole new language'.[49] Given the philosophical aim of this desire, philosophical terms were the first in line to be redefined. In Chapter 4, I will read the philosophical terms printed in thousands of marginal glosses in Glazemaker's translations of Descartes and Spinoza as markers of that linguistic reform. For example, in those books the term *'t beleed* (a purist equivalent of the word 'method') is repeatedly glossed with the Latin unigram *Methodus* in the margin and the term *beschouwelijke wetenschappen* (speculative sciences) in the text body is glossed with the Latin bigram *Scientia speculative.* The glosses provided an index of the original terminology in the Latin sources, highlighting the preferred Dutch equivalents in the body of the text. Moreover, the glosses also reflect semantic instability and conceptual unfamiliarity. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the irregularity between the frequency of philosophical terms and the number of marginal glosses that annotated them. Because of this asymmetry between term frequency and gloss frequency, I propose that the marginalia be read as markers of the discursive fringes of Cartesianism and Spinozism among Dutch readers. Similar to our modern yellow highlighters, the glosses highlighted key concepts that were expected to be unfamiliar, ambiguous, and possibly unclear to implied readers. After all, it is rarely the trivial concepts that are underlined in textbooks.

In other words, the linguistic and semantic reform of the New Philosophy in Dutch discourse was inscribed on the page margins of Glazemaker's translations. Therefore, the glosses provide a valuable feature for my

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49   Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht op den kandelaar,* 3.

reconstruction of the reform of philosophical language in Dutch translations of the New Philosophy. In the present section, I will use the marginalia from Glazemaker's translations to test whether the terminology marked by the glosses was indeed uncommon and therefore possibly unfamiliar in contemporary discourse. The first step will be to describe the lexicon and the occurrence of philosophical terminology in the Translation Corpus and the Test Corpus.

The lexicon

The lexicon of philosophical terminology used comprised a list of all words and word combinations annotated with marginal glosses from eight books translated by Glazemaker and published by Jan Rieuwertsz (Table 3.7). For every annotation, both the Latin gloss in the margin and the corresponding Dutch term in the text body were extracted automatically from manual transcriptions of the translations. Automatic extraction was possible because the marginalia had been tagged during transcription.

Table 3.7   Numbers of marginalia from Glazemaker's translations used to create a lexicon of philosophical terminology ⏎

	Author	Title	Distinct glosses	Marginalia
1	Descartes	*Proeven der wysbegeerte: Of redenering van de middel om de reden wel te beleiden, en de waarheit in de wetenschappen te zoeken* (1656)	284	483
2	Descartes	*Les Passions de l'ame, of de lydingen van de ziel* (1656)	446	1,126
3	Descartes	*Meditationes de Prima Philosophia: of bedenkingen van d' eerste wysbegeerte* (1656)	502	1,011
4	Descartes	*Principia Philosophiæ: Of beginselen der wysbegeerte* (1657)	1,841	5,298
5	Spinoza	*Zedekunst, in vijf delen onderscheiden* (1677)	1,184	6,855
6	Spinoza	*Staatkundige verhandeling* (1677)	341	1,137
7	Spinoza	*Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (1677)	524	1,267
8	Spinoza	*Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen aan B.D.S. met des zelfs antwoort* (1677)[50]	1,191	3,026

Extracting all marginalia from the eight translations listed in Table 3.7 resulted in a list of 4,647 distinct Latin glosses (or 'n-gram types') printed in 20,203 separate marginal notes. The majority of those n-gram types

50   This edition of Spinoza's correspondence concerns letters written by both Spinoza and his correspondents. For my experiment I excluded letters not written by Spinoza.
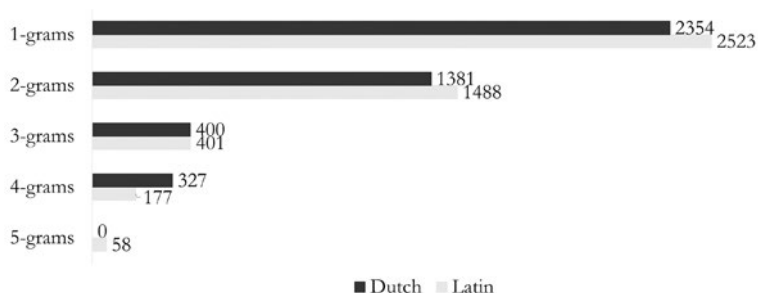
Figure 3.10 Number of n-gram types in the Latin glosses and the Dutch terminology annotated by glosses, by token length ⏎

Figure 3.11 Total occurrence of all distinct terms in the Latin glosses and the Dutch terminology annotated by glosses, by token length

(2,523) were unigrams (such as *Methodus*), followed by 1,488 bigrams (e.g. *res cogitans*), 401 trigrams (e.g. *materia primi elementi*), 177 fourgrams (e.g. *res extensa non cogitans*) and 58 fivegrams (e.g. *globuli sive particulae secundi elementi*). The equivalent list in Dutch comprised 4,462 distinct annotated words or word combinations from the text body, including 2,354 unigrams (e.g. *zelfstandigheid*), 1,381 bigrams (e.g. *beschouwelijke wetenschappen*), 400 trigrams (e.g. *klarelijk en onderscheidelijk*) and 327 fourgrams (e.g. *klare en onderscheide denkbeelden*). Note that the distributions of Dutch and Latin n-gram types are similar but not equal due to lexical and morphological differences between the two languages (Figure 3.10).

The unigrams not only dominate the list of n-gram types; they also occur more frequently in the marginalia than the other n-grams. Figure 8.10 shows the cumulative occurrence of all unigrams, bigrams, trigrams, fourgrams, and fivegrams in the Latin glosses and the annotated Dutch terminology.

Most n-grams are relatively infrequent, but the bigrams, trigrams, fourgrams, and fivegrams are especially rare: 79.2% of the latter category occurred only once in Glazemaker's glosses, compared to 53.8% of all unigrams.
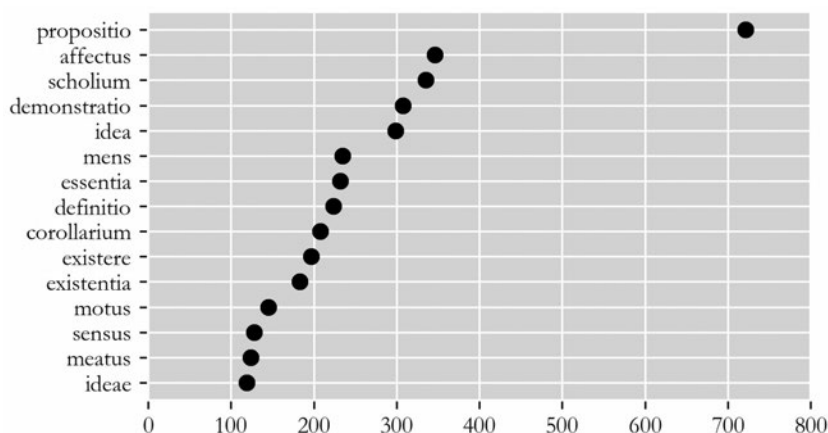
Figure 3.12 Most frequent Latin unigrams in glosses from Glazemaker's translations ↵
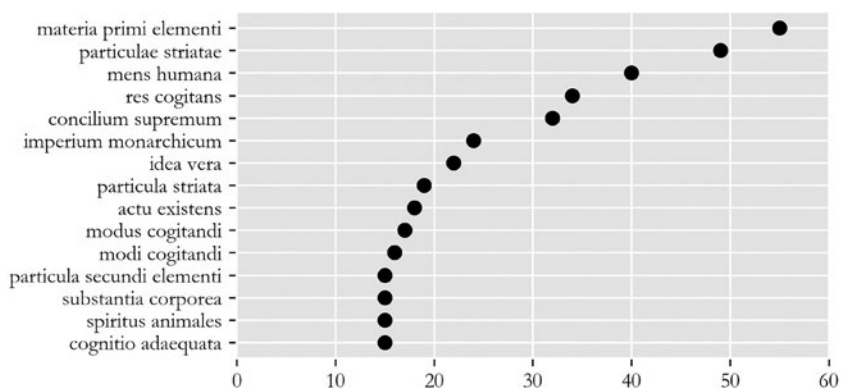
Figure 3.13 Most frequent Latin bigrams, trigrams, fourgrams, and fivegrams in glosses from Glazemaker's translations ↵

The most frequent unigrams and other n-grams listed in Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13 also illustrate this dominance of unigrams in the marginal notes: all terms in the top 15 unigrams from Figure 3.12 occur more than 100 times, whereas the x-axis in Figure 3.13 ends at 60.

As demonstrated in the top 15 most frequent Dutch unigrams annotated by glosses (Figure 3.14), the lexicon includes nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Most annotated words are noted in their lemmatised dictionary form – but not all, see for example *denkbeelt* (idea) versus the plural form *denkbeelden* (ideas), and *hartstocht* (affect) versus *hartstochten* (affects). Some functioned as structural markers that assisted a parallel reading of the translation and Latin source, such as *voorstelling* (proposition), *betoging* (demonstration),
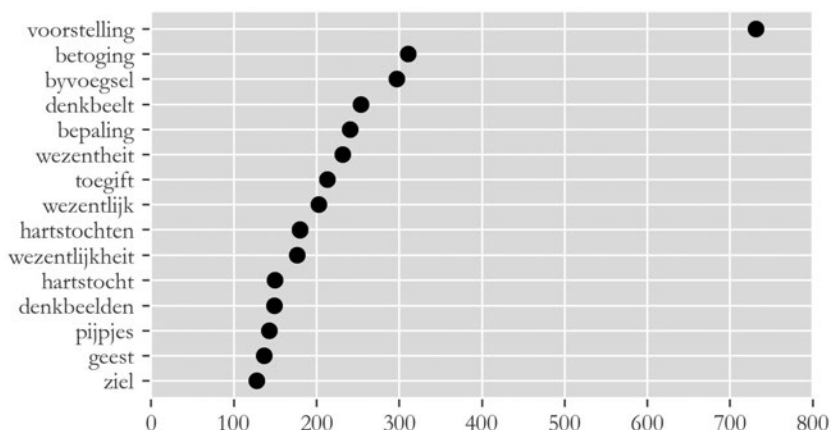
Figure 3.14 Most frequent Dutch unigrams annotated by glosses from Glazemaker's translations ⌐

and *byvoegsel* (appendix). Others, however, are philosophical notions such as *denkbeelt* (idea), *wezentheit* (essentia), *wezentlijkheid* (existence), and *hartstochten* (affects). The high number of annotations associated with such terms – several terms are glossed over two hundred times – indicate the perceived ambiguity of this vocabulary among Glazemaker's readers.

Results

Similar to the previous experiment about loanwords, the first step to estimating the specificity of philosophical terminology for the Translation Corpus is to calculate relative frequencies of the entire lexicon in each translator's idiom. Figure 3.15 displays the average number of philosophical terms for every 10,000 word tokens in the Test Corpus compared to the works by each translator individually. These results show that overall, philosophical terminology appears more often in the Translation Corpus than the Test Corpus, although the translators differ in degree. When compared to that of Blankaart, Balling, and Glazemaker, van Berkel's use of philosophical terminology is closer to the average percentages observed in the Test Corpus. This variation in the Translation Corpus brings to mind the pattern that emerged in my analysis of loanwords: van Berkel followed different conventions to his fellow translators. Frequencies of philosophical terminology could thus offer another indication that van Berkel was translating for a different, more general and therefore possibly larger target audience.

Furthermore, the frequency of philosophical terminology in the Test Corpus shows that the n-grams included in the lexicon are relatively common in early modern Dutch discourse. Compared to the loanword frequencies reported in the previous section, the average proportions reported

Test Corpus (N = 365; 12292851 word tokens)　53
Van Berkel (N = 1; 266372 word tokens)　85
Blankaart (N = 4; 51172 word tokens)　126
Balling (N = 3; 87692 tokens)　140
Glazemaker (N = 10; 551106 word tokens)　198
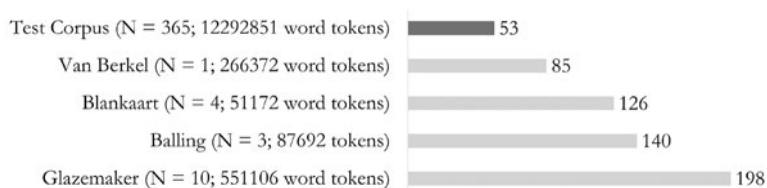
Figure 3.15 Average number of philosophical terms (uni-, bi-, tri-, and fourgrams) per 10,000 word tokens in the Test Corpus compared to each translator from the Translation Corpus ⏎

god, ziel, gods, liefde, wezen, geest, stellen, recht, vast, licht, plaats, mensch, klein, reden, leren

0.0000　0.0005　0.0010　0.0015　0.0020　0.0025　0.0030
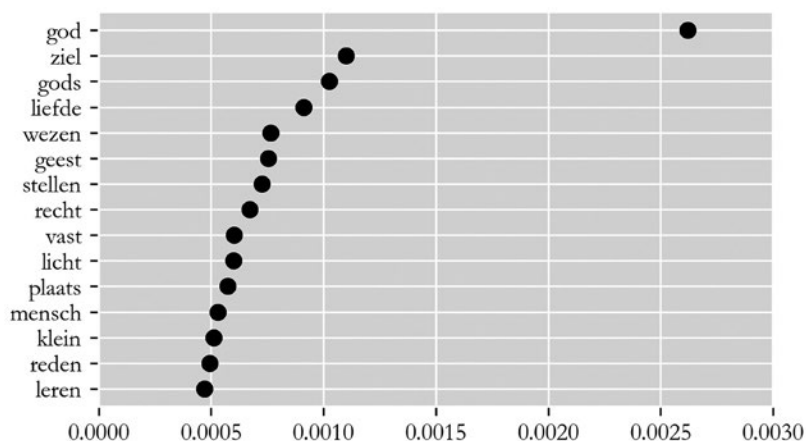
Figure 3.16 Top 15 most frequent unigrams from the lexicon in the Test Corpus, ranked by relative word token frequency ⏎

in Figure 3.15 are relatively high. The difference between the observed frequencies of loanwords and philosophical terminology can be explained by the fact that philosophical terms may also include bigrams, trigrams, and fourgrams aside from unigrams. Another explanation is that Glazemaker also annotated highly frequent words like *God* (*Deus*, God), *ziel* (*mens*, soul), or *plaats* (*locus*, place), which ended up in the lexicon as a result (cf. Figure 3.16). His annotations alerted the reader that the highlighted words occurred in a different, unfamiliar context. Possibly, such reminders were needed in the cases where readers would otherwise default to automated interpretations of common notions.

However, the specificity of the philosophical terminology in the Translation Corpus does not depend on the omnipresent, semantically flexible terms such as *God* or *ziel*. Instead, discursive differences appear most visibly through terms that occur relatively often compared to the Test Corpus and in relatively unfamiliar contexts. The top 15 most frequent unigrams from the lexicon extracted from each translator's oeuvre (Figure 3.17) illustrate
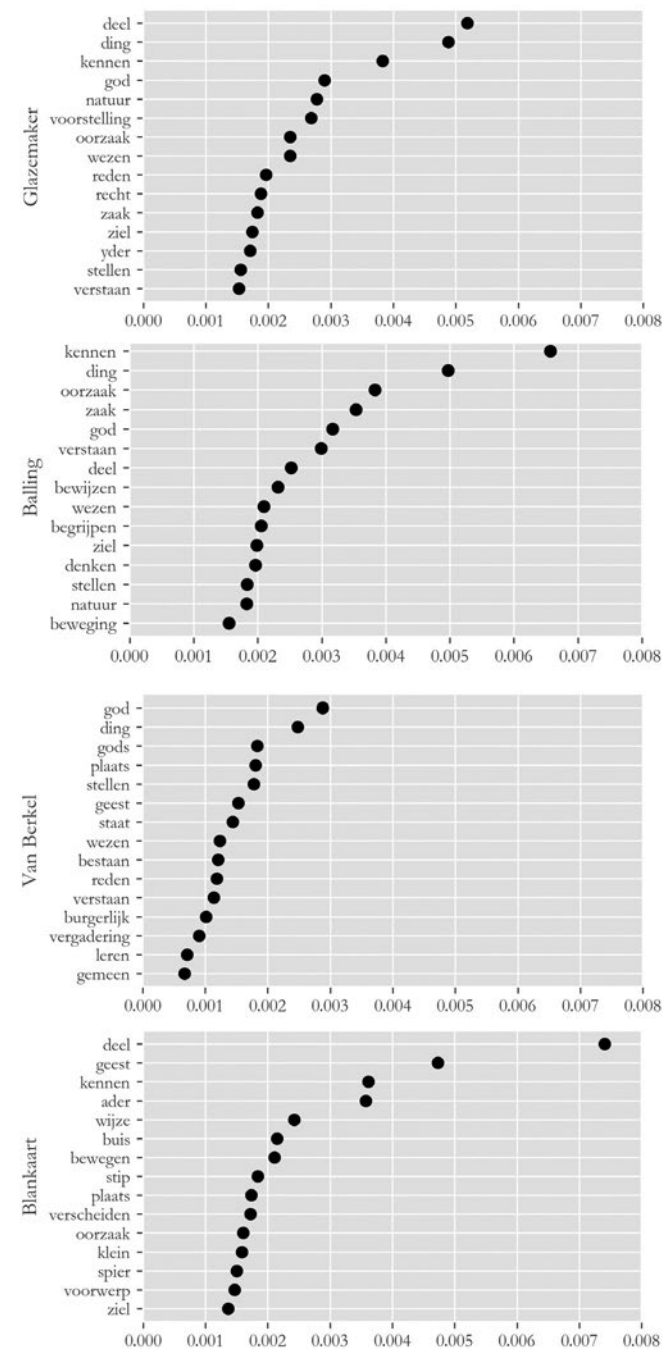
Figure 3.17 Top 15 most frequent unigrams from the lexicon in translations by Balling, Blankaart, Glazemaker, and van Berkel, ranked by relative word token frequency ⏎

this relative significance. The focus on rationalist epistemology in Balling's and Glazemaker's translations, for example, is reflected in the high ranks of terms like *kennen* (to know), *verstaan* (to understand), *bewijzen* (to prove), and *oorzaak* (cause). Words like *ader* (vein), *buis* (tube), *bewegen* (to move), and *spier* (muscle) indicate the anatomical nature of the texts translated by Blankaart, whereas Hobbes's preoccupation with political theory is visible through high ranking words like *staat* (state), *burgerlijk* (civic), *vergadering* (meeting), and *gemeen* (common) in van Berkel's translation of *Leviathan*.[51]

3.5   Conclusion

In this chapter I used computational lexical analysis to empirically test the implications that the Hobbesian Turn had on the actual vocabularies used in translations of the New Philosophy. To what extent is the rationalist belief in philosophical reform through linguistic reform reflected in lexical preferences in Dutch translations of the New Philosophy? In search for an answer to that question I narrowed down those lexical preferences to two relevant vocabularies – loanwords and philosophical terminology – which were systematically extracted from 18 Dutch translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes (the Translation Corpus), and from a reference corpus of 365 Dutch texts printed between 1640 and 1720 (the Test Corpus). This comparison first of all confirmed that Glazemaker, Balling, and Blankaart – but not van Berkel – generally avoided using loanwords if there were purist equivalents available. Their efforts to disseminate and democratise the New Philosophy through translation went hand in hand with an attempt to make the Dutch language more transparent and less ambiguous through linguistic purification. Secondly, the analysis of philosophical terminology revealed that philosophical terminology was indeed more frequent in the Translation Corpus than the Test Corpus. Whereas higher frequencies of philosophical jargon in translations of philosophical texts should not be unexpected, the analysis did show that the lexicon of philosophical terms offers – like the loanword lexicon – empirical evidence of relevant variations in lexical preferences and discursive differences between the translations and translators. To understand and explain those variations, each translator needs to

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51   Note that these rankings show only the tip of the iceberg: the full lists comprise much more information about the philosophical terms and topics in each translator's oeuvre. The full lists per translator can be obtained along with the code and documentation used for this analysis, available at https://github.com/lucasvanderdeijl (last accessed 31 March 2025).

be studied in their own social, intellectual, and linguistic context. The case studies in Part II will therefore complement the theoretical and empirical implications of the Hobbesian Turn set out in Part I by contextualising the position of each translator in the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

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Part II

Translating the New Philosophy

4 The search for linguistic transparency

Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker's translations of Descartes and Spinoza

Abstract: Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker was the most productive Dutch translator of the seventeenth century. This chapter portrays him as a Mennonite translator whose large oeuvre and intellectual profile were mainly shaped by Cartesianism, neo-Stoicism and Cosmopolitanism. His translating strategies are contextualised in two local debates that occupied Dutch Mennonite communities between the 1650s and the 1670s. Glazemaker's poetics of translation are reconstructed through a computational analysis of the glosses printed in the margins of his translations of Descartes and Spinoza. As these glosses flagged ambiguity in the sources, the paratext in Glazemaker's editions reveal how translations communicated the New Philosophy to new readers while trying to resolve – through translation – the rationalist scepticism about the reliability of language.

Keywords: linguistic purism, book history, translation culture, Mennonite history, lexical analysis

The history of the New Philosophy in the Dutch Republic is first and foremost a *social* history – of groups, discourses, and economies. Within these social structures, a few influential individuals acquired the position and the skills to shape discussions. One of them was Mennonite glazier and intellectual omnivore Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (1619/1620–1682). He translated almost all works by Descartes and Spinoza and played a key role in the mediation of their ideas during the Early Enlightenment.[1] Philosophy was only one of

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1   He translated Descartes's *Musicae Compendium* (1618); *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii* (1626–1628); *La Recherche de la vérité par la lumière naturelle* (1630–1631); *Le Monde* (1630–1633); *Discours de la méthode* (1637); *La Géométrie* (1637); *La Dioptrique* (1637); *Les Météores* (1637); *Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1641); *Principia Philosophiae* (1644); *Les Passions de l'âme*

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his many interests: he also translated other genres, producing more than
81 Dutch texts between 1643 and 1682, in collaboration with at least 22
different publishers/booksellers.[2] As an active member of an Amsterdam
Mennonite congregation called Bij het Lam he maintained relations with
various (often Mennonite) publishers, including the infamous Jan Rieuwertsz
Sr. – publisher of Spinoza, Meijer, Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan (1622–1706),
Koerbagh (1632–1669), Balling (?–1664), Jellesz (?–1683), and many others.[3]
Glazemaker's oeuvre spans literature, historiography, philosophy, and
religion, ranging from the Classical canon – Seneca, Epictetus, Homer,
Livy, and Plutarch – to the humanist tradition of Erasmus, Montaigne, and
Lipsius, to advocates of seventeenth-century rationalism, such as Descartes,
Isaac D'Huisseau, Johannes Clauberg, and Spinoza. He translated French,
Latin, German, and Italian texts; sometimes themselves translations of
Portuguese, English, Greek, or Arabic sources. Glazemaker's name even
appeared in Dutch editions of the New Testament and the Qur'an, marking
the ambition of his oeuvre and the diversity of his interests. Upon his death in
1682, Glazemaker's book collection numbered in the thousands of volumes.[4]

Surprisingly little scholarly attention has been paid to this exceptional
translator. Louise Thijssen-Schoute wrote the most comprehensive over-
view of his life and work and composed a bibliography, later edited and
complemented by Marja Keyser.[5] Others studied specific translations,
including Glazemaker's renderings of Seneca, Lipsius, Montaigne, Homer,
Jacques du Bosch, and Fernando Mendez Pinto.[6] He proved to be a purist
translator in the tradition of Simon Stevin (1548–1620), Dirck Volckertsz

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(1649); *Magni Cartesii ab Ipsomet Defensi sive N.V. Renati Descartes Querela Apologetica ad
Amplissimum Magistratum Ultrajactianum* (1656); and *Correspondance* (1657). The works by
Spinoza translated by him include: *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670); *Tractatus Intellectus
Emendatione* (1677); *Ethica* (partly, 1677); *Epistolae* (1677); and *Tractatus Politicus* (1677).

2   Gysbrecht Jansz van Veen; Dirk Cornelisz Houthaak; Jan van Hilten; Jan Jacobsz Schipper;
Nicolaes van Ravesteyn; Jacob Lescaille; Nicolaas Fransz; Jan Rieuwertsz; Jan Hendricksz Boom;
Jacob Benjamin; Gerrit van Goedesberg; Louis and Daniel Elzevier; Borrit Jansz Smit; Abraham
Wolfgang; Pieter Arentsz; Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge; Dirk and Hendrick Boom; Hendrick
Rintjes; Baltus de Wild; Jan Claesz ten Hoorn; Joannes van Someren; Jacob Claus.

3   For a bibliographic description of the editions containing Glazemaker's work see Keyser,
ed., *Glazemaker 1682–1982*; Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker. De zeventiende eeuwse
aartsvertaler', 206–225. Rieuwertsz was involved in the publication of 33 of the 81 source texts
translated by Glazemaker. On Rieuwertsz see Visser '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 303–326.

4   *Catalogus Instructissimae Bibliothecae.*

5   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker'; Keyser, ed., *Glazemaker 1682–1982*.

6   Boas, 'De Seneca-vertaling van Glazemaker'; De Bom, 'Een subtiele transformatie'; Drion,
'Glazemakers Ilias-vertaling'; van Praag, 'De bron van Glazemakers *De deugdelyke vrou*'; Roose,
'Le "bon verrier"'; do Couto, 'The Marvellous Travels'.

Coornhert (1522–1590), and Lodewijk Meijer (1629–1681),[7] following his sources faithfully and contributing to the development of a Dutch scientific language.[8] Fokke Akkerman and Piet Steenbakkers confirm this reputation in their studies on the *Nagelate schriften*, the Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma* (1677).[9] There seems to be one instance that contradicts his reliability, however. In her doctoral dissertation, Patricia Regina Esteves do Couto indicates significant deviations from the source text in Glazemaker's 1652 translation of Mendez Pinto's *Peregrinaçam* (1614), which she interprets as a deliberate manipulation inspired by the translator's supposedly radical ideology.[10]

Scholars like do Couto not only studied Glazemaker's style but also aimed to position his ideological portrait within the gallery of the Early Enlightenment. Can we discern a coherent ideological agenda behind his eclectic body of translated works, or does Glazemaker belong to the 'poor devils' Robert Darnton encountered in eighteenth-century France, writing for money and eager to make a business out of the lucrative attack on prejudice?[11] Or perhaps Glazemaker's practice should primarily be explained from a social perspective, which would depict him as a marionette employed by a network of mostly Mennonite publishers, such as Gysbrecht Jansz van Veen, Jan Rieuwertsz Sr., and Pieter Arentsz. Ideology is not necessarily at odds with social motives, however, and book historian Paul Dijstelberge suggests that financial interests did not come at the exclusion of ideological commitments in Glazemaker's case.[12] Social and financial motives certainly played an important role. Still, I will argue that he was also ideologically committed to several works that he translated.

The key to understanding such commitment is to map Glazemaker's social and ideological interactions. In accordance with my aim to address the relationship between social circumstances, ideological conditions, and translation practices, I will first reconstruct the social conditions of Glazemaker's intellectual development. Since biographical information is very scarce, I borrow my sources from 81 translated texts attributed to Glazemaker, including all prefaces by the translator or his publisher. Glazemaker was not a mediator of one specific philosophy, but a versatile

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7   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 118; Akkerman, 'Glazemakers wijze van vertalen', ix; Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 207.

8   Akkerman, 'Glazemakers wijze van vertalen', xii.

9   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza'; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*.

10   Do Couto, 'The Marvellous Travels', 295–296.

11   Darnton, *The Literary Underground*, 71–72; 109–110.

12   Dijstelberge, 'Een zegen voor de mensheid', 33.

translator whose oeuvre should be understood as a blend of mainly three intellectual traditions: Cartesianism, neo-Stoicism, and cosmopolitanism. I will connect that ideological mix to the contemporary Mennonite dispute of the *Lammerenkrijgh* (1650s–1660s) and the Bredenburg disputes (1670s). This connection suggests that Glazemaker's efforts to popularise key texts of the Early Enlightenment (Descartes, D'Huisseau, Spinoza) primarily supported Mennonite and Collegiant values. His career was not necessarily a 'radical' attack on Christian or even Reformed orthodoxy in general. On the contrary, when considered as a whole, Glazemaker not only translated but also *appropriated* both old and new philosophy into a confessional debate – a debate between progressive freethinkers, who were nonetheless Christians.

In the second section I aim to reconstruct Glazemaker's 'poetics of translation' to assess his attitude regarding the Hobbesian Turn: the rationalist acknowledgment of the fundamental ambiguity of language combined with the pragmatic attempt to resolve that ambiguity through linguistic and rhetorical means. Glazemaker's search for linguistic transparency becomes most visible in his consistent linguistic purism and in the presence of marginal glosses in his editions of Descartes and Spinoza. Glazemaker translated highly technical and controversial treatises of Descartes and Spinoza for readers who knew no Latin.[13] As if that task was not difficult enough, his purist poetics confronted him with additional difficulties as he could only partly rely on established jargon and philosophical discourse. Glazemaker responded to these challenges with a balance between purism and pragmatism that characterised – as I intend to demonstrate – the quest for a new language for the natural light.

4.1   Glazemaker's profile: Mediating Cartesianism, Stoicism, and Cosmopolitanism

On 25 August 1618, Hendrik Jansz van Abcoude (?–1621) and Sibbeltien Hendrix (1595/1596–?) signed their marriage certificate at the town hall of Amsterdam. Soon after they had settled at the Brouwersgracht, in 1619 or 1620, their first and only son was born: Jan Hendriksz. Hendrik Jansz died three years later; Sibbeltien declared in her second notice of marriage,

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13   Van Bunge claims that the abundant availability of philosophical texts in Dutch created a vibrant philosophical culture in the vernacular towards the end of the seventeenth century. Van Bunge, 'The Use of the Vernacular', 171.

formulated on 20 December 1625, that she had been a widow for four years.[14] She married her second husband and her son's name giver Wijbrant Reijndersz vande Hommers 'glasemacker' (glazier) (1603–1683) on 4 January 1626. Once again Sibbeltien's marriage certificate was signed at the old town hall on the Dam square, which by then had become the norm for marriages not solemnised in the Dutch Reformed Church.[15] The location indicates that Jan Hendriksz's mother, father, and stepfather were or became members of the Amsterdam Flemish Mennonite community that gathered in the *schuilkerk* (clandestine church) on the Singel known as Bij het Lam (Near the Lamb) or simply Het Lam. It was named after the brewery Het Lam, a few houses down the street. Jan Hendriksz himself was baptised in Het Lam on 22 June 1642. He remained a member throughout his life and formed many close friendships in the Mennonite communities of Amsterdam – including ones that would guide his first steps on the book market.[16]

During the first years of his career, Glazemaker mainly collaborated with Mennonite publishers. The translator's first publication presented a Dutch rendering of the 1640 edition of *L'Honneste femme* (1634), a moralist treatise on the education of women by the Franciscan humanist Jacques du Bosc.[17] The Dutch title was *De devgdelyke vrou* and omitted the name of the French author, whose clerical background would have been frowned upon by the intended readership, but the titlepage did identify the publisher: Gysbrecht Jansz van Veen, who had registered his bookshop in the Hoogstraat on 1 February 1642. According to a baptismal record dated 28 May 1640, van Veen was a member of the other, more progressive Mennonite community in Amsterdam – the Waterlander Doopsgezinden who gathered at the Jan Roodenpoorts Toren, or simply the Toren (Tower) congregation.[18] This record further identified van Veen as the assistant of the Mennonite bookseller Denijs van der Schuere.[19]

De devgdelyke vrou offers a valuable impression of Glazemaker's social position in Mennonite circles. The edition included a dedication poem of 16 pages, signed with Glazemaker's initials I.H.G.[20] This poem dedicated the

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14   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 208.

15   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 207.

16   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 212.

17   Van Praag, 'De bron van Glazemakers *De deugdelyke vrou*', 92–93; Visser, '*L'Honneste femme*' in *Sisters*, eds. van Veen et al., 191.

18   Visser, '*L'Honneste femme*', 189.

19   Visser, '*L'Honneste femme*', 189.

20   I.H.G. [= J.H. Glazemaker], 'Toe-eygening aen de Amsterdammer Fyne Zvsies', in [Jacques du Bosc], *De devgdelyke vrou*, 3*r–10v.

work to 59 women, all named individually. Visser compared these addressees to baptismal records and established that at least 48 (81%) of the women were related to at least one of the two Mennonite communities – 'Het Lam' and 'De Toren' – and that most of them were around Glazemaker's age.[21] The poem documents Glazemaker's social network within both Mennonite communities, and demonstrates the interconnectedness of the two congregations.

It is difficult to disregard the impression that the poem was also a (slightly dramatic) expression of courtship from an unmarried man in his early twenties. Anyway, his efforts were not in vain: eight years later, on 18 June 1651, he married Catalijntje Cardinael (1621/1622–1680), who had possibly appeared in the poem under the name 'Kardinaal'.[22] Catalijntje and her parents were also members of the Flemish Mennonite congregation.[23] Her father Sybrandt Hansz Cardinael van Harlingen (1578–1647), mathematician and schoolmaster in the Nieuwestraat, had written a number of handbooks on arithmetic and geodesy. He was an acquaintance of Rembrandt, Plancius, and Descartes.[24] Cardinael was not convinced by the Cartesian worldview, but it is not unlikely that Glazemaker's interest in the New Philosophy was sparked by his father-in-law.[25]

Lack of proficiency in Latin limited the range of texts Glazemaker could translate. In order to make a living as a translator it was necessary to learn the language of Cicero. Where and from whom he learned to read Latin remains a lacuna in his biography, but it seems plausible that he took lessons between 1643 and 1646.[26] His first translation of a Latin source was *Romainsche histo-*

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21   Visser, '*L'Honneste femme*', 196.
22   Visser, '*L'Honneste femme*', 195.
23   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 213.
24   Sitters, *Sybrandt Hansz Cardinael*.
25   Sitters, *Sybrandt Hansz Cardinael*, 61; De Bom, 'Een subtiele transformatie', 212.
26   According to the preface for his 1680 translation of John Barclay's (1582–1621) Neo-Latin prose novel *Argenis* (Paris, 1621), Glazemaker had used a French intermediary translation for his first translation of *Argenis* published in 1643, as he had been 'completely unskilled in the Latin [language]' then (Riley and Pritchard Huber, *John Barclay – Argenis*, Vol. 1, 55–58; van Gemert, 'Stenen in het mozaïek', 24; van Gemert and van der Deijl, 'Not just a love story'). Possibly the former Jesuit Franciscus van den Enden (1602–1674) had something to do with this career move. This art dealer and publisher moved from Antwerp to Amsterdam around 1642–1643 and opened a book- and art shop between 1647 and 1649, which went bankrupt in 1652 (Mertens, *Van den Enden en Spinoza*, 15). After this van den Enden started a Latin school that became famous as it fostered Baruch de Spinoza's education in the Latin language. Some have argued that van den Enden also played a crucial role in Spinoza's intellectual coming of age – although this thesis is controversial. The thesis was propagated by Wim Klever (Klever, 'Spinoza and Van den Enden'; Klever, 'Proto-Spinoza Franciscus van den Enden'; Klever, 'A New Source of Spinozism') but remains up for discussion (cf. Mertens, 'Franciscus van den Enden';

rien van Titus Livius, sedert de bouwing van Romen tot aan d'ondergang van 't
Macedonische Rijk (1646), a rendering of Livy's history of Rome. He certainly
could have chosen a lighter aptitude test: the Dutch edition required 651 folio
pages. Before the end of the year a translation of another Roman history
appeared, based on the work of French historian Scipion Dupleix (1569–1661):
Vervolg der romainsche historien [*etc.*] (1646). It covered the period up until
Ceasar's death. A third volume followed in 1649, taken from a French edition
by Nicolas Coëffeteau: *Romainsche historien, sedert het begin van Avgvstvs*
heerschappy, tot aan die van Constantyn de Groot. These books – which jointly
described Rome's history from its foundation to the reign of Constantine
the Great (306–337 AD) – appeared with different publishers: Jan Jacobsz
Schipper handled the first two volumes and Nicolaes van Ravesteyn (?–1693)
published the last. With this ambitious project, Glazemaker immediately
established his reputation as a translator of histories. Translations of several
historiographical works followed in the course of his career, including David
Blondel's (1591–1655) *Familier éclaircissement de la question si une femme a esté*
assise au siège papal de Rome entre Léon IV et Benoist III (1647) published by
Nicolaas Fransz in 1650; Quintus Curtius Rufus's (?–?) *Historiarum Alexandri*
Magni Macedonis Libri Qui Supersunt (?) published by Gerrit van Goedesberg
in 1663; and Guido Bentivoglio's (1579–1644) *Historia della Guerra di Fiandra*
(1633–1639) published by Hendrick Rintjes in 1674.

Meanwhile the term glazier (spelled as 'glaesemacker') on his notice of
marriage in June 1651 suggests that he not only adopted his stepfather's name
but also his profession as glazier, which probably remained his main oc-
cupation up to that point. 1651 marked the beginning of a long collaboration
with Jan Rieuwertsz Sr., a Mennonite publisher and bookseller. By joining
forces with the subversive Rieuwertsz, Glazemaker showed the first signs
of the ideological commitment that would colour his later work. Their first
collaborative edition was a collection of four translated texts by Erasmus:
Ratio seu Methodus Compendio Perveniendi ad Veram Theologiam (1518),
De Interdictu Esu Cranium (1522), *Apologia de Loco 'Omnes Quidem'* (1522)
and the 'Precatio ad Dominum Iesum Pro Pace Ecclesiae', included in *De*
Sacrienda Ecclesiae Concordia (1533). Especially 'Gebed voor de vrede van de

Holzhey, '"Als gy maar schérp wordt"', 61). Could it be that van den Enden was equally formative
to Glazemaker? In addition to the link with Spinoza, there would be some shared connections
in publisher's circles between van den Enden and Glazemaker in later years – Jan Rieuwertsz
Sr., Pieter Arentsz, Pieter la Burgh – which makes it hard to believe that they did not know each
other during the 1650's (Mertens, *Van den Enden en Spinoza*, 58). However, it is unlikely that
Glazemaker was a (private?) pupil of van den Enden in the latter's first years in Amsterdam, or
even knew the art dealer before 1646.

Kerk' (a prayer for religious peace), selected from *De Sacrienda*, echoed two principles that characterised both Mennonite belief and Collegiant discourse: the doctrine of church decay and the ideal of pacifism.[27] The prayer 'Gebed voor de vrede van de Kerk' is an appeal to Christ to resolve the religious turmoil that occupied his church since the Reformation, similar to how he calmed the storm on the Sea of Galilee. More than a century after Erasmus's plea, the prayer had lost none of its relevance in the scattered religious culture of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. On the margins of that religious landscape, the Mennonites were again and again strengthened in their belief that the Christian church (both its Catholic and Reformed denominations) was drifting away from the original, Apostolic communities that still professed the true Christian faith. This doctrine of church decay resurfaced in the mistrust of ecclesiastical intermediaries propagated by the Collegiants and progressive Mennonites. In an unsigned preface Rieuwertsz admits that the short 'Gebed' was added as some empty pages remained on the sheet and they did not want to leave the reader with too many blanco pages ('*ydele bladen*').[28] Still it is significant that out of the bulk of work written by Erasmus – popular in Mennonite circles[29] – Rieuwertsz and Glazemaker selected this prayer that no doubt appealed to a Collegiant-Mennonite readership. This interest in Erasmian theology among Dutch Mennonites became apparent once again when Rieuwertsz and Glazemaker published another translation of Erasmus's work in 1663, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1527), an expensive project of 978 folio pages, which they presumably only started because its sales were sufficiently guaranteed.

Glazemaker's career took a new turn with his collaboration with Rieuwertsz, but continued to be shaped by his firm rootedness in the Mennonite communities of Amsterdam. The translator's intensive collaboration with Mennonite publishers confirms his loyalty to this religious minority: 39 of his translations were published by either Gysbrecht Jansz van Veen, Jan Rieuwertsz, or Pieter Arentsz, who all held Mennonite beliefs. Additionally, Glazemaker belonged to a heterogeneous group of freethinkers who participated in both Mennonite and Collegiant networks, including Franciscus van den Enden, Abraham de Graaf, and Pieter Balling.[30] Furthermore, many historians have pointed to the strong ties between Spinoza and the

27   Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 87; 144; Shantz, 'Religion and Spinoza', in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Veen et al., 212.

28   Anonymous, 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Erasmus, *Onderwys, om door een korte middel.*

29   Ron, 'The Christian Peace of Erasmus', 34.

30   Cf. Visser '"Blasphemous and Pernicious"', 314.

Amsterdam Collegiants, especially Balling and Jarich Jellesz.[31] These facts give us reason to believe that Mennonites and Collegiants in Amsterdam comprised Glazemaker's main readership. Their principal habit of reading Scripture and philosophy individually and directly created a demand for translations. The social aspect of Glazemaker's translating practice is furthermore exemplified by the fact that he often took advice from or even collaborated with members of Spinoza's circle. With his translations, Glazemaker thus facilitated the vernacular debates that occupied a heterogenous flock of Mennonites, Collegiants, Cartesians, and Spinozists.

Glazemaker's bibliography took shape at the crossroads of three intellectual traditions: Cartesianism, Stoicism, and cosmopolitanism. The relevance of these traditions becomes clear when contemporary controversies among Collegiants and Mennonites (between the 1650s and 1670s) are taken into account. Glazemaker's translation activities supported particular positions in those controversies. His ideological disposition was first of all inspired by Descartes. While translating the philosopher's major works, he became an expert in Cartesianism. In the preface to his 1683 translation of Johannes Clauberg's *Paraphrasis in R. Descartes Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1658), Glazemaker stresses that not one of the 'utmost excellent minds' has surpassed the work of Descartes. He considered the translation instrumental to his aim to 'extend the reach of the Cartesian Philosophy, and share her with the Dutch who are not versed in Latin'.[32] The preface also mentions Cartesian interests among his friends, which confirms the social embedding of the translator's sympathies for Cartesianism. In other prefaces Glazemaker refers to Descartes as 'this excellent Man',[33] or announces that he would not bore the reader with acclaim for 'the Author' (Descartes), since 'valuable

31 E.g. Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*; S. Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*; van Bunge, 'Spinoza and the Collegiants', in *Spinoza Past and Present*, ed. van Bunge; Israel, *Spinoza. Life & Legacy*.

32 The full quotes read: 'De Christelijke werrelt heeft nu, sedert enige jaren herwaarts, zeer voortrefelijcke verstanden voortgebracht, die de geschriften van *Renatus Cartesius*, als waarheit in zich begrijpende, aangenomen hebben, en dewijl onder deze schrandere vernuften, die ernstelijk naar dit licht hebben getracht, en nu 't gebruik daar af met groot vermaak genieten, niemant (mijns wetens) is, die dit werk overtreft, welke in zo nutte Wijsbegeerte voort geplant werd (...) Ik vertrou dan dat de vertaling van zo heerlijk een werk, als deze uw *Uitbreiding* is, niet vruchteloos voor 't gemeen, zal wezen, dewijl 't ooggemerk en einde daar af is, de palen der Cartesiaansche Wijsbegeerte wijder uit te breiden, en haar ook aan de Nederlanders, de welke onkundig in de Latijnsche taal zijn, deelachtig te maken; op dat deze waarheit, die alreê by veel onder hen deurschijnt, en aangenomen word, te heerelijker zou uytblinken, en met groter nuttigheit gelezen worden'. Glazemaker, 'Voorreeden van den oversetter', front matter in Clauberg, *Nadere uitbreiding*, *3[r]–*3[v].

33 'deze uitmuntende Heer'. Glazemaker, 'De vertaalder aen de lezer', front matter in Descartes, *Kort begryp der zangkunst*, A2r–A2v.

goods need no praise'.[34] Such admiration for Descartes should not surprise us given the popularity of Cartesianism within Collegiant circles and the anti-Calvinist criticism associated with it in Dutch academia and politics.[35] But their commitment to this philosophy went beyond a casual interest. Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz ended up producing a nearly complete Dutch edition of Descartes's collected works. What gave them the confidence that such a substantial investment would pay off?

To understand Descartes's place with regards to Glazemaker's oeuvre, it is first important to note that the vernacular discourse on Cartesianism differed significantly from the Dutch academic reception of this philosopher during the seventeenth century. Theo Verbeek argues that the controversy surrounding Cartesianism at both Utrecht University and Leiden University during the 1640s was mainly caused by the conflict between Cartesian metaphysics and Calvinist orthodoxy.[36] The first generation of academic Cartesians – Adriaan Heereboord (1614–1661), Johannes de Raey (1622–1707), and Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665) – therefore aimed to 'neutralise' possible theological implications in order to establish Cartesianism in the academic realm. Their main instrument for such ideological appeasement was to argue that philosophy should always be strictly separated from theological matters.[37] The responses to Meijer and Spinoza (both published by Rieuwertsz) from Dutch academic Cartesians serve as a case in point for that position: to Spinoza's surprise, the Cartesians in Leiden explicitly distanced themselves from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670), which they perceived as a violation of the separation between theology and philosophy.[38]

Remarkably, however, this rule of keeping natural philosophy and metaphysics at a safe distance from theology did not appeal to Glazemaker, Rieuwertsz, and their readers. Whereas the strict distinction became a condition for the successful reception of Cartesianism in Dutch academia, Glazemaker – and by extension his readership – had an interest in Cartesian and Spinozist treatises that deliberately crossed the boundaries between the two fields. This observation is in line with van Bunge's analysis that the non-academic reception of Cartesianism was not affected by the *cordon sanitaire* installed around the new science by the professors at Leiden and Utrecht.[39]

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34 'Goede waar prijst zich zelf'. Glazemaker, 'Voorreeden aen de lezer', front matter in Descartes, *Proeven der wysbegeerte*, *2.

35 Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, 94.

36 Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch,* 70; 88.

37 Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 77.

38 Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 77.

39 Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 91–91.

In the hands of dissidents like Lambert van Velthuysen (1622–1685), Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), and Johannes Bredenburg (1643–1691), Cartesianism became a movement with serious theological and political implications.[40] Perhaps it was their boldness in ignoring the line between philosophy and theology that explains why both Bekker and Bredenburg provoked such a storm of criticism, as it made them vulnerable to the accusation of atheism.[41]

In other words, whereas the academic reception tried to restrict the theological appropriation of Descartes at all costs, vernacular authors appreciated Cartesian ideas mainly because of their usability in current religious disputes. The most important subject of debate in those disputes was the harmony of the Christian faith. Glazemaker translated two books addressing this issue: Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670, the translation appeared posthumously in 1693) and Isaac d'Huisseau's *La Reünion du Christianisme* (1670, the translation appeared in 1671). D'Huisseau attempted to employ the Cartesian method for rationalist bible criticism. He proposed a radical, Cartesian abandonment of orthodoxy in order to establish a number of 'necessary articles of faith'. Those axiomatic convictions could serve as a means to reconcile the increasing conflicts between the various branches of the Christian faith in post-Reformation Europe – a struggle that had been fundamental to the Mennonite social position since their first adherents arrived in the Low Countries in the 1530s.[42] In their treatises, both Spinoza and D'Huisseau tried to resolve political conflicts rooted in religious controversy by proposing methods (respectively the freedom to philosophise, and Cartesian doubt) that could foster religious consensus and thus contribute to a peaceful state (*reipublicae pace posse concede*).[43]

That the unity of Christianity was a trending topic in Glazemaker's circles around 1670 is furthermore illustrated by Johannes Bredenburg's *Een praetje over tafel* [*etc.*] (1671) – a fictional discussion between a Remonstrant and a Mennonite about the peace of the Christian faith. With this dialogue Bredenburg responded to the dispute between the Remonstrants and the *Waterlanders* Mennonites in Rotterdam. *Een Praetje* was directly inspired by D'Huisseau's *La Reünion du Christianisme*: van Bunge interpreted

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40   Van Bunge, 'Johannes Bredenburg', 98–99.

41   On the row following Bekker's *Betoverde weereld* see van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 137–148; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 375–406. On the 'Bredenburg disputes' see Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 215–246; van Bunge, 'Johannes Bredenburg', Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 342–374.

42   Cornelius, *An Introduction to Mennonite History*, 102; Fix, *Prophecy and Reason*, 26.

43   Cf. the subtitle of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*: 'continens dissertationes aliquot quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, et reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse'.

Bredenburg's *Een Praetje* and his treatise *Heylzamen raad tot Christelyke vrede* (1672) as a reappraisal of D'Huisseau.[44] Glazemaker's and Bredenburg's simultaneous engagement with D'Huisseau indicates a shared interest in this work among Mennonites and Collegiants from Amsterdam and Rotterdam during the early 1670s.

Moreover, the relevance of Cartesianism to the search for religious equality and freedom of conscience had already started in the 1650s. The unity of Christianity was not just an abstract matter for Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz since a fierce dispute had threatened the internal cohesion of their own congregation Het Lam during the so-called *Lammerenkrijgh* (War of the Lambs) in the 1650s and 1660s. The main instigator was Galenus Abrahamsz (1622–1706), a minister of the congregation since 1648. Galenus got into an argument with the conservative, mostly elderly factions of the community led by Samuel Apostool (1638–1699).[45] The *Lammerenkrijgh* was essentially a conflict about freedom of conscience. Galenus represented the liberal perspective. In his pamphlets, published by Rieuwertsz, he defended a religious life where moral standards presided over doctrine prescribed by theology: membership of the congregation should involve a shared ethics rather than a shared confession. This plea for confessional tolerance was unacceptable for the conservatives, who insisted that all members should agree to a list of shared articles of faith, derived from the Bible. In May 1644 they left Bij het Lam and founded the Zon-congregation. Galenus made several efforts to persuade the Zonists to return, but to no avail: although the Lamists merged with the (already progressive) Waterlanders of the Bij-den-Toren congregation, the Zonists remained separated up until the reunification in 1801.[46] Interestingly, Glazemaker's stepfather Wijbrant Reijndersz sided with Galenus in a pamphlet from 1664.[47] With Rieuwertsz – who published dozens of pamphlets about the dispute[48] – and Reijndersz (as well as Spinoza's friend Balling, to whom I will return) favouring Galenus, it seems likely that Glazemaker sympathised with the liberal faction of his congregation. Visser provided evidence of that position, which he found in a petition dated March 1663 about the *Lammerenkrijgh*, signed by members of Het Lam.[49]

44   Van Bunge, 'Johannes Bredenburg', 47; 58.

45   Cf. Stauffer, *The Quest for Church Unity*, 59.

46   H. W. Meihuizen, *Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan*.

47   W.R. [=Wijbrant Reijndersz], *Aanspraak en vriendelijke wederom-noodinge*.

48   Visser "'Blasphemous and Pernicious'", 313.

49   Visser "'Blasphemous and Pernicious'", 316. According to Frank Mertens, Visser incorrectly assumed that the signature of 'Jan Hendricksz' next to that of Balling and Rieuwertsz belonged

Outside the university walls and within the socio-religious domain of the Mennonites and the Collegiants, Glazemaker fully understood the theological implications of the Cartesian method. He did not shy away from its application in the religious sphere. Furthermore, both Spinoza and D'Huisseau propagated freedom of conscience and liberation from theological doctrine. That conviction was also crucial to Galenus's Collegiant-Mennonite teaching. Thus, Glazemaker's preference for practical Cartesianism fits into the current views on the Dutch reception of Descartes: the very political-theological implications of the Cartesian method that the first generation of academic Cartesians abandoned for strategic reasons appealed all the more to Glazemaker's intended Mennonite audience of laymen who read the French philosopher and his followers in Dutch.[50] Possibly, Glazemaker's translations of Descartes provided a philosophical legitimation for Galenus's confessionally tolerant and heterodox position in the *Lammerenkrijgh*. In any case it is clear that Descartes, Spinoza, and D'Huisseau suited the political and religious position of the Mennonites in Dutch society and the Galenus-faction in Amsterdam. These political-religious conditions arguably shaped Glazemaker's ideological profile as a translator.

Parallel to his sympathy for Cartesian philosophy, Glazemaker seems to have developed an interest in Stoicism. He translated a substantial part of Seneca's oeuvre between 1654 and 1661 (published by Gerrit van Goedesberg) while his Descartes translations first appeared between 1656 and 1661.[51] His translations of other works from the Stoic canon – Cebes's *Tabula*, Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, and Epictetus's *Discourses* and *Enchiridion* – were all published in the same volume in 1658, by Rieuwertsz. The translator's affinity with these Stoic thinkers was again expressed in the prefaces. He assures the reader that 'none among the old Sages, whom one calls Philosophers, and who are unfamiliar with the Christian Religion, surpasses him [= Seneca]'.[52]

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to Glazemaker, since the latter's full name appeared on an additional list that circulated at this time (Mertens, *Van den Enden en Spinoza*, 58).

50   Waite, 'A Reappraisal', in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity*, eds. M. van Veen et al., 6.

51   Glazemaker translated Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* in 1654, *De beneficiis* in 1657, a collection of his dialogues in 1658 (*De ira* (book 1–3); *De providentia*; *De tranquillitate animi*; *De clementia*; *De bevitate vitae*; *De vita beata*; *De constantia sapientis*); and finally *Naturales quaestiones, Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii*, and a few excerpts from Seneca's letters on poverty, published together in one volume from 1661. Cf. Boas, 'De Seneca-vertaling van Glazemaker', 14.

52   The full quote reads: 'Ik moet echter dit enige tot zijn lof bybrengen, dat is dat, naar mijn oordeel niemand van d'oude Wijsbegerigen, die men Philosophen noemt, en onkundig in de Christelijke Godsdienst, hem overtreft (ik zou byna zeggen by hem geleken mag worden) [etc.].' Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Seneca, *Alle de brieven*, *2[r]–*2[v].

Seneca is said to resemble 'the Philosophers of the old Pagans very little'.[53] The subtext was clear to his contemporaries: anyone wishing to study the Ancients should study Seneca, not Plato and certainly not Aristotle. According to another preface, Seneca qualifies as a 'pagan among Christians, and in a certain way, a Christian among pagans'. Glazemaker alluded to the genius of Seneca, who unlike the translator's contemporaries relied solely on the 'natural light' of reason, and could not benefit from 'Holy Scripture, and the example of Christ, our Lord and Saviour'.[54] A similar argument gave credit to Marcus Aurelius, who through his writings 'demonstrates what Nature, understood through Reason, can achieve to us, who want to be Christians, and who ought to be so much better since we have a more appropriate Example and Teacher, namely Christ'.[55] The association between Stoicism – the Stoic materialist view on nature, the theory of emotions, and rationalist epistemology – and Cartesianism (but also Spinozism, for that matter) was recognised at an early stage, and the Stoics became a natural point of reference for Glazemaker and his audience.[56] Some scholars even speculate that Spinoza first encountered Seneca in Glazemaker's translation from 1654, since he owned a copy of the latter's translation of Seneca's letters.[57]

53   The full quote reads: 'Doch spade komen is ook komen; en 't lang wachten zal, gelijk ik vertrou, by de genen, die alleenlijk kennis van de Nederlantsche taal hebben, (vermits aan d'anderen geen middel daar toe ontbreekt) door de treffelijkheit van deze Schrijver vergoed worden, die, gelijk zeker gelettert man in zijn schriften zegt, weinig van de Wijsbegerigen der oude Heidenen heeft, de welken hem gelijk zijn, van niemant overtroffen, en van meest all d'anderen van verre gevolgt word.' Anonymous [= probably Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Seneca, *Eerste deel der zedige werken*, *2.

54   The full quote reads: 'Voorts, schoon de Schrijver in deze geschriften veel wonderspreuken en redenen voorgestelt heeft, die niet met de zuivere waarheit, in de heilige Schriften vertoont, overëenkomen, niettemin, als men heden wilde merken, en naaukeuriglijk letten op de treffelijke onderwyzingen die van deze Wijsbegerige, een heiden onder de Christenen, en in eniger wyze een Christen onder de heidenen, voorgestelt worden.' Anonymous [= probably Glazemaker], 'Inhout der zeven boeken van de weldaden', front matter in Seneca, *Boeken van de weldaden*, A2[v].

55   The full quote reads: 'Want hy, de toestant der uitvallen van verscheide tijden overwegende, bewaarde tot zijn eige gebruik 't onderwijs, dat hy daar af gekregen had, en heeft door zijn geschriften daar in hy betoont wat de Natuur, door Reden beleid, te weegbrengen kan, aan ons, die christenen willen wezen, en die zo veel te beter behoren te zijn, als wy een treffelijker Voorbeelt en Leermeester, namelijk Christus, hebben, een prikkel, om niet alleenlijk gelijk te worden, maar ook t'overtreffen, gegeven.' Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Aurelius, *Zedelyke gedachten*, A2[r].

56   Leopold, 'Spinoza en de Stoa', in *Verzameld werk*, by Leopold, eds. van Eyck and Polak, 463–470; Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, 172; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 372; 666.

57   Boas, 'De Seneca-vertaling van Glazemaker', 16–17; cf. Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 15.

Again, however, it was probably not only Glazemaker's adherence to Cartesian natural philosophy that informed his interest in Stoicism (or vice versa). Seneca's practical guidelines for an ethical life in accordance with reason, even if they were expressed in a completely different discourse, must have appealed to the Galenist Glazemaker. Likewise with regards to the Descartes translations, it seems no coincidence that Glazemaker translated Seneca during the years of the *Lammerenkrijgh*, which divided the Bij het Lam congregation between 1650 and 1664. The prefaces Glazemaker includes with his stoic translations reveal that he was appropriating the Stoics Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Cebes, and Epictetus for a discourse that combined Scripture with materialist natural philosophy and universal ethical principles – an intellectual blend that seems to have suited the theology of Galenus surprisingly well. The translations of Marcus Aurelius, Cebes, and Epictetus were all published in one volume by Rieuwertsz, offering an anthology of Ancient sources that provided plenty of grist to the Galenist mill.

Besides Cartesianism and Stoicism, a third intellectual interest marked Glazemaker's oeuvre, related to the first two: 'cosmopolitanism'. One of his most remarkable achievements is the translation of the Qur'an (from André du Ryer's 1647 French translation), published by Rieuwertsz in 1658.[58] The edition added a 'twofold biography' of Muhammad, one written by the Arabic, Christian historian Georgius Elmacinus (1205–1273), and the other composed from texts by various Christian authors, described as 'his [Muhammad's] opponents'. An anonymous 'To the reader' explains that translator and publisher refrained from harmonising the contradictions between both descriptions as they did not want to complicate matters and intended to leave the interpretation up to the reader.[59] Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz thus allowed for ambiguity between different perspectives on the life of Muhammad and the Qur'an as a whole.[60] It shows their explicit

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58   Glazemaker's place in the history of Qur'an translation is discussed in: den Hollander, 'The Qur'an in the Low Countries'; van der Deijl, 'Orientalist Ambivalence'.

59   The full quote reads: 'D'andere beschrijving is uit de geschriften van verscheide Christe Schrijvers, zijn tegenstrevers, getrokken, en wel omtrent met hun eige woorden, maar niet met de zelfde ordening gestelt; vermits wy, om alle verwarring, zo veel ons mogelijk was, te schuwen, van zijn geboorte af tot aan zijn doot toe, naar gevolg van tijt, uit yder Schrijver 't geen, dat wy daar toe dienstig oordeelden, genomen, en te zamen gezet hebben, zonder te pogen 't geen, daar in zy verschillen, terecht te brengen, zo om ons in geen verkeert oordeel in zulke duistere zaken in te wikkelen, als ook op dat d'opmerkende lezer zelf 't verschil, en de strijdigheit daar in zou bemerken, en, zo 't hem lust, naar zijn eige believen daar af oordelen.' Anonymous [= Glazemaker and/or Rieuwertsz], 'Aan de lezer', in *Mahomets Alkoran*, trans. J.H. Glazemaker (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1658), iii–iv.

60   Van der Deijl, 'Orientalist Ambivalence', 193.

conviction that texts are inherently arranged by human beings and therefore biased. Also, their decision to translate the foundational book of this ultimate Other culture exemplifies Glazemaker's hermeneutics and his cosmopolitan interest. It signals the rejection of the moral superiority attributed to the Christian faith that characterised Collegiant discourse and Enlightenment debates in general.[61]

Cosmopolitanism here refers to the idea that, as phrased by Anthony Pagdan, 'all humans not only belong to a single "race" but also share a common identity and thus belong ultimately to a single global community – a "cosmopolis"'.[62] Pagdan argues that this egalitarian view on human nature was one of the main, if not the final, achievements of the Enlightenment. Although he focused on the eighteenth century, Pagdan's argument echoes Paul Hazard's famous study about the 'crisis of the European mind' that preconditioned the Enlightenment era.[63] The encounter with the East (and China in particular) during the seventeenth century, Hazard argues, caused the Western world to re-evaluate the supposed unicity of Christian civilisation.[64] Furthermore, an earlier version of cosmopolitanism was already present in – again – Stoicism, grounded in the Stoic idea of the existence of innate, common notions shared by all human beings regardless of their birth or religion.[65] That intellectual connection between cosmopolitanism and Stoicism in Glazemaker's oeuvre becomes apparent for example in the fact that he translated Marcus Aurelius, whom Pagdan labelled 'one of the most engaging, sympathetic, and eloquent Stoic cosmopolitans', a man who considered himself a 'citizen of the world'.[66]

Glazemaker's translated travelogues, ethnological studies, and diplomatic accounts can be read as an early record of this Enlightened cosmopolitan awareness. His philosophical scepticism regarding the superiority of the Christian faith and the Collegiant rejection of any clerical authority sparked a genuine interest in other cultures and religions. He translated Anthanusius Kircher's famous *China Illustrata* (1667);[67] Jacques du Bourges's description of a journey to China; various travelogues and ethnological accounts about

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61   Shantz, 'Religion and Spinoza', 214; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 615–619.

62   Pagdan, *The Enlightenment*, 44.

63   Hazard, *The European Mind*.

64   Cf. Weststeijn, 'Spinoza Sinicus'; Ellerbroek, 'De zeventiende-eeuwse vertaler J.H. Glazemaker', 661.

65   Pagdan, *The Enlightenment*, 74.

66   Pagdan, *The Enlightenment*, 327.

67   On the role of Kircher's *China Illustrata* and other Western accounts of Chinese religion and culture regarding the Dutch book trade see Dijkstra, *Printing and Publishing*, e.g. 1–4.

Asia and the East Indies by Marco Polo, Pietro Della Valle, Fernando Mendez Pinto, Augustin Beaulieu, Albrecht Herport, Volkert Evertsz, and Johann Jacob Saar; ethnological accounts of the Turkish culture and empire by J.B. Tavernier and Paul Rycaut; a study of politics in Venice by De la Haye; and a critical description by Pierre Moreau of the violent treatment of the Brazilian native peoples by the Portuguese.[68] The prefaces showed an awareness of biased representations of remote areas and stressed the importance of true, unprejudiced knowledge about other cultures. An anonymous preface to Pinto's *Wonderlyke reizen van Fernando Mendez Pinto* (1652), translated by Glazemaker, presented the book as a remedy to ignorance: 'Because as Seneca says quite rightly, such unhinged Minds have in common with madness that they despise and detest all things equally, without knowing why'.[69] Another anonymous preface (implied to be written by the translator) appended to Rycaut's *Verhaal van de tegenwoordige staat van het Turksche kaizerryk* (1670), argues for the superiority of this work in comparison to other accounts of Turkey, which were often grounded in second-hand and prejudiced sources.[70] The preface stressed that Rycaut, on the contrary, lived in Constantinople himself for five years, knew the language, travelled to many places in Turkey, and conversed with various high officials from the Turkish court. Similar to the Qur'an translation, this preface explicitly criticised the prejudices and misinformation that often characterised contemporary knowledge about the non-Christian world. Collegiant scepticism towards orthodoxy as well as the Cartesian rejection of knowledge traditions proved useful in the domain of ethnology too.

    Through these reconstructions of the translator's social conditions and ideological motives, Glazemaker can be situated within the wider family of the Early Enlightenment. The intellectual coherence of his oeuvre signals his position in the Mennonite and Collegiant networks in Amsterdam. His interest in Cartesianism and Stoicism in the 1650s reflects the ongoing Mennonite conflict known as the *Lammerenkrijgh*. Translations of Seneca and Descartes from the 1650s and 1660s contributed to the debates about religious tolerance, ethics, and freedom of conscience among a group of

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68   See Keyser, *Glazemaker 1682–1982*, no. 85, 82, 83, 77, 74, 75, 81, 87, 88, 89, 84, 106.
69   'Want gelijk Seneca heel wel zegt, zodanige sporeloze Geesten hebben dit met de zotheit gemeen, dat zy zonder onderscheid alle dingen verachten, en daar af walgen, zonder te weten waarom.' Anonymous [= Glazemaker, Rieuwertsz or Boom], 'Voorreeden aan de lezer', front matter in Pinto, *De wonderlyke reizen*, [*4v].
70   'de welken niet altijt kennis genoech daar af hebben, of niet oprecht genoech zijn om de waarheit aan hen te zeggen'. Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Voorreeden', front matter in Rycaut, *Verhaal van de tegenwoordige staat*, *2[r].

Amsterdam Mennonites. Those translations possibly even offered philo-
sophical legitimation of the confessional *laissez faire* advocated by Galenus
Abrahamsz. Furthermore, a connection can be made between religious
tolerance and cosmopolitan curiosity as Glazemaker's translated travelogues
and ethnological accounts invite his readers to explore the beliefs and habits
of the non-Christian world.

The socio-political background of the *Lammerenkrijgh* and the Bredenburg
disputes reveals a fundamental difference between the vernacular reception
of Descartes and the Cartesian tradition at Dutch universities. Whereas
academic Cartesians hesitated to apply the Cartesian method beyond the do-
main of philosophy, Glazemaker's translations of Descartes and D'Huisseau
transferred Cartesianism to other knowledge domains – theology, politics
and ethnology. Glazemaker thus not only translated but also *appropriated*
Cartesianism – and to a lesser degree Spinozism – in specific debates and
for specific, non-academic groups of readers. His translations negotiated
old and new philosophy, reason, and faith, in a discourse that never fully
escaped the confessional conditions from which it emerged.

4.2   Glazemaker's poetics: Annotating Descartes and Spinoza

The biographical sketch above has portrayed Glazemaker as a versatile
and highly productive translator. He crossed boundaries between schol-
arly debates and vernacular literary traditions by translating many, often
controversial texts that were otherwise only accessible to a readership
versed in Latin or French. As an intermediary between different knowledge
domains, he was tasked with presenting the texts in an intelligible way for
an audience of lay readers. At the same time, however, inspired by rationalist
theories of language, Glazemaker propagated a distinctive, purist style that
must have sounded unfamiliar, if not artificial, to many Dutch readers. He
was forced to make a compromise between his theoretical ideals regarding
the Dutch language and his desire to be understood. The present section
highlights the traces of those compromises in his editions, to show how
these dilemmas mark the social and discursive circumstances in which
the New Philosophy was transmitted.

In many prefaces Glazemaker left the impression that he did not grant
himself much freedom while translating. He was proud to stay as close to
his sources as possible and regularly stressed that he did not allow 'the
Author to speak of anything in our language that he did not say in his
own', that his translation was merely a 'different garment' for the original,

or that he 'had followed the Latin as closely as possible'.[71] That faithfulness to the source is clearly demonstrated in his refusal to allow permission for reprinting his 1643 translation of John Barclay's *Argenis*, which was based on a French intermediary translation. He insisted on making a new text now that he was able to read the Latin source.[72] In case he did alter the composition of the source or used different sources while translating, he tended to be transparent about it.[73] Studies on Glazemaker confirm his faithful translatorship and qualify his method as 'source oriented'.[74]

However, as all translators must do, early modern translators adjusted their source texts for a different audience and cultural repertoire – and Glazemaker was no exception.[75] Once, concerning his 1647 translation of Gerolamo Cardano's *Neronis Encomium* (1562), he explicitly admitted to having censored the text and having removed 'some obscene things, which are so evil that they should remain unknown'.[76] The manipulation of the source in his 1652 translation of Pinto's *Peregrinaçam* (1614), mentioned in

71   The original fragments read: 'Wat de vertaling aangaat, ik zal in weinig woorden daar af zeggen, dat ik den Schrijver in onze taal niets doe spreken, 't welk hy niet in de zijne gezegt heeft, en dat, zo ik hem niet van woort tot woort gevolgt heb, dit alleenlijk geschied is om beter verstaan te worden, en om niet aan de Lezer een Werk, dat ten hoogsten aangenaam is, op een onäangename wijze te vertonen.' (Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Voorreeden', front matter in Rycaut, *Verhaal van de tegenwoordige*, *3[r]); 'dit Latijnse kint, 't welk slechs een ander kleet aangedaan is' (Glazemaker, 'Voorreden van den oversetter', front matter in Clauberg, *Nadere uitbreiding*, *3[v]); 'wat de vertaling aangaat, ik heb my zo naau, als 't my mogelijk was, aan 't Latijn gehouden' (Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Cardano, *Neeros Lof*).

72   'En dewijl, na verloop van tijt, de gedrukte Boeken van dit werk uitverkocht, en niet meer te bekomen waren, zo ben ik tot verscheide malen van verscheide Boekverkopers aangezocht om mijn toestemming te geven tot het zelfde weêr te doen drukken; 't welk ik altijt tegengestaan heb, met voorwending van dat ik voorgenomen had het zelfde uit de gronttaal, die de Latynsche is, van nieus te vertalen, en niet anders weêr in 't licht te doen komen.' Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Barclay, *D'Argenis van J. Barklai*, *3[r].

73   See for instance: Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Voorreeden', front matter in Boxhornius, *Disquisitiones Politicæ*; Anonymous [= probably Glazemaker], 'Waarschuwing om 't onderscheyt', front matter in Livius, *Romainsche historien*.

74   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 106; De Bom, 'Een subtiele transformative', 220; Visser, *'L'Honneste femme'*, 201. Akkerman mentioned that Glazemaker could be sloppy, but he acknowledged that those errors should be attributed to haste rather than inability (Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 140).

75   Burke, 'Cultures of Translation', 9.

76   'Voorts, wat de vertaling aangaat, ik heb my zo naau, als 't my mogelijk was, aan 't Latijn gehouden, geen verandering daar in gebracht, en ook niets uitgelaten, dan enige ontuchtige dingen, die zo snood zijn, dat zy onbekent behoren te blijven, en van geen eerbare oren, zonder de grootste beschaamtheit, gehoort konnen worden.' Anonymous [= Glazemaker], 'Aen de lezer', front matter in Cardano, *Neeros Lof*.

this chapter's introduction, offers another example. Furthermore, some of the Descartes translations show traces of a pragmatic approach in which Glazemaker used both Latin and French versions of the source interchangeably.[77] Given the source-oriented poetics that Glazemaker prided himself on, it should not surprise us that he did not account for those interventions. Such deviations from Glazemaker's self-proclaimed ethos enable us to draw a more layered portrait of the translator as they reveal his translation 'poetics': the interaction between translation practices, intended readership, and textual form.

As the Radical Enlightenment gained momentum during the second half of the seventeenth century, Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz managed to translate and publish the collected works of the 'symbolic hero' who had provided its philosophical foundation – Descartes – *and* the most extreme exponent of that movement – Spinoza.[78] While Descartes and Spinoza became mandatory reading for both supporters and critics of radical thought, Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz made them accessible to lay men and women.[79] Their efforts to translate the New Philosophy suggest that they had a specific audience and possibly a specific reading strategy in mind for the Dutch editions. After all, learned readers were already served sufficiently by various Latin editions. For readers not versed in Latin who wished to engage with the specialised debates on Cartesianism and Spinozism, becoming familiar with the Latin terminology of those discourses was inevitable. Glazemaker had to simultaneously invent a philosophical language that was intelligible for the unskilled reader and provide a gateway to the Latin or French discourse.[80] How did Glazemaker's translations support that gateway function and how did he cater to a specific target audience of lay readers?

A striking similarity shared by Glazemaker's translations of Descartes and Spinoza concerns the high number of glosses in the page margins. These marginalia usually contain key philosophical terms in Latin or French. It appears that Glazemaker did not add the glosses himself. Based on a number of inconsistencies between the glosses and the translated texts, Piet Steenbakkers convincingly argues that the glosses in Spinoza's

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77   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', xii.

78   Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*, 41–44.

79   A striking example of this is the fact that several editions of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (including Glazemaker's) appeared on the book shelves of David Nunes Torres (d. 1728), a Dutch Sephardic Rabbi from The Hague. Cf. Kaplan, 'Spinoza in the Library', in *La centralità del dubbio*, eds. Hermanin and Simonutti.

80   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 118; Akkerman, 'Glazemakers wijze van vertalen', xii.

Opera Posthuma (1677) were added after the translation process.[81] It is therefore very well possible that the glosses in Glazemaker's translations of Descartes were not added by the translator either. These marginalia only rarely occur elsewhere in Glazemaker's oeuvre, which makes it unlikely that glosses were important to him personally.[82] We will probably never know for sure who added the glosses, but what matters is that Rieuwertsz considered these enrichments necessary. Apparently, the genre of science and philosophy was expected to require a specific reading mode, to be supported by glosses. After all, enriching the text with glosses was a common habit among early modern translators of science and scientists writing in Dutch, such as Simon Stevin.[83] These formal and paratextual elements provide a rich source of information about the semantics and the intended use of the translations.[84]

First of all, glosses allow us to reconstruct the reading strategies of, in this case, Glazemaker's implied readers. The marginalia comprise traces of the original text, which facilitated a parallel reading of the Latin text alongside the Dutch translation. Readers could thus use the translation as a stepping stone to understand the original. As a partial re-enactment of the source, the glosses might also have increased the authority of the translation since they offered a certain level of transparency about the distance between source and translation. On each page, the readers were reminded that the translator had closely followed the original Latin terminology. Additionally, many glosses appear more than once on the same page. Those repetitions reveal that a non-linear reading of the text was assumed, possibly in a collective, seminar-style setting. Readers may have used the original jargon in Dutch discussions about the text to avoid confusion and to guarantee a shared understanding of the philosophical terminology.[85] The glosses assisted readers in finding a coherent and standardised language that they could integrate into their collective, multi-lingual readings and discussions.

Secondly, the marginalia tell us something about the semantic and conceptual problems readers were expected to face. As a study tool, glosses

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81   Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica from Manuscript to Print*, 137.

82   A small number of glosses were included in Glazemaker's translation of Erasmus's commentary to the New Testament (Erasmus, *Annotationes, of aanteekeningen*). However, the number of glosses here cannot compare to the vast amounts in the Descartes- and Spinoza-editions.

83   Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica from Manuscript to Print*, 136; Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker'; 207; Kool, 'De rekenkundige termen', 92.

84   Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*; Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities*.

85   Cf. Kool, 'De rekenkundige termen', 92.

not only underline which concepts are considered most important but also highlight concepts expected to be unfamiliar. For example, some of the most frequent and most central terms in Descartes's treatises only rarely occur in glosses, whereas others are mentioned on nearly every page. *Lydingen van de ziel* (1656), for instance, features 57 glosses with *Passiones* for the word *lijdingen* ('passions', 151 occurrences) but only 3 with *Anima* for the word *ziel* ('soul' or 'spirit', 227 occurrences) (Table 4.1). *Beginselen der wijsbegeerte* (1657) features 112 glosses with *Meatus* and another 21 glosses with *Pori* for the same word *pijpjes* ('body canals', 235 occurrences) but one will find only 8 instances of the gloss *Corpus* in the margins, for *lighaam* ('body', 527 occurrences) (Table 4.1). Marjolein Kool observed a similar pattern in Simon Stevin's mathematical works, which led her to the conclusion that the absence of a Latin equivalent in the margins indicates that the corresponding Dutch term was already (assumed to be) fairly common.[86] Apparently, among the intended readers, words like *lijdingen* and *pijpjes* were either less well-known or more ambiguous than *ziel* or *lighaam*.

In order to analyse the semantic status of the terminology in the glosses, I automatically extracted both the French or Latin glosses and the Dutch terms glossed by them from eight translations of books by Descartes and Spinoza. Manual tagging of the glosses during the transcription process enabled such extraction. I then created rankings of the most frequent terms occurring in each text's glossing (Tables 4.1–4.9).[87] In general, the grammatical number of the term in the gloss corresponded with that of the term it glossed (e.g. *actio* corresponded to *doening* (action), and *actiones* to *doeningen* (actions)). The rankings have not been edited because the difference between (the occurrence of) singular and plural could be significant in certain contexts, i.e. singular and plural forms of the same term have not been merged (e.g. *passiones* and *passio*).[88]

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86   Kool, 'De rekenkundige termen', 98.

87   This subcorpus includes five translations of texts by Descartes: *Bedenkingen van d' eerste wysbegeerte*; *Redenering van 't beleed*; *Lydingen van de ziel*; *Beginselen der wysbegeerte*; and *Proeven der wysbegeerte*; and four translations from Spinoza's *Nagelate schriften*: 'Zedekunst'; 'Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant'; 'Staatkundige verhandeling'; and 'Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen aan B.d.S'.

88   The ending *-æ* was often impossible to distinguish from the ending *-a* due to the small size of the font used for the marginalia. That problem caused several errors in the transcriptions as terms printed in the plural form (e.g. *figuræ*) were transcribed in the singular form (e.g. *figura*) by volunteers who often did not know Latin.

Table 4.1   Top 15 most frequent glosses in Descartes's *Lydingen van de ziel* (1656) ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	passiones	57	lijdingen	passions
2	passio	30	lijding, drift	passion
3	spiritus	29	geesten	spirits
4	musculi	23	spieren	muscles
5	objecta	22	voorwerpen	objects
6	glandula	20	klier	gland
7	actio	18	doening, werking	action
8	actiones	18	doeningen	actions
9	nervi	17	zenuwen	nerves
10	objectum	16	voorwerp	object
11	tristitia	14	droefheit	sadness
12	effectus	13	werking, werkingen, uitwerking, uitwerkingen	effect
13	cupiditas	11	begeerte	desire
14	sensus	11	zinnen, gevoelingen, zinnen, gevoel	senses
15	spiritus animales	10	dierelijke geesten	animal spirits

Table 4.2   Top 15 most frequent glosses in Descartes's *Beginselen der wysbegeerte* (1657) ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	meatus	112	pijpjes, gaten, uitëinden, deurgangen	body canals
2	spatium	101	ruimte	space
3	centrum	88	middelpunt	centre
4	superficies	86	vlakte, vlakten	surfaces
5	motus	84	bewegingen, beweging, roering, roeringen	motion
6	materia	70	stoffe	matter
7	poli	68	aspunten	poles
8	particulae striatae	68	gedraaide deeltjes	twisted particles
9	figura	62	gestalte, gestalten, gedaante, afbeeltsel, afbeelding	image
10	vortex	62	draaikring	vortex
11	sensus	60	zin, zinnen, bemerking, gewaarwording	senses
12	materia primi elementi	55	stoffe van deerste hooftstoffe	matter of the first element
13	situs	48	gelegenheit, gelegenheit, stant, standen	position
14	actio	46	doening, werking	action
15	mens	43	geest	mind

The glosses thus seem to have functioned as markers of unfamiliar, ambiguous, and possibly unclear terminology. The relationship between term frequency and gloss frequency in Glazemaker's translations could signal the conceptual ambivalence and lack of familiarity of the terms included in the glossary. This relationship is also illustrated by words that were not only highly frequent in treatises on natural philosophy, but simply permeated early modern discourse in general. Because of the widespread familiarity with terms like *God* (God), *mensen* (people or human beings), and *zon* (sun), one will find virtually no glosses of these terms despite their high frequencies in the translations. In other words, the relation between the occurrence of a term and the number of times it is glossed is not random. That fact renders the glosses a valuable source for reconstructing the conceptual problems that uneducated readers faced when reading the translations. The most frequent glosses can be read as a representation of a part of the discourse that was perceived as being uncertain or ambiguous. They mark the shifting edges of the Cartesian and Spinozist discourses in which unknown terms were introduced and common terms acquired new meanings. I will argue here that glosses were included when readers were confronted (1) with new terminology or (2) with new meanings of existing terminology. Glazemaker and his editor(s) probably anticipated those problems and used the glosses to support the implied reader's understanding of the text.

Examples of the first category in the glosses – new terminology for the intended audience – include the technical, mechanical discourse that dominates the translations of Descartes. Readers who were unfamiliar with human anatomy were most likely unfamiliar with (purist) anatomical terms like *pijpjes* (body canals), *zenuwen* (nerves), *spieren* (muscles), *longen* (lungs), *aderlijke slagäder* (arterial vein), *slagaderlijke ader* (venous artery), *grote ader* (large artery), and *holle ader* (hollow artery) (cf. Tables 4.1–4.5). Mathematical and astronomical jargon like *ruimte* (space), *middelpunt* (centre), *gestalte* (figure), *vlakte* (surface), *aspunten* (poles), and *draaikring* (vortex) must have been equally new for them. In these cases the glosses established a standardised vocabulary that allowed lay readers to engage and become familiar with a relatively uncommon scientific discourse.

It needs to be stressed, however, that this category does not necessarily concern neologisms. The glosses do not highlight terms that Glazemaker invented himself, as he relied in many cases on vocabulary already present in various older sources. Several of Glazemaker's terms bear the mark of the linguistic heritage of Simon Stevin (e.g. *reden* (reason), *meetkunde* (geometry),

middelpunt (centre), etc.), whose lexical innovations were in turn not always neologisms in the strictest sense, as Marjolein Kool demonstrates.[89] Furthermore, the purist terminology highlighted by the glossaries suggests that Glazemaker kept Lodewijk Meijer's loanword dictionary and thesaurus *Nederlandtse woorden-schat* at his fingertips while translating, as opposed to, for instance, the influential Dutch dictionary by Cornelis Kiliaan.[90] While it remains possible that the influence was mutual, Glazemaker most likely did not introduce this lexicon himself. Still, many of the technical, philosophical terms in the glossaries were either translated differently in or were entirely absent from a dictionary like Kiliaen's. The relatively uncommon and purist Dutch terminology could have provided difficulties for readers without a formal education, which Glazemaker anticipated and tried to diminish with the glosses.

The second category – uncommon uses of common words – can often be recognised as words that are generally not annotated with a gloss but do get a notation in the margin when a specific adjective or context complicates their meaning. For instance, in translations of Spinoza, the frequently occurring word *natuur* (which could refer to 'nature' or 'essence', but also to the pantheist notion 'Nature') is in both meanings crucial to the Spinozist natural philosophy, metaphysics, and epistemology. However, the gloss *Natura* is virtually absent in the translation of Spinoza's posthumous works, *Nagelate schriften* (1677). The term *natuur* (nature) is annoted with a gloss only when it concerns a specific meaning of the word nature: *natura absoluta* (absolute nature), *natura naturans* (naturing nature), *natura naturata* (natured nature), *natura infinita* (infinite nature). In translations of Descartes this applies for instance to glosses like *terra exterior* (exterior earth) and *terra interior* (interior earth, *uitwendige aarde* and *inwendige aarde* in Dutch) whereas the highly frequent word *aarde* (earth) is only once annotated with the gloss *terra*. Glosses from this category highlight new meanings of conventional terminology in the translated Cartesian and Spinozist discourse.

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89   Dijksterhuis, *Simon Stevin*, 128; Kool, 'De rekenkundige termen', 107.
90   Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker', 207.

Table 4.3   **Top 15 most frequent glosses in Descartes's** *Bedenkingen van d' eerste wysbegeerte* **(1656)** ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	sensus	37	zinnen, zin, kitteling, gevoelingen, gevoeling	senses
2	mens	34	geest	mind
3	idea	33	denkbeelt	idea
4	existere	32	wezentlijk [zijn]	to exist
5	cogitatio	25	denking	cognition
6	ideae	25	denkbeelden	ideas
7	existentia	19	wezentlijkheit	existence
8	figura	17	gestalte, gestalten	image
9	res cogitans	16	denkend ding	thinking thing
10	realitas	12	dadelijkheit	reality
11	intellectus	11	verstant	intellect
12	dependere	10	afhangen	to depend
13	formaliter	9	vormelijk	formal
14	imaginatio	9	inbeelding	imagination
15	perceptio	9	bevatting	perception

Table 4.4   **Top 15 most frequent glosses in Descartes's** *Redenering van 't beleed* **(1656)** ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	principes	14	beginselen	principles
2	arteres	12	slagäders	arteries
3	esprit	11	vernuft, geest	spirit
4	sens	8	zinnen, zin, verstant	sense
5	esprits	8	verstanden, vernuften	spirits
6	vene arterieuse	8	slagaderlyke ader	arterial vein
7	philosophie	8	wijsbegeerte	philosophy
8	raisonnemens	7	redenering, redeneringen	reasoning
9	grande artere	7	grote slagäder	large artery
10	pensées	7	denkingen, gedachten	cognitions/thoughts
11	vene cave	7	holle ader	hollow vein
12	sciences	6	wetenschappen	sciences
13	mathema-tiques	6	wiskonstenaars, wiskunde	mathematics
14	poumons	6	longen	lungs
15	demonstra-tions	6	betogingen	demonstrations

Table 4.5   Top 15 most frequent glosses in Descartes's *Proeven der wysbegeerte* (1659) ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	principia	15	leerreegels, beginselen	principles
2	arteria	12	slagäders	arteries
3	idea	9	denkbeelt, denkbeelden	ideas
4	scientia	9	wetenschappen, wetenschap	science
5	vena arteriosa	8	slagaderlijke ader	arterial vein
6	philosophia	8	wijsbegeerte	philosophy
7	sensus	7	zinnen, zin, verstant	senses
8	methodus	6	beleed	method
9	vena	6	aderen, ader, aders	veins
10	arteria venosa	6	aderlijke slagäder	venous artery
11	demonstra-tiones	6	betogingen	demonstrations
12	cogitationes	6	gedachten, denkingen, kennissen	cognitions/thoughts
13	magna arteria	5	grote slagäder	large artery
14	objecta	5	voorwerpen	objects
15	mathematica	5	wiskunde, wiskundige, wiskundigen, wiskunst	mathematics

Table 4.6   Top 15 most frequent glosses in Spinoza's *Zedekunst* (1677) ⏎

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	propositio	693	voorstelling	proposition
2	scholium	323	byvoegsel	addendum
3	affectus	317	lijdingen, aangedaan, hartstocht, hartstochten	affection ('emotion')
4	demonstratio	274	betoging	demonstration
5	corollarium	207	toegift	corollary (deduction)
6	idea	185	denkbeelt, denkbeelden	idea
7	definitio	169	bepaling	definition
8	essentia	162	wezentheit	essence
9	mens	104	ziel, geest	mind
10	existentia	101	wezentlijkheit	existence
11	existere	83	wezentlijk [zijn]	to exist
12	cupiditas	75	begeerte	desire
13	ideae	64	denkbeelt, denkbeelden	ideas
14	affectiones	58	aandoeningen	affections
15	involvere	56	insluiten	to involve

Table 4.7   **Top 15 most frequent glosses in Spinoza's *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (1677)** ↵

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	idea	30	denkbeelt, denkbeelden	idea
2	methodus	30	middle	method
3	mens	27	geest	mind
4	essentia	25	wezentheit	essence
5	intellectus	22	verstant	intellect
6	ideae	19	denkbeelden	ideas
7	idea vera	16	waar denkbeelt	true idea
8	existere	14	wezentlijk [zijn]	to exist
9	norma	14	rechtsnoer	norm
10	perceptio	12	bevatting, begrijping, begrip, begrijp	perception
11	fictio	11	verdichting	fiction
12	essentia objectiva	11	voorwerpige wezentheit	objective essence
13	causa	11	oorzaak	cause
14	conceptus	11	bevatting, bevattingen	conception
15	objectum	10	voorwerp	object

Table 4.8   **Top 15 most frequent glosses in Spinoza's *Staatkundige verhandeling* (1677)** ↵

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	patricii	70	keurraden, raatsheeren	senators, patricians
2	civitas	64	burgerschap, burgerschappen	state
3	senatus	62	staatsraat, raat	senate
4	imperium	49	heerschappy	government
5	concilium	43	raatvergadering, vergadering	council
6	syndici	33	wetverdedigers	representatives
7	concilium supremum	32	opperste raatsvergadering, opperste raat	supreme council
8	imperium monarchicum	24	eenhoofdige heerschappy	monarchical government
9	senatores	22	staatsraden, raatsheeren	senators
10	fundamenta	21	grontvesten, grontvesten	foundations
11	affectus	19	hartstochten, hartstocht	affection
12	absolute	18	volstrektelijk	absolute
13	plebs	18	slechte volk, gemene hoop, menigte, gemene volk	plebs, common people, crowds
14	respublica	16	gemene staat	republic
15	status civilis	15	burgerlijke staat, burgerlijke stant	civil state

Table 4.9   Top 15 most frequent glosses in Spinoza's *Brieven* (1677)

	Gloss	Freq.	Translations	English
1	definitio	44	bepaling	definition
2	existentia	39	wezentlijkheit, wezentlijk	existence
3	extensio	35	uitgestrektheit	extent, expansion
4	existere	34	wezentlijk [zijn]	to exist
5	motus	33	beweging	motion
6	essentia	32	wezentheit, wezen	essence
7	ens	30	wezend, wezen	being
8	involvere	28	insluiten	to involve
9	absolute	28	volstrektelijk	absolute
10	substantia	26	zelfstandigheit	substance
11	sectio	25	afdeeling	section
12	demonstrare	25	betogen	to demonstrate
13	principia	24	beginselen	principles
14	conceptus	23	bevattingen	concepts
15	attributa	23	toeëigeningen	attributes

Reading the glosses as markers of the new and semantically unstable elements in the Dutch reception of Descartes and Spinoza, a few conclusions can be drawn from the glosses concerning the differences between the Cartesian and the Spinozist discourses. In the Cartesian translations, the most difficult elements were the mechanical, mathematical, and anatomical terminology from Descartes's natural philosophy. The matter-in-motion principle appears to have been one of the most challenging in the Cartesian discourse. The most frequent glosses from *Beginselen der wysbegeerte* (1657) (Table 4.2) read like a summary of the Cartesian mechanical worldview: *Motus* (motion), *Materia* (matter), *Particulae striatae* (twisted particles), *Materia primi elementi* (matter of the first element), and *Actio* (action). Other recurring glosses refer to the specific physical phenomena addressed by Descartes, such as the relation between soul and body – *Passiones* (passions), *Glandula* (gland), *Musculi* (muscles), and *Nervi* (nerves) – planetary motion – *Motus* (motion), *Vortex* (vortex), and *Situs* (position) – and the working of the heart – *Arteria* (arteries), *Vena arteriosa* (arterial vein), *Vena* (veins), *Arteria venosa* (venous artery), and *Magna arteria* (large artery).

In addition to the specific terminology in the translations of Descartes's work, a more general set of terms occurs in almost all translations. This category relates to the Cartesian epistemology and deductive scientific method, including concepts such as: *Mens* (mind), *Idea* (idea), *Cogitatio*

(cognition), *Ideae* (ideas), *Res cogitans* (thinking thing), *Realitas* (reality), *Intellectus* (intellect), *Imaginatio* (imagination), *Perceptio* (perception), *Principes* (principles), *Raisonnemens* (reasoning), *Pensèes* (thoughts), *Demonstrationes* (demonstrations), and *Methodus* (method). Many of those terms are also key to Spinoza's *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (1677) and *Zedekunst* (1677) – *mens*, *intellectus*, *idea*, *ideae*, *demonstratio*, *methodus*, and *perception* all rank among the most frequent glosses. This overlap seems to suggest that the Cartesian epistemology had to be renegotiated in the translations of Spinoza's work. Beyond the terminology specific to Spinozism there was a common discursive ground that Glazemaker's translations (re) activated through their glossaries.

Reading the glosses in Glazemaker's translations as traces of the intended use by his implied readers and as markers of conceptual ambivalence and change, I argue that the marginalia facilitate a non-linear, parallel (source beside translation), and collective reading mode, while they also increase the authority and reliability of the translated text. Secondly, I assume that the glosses in Glazemaker's translations flagged terms that were expected to raise difficulties for his readers, either because they were new to them, or because existing terminology acquired new meanings in the context of the New Philosophy. Following that assumption, I argue that in the Descartes translations the terminology relating to the Cartesian materialist natural philosophy was most prominent and therefore relatively new or ambiguous to the intended readers. The terminology concerned with the Cartesian epistemology reappears prominently in the glosses of the translations of Spinoza. Glazemaker and his editor(s) seemed to expect that their Dutch readers foremost needed to revalue the Cartesian method of systematic doubt while reading Spinoza in translation. Linguistic renewal and semantic change was thus inscribed into the margins of the page, offering us a glimpse into the seminars for lay readers for which Glazemaker was supplying the reading material.

4.3   Conclusion

Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker was the most productive Dutch translator of the seventeenth century. Collaborating with several members of Spinoza's circle, he played a key role in the Dutch Early Enlightenment. His prefaces reveal that he considered Descartes one of the greatest thinkers of all time, although he did not specify which elements of Cartesian philosophy interested him most. That lack of specificity was typical. He dedicated many

years to translating Descartes's and Spinoza's key works, but he similarly invested in translating Seneca, Montaigne, Plutarch, and even the Qur'an. Seventeenth-century Neo-Stoicism and cosmopolitanism were as important to his intellectual conditions as Cartesianism. This curiosity and flexibility is also reflected in his enormous book collection.[91] Glazemaker was less an apologist for the Radical Enlightenment than a diligent pedlar of old and new ideas.

Socially, Glazemaker proved first and foremost loyal to a group of Mennonite publishers from Amsterdam and to the debates in the local Flemish Mennonite community. There are clear parallels between his oeuvre and the *Lammerenkrijgh* from the 1650s and 1660s, and the Bredenburg disputes from the early 1670s. His interest in the New Philosophy should be explained from the intellectual connections between Cartesianism, Spinozism, Stoicism, and the Mennonite teachings of Galenus Abrahamsz. Glazemaker transferred Descartes's ideas to the confessional domain of the Mennonites. There, Descartes was put to work, providing philosophical support for the heterodox teachings of Galenus. We might view Glazemaker as an early example of the 'Religious Enlightenment' that, according to David Sorkin, emerged in the eighteenth century. Sorkin opposes the thesis that the Enlightenment depended on a secularising public sphere. Instead, he emphasises the religious context in which Enlightened ideas emerged.[92] This is where Rieuwertsz and Glazemaker met a demand for translations of the New Philosophy: in the specific, religious public sphere of the Mennonites. As conflict and disagreement threatened the peace and identity of the already vulnerable Flemish Mennonites, they hoped to find a solution in philosophy.

Viewing Glazemaker only as one of Spinoza's disciples would therefore leave us with a very limited understanding of this cultural translator. The fact that Spinoza's friends turned to Glazemaker for translations of the philosopher's *Opera Posthuma* does indeed signal his central position in Amsterdam freethinking circles. But when Glazemaker became involved with Spinoza's friends during the 1650s, he joined a group of ambitious twentysomethings whose revolutionary ideas were still under development. Glazemaker himself was several years older and by then already in demand as a translator. This difference in age and experience makes it difficult to believe that Glazemaker exclusively dedicated his life to the project of these young radicals. Neither do we have compelling evidence that he developed into a staunch Spinozist – but he was flexible enough intellectually to

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91 *Catalogus Instructissimae Bibliothecae.*
92 Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment*, 20.

help his friends out when they needed a reliable translator for *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and *Opera Posthuma*.

Instead, Glazemaker is best explained as an intermediary between radical thought in the Dutch Republic and the pressing religious questions that preoccupied Dutch Mennonites. Because of that bridge-position, his translating poetics may be interpreted as reader-oriented. And yet, his linguistic preferences were also at odds these supposedly reader-oriented poetics. In contrast to his intellectual flexibility, Glazemaker's style was relatively consistent throughout his long career. He adhered to a characteristically purist vocabulary that did not depend on his sources or implied readers. His large oeuvre became a symbol of the linguistic purism propagated by Meijer and Koerbagh. However, readers were not necessarily familiar with Glazemaker's unusual purist Dutch. Glosses served to compensate for the ambiguity caused by purist terminology and the introduction of new concepts.

This compromise between understandability and linguistic purism exemplifies the negotiations involved in the rationalist quest for a new language for the natural light. Formal and material features like the marginalia in the first Dutch editions of Descartes's and Spinoza's works reveal how translations simultaneously communicated the New Philosophy to new readers and tried to develop a language that was less vulnerable to the rationalist scepticism about the reliability of language, which was fundamental to the New Philosophy. Glazemaker's oeuvre thus became a prime example of the Hobbesian Turn: nearly every page of his Descartes and Spinoza translations was shaped by the paradox between the rationalist conviction that language was a fundamentally unreliable medium and the aim to spread rationalism through language and translation.

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5   The politics of linguistic purism

Pieter Balling's translations of Spinoza

Abstract: As a Flemish Mennonite and key figure in Spinoza's circle Pieter Balling was a flexible thinker negotiating between Mennonite beliefs, Collegiantism, vernacular rationalism, Cartesianism and Spinozism. This chapter examines Balling's position in between those traditions and reconstructs his views regarding the relationship between language and reason expressed. Balling's social circumstances and ideology are connected to the style and vocabulary of his translations of Spinoza's early work. This analysis reveals a clear socio-linguistic difference between Balling's pamphlets and his Spinoza translations. Balling's intellectual fluidity required him to switch between different discourses with different linguistic conventions. He thus embodies the pragmatist attitude concerning language and reason that was typical to the translation culture of the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

Keywords: linguistic purism, language philosophy, pamphlets, Mennonite history, lexical analysis

The Dutch Early Enlightenment is best described as a heterogeneous, decentralised movement of ideas, but if it had a centre, the Amsterdam congregation of Flemish Mennonites would qualify as one. Their clandestine church on the Singel Bij het Lam counted not only Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker and Jan Rieuwertsz among its members, but also Pieter Balling: merchant, amateur philosopher, and the first Dutch translator of Spinoza's work. He translated Spinoza's *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* (1663) and *Cogitata Metaphysica* (1663) and published the translations with Rieuwertsz in 1664, titled *Renatus des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte I en II deel, na de meetkonstige wijze beweezen* and *Aanhangzel overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Balling's version contained several adjustments by Spinoza to the Latin text,

indicating the collaborative translation practices among the freethinkers around Rieuwertsz. Besides translations, Balling produced three pamphlets with valuable information about his ideological profile and his position within Mennonite circles. In this chapter, I will connect Balling's social circumstances and ideology with the actual style and vocabulary of his translations, with special attention given to his ideas about language and language theory. His 1662 pamphlet *Het licht op den kandelaar* exemplifies the ideal of language renewal that emerged in the vernacular debates around the New Philosophy.

Several historians, including K.O. Meinsma, Wim Klever, and Steven Nadler, have credited Balling with a key role in Spinoza's circle.[1] Others have downplayed Balling's Spinozism and situated his thought in intellectual trajectories that both preceded and outlived Spinoza. Ruben Buys, for example, discusses Balling's conception of the 'inner light' in the early modern tradition of vernacular rationalism that originated in the sixteenth century.[2] Andrew Fix interprets *Het licht* as a prime example of the 'secularisation of the individual conscience' that characterised the development of Collegiant thought during the seventeenth century.[3] From a different disciplinary perspective, Fokke Akkerman was the first to critically study Balling's mode of translation. He compares his style with Glazemaker's, and concludes that Balling – not Glazemaker – deserves credit for being the first translator of the first two parts of Spinoza's *Ethica*.[4] Akkerman argues that because of his close friendship with Spinoza, Balling was able to translate the philosopher more adequately than Glazemaker, guided by a 'free, intellectual attitude to the text'.[5] I will analyse the connections between Balling's social background, his language theory, and his translation style, arguing that these different dimensions of his position in the history of the Early Enlightenment cannot be separated. Balling's rationalism, Mennonite background, and Spinozist interests were all equally important, and the lexical variations in his oeuvre reflect his engagement with the diverse discourses involved.

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1   An article and a book chapter by Wim Klever provide the most substantial biography available: Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking'; Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza*; Cf. Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 103–104; Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 213.

2   Buys, *Sparks of Reason*, 233–240.

3   Fix, *Prophesy and Reason,* 200–201.

4   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 160; Steenbakkers accepted this conclusion. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica from Manuscript to Print,* 64.

5   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 153.

5.1   Balling's profile: A Spinozist Mennonite

Any attempt to compose a biographical portrait of Pieter Balling is bound to end in disappointment. The handful of flawed sources that mention his name enables an impressionistic sketch at best. Even the most rudimentary facts – dates and places of birth and death, baptismal date, marriage date – are unknown. What is certain is that he was a member of the Flemish Mennonites.[6] He married a certain 'Annetje' and became a father to at least three children: Annetje Balling, Rebecca Balling, and an unnamed son who died in 1664, possibly of the plague.[7] Apparently he lived in Spain for a number of years as commissioner for different merchants from Amsterdam and Haarlem.[8] The absence of his name in the marriage records of Bij het Lam suggests that he settled in Amsterdam only at a later time in his life, possibly after his stay in Spain. Balling's death can be dated to between 1663 and 1669, as the Mennonite marriage records noted that Annetje, 'widow of Pieter Balling' was a witness at her daughter's marriage in 1669.[9] Those are the only hard claims about Balling's biography that can be justified by the sources. His life remains, in short, a mystery.

However, he did leave a small but significant oeuvre that documents his philosophical and confessional outlook on the world. He was a moderate Mennonite, emphatically dedicated to his congregation. He actively supported Galenus Abrahamsz (Galenus) in the *Lammerenkrijgh* (see Chapter 4), sympathising with the anti-orthodox voices in this religious and political dispute. Balling defended Galenus in two pamphlets: *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (1663) and *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (1664), both published by Jan Rieuwertsz.[10] The orthodox minority in the community elicited Balling's contempt when they tried to enforce an intervention from external judges to suspend Galenus as the preacher (traditionally named *leraar* – teacher) of their congregation. Balling specifically criticised Jan van Dyk's pamphlet *Noodtwendigh bericht, tot openinge der tegenwoordighe onlusten en geschillen in de Gemeente der Doops-gesinde, die men de ver-eenighde Vlamingen, Vriezen*

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6   Anonymous [= Rieuwertsz], 'Beminde lezer', front matter in Balling, *Het licht op den kandelaar*.

7   Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 221.

8   This information can be surmised from a pamphlet that specifically responded to Balling's pamphlets in which he defended the position of Galenus: Anonymous, *Goliadts swaart*; Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 58.

9   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 153; Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 223.

10   Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 190.

en Hoogduytsche noemt, binnen Amsterdam (1663). In a cutting style, Balling upheld the congregation's sovereignty and the majority that supported it. This was only months before the dramatic schism of 1664 and his unforgiving tone reflects the escalating conflict. The two pamphlets demonstrate his rhetorical abilities and his loyalty to the political and religious autonomy that Galenus embodied.

Besides his involvement in the *Lammerenkrijgh*, Balling has been remembered most of all as a close friend to Spinoza, whose empathic letter to him, dated 20 July 1664, shortly after the death of Balling's son, attests to their friendship.[11] A letter from Simon Joosten de Vries[12] to Spinoza, dated 24 February 1663, reveals that Balling also visited the philosopher in Rijnsburg.[13] He even seems to have acquired a contemporary public reputation as Spinoza's 'greatest disciple' (*voornaemste Discipel*).[14] Some have suggested that they first met each other among the Amsterdam Collegiants,[15] or in the Amsterdam merchant network.[16] Given his career as a 'Spanish' representative for Dutch tradesmen, it is likely that Balling spoke Spanish, which may have eased their initial contact – Spinoza was, after all, not fluent in Dutch.[17] Yet there is no hard evidence that Balling crossed Spinoza's path in the realm of Iberian trade, nor that he attended Collegiant meetings.[18]

Through his translations, Balling transmitted Spinoza directly and Descartes indirectly into vernacular discourse and he clearly admired both philosophers. Nevertheless, labelling him a 'Cartesian' or a 'Spinozist' would do no justice to the complexity of his intellectual and spiritual position. Moreover, Balling might well have influenced Spinoza in their dialectical maturation as freethinkers.[19] In 1662 he published his first and only origi-

11   Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, eds. Akkerman, Hubbeling, and Westerbrink, 149.
12   The Mennonite merchant Simon Joosten de Vries (1633/1634–1674) from Amsterdam is not to be confused with the Dutch teacher and author Simon de Vries (1624–1708) from Utrecht (cf. Dijstelberge, 'Een zegen voor de mensheid', 31–40; van Schaik, *Van Lees-Aert tot Schrijf-Aert*.
13   Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, letter 18, 108.
14   Anonymous, *Goliadts swaart*, 11–12; Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 59.
15   Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, 103–104; Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 169.
16   Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza*, 14.
17   Spinoza must have known Spanish very well as it was the lingua franca among the learned members of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam. Akkerman, Hubbeling, and Westerbrink, 'Aantekeningen', front matter in Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, eds. Akkerman, Hubbeling, and Westerbrink, 463; Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 46.
18   Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger collegianten*, 328.
19   Cf. Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 213.

nal philosophical work: the six-page pamphlet *Het licht op den kandelaar*. The text was printed 'For the author' but omitted his name as well as the publisher's.[20] When Rieuwertsz reprinted the pamphlet in 1684 (together with a short treatise by Jarich Jellesz dedicated to Spinoza), he revealed the author's identity in a new preface. He also mentioned that *Het licht* had been translated into English (in 1663) and erroneously attributed to the English Quaker William Ames (?–1662).[21] Others assumed the Collegiant Adam Boreel to be the author: a Latin translation (*Lucerna super Candelabro*) was included in a collection of Boreel's works, *Scripta Adami Borelii Posthuma* (1683). In all its brevity, *Het licht* struck a chord with various readers within and outside of the Dutch Republic, even if (or perhaps because) they never learned the true name of its author.

Any interpretation of *Het licht* should first take the pamphlet's context into account. Its subtitle straightforwardly announced Balling's intentions: 'Serving / as a commentary of the main things; in the Booklet titled *The mysteries of Gods Realm*, &c against Galenus Abrahamsz. and his followers &c. discussed / and written / by William Ames'.[22] Balling primarily articulated a response to Ames's pamphlet *De verborgentheden van het Rijke Gods* (1661), which in turn contained a commentary on the teachings of Galenus. Ames had listed nine theological differences between Galenus and himself, most of which related to Ames's insistence that only Christ can be identified as the 'true Light'. This opposed Galenus's (Cartesian) suggestion that the human mind offered the primary foundation of true religion. Ames rejected that claim, for 'all human beings are blinded by nature'.[23] Finally, Christ had opened people's eyes to God's truth: he gave his life and thus guided the Christian people with his Light. Situating that Light within the faulty and sinful realm of human abilities was bound to lead the people into disbelief. Balling's pamphlet engaged with this discussion in several places in *Het licht op den kandelaar*. He preferred a relativist interpretation, arguing that terms like 'Christ', 'the Spirit', 'the Word', and

20   Klever claimed that Rieuwertsz Sr. should be identified as the publisher, based on typographical similarities with other books from his imprint. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking van P. Balling', 56.

21   This was understandable given the discursive overlap between both authors. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking van P. Balling', 56. Cf. Ames, *Het ligt dat in de duisternisse schijnt*; Ames, *De verborgentheden van het rijke Gods*.

22   'Dienende / tot opmerckinge van de voornaamste dingen; in het Boekje genaamt De verborgentheden van het Rijke Ghodts, &c tegens Galenus Abrahamsz. en zijn Toestemmers &c. verhandelt / en beschreven / door William Ames'.

23   Ames, *De verborgentheden van het rijke Gods*, 6.

'the Light' were just a matter of semantics: 'because they all boil down to one and the same thing'.[24]

So it was first and foremost the Quaker William Ames – not Descartes, not Spinoza, not even Galenus – who tempted Balling to pick up the pen. Nevertheless, as Balling's pamphlet borrowed arguments from Cartesianism, Spinozism, and Galenism, it eventually transcended the Spiritualist dispute with Ames. *Het licht op den kandelaar* is a highly compressed philosophical exercise that blends language philosophy, Cartesian anti-scepticism, and spiritualist vocabulary into an argument for inter-confessional pacifism. It first articulates a pessimistic view on the representative function of language. Words, Balling insists, are inherently unreliable since people often hold different, even conflicting notions while using identical words.[25] Therefore, words are inadequate for attaining and communicating true knowledge about the visible and the invisible world. That Babylonian crisis caused the 'sea of confusion' (*zee van verwerring*) that haunted humankind in Balling's days. To solve this crisis, Balling acknowledges the need to invent new words, and by extension a completely new language. However, he immediately dismisses the creation of a new language as an absurdity. At this point Balling turns from a sceptic into an anti-sceptic. Words are still, he realised, the most adequate means of communicating our thoughts. Furthermore, the unreliability of words is only a superficial problem because, even though language often leads us astray, true knowledge essentially does not depend on language.

Balling indicates the one and only grounds for clear and distinct knowledge about truth, the ambiguous criterion he called 'the Light'. He defines this notion as follows:

> The Light [...] is a clear and distinct knowledge of truth, in the mind of any human being, through which he is so convinced of the being and the nature of things, that it is impossible for him, to have doubts thereof.[26]

This Light present in everyone's mind thus provided the only reliable foundation for all external expressions, which by nature are prone to

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24 'wy noemen het liever met de benaming van Licht, als met enige andere / anders is 't ons om 't even / of men het noeme Christus, den Geest, het Woort enz. dewijle alle deze op een en zelve zake uitlopen'. Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 4.

25 Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 3.

26 'Het Licht [...] is een klare en onderscheidene kennisse van waarheit, in het verstant van een ygelijck mensch, door welk hy zodanich overtuigt is, van het zijn, en hoedanich zijn der zaken, dat het voor hem onmogelijk is, daar aan te konnen twijffelen.' Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 4.

misunderstanding and deception. As such, the Light not only guides human judgement to distinguish true from false, but also to tell the difference between right and wrong. Without the Light, Balling underlines, one inevitably roams in 'endless darkness / delusion / and sin'; he knows no truth, nor is he able to do good.[27] Balling goes on to write that the Light not only offers an instrument of attaining true knowledge and living a moral life; it is equal to truth itself. Anyone could guess the implications of this view: the Bible lost its exclusive status as the origin of God's truth. Even if Scriptural truth provided the strongest 'co-witness' of the Light available, it remained just that: a *reflection* of the inner Light. Scripture is an expression of the Light which can only be appreciated by those who follow their own impression of the Light.

And to what end then, Balling asks his reader, should we require ourselves to read Scripture in the original languages, which is a rare skill anyway, if we are not guided by the Light? 'The letters, the words, those are not Scripture, but the meaning alone.'[28] That meaning can be accessed by anyone in any language, provided that he or she 'stands' in the Light – the same Light, that is, from which Scripture emerged. To conclude, Balling proves the Light to be the only means by which to acquire true knowledge of God. Because if it is not, he argues, then the truth of God would depend on words and other signs. That does not make sense, for words are always created and finite whereas God is infinite and not created. Furthermore, words depend upon existing knowledge of God. If man had no idea of God, how would he be able to understand the notion of God if God revealed himself through a sentence as simple as 'I am God'?[29]

Where should Pieter Balling and his plea for clear and distinct knowledge be situated in the intellectual history of the seventeenth century? It is a beautiful historical irony that various historians proposed different, sometimes conflicting answers to that question. *Het licht* has been framed

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27   'Uit deze beschrijvinge / die wy nu van het *Licht* geven / ziet men klaarlijk; dat het zelve / als een voorname uitwerking in zich moet bevatten / van ons te kennen te geven / en aan te wijzen /wat *waarheit* en valscheit. wat *goet* en *quaat* is / 't welk zekerlijk / een zake van zoo groot aangelegentheit is / dat men zonder 't zelve / nootzakelijk in een gedurige duisternis / waan/ en zonde omzwerft: geen waarheit kent / geen ghoedt en doet / als by de tast / en 't geluk / zonder enige gewisheit.' Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 4.

28   Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 7. The original quote reads: 'De letteren, de woorden, deze en zijn niet de Schriftuur / maar alleen den zin is de Schriftuur.' The English translation from 1663 provided the following equivalent: 'The letters, the words are not the Scriptures, but the mind alone' (11), but the translator here clearly confused the meaning of the Dutch word 'zin', which Balling used in the connotation of 'meaning', not as 'sense' or 'mind'.

29   Anonymous [= Balling], *Het licht*, 8.

as 'the first Spinozist text' ever published and as a 'Spinozist preaching'.[30] Klever convincingly points out a number of striking similarities between *Het licht* and Spinoza's early work articulated in the *Korte verhandeling*. Such similarities occurred in Balling's definition of the Light and his discussion of the 'effects' (*uitwerkingen*) of true knowledge, the highest category of knowledge in Spinoza's epistemology.[31] Besides Spinoza, he considered Descartes and the Cartesian solution to scepticism an important source of inspiration. Balling's evaluation of the contemporary intellectual climate as a 'sea of confusion' resonates with Descartes's complaint about the lack of consensus among philosophers, first expressed in the *Discours de la méthode* (1637).[32] The metaphor also reoccurs in Lodewijk Meijer's preface to Spinoza's *Renatus Des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte*, presenting Descartes as the philosopher who offered a compass to navigate the 'turbulent sea of contradicting opinions [...] surrounded on all sides by storms of discord'.[33]

Notwithstanding these obvious intellectual sources, Fix emphasises that 'Balling and Jelles were not Cartesians, much less were they Spinozists. They were Mennonites and Collegiants.'[34] Fix reads *Het licht* as a transitional work between the 'Rijnsburger spiritualists like Galenus and the philosophical rationalism of Jan Bredenburg'.[35] This development concerns the transition from a spiritualistic conception of the 'inner light' derived from divine inspiration (mediated by the Holy Spirit) – a key notion within the Christian sects of the Collegiants, Mennonites, and Quakers – to a secularised, rationalist meaning of the metaphor: the Light as a synonym of human reason. However, in his history of vernacular rationalism in the Low Countries, Buys finally rejects the assumption that Balling operated on the pivot between confessional spiritualism and secular or radical rationalism. Buys traces the roots of Balling's rationalist argument back to the vernacular rationalists of the sixteenth century, Coornhert in particular.[36] He argues that Coornhert already prefigured crucial steps in Balling's argumentation

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30   Van Bunge, ed., *The Dictionary*, Vol 1, 46; Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking'; cf. Buys, *Sparks of Reason*, 233–234.

31   Klever, *Mannen rond Spinoza*, 77.

32   Descartes, 'Discourse on the Method', in *The Philosophical Writings*, eds. Cottingham et al., Vol. I, 114–115.

33   'onstuimige zee van tegenstrijdige gevoelens [...] aller wegen omringht van stormen der twistingen'. Meijer, 'Den goedtwilligen leezer', front matter in Spinoza, *Renatus Des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte,* iv.

34   Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 193.

35   Fix, *Prophesy and Reason*, 192.

36   Buys, *Sparks of Reason*, 235; 240.

– the self-evidence of truth, the impossibility of communicating true knowledge through language, and the connection between true knowledge and morality.[37]

A first conclusion to be drawn from these different interpretations should be that Balling adapted different viewpoints into his own argument. Rather than attributing greater or lesser weight to different sources on Balling's intellectual scale (Coornhert, Descartes, Galenus, Spinoza, etc.), it is more insightful to examine to what end he arranged those borrowed arguments. Which battles was he fighting, and with whom? In his *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* and *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* Balling defends Galenus's leadership against the conservative faction of the Bij het Lam congregation during the *Lammerenkrijgh*. In *Het licht* he defends Galenus's theology against Quakerism represented by William Ames, who undermined the anti-orthodox Mennonite position. To stick with the metaphor of the battlefield: all his original works serve as an intellectual guard for Galenus, repelling some of the many assaults his teacher had to endure. It seems no coincidence that Balling's productivity peaked in the years prior to the dramatic climax of the *Lammerenkrijgh*, the schism between the Lamists and the Zonists in 1664: *Verdediging*; the *Nader verdediging*; *Het licht*; even Balling's translation of the *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* were all published between 1662 and 1664. Balling developed his philosophical orientation in a continuous, polemical dialogue with the orthodox Mennonites.

Despite his aversion to theological quarrels, Balling refused to stand on the sidelines when the unity of his church was being threatened by internal and external forces. Like Glazemaker's translation practices, Balling's development as a philosopher and a translator was profoundly marked by the political and confessional situation of the Flemish Mennonites in Amsterdam in the 1650s and early 1660s. His decision to write and publish his own *Het licht op den kandelaar* in Dutch and even his role as a translator of Spinoza should primarily be understood as an attempt to engage and perhaps persuade others in the vernacular discourse about toleration and freedom of conscience. That dispute had become most urgent when his confessional brothers and sisters started to question the leadership and theology of Galenus Abrahamsz. The unity of his congregation was at stake, and the tradesman employed everything in his power to defend it.

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37   Buys, *Sparks of Reason*, 236–237.

5.2   Balling's poetics: Translating Spinoza

Like Glazemaker, Balling was a faithful translator and a purist who avoided loanwords in his translations. In his comparison of the two, Fokke Akkerman concludes that Balling permitted himself slightly more freedom than Glazemaker as concerns their translations of Spinoza, which resulted in more philosophically accurate and more 'intellectual' texts.[38] Both transmitted Spinoza's thoughts as accurately as possible, but unlike Glazemaker, Balling showed the ability to develop his own interpretation when literal translation was not appropriate. Akkerman speculates that up until his death – which Akkerman dates to 1664, assuming that Balling followed his son to the grave during the plague epidemic – Balling was solely responsible for translating all of the early texts that Spinoza sent to his friends.[39] Akkerman supports that claim by arguing that Balling's hand can be traced in the first two and presumably the older parts as well of the translated *Ethica* as it was published in Spinoza's *Nagelate schriften* (1677). I have argued elsewhere, based on computational stylometry and contextual evidence, that Balling should also be identified as the (main) translator of Spinoza's *Korte verhandeling* (the Latin original of this early work by Spinoza is lost).[40] That implies Balling was responsible for (parts of) the translation of four different texts from Spinoza's oeuvre: *Korte verhandeling, Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae, Cogitata Metaphysica*, and parts I and II of the *Ethica*.

It is a major benefit when studying Balling that he, contrary to Glazemaker, explicitly expressed his personal opinions on the function of language. Balling's critical attitude towards the semantic instability of words and his suspicion of the misleading power of rhetoric should be considered guiding principles in his poetics of translation. This does not mean, however, that he always followed these standards consistently. In ways similar to how Glazemaker switched between different regimes of translation depending on his intellectual loyalty to the source, Balling acted differently depending on the nature of the discourse involved: political-religious or philosophical. He felt that philosophical innovation required the linguistic rigour of purism and clarity, whereas the use of rhetorical devices and loanwords was justified in the political-religious discourse of the *Lammerenkrijgh*.

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38   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 106; Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'Inleiding', in *Korte geschriften*, by Spinoza, eds. F. Akkerman et al. (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1982), 21.

39   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 152.

40   Van der Deijl, 'A New Language', 159.

Spinoza's confidence in Balling's philosophical and linguistic skills is apparent in the fact that he entrusted him with the Dutch translation of *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* (1663). Spinoza's book introduced Cartesian philosophy, complemented with a critical reflection on the Cartesian system, the *Cogitata Metaphysica* (1663). *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* was written and published at the request of Spinoza's friends: Meijer, Balling, and Rieuwertsz in particular.[41] Spinoza's correspondence with Meijer about the compilation of the text reveals the author's intensive involvement in the publication process. Proofs of the text were sent to Rijnsburg, which Spinoza revised and complemented.[42] Spinoza's role as a remote teacher and philosophical guide to his friends in Amsterdam after his move to Rijnsburg can be deduced from a letter by Simon de Vries dated 24 February 1663 and a letter from Spinoza to Johannes Bouwmeester dated June 1665. The philosopher would send a number of propositions to the members of this circle, who then translated them for those unversed in Latin. Together Spinoza's friends discussed the propositions amongst themselves and tried to prove them. Philosophical disagreements and problems that arose during the gatherings were written down and returned to Rijnsburg with a request for explanation.[43] Balling was probably primarily responsible for providing translations of Spinoza's propositions and responses during the early 1660s. As a skilled translator and confidant of the philosopher, he was greatly appreciated by Spinoza's followers, including Glazemaker, who in some cases preferred Balling's hermeneutic choices above his own out of respect for the first translator of Spinoza's work.[44]

One could view Balling as a gatekeeper mediating between Spinoza's ideas and the philosopher's friends eager to read and discuss those ideas in Dutch. That position gave him the power to shape their discussions – not just philosophically but also linguistically. How did he use it? Are his ideas about the function of language and rhetoric reflected in his translation style? Can we discern a shared theory of language, or even a coherent programme for implementing it, when comparing Balling with others related to Spinoza's circle, such as Koerbagh and Meijer? A brief analysis of Balling's language philosophy is needed to find answers to these questions.

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41   Cf. Meijer's preface to the book: Meijer, 'Den goedtwilligen leezer', front matter in Spinoza, *Renatus Des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte*.

42   Cf. Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, letter 12A, and 15.

43   Cf. Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, letter 8 and 28.

44   Akkerman, 'Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza', 176.

Key to Balling's criticism of the representative function of language is his categorical distinction between 'internal' and 'external' dimensions of communication, an opposition that brings to mind de Saussure's opposition between 'signifier' and the 'signified'. In *Het licht op den kandelaar*, words are repeatedly associated with the 'external', whereas notions related to semantics – 'meaning', 'sense', 'thoughts' – are located in the 'inner' domain. This association becomes manifest in formulations such as 'By this alone should the sense and opinions of those, who by means of words *or any external sign* wish to convey something, be grasped and understood'; 'This [Light] comes first, prior to all scripture, teaching, *or anything that appears to us from the outside*.'[45] According to Balling, words from the 'outer' domain are the inescapable but flawed carriers of mental representations originating in the inner domain, the locus of the Light.

The function of this distinction between words and ideas was to raise an awareness of the dangers inherent to human communication. There was always a risk that ideas could be corrupted by the rhetorical and semantic manipulation of the language used to convey them. As described in the introduction of this book (Chapter 1), the New Philosophy responded to this challenge by appropriating the geometric method as a rhetorical model. In *Het licht op den kandelaar*, Balling subscribed to this suspicion of rhetoric. He lamented the fact that 'victory will always come upon those, not those who have the truth, but those who know best how to fence with the tongue and words'.[46] In order to reduce the rhetorical manipulation in his own text, he relied on the geometric structure as well, albeit a modest variant. The author made an effort to develop his argument in clear and distinct steps, provided a definition of the central notion (the Light) and occasionally structured his arguments in syllogisms, repeating the proposition to be proved in the last sentence.[47] The rhetoric of the outer domain thus mirrored the logic of the internal domain.

The ramifications of Balling's distinction between 'inner' and 'outer' reached further than a rejection of rhetorical devices in his philosophical work. It also informed his purist attitude towards vocabulary. The first

45   Emphasis added by me. The original quotes read: 'Door dit alleen / moet de zin en meininge des genes / die door woorden / of enich uyterlijk teken / iets wil te kennen geven / bevat en verstaan worden'; 'Dit staat voor, voor alle schrift / lere / of iets dat ons van buiten voorkomt.' Citations are taken from Klever's edition of the work ('De spinozistische prediking', 71–72).

46   'dat de overwinning altijt blijft aan die / niet juist die de waarheit heeft / maar die 't beste met de tong en woorden weet te schermen'. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 67.

47   Cf. the paragraph that starts with 'Dit Licht is ook het eerste beginzel van den Ghodsdienst' (Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 70).

sentences of *Het licht* address the semantic instability of words: 'since one knows what flux languages are always in: even to such an extent that the words can transform completely from their previous meaning'.[48] Balling's position thus aligned with the philosophically informed language purism of his likeminded contemporaries Meijer and Koerbagh. In Chapter 1 I explained how the lexicographer Koerbagh connected the purification of existing knowledge traditions to the purification of the Dutch language. A similar assumption may therefore have inspired Balling's avoidance of Latinisms and Gallicisms in his translations. All foreign influences were to be removed in order to develop a pure language that approximated the 'natural' mind as closely as possible. And what language would better suit that purpose than the vernacular?

Besides this interest in semantics and language philosophy, Balling shared an interest in etymology with Koerbagh and Meijer. For example, in *Het licht* Balling argued that a new definition of the notion of 'the Light' was needed 'because the word *Light* is, in its proper meaning, something different from the thing we understand by it'.[49] Balling thus justified his use of this metaphor by acknowledging the mismatch between this word, its meaning in common language, and its metaphorical meaning. Another example is Balling's purist use of the word 'Bible', which he referred to as 'the book commonly denoted as *Bible*'.[50] Challenging the meaning of such a self-evident term in Christian early modern discourse must have been alienating – if not offensive – to contemporary readers. This clause, emphasised by Balling's decision to italicise the term, resonates with the most notorious entry in Koerbagh's dictionary *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet*, which appeared four years later in 1668:

> *bible*, or *byble*, a book. The word *bible* is a bastard Greek word, and in general means a book, regardless what kind of book, be it Reynard the Fox or Till Eulenspiegel. Sometimes it means a letter. Among the theologians, although incorrect because the word does not have that meaning, Holy Scripture is called *Bible* [etc.][51]

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48 'dewijl men weet / in wat voor een veranderinge / de talen geduiriglijk zijn: ook zodanich; dat de woorden / van hun vorige beteikenisse / gehelijk wel verwisselen konnen'. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 66.

49 'maar dewijl het woort *Licht,* in zijn eigentlijke beteikenisse wat anders is/ als 't gene wy daar onder verstaan'. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 68.

50 'het boek gemeinlijk den *Bibel* genaamt'. Klever, 'De spinozistische prediking', 72.

51 '*bibel*, of *bybel*, een boek. Het woord *bibel*, is een bastaard Grieks woord, en beteykent in 't algemeen een boek, 't zy wat voor een boek dat het is, al wast van reyntje de vos of uylen-spiegel.

Six years before Koerbagh's imprisonment, there is no way Balling could have foreseen what the etymological radicalism of the *Bloemhof* would evoke, but in hindsight we know that he was playing with fire.

The discussion on language in *Het licht* thus reflects Balling's sympathy for the language philosophy later articulated by Koerbagh and Meijer. However, the vocabulary and style in Balling's work complicates the relationship between the translator's linguistic ideals and his actual use of language. For example, the assumption that Balling shared Koerbagh's aversion to loanwords is contradicted by his pamphlets *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (1663) and *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (1664). The two texts occupy a remarkable place in his oeuvre as they are full of French and Latin terminology. The reader stumbles upon loanwords on nearly every page. Meanwhile *Het licht op den kandelaar* (1662) contains almost none, and loanwords are also much sparser in Balling's Spinoza translations.

In order to quantify this difference, automatic loanword extraction (see Chapter 3) was performed on all six texts from Balling's oeuvre. Figure 5.1 summarises the results. These bar charts reveal the relatively high num- ber of loanwords in Balling's pamphlets *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (VdDG, 1663) and *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* (NVdDG, 1664) compared to his philosophical treatise *Het licht op den kandelaar* (LodK) and his Spinoza translations (*Korte Verhandeling* (KV), *Renatus des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte* (RDBW), and *Aanhangzel overnatuurkundige gedachten* (AOG)). The loan- word frequencies in the pamphlets (5.89% and 5.29% of all word types) are extraordinarily high compared to both the rest of Balling's oeuvre (M = 2.50%, SD = 2.23%) and the average frequency of loanword types observed in contemporary discourse (M = 1.59%, SD = 0.81%, see Chapter 3). Only 36 instances of 12 loanword types were identified in Balling's translation of Spinoza's *Cogitata Metaphysica* (19,313 tokens), whereas no fewer than 271 instances of 120 loanword types were identified in *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, a text of almost equal length (18,261 tokens). The high standard deviation in Balling's oeuvre (2.23%) compared to the mean (2.50% of all word types) also signifies this high degree of variation.

Het beteykent ook somtijds een brief. By de Gods-geleerden word, alhoewel te onregt, om dat het woord die beteykenis niet heeft, *bibel* genoemt de H. Schrift, of Schriften.' Koerbagh, *Een bloemhof*, 95–96.
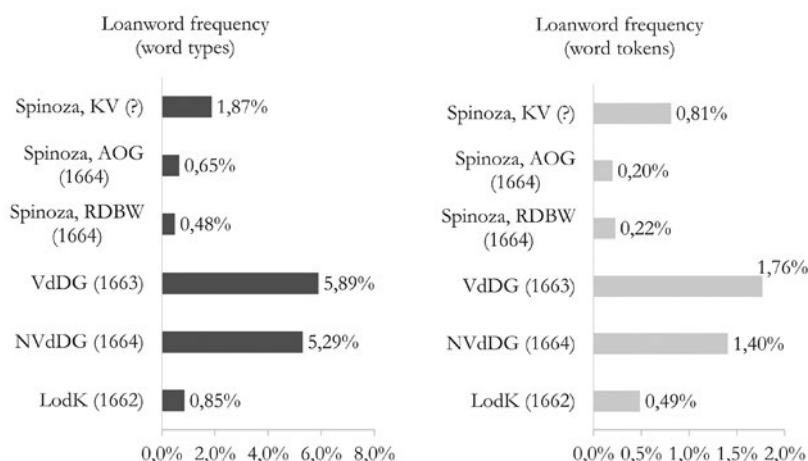
Figure 5.1 Loanword frequency in a selection from Balling's oeuvre ⏎

Inspection of the actual loanwords in these texts is needed to find an expla-
nation for the observed variation. A casual reader might notice that Balling's
pamphlets feature words like *confusie* (confusion), *prejuditie* (prejudice)
and *fondament* (fundament), where Balling's philosophical work (including
the translations and *Het Licht*) contain purist Dutch synonyms: *verwerring*,
vooroordeel, and *beginzel*. But do such differences represent a structural
difference between different discourses?

Table 5.1 lists the 10 most frequent loanwords in the *Verdediging* and
the *Nader verdediging* ranked by their total frequency of occurrence.[52] 498
instances of 149 distinct loanwords were extracted from the *Verdediging*.
The *Nader verdediging* featured marginally higher instances (522) of slightly
fewer word types (120). The list reads like a summary of the political-religious
conflict of the *Lammerenkrijgh*: the dispute about Galenus's authority and
the Mennonite congregation's political and financial sovereignty. Possibly,
an abundance of Latin and French terminology was a socio-linguistic
feature of the debate at the time. Loanwords may have played a rhetori-
cal role as well: by borrowing a vocabulary from the conventions of legal
dispute, the author seemingly distanced himself from the vulgar tone in
the *Lammerenkrijgh*.

Table 5.1   Top 10 most frequent loanwords in *VdDG* (1663) and *NVdDG* (1664) ranked by frequency ⏎

	Loanword lemma	English equivalent	Root (language)	Frequency
1	ordre	order	ordre (Fr.)	36
2	directie	leadership	diriger (Fr.)	27
3	questie	problem/question	quaestio (Lat.)	20
4	argument	argument	argumentum (Lat.)	18
5	secreet[53]	savings	secretum (Lat.)	17
6	regeren	to rule	régir (Fr.)	15
7	decideren	to decide	décider (Fr.)	14
8	decisie	decision	décision (Fr.)	14
9	particulier	particular	particular (Lat.)	14
10	content	content	contentus (Lat.)	14

Balling preferred a different register in his philosophical work. Whereas automatic loanword extraction generated 205 different loanword types for Balling's pamphlets, a similar analysis of his printed translations of Spinoza resulted in a considerably smaller selection of only 15 distinct loanwords. Table 5.2 lists the 10 most frequent loanwords in Balling's translations of Spinoza's *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* (PPC) and *Cogitata Metaphysica* (CM) ranked by their total frequency of occurrence. This list confirms Balling's overall attempt to avoid loanwords when translating Spinoza: even though he did include some terminology derived from foreign roots, he only used loanwords which had become very common in contemporary discourse. Words like *punt, natuur, regel, engel, adam* ('humanity') all occurred in the top 100 most frequent loanwords in contemporary discourse (cf. Chapter 3). Such terms were probably no longer recognised as loanwords by 1664 and therefore they arguably no longer qualify as such.

Table 5.2   Top 10 most frequent loanwords in *PPC* (1664) and *CM* (1664) ranked by frequency ⏎

	Loanword lemma	English equivalent	Root (language)	Frequency
1	content	content	contentus (Lat.)	29
2	punt	point	punctus (Lat.)	20
3	vorm	form	forma (Lat.)	12
4	natuur	nature	natura (Lat.)	10
5	regel	rule	regula (Lat.)	10

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53   Only used in the combination '*secrete middelen*', meaning financial savings.

	Loanword lemma	English equivalent	Root (language)	Frequency
6	engel(en)	angel(s)	aggelos (Gr.)	6
7	adam	adam	adham (Hebr.)	3
8	natuurlijk	natural(ly)	natura (Lat.)	3
9	vormelijk	formal(ly)	forma (Lat.)	2
10	regeren	to rule	régir (Fr.)	2

The discursive difference between the two political-religious pamphlets and Balling's philosophical work cannot be attributed to a development in lexical or stylistic preferences during his career: *Het Licht* was printed before the two defences of Galenus, which were published in the same year as the translation of the *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae*. It is therefore tempting to draw a line through Balling's oeuvre: loanwords were functional in the political-religious discourse of Balling's pamphlets, but they had no place in the philosophical rationalism that inspired *Het licht* and the translations of Spinoza. However, the use of loanwords in the *Korte verhandeling* complicates such a radical demarcation. The difference seems rather gradual and pragmatic. The *Korte verhandeling* contains 53 distinct loanwords (1.87% of all loanword types) that occur at least 323 times throughout the text. Table 5.3 lists the ten most frequent loanwords in this translation of Spinoza's early work. Loanwords were not removed as strictly from the *Korte verhandeling* as from the other Spinoza translations, because common purist synonyms were available for some of these words (*aldus* for *ergo*, *wijze* for *manier*, *denkbeelden* for *ideen*, *voorbeeld* for *exempel*).

Table 5.3   Top 10 most frequent loanwords in the *KV* ranked by frequency

	Loanword lemma	English equivalent	Root (language)	Frequency
1	natuur	nature	natura (Lat.)	150
2	ergo	therefore	ergo (Lat.)	42
3	manier	manner	manier (Fr.)	14
4	proportie	proportion	(pro)portio (Lat.)	14
5	ideen	ideas	idea (Lat.)	9
6	exempel	example	exemplum (Lat.)	8
7	argumenteren	to reason	argumentum (Lat.)	5
8	genereren	to generate	generare (Lat.)	4
9	adam	adam	adham (Hebr.)	4
10	regel	rule	regula (Lat.)	3

Perhaps the higher incidence of loanwords can be explained by considering Spinoza's post hoc editing of the text. The two surviving autographs of Dutch letters from the philosopher's correspondence demonstrate that Latinisms are quite common in Spinoza's Dutch.[54] The purification of the Dutch language was clearly not part of his philosophical project. It is unlikely that Balling would have corrected any loanwords Spinoza may have introduced during his editing process of the translated text. Another explanation could be that Meijer not only wrote the preface to *Renatus des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte* but also edited the body of the text, thus imposing his purist conventions on the translation. Whatever the explanation should be, the different vocabularies summarised in Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 illustrate that Balling engaged in different discursive domains characterised by different vocabularies.

Finally, the gradual distinction between 'the political-religious' and 'the philosophical' discourse in Balling's work is not solely a lexical matter. The difference in rhetorical structure and style is equally striking. *Het licht* is composed as a number of rationally coherent propositions following from one definition, each supported by a brief explanation in a distant, intellectual style. The number of metaphors, analogies, and figures of speech is limited.[55] The political-religious pamphlets, in contrast, are written as an unstructured critical response to Jan van Dyk's *Noodtwendigh bericht*. Balling explicitly announced that he would not study whether 'the order and mode of writing used by [the author of *Noodtwendigh bericht*], if they can be found [at all]', was coherent.[56] Instead of a structured refutation of *Noodtwendigh bericht*, Balling challenged his opponent, whom, he alleged, was merely disseminating 'guesswork, deceptions, and lies', without any accountability.[57] The result was a fairly traditional, at times unforgiving pamphlet in which Balling barely bothered to conceal his anger, for example concerning the suspicions of Socinianism raised against Galenus from the ranks of his Mennonite brothers. The accusations resulted in a formal investigation by the Court of Justice. The Court eventually refrained from persecution, but Balling was infuriated by the betrayal:

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54   Cf. Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, letters 19 and 23.

55   The abundant use of rhetorical questions is an exception to this rule, but they often function as a sort of proof by contradiction, which is thus integrated in the logical scheme of the argument.

56   Balling, *Verdediging*, 1.

57   The original quotes read: 'Want in plaets van te geven een waer, en oprechte bericht; zo arbeydt hy vast met alle macht, een deel gissingen, bedriegeryen, en leugenen anderen in te stampen'; 'Wy zullen dan om dit te doen, ons niet ophouden, in het onderzoeken, of de ordre, en wyze van schrijven, by hem gebruikt, in dienze te vinden mocht zijn, goet zy.' Balling, *Verdediging*, 1.

> Since that time Galenus was publicly held to be a Socinian and encumbered by that name, all dubious means were deployed to prosecute him to the fullest extent, in order to, should it possibly be true, expel him not only from the pulpit, but also from the country, if not worse; for to this end he was accused at the High Authorities: so that if this should appear to be true, he immediately also would have been condemned: which made it necessary for him to justify himself, and thus to be able to escape from the claws of the degenerate lambs, who desired to tear apart; and he succeeded to such an extent, that Your Honour the Lords of the Court of Justice, who, being free from passion and prejudice, could easily understand that these people were possessed by the same spirit of the Antichrist, which resides in all accusers: and therefore pronounced judgement according to truth and absolved him and, to the eternal shame of the accusers, purified him from this blame.[58]

A passage like this seems quite far from the intellectual high ground where one might expect a Spinozist pacifist like Balling to take a stand. It is not hard to imagine the effect of such insults against his fellow church members. Could he still look these 'degenerate lambs' in the eye if he ran into them on the Amsterdam Singel? Moreover, Balling's casual insertion of the Antichrist in this fragment puts his supposed 'Spinozism' in perspective. His friend Spinoza would have little patience with such superstition. But if it suited Balling's political and rhetorical needs, the devil surely did exist.

This idiomatic differences between Balling's 'political-religious' and his 'philosophical' work offer a case in point for the negotiation between different discourses that also marked Glazemaker's oeuvre. Essentially, Balling was not a strict purist. He conformed to the rules of a particular social and discursive field and adjusted his language to his rhetorical aim and intended readership. The New Philosophy required a purist and rhetorically

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58 'Zedert die tijt moest Galenus publijk voor een Sociniaan gaan, en onder die naam, met alle bedenkelijke middelen, ten uyterste vervolgt worden, om zo 't mogelijk waar geweest, niet alleen hem van den Predikstoel, maar ook ten lande uit, indien niet erger, te verdrijven; want ten dien einde heeft men hem by de Hooge Overheden aangeklaagt: op dat indien dit gebleken had, hy met eenen ook was gecondemneert geweest: waar door hy genootzaakt is geworden zich te gaan verantwoorden, en dus uit de klaauwen van deze ontaarde lammeren, die verscheuren wilden, los te geraken; 't welk zodanig succes bekomen heeft, dat hare E.E. de Heeren des Hofs van Justitie, die, buyten passien en voor-oordeel zijnde, lichtelijk hebben konnen zien, dat dit volk met den selven geest des Antichrists, die in alle vervolgers heeft plaats gehad, bezeten waren: en daarom een oordeel na waarheit vellende, hem vrygekent, en, tot een eeuwige schande dezer aanklagers, van die blame gezuivert hebben.' Balling, *Nader Verdediging*, 29–30.

modest style, but those principles were quickly abandoned once Balling entered the venomous battlefield of the *Lammerenkrijgh*.

5.3   Conclusion

Pieter Balling's translation practices exemplify the flexibility and pragmaticism of the first Dutch translators of the New Philosophy. As a Flemish Mennonite and key figure in Spinoza's circle, he negotiated between Mennonite beliefs, Collegiantism, vernacular rationalism, Cartesianism, and Spinozism. Unlike Glazemaker, Balling was both intellectually and personally very close to Spinoza, even though he died too young to witness the full development of Spinozist thought. The main similarity between the two Mennonite translators is that they both used their textual production to legitimise Galenus' threatened position in the *Lammerenkrijgh*. Balling's Spinoza translations were primarily produced for the regular visitors of Rieuwertsz's discussion meetings, but it seems no coincidence that key participants – Rieuwertsz, Jellesz, Glazemaker, and Balling – all attended the same services every Sunday, led by Galenus. We are deprived of a true understanding of Balling's supposed Spinozism if we do not account for his contribution to religious discourses beyond the Radical Enlightenment.

Balling's production thus illustrates the interconnectedness of a translator's intellectual conditions, social circumstances, and linguistic practices. His theoretical reflections on the (im)possibility of human communication seem to have resonated primarily with the rationalist debate about language among members of Spinoza's circle. He also conformed stylistically to the linguistic purism propagated by some of them. In his philosophical pamphlet *Het licht op den kandelaar* and his translations of Spinoza, Balling presented himself as a purist translator and author. However, little of that linguistic purism reoccurs in his pamphlets on church politics, *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente* and *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde Gemeente*. The two booklets are written in the pompous, quasi-legal tone loaded with loanwords that Balling's fellow purist linguist Koerbagh ridiculed in *'t Nieuw woorden-boek der regten*, which was published around the same time in 1664.[59] Apparently, when Balling addressed the conservative members of his Mennonite community during the *Lammerenkrijgh*, he used a different register.

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59   Koerbagh, *'t Nieuw woorden-boek der regten*, *vi.

Despite his philosophical ideal of creating a new language for the natural light, Balling was inevitably bound to current conventions – in this case, the vocabularies of the *Lammerenkrijgh* versus the philosophical terminologies preferred by Spinoza's circle. Balling's intellectual fluidity required him to switch between different discourses with different linguistic conventions. His purism was not as consistent as Glazemaker's. Instead, he succumbed to his desire to be heard by the different audiences he addressed. Perhaps Balling's conviction that the 'words depend on the things', not vice versa, eventually led him to the (Spinozist) acceptance that the instability of language was inevitable. In *Het licht op den kandelaar* he explicitly states that attempts to fundamentally reform language were virtually impossible. Combining language critique with an ability to adapt his own style to different discourses, Balling embodies the pragmatist attitude that characterised the Hobbesian Turn. Principally, the pursuit of true knowledge did not depend on eloquence, but like Hobbes, Balling knew when to pick his battles. Words and rhetorical manipulation were a necessary evil if one's message would not be heard without them.

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6   The rhetoric of translation

Abraham van Berkel's translation of Hobbes

Abstract: In 1667 schoolmaster and translator Abraham van Berkel produced the first Dutch translation of Thomas Hobbes's major philosophical work *Leviathan* (1651). Previous scholars revealed Van Berkel's remarkable transfer of Hobbes's political philosophy favouring absolutism into the political culture of the Dutch Republic, where Van Berkel's translation was read in republican and radical circles. This chapter connects Van Berkel's translation to his intellectual relationship with Pieter de la Court and Adriaan Koerbagh, using computational sentence alignment to explain how the translator not only altered Hobbes's political message fundamentally, but also the rhetorical medium of that message. Van Berkel's ideological and formal appropriation of Hobbes reflects the changing attitudes concerning the function of language in Dutch debates about the New Philosophy.

Keywords: political philosophy, republicanism, translation culture, Leviathan, sentence alignment

Schoolmaster, translator, and radical thinker Abraham van Berkel (1639–1686) made a major contribution to the Dutch Early Enlightenment by producing the first Dutch translation of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes's magnum opus presented a philosophical legitimisation of the monarchy, a rhetorical masterpiece spanning 394 folio pages in the original edition. Van Berkel's transfer of such a book into the language and political culture of the Dutch Republic raises many questions about the appropriation and representation of the New Philosophy in vernacular discourse. In this chapter, I will combine qualitative readings with computational analyses to examine the relationship between van Berkel's social conditions, ideological position, and translation practice. Building upon the previous chapters, I

hope to further unfold the interaction between these elements during the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

What do we know about Abraham van Berkel? Cornelis W. Schoneveld dedicated a substantial part of his 1983 dissertation *Intertraffic of the Mind. Studies in the Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation* to van Berkel's most prestigious translations: of Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (1643) published in 1665 and of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) published in 1667.[1] Schoneveld qualified these editions overall as faithful representations of the sources, although van Berkel expanded upon the original texts considerably.[2] Schoneveld furthermore contributed to a better understanding of van Berkel's social position – later developed in more detail by Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Bart Leeuwenburgh, and Gerrit Jongeneelen – highlighting his close ties to political theorist Pieter de la Court (1618–1685), radical thinker Adriaan Koerbagh (1632–1669), schoolmaster Janus Rampius (ca. 1610–?), English lexicographer Joseph Hill (1625–1707), and bookseller Jacobus Wagenaar (1648–?).[3] Furthermore, as a trusted friend to Lodewijk Meijer and Johannes Bouwmeester, van Berkel grew close to the Dutch freethinking circles around Spinoza. Expanding on Schoneveld's work, Michiel Wielema assessed van Berkel's role in the history of the Radical Enlightenment, briefly addressed earlier in Israel's *Radical Enlightenment* (2001).[4] Wielema refined Israel's interpretation, stating that van Berkel belonged to a 'still pre-Spinozistic radical Enlightenment that has closer ties to English thought and the French-Italian tradition of the *libertinage érudit* than to developments that were going on around Spinoza'.[5] Apparently, the translator adapted the New Philosophy to yet another discourse, contributing to debates that developed outside of the Mennonite and Collegiant circles described thus far.

Because previous work by Schoneveld, van Bunge, and Wielema has already described van Berkel's social background and translation practice in detail, the following section (6.1) mostly presents a *status quaestionis* on his life and work. I will highlight van Berkel's intellectual relationship with de la Court and Koerbagh. Their views, I argue, primarily shaped the literary, linguistic, and intellectual conditions of his activities. This context is crucial

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1   On van Berkel's rendering of *Religio Medici* see Colie, 'Sir Thomas Browne's "Entertainment"'.

2   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 54–55; 57.

3   Gelderblom, 'The Publisher of Hobbes's Dutch Leviathan', in *Across the Narrow Seas*, ed. Roach, 165; Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter,* 115; Jongeneelen, 'La Philosophie politique d'Adrien Koerbagh'.

4   Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 186.

5   Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 213.

to understanding van Berkel not just as a cultural broker of ideas, but also as a translator who pragmatically appropriates Hobbes's rhetoric and political theory. Previous scholarship has paid little attention to the relationship between van Berkel's translation practice and the evolving function of rhetoric in Hobbes's philosophy. To explain this relation, Section 6.2 will review Koerbagh's and de la Court's attitudes towards language, philosophy, and rhetoric. By juxtaposing van Berkel's translation practice with the re-evaluation of rhetoric in Hobbes's *Leviathan*, I argue that van Berkel was not only turning Hobbesian absolutism into an apology of republicanism, but that he was also effectively rewriting this highly rhetorical text into a different rhetorical discourse. Van Berkel's ideological and formal appropriation of Hobbes reflects, once again, the association between the changing attitudes about the function of language and discourse for mediating the New Philosophy in the Republic.

6.1   Van Berkel's profile: A pragmatic among radicals

On 4 April 1672, the Senate of Leiden University considered a request from one 'Berckelius, Medicinae Doctor' for an opportunity to hold a public laudation for the Prince of Orange, William III. The Senate received the request in turbulent times. Tensions between the House of Orange and the States General had been simmering over a long period and had intensified in the late 1660s. In February 1672 the States of Holland had agreed to allow William to retake command over the Dutch armies – ending the First Stadtholderless period (1650–1672). Only a week before van Berkel's request, England had declared war on the Republic. English battleships were already attacking Dutch trade convoys and, to make matters worse, French and German armies threatened to invade Dutch provinces. Given the circumstances, the Leiden University Senate probably considered a sensitive political speech inopportune: the Acta Senatus recorded that further consideration was needed to come to a decision.[6]

But apart from political circumstances, the Senate's hesitation to grant permission for this laudation might also have been informed by the questionable track record of its petitioner, Abraham van Berkel. As a friend of

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6   The Acta Senatus are published in Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis*. Van Berkel's request can be found in volume 3, '8 Febr. 1647 – 18 Febr. 1682' (1918), 252–253: 'Petiit Berckelius, Medicinae Doctor, ut ei facultas detur habere orationem in laudem Principis Auriaci. Senatui visum amplius ea de re deliberandum esse.'

Pieter de la Court – the country's most prominent republican thinker at the time – and an explicit advocate for de Witt himself, van Berkel seemed a strange proponent of the House of Orange. After all, this was the man who, in the preface to his 1667 Dutch translation of Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), had praised the Grand Pensionary. The preface condemned William II's coup d'état with his 1650 siege of Amsterdam and glorified the States Party in punning statements such as: 'What a WHITE-Marble-statue will be erected to commemorate your inborn and growing prudent Courage, loyal Father of the Fatherland!'[7] Van Berkel had apparently adapted Hobbesian political philosophy into a legitimation of republican government – opposing Hobbes's own advocacy for the sovereignty of absolutist rulers.[8] It was thus a remarkable move for a supposedly dedicated republican to side with the House of Orange now that de Witt's regime was falling apart.

Abraham van Berkel's changing political allegiance aligns with the many changes in his career and character. Born in the small village of Berkel in December 1639, he ended up studying and working in Leiden, Goes, Utrecht, Culemborg, Harderwijk, and finally Delft. He matriculated in no fewer than three academic disciplines. Having started his studies in theology in 1654 in Leiden, he returned to that university as a medical student in 1662 and defended a doctoral thesis in medicine in Utrecht later that year. His name reappears in the Leiden *album studiosorum* on 4 July 1669, when he registered for his third degree, in Classical Letters, at the age of 29. Van Berkel also changed his occupation multiple times: he worked as a headmaster of the Latin school in Goes (1661–1662), retreated to Culemborg in 1665 to finish his translation of *Leviathan*, and resettled in Leiden in 1669 teaching Greek, translating and editing ancient Greek works, and indexing the Leiden University Library over the course of the next decade. In 1680 van Berkel became headmaster of the Harderwijk Latin school, before returning to Holland in October 1681 to take up his final job as headmaster of the Latin school in Delft, where he was buried on 3 October 1686.[9]

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7   'Hadde dien gantschen hoop van agter-wt-schoppende Soldaten wel geweten [...] noyt soudense hare Wapenen tegen de alderbloeyenste Koop-stadt, niet alleen van Hollandt, maer selfs van geheel Europa, omgegordt ende misbruyckt hebben'; 'Wat voor een WIT-Marmere-beelt sal men ter Gedagtenisse van uwe aengeboren ende vermeerderde voorsigtige Kloeckhertigheyt opregten, getrouwe Vader des Vaderlants!' A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', front matter in Hobbes, *Leviathan: of van de stoffe*, *4r–*4v; *4v.
8   Van Berkel's republican appropriation of Hobbes's argument has been addressed by Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 39; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 155–156; and Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 220.
9   This information is based on Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 130–132.

During his first studies in theology, van Berkel grew close to a group of dissidents whose ideas would affect his career significantly. Johannes Koerbagh, fellow student in theology since 30 August 1656, probably introduced van Berkel to his brother Adriaan, a medical student six years van Berkel's senior.[10] The rebellious brothers had gathered a group of liberal students around them including Lodewijk Meijer, Jacob Vallan, and Johannes Bouwmeester.[11] Van Bunge lists three shared characteristics of these young intellectuals: an interest in lexicography and translation, political sympathy for republicanism, and a 'liberal attitude in their assessment of revealed religion'.[12] These interests explain why Spinoza felt right at home among them: both Meijer and Bouwmeester were to become central to 'Spinoza's circle', and it is certain that the philosopher knew the Koerbagh brothers and Vallan as well.[13] It remains uncertain whether van Berkel also met Spinoza during those years, but it is entirely plausible. There are strong indications that Spinoza audited lectures at the Leiden philosophy faculty between 1657 and early 1659 (he never formally enrolled), but there is no record of actual contact between him and van Berkel.[14] Nonetheless, van Berkel became infected with the intellectual momentum of the pioneers of the Radical Enlightenment, all of whom happened to be visiting the same lecture halls in the late 1650s and early 1660s.

Van Berkel's translation activities during the 1660s should primarily be understood as contributions to the private discussions among his friends, a diverse group of philosophical and political freethinkers that also included several disciples of Johan and Pieter de la Court. Another key figure was Janus Rampius (ca. 1610–?), headmaster of the Leiden Latin school. Rampius wrote the preface to van Berkel's 1665 translation and annotation of Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*.[15] He explicitly identifies their implied readers: a group of friends who were once having dinner at the estate Opmijst in Voorburg, when one (unidentified) 'Doctor L.' had praised Browne's book.[16] The house at Opmijst was owned by Johannes Uytenhage de Mijst

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10   Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 76.

11   Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 115.

12   Van Bunge, 'Introduction', in *Adriaan Koerbagh a Light Shining*, 5–6.

13   Van Bunge, 'Introduction', 6.

14   On Spinoza's presence in Leiden see Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 163. Nadler speculated that the philosopher must have become acquainted with van Berkel during his visits to Leiden: Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 195.

15   In a letter to Thomas Browne, van Berkel acknowledged the assistance from his friend. Colie, 'Sir Thomas Browne's "Entertainment"', 167.

16   It should be noted that Spinoza was living in Voorburg between the spring of 1663 and late 1669/early 1670. If this meeting took place before 1665, the venue was only 750 meters from his room in the Herenstraat. We can only guess whether or not he was invited too.

(c. 1636–1685), another friend of Pieter de la Court and author of pamphlets supporting the States Party. Uytenhage de Mijst was, moreover, a cousin of Rampius, which illustrates the many familial relationships within these circles.[17] Besides the brothers Koerbagh and de la Court, Jacob Vallan was related to the Koerbagh family and to Bouwmeester by marriage. Perhaps the mutual trust that family connections tend to engender enhanced the freedom and intimacy of their conversations.

Van Berkel's friendship with Adriaan Koerbagh provided the basis for a long collaboration and a shared intellectual agenda. For example, when van Berkel finished his translation of *Leviathan* in 1667, Koerbagh found him a publisher in Amsterdam. This publisher – the young Jacobus Wagenaar, owner of a bookshop on the corner of the Molsteeg[18] – was married to Koerbagh's niece Catharina Blauwhelm.[19] In turn, van Berkel offered his support when Koerbagh took refuge in Culemborg (from March to early May 1668) after the confiscation of the latter's 'blasphemous' dictionary *Een bloemhof* in February 1668. Van Berkel had been living and working in this free town since 1665 – possibly on the run from financial debts – and Koerbagh seized the opportunity of his friend's proximity to request help with finishing the manuscript of his controversial treatise *Een ligt, schynende in duystere plaatsen*.[20] When Koerbagh was interrogated after his arrest on 18 July 1668, he denied having received any help from van Berkel, but scholars consider this an attempt to protect his friend rather than an accurate portrayal of their collaboration.[21]

One of the fruits of their friendship was the popularisation and appropriation of Hobbesian philosophy into Dutch discourse. In a detailed study of *Een ligt* Gerrit Jongeneelen points out various Hobbesian phrases revealing van Berkel's influence on Koerbagh, which was most visible in the final chapters. Those parts had been written in Culemborg in 1668. Van Berkel had become an expert on Hobbes by then: he had referred to the English philosopher in his translation of *Religio Medici*, and translated *Leviathan* in full. At the time of his death in 1686, he owned copies of *De Cive* in a Dutch and an English translation in addition to the original Latin edition.[22] However, it would be inaccurate to assume a teacher-student relationship between the

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17   Van Bunge, 'Introduction', 6. Rampius inherited a part of the Opmijst estate when Uytenhage de Mijst died in 1685. Van der Leer, 'Noordenburg', 105.

18   The location of Wagenaar's bookshop is nowadays commemorated by a plaquette with a quote from Hobbes in the pavement at the corner of the Molsteeg and the Spuistraat.

19   Gelderblom, 'The Publisher of Hobbes's Dutch Leviathan', 165.

20   Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 207.

21   Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 198.

22   *Catalogus Plurimae Partis*.

two friends. Koerbagh's interest in Hobbes was not inspired by van Berkel alone, nor did it emerge during their collaboration in Culemborg. A clear trace of Koerbagh's earlier familiarity with *Leviathan* can be found under the entry 'leviathan' in his 1668 dictionary *Een bloemhof*.[23] Van Berkel had started translating *Leviathan* as early as 1664, and Koerbagh must have been aware of his friend's major endeavour at an early stage.[24] Moreover, given the appropriation of Hobbes in the work of the de la Court brothers from the early 1660s, the English philosopher seems to have been an inspiration to van Berkel and his friends since their student years. Hobbesian views on natural law, political theory, and language philosophy must have been subject to their private discussions for years before these ideas started to trickle into actual publications.

Van Berkel was one of the first to give the outside world a glimpse of those private discussions. The 1665 translation of Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* appeared anonymously in Leiden and reads like an expression of the radical spirit that had coloured the translator's student years. Similarly radical works to be written by the Leiden circle, such as Meijer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* (1666), Koerbagh's *Bloemhof* (1668) and Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670), had not been published yet. Perhaps van Berkel was testing the waters for his friends with this anonymous edition. When he took up the job, the text was available in the original English edition from 1642/1643 and in a Latin translation by John Merryweather published in 1644. Van Berkel used the English source and probably felt encouraged to produce a Dutch translation because he knew English, which he is believed to have learnt from his English friend Joseph Hill.[25] The translator exploited this rare skill to impress his friends, showing a certain pleasure in 'scandalizing his readers by provoking doubts about the reality of biblical miracles and the credibility of the story of Noah and the Flood', to quote Michiel Wielema's words.[26] Van Berkel's main contribution to the reception of *Religio Medici* was his use of the paratext for the purpose of dragging Browne's moderate criticism into more libertine terrain. In the margins of the translated text, van Berkel engaged with the developing radical thinking of his friends: Koerbagh, Meijer, Bouwmeester, and perhaps Spinoza as well. Van Berkel's marginalia provided his reader with a reading list of the most controversial anti-Christian books of his age, including *Prae-Adamitae* (1655) by Isaac la

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23 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 146–149.
24 Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 208.
25 Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 4; 39.
26 Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 208.

Peyrère (1596–1676), the mythical text *De Tribus Impostoribus*, and Lucilio Vanini's (1585–1619) *De Admirandis Naturae Reginae Deaeque Mortalium Arcanis* (1616).[27] These annotations are similar to the reckless anti-Christian provocations that Koerbagh would blend into his seemingly innocent dictionary entries three years later. In their first books, van Berkel and Koerbagh explored how far they could go intellectually while testing which media would be most effective (and safe) for the release of their explosive ideas into the written world.

However, the Dutch edition of *Religio Medici* should not be read merely as a vehicle for a parallel discussion of van Berkel's radicalism. The text and the paratext mediated intersecting discourses about the reconciliation of reason and faith, philosophy, and theology. *Religio Medici* was a meditation on religious scepticism and unbelief, in which Browne 'restlessly [searched out] the cracks in the foundation of his faith'.[28] This reflection on the religion of medical doctors must have resonated with van Berkel, Meijer, Bouwmeester, and Vallan – all of whom received their formal education at the Cartesian-minded medical faculty in Leiden. Although frowned upon by their Leiden professors, van Berkel's friends were quick to apply the (Cartesian) method of systematic doubt to theological questions as well, an intellectual strategy that was key to *Religio Medici*. Browne tried to resolve his own scepticism by exploring the limits of reason as he scrutinised Biblical miracles and the mysteries of the Book of Nature, 'that universall and public Manuscript, that lies expans'd unto the eyes of all'.[29] The 'defeat' of reason by miracles and mysteries strengthened Browne's belief: 'It is true because it is impossible.'[30] Yet the conflict between reason and faith staged in *Religio Medici* came with inevitable collateral damage. Despite Browne's stress on the unintelligibility of God's greatness as demonstrated by Scripture, his long lists of logical inconsistencies also highlighted the imperfection of the Bible. How is it possible, Browne wondered, that so many wild beasts populate the New World if all living creatures descend from the animals that once disembarked Noah's ark?[31] How could a 300-cubit ark house so many animals in the first place, not to mention the immense stores required

27   Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 209–210.
28   Greenblatt and Targoff, 'Introduction', in Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. Greenblatt and Targoff, xxvii.
29   Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. Greenblatt and Targoff, 19.
30   Greenblatt and Targoff, 'Introduction', xxvii.
31   'By what passage those, not onely Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome Beasts came over?' Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. Greenblatt and Targoff, 27.

to feed them?[32] How did Moses burn the golden calf and grind it into a powder using fire, as Exodus 32 wants us to believe, given the fact that gold melts when heated?[33] Such classical problems became subversive in the hands of people already susceptible to the idea that Scripture was written and adapted by fallible humans. Within five years after the printing of van Berkel's translation of *Religio Medici*, Koerbagh, Meijer, and Spinoza would all publish their own highly controversial treatises stressing the flaws and inconsistencies of the Bible. Van Berkel's decision to translate *Religio Medici* had been an early product of the radical zeal of their discussions.

When the Amsterdam prosecutors arrested Johannes and Adriaan Koerbagh in May and July 1668, playful experimentation and free philosophising suddenly came to an end. Van Berkel returned to Leiden and started his studies in the (less controversial) field of Classical Letters. Schoneveld argues that this moment in van Berkel's career marked 'a complete break with his hazardous activities of the past'.[34] Scholars have interpreted the considerable difference between the first Dutch edition of *Religio Medici* and its 1683 reprint as a sign of van Berkel's conservative turn.[35] The new edition included many more footnotes, some of which struck a completely different chord, breathing 'an air of anti-rationalism'.[36] Adriaan's arrest and subsequent death in the Amsterdam Rasphuis must have shocked van Berkel, opening his eyes to the serious consequences of their provocative ideas. He was lucky enough to escape similar prosecution, but the fact that the authorities had him on their radar was a sufficient deterrent. The few books van Berkel produced after 1669 – translations of the stoic Epictetus (1670), the geographer Stephan of Byzantium (1674), and the grammarian Antoninus Liberalis (1674) – no longer challenged Protestant orthodoxy in the way his early work had done. Van Berkel's biography is too fragmented to know if the translator truly changed his heterodox opinions, but he was at least no longer willing to express them openly.

While feeding the discussions on reason and faith with Koerbagh and others, van Berkel further developed his ideas in dialogue with the Leiden *laken*

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32 'How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their owne bulks, but with a competency of food & sustenance, might be preserved in one Arke, and within the extent of three hundred cubits [etc.]'. Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. Greenblatt and Targoff, 27.

33 'I would gladly know how *Moses* with an actuall fire calcin'd, or burnt the golden Calfe into powder [etc.].' Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. Greenblatt and Targoff, 56.

34 Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 12.

35 Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 11–12; Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 222–223.

36 Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 12.

(textile) trader and political philosopher Pieter de la Court. Building upon the work of his brother Johan, Pieter took centre stage in the public debate on republicanism, government, and commercial trade during the 1660s. Assisted by their accessible version of the vernacular – an anti-humanist Dutch 'crammed with jokes, fables, and vivid metaphors' – the de la Court brothers sold thousands of books and evoked numerous responses.[37] They applied their rhetorical skills to address a wide readership beyond their own circles of learned men, even if these circles still contained their first readers and most dedicated followers. It is beyond doubt that van Berkel was one of them. The specific nature of his relationship with the much older de la Court brothers remains unclear, but van Berkel did consider Pieter a 'trustworthy Friend' who probably acted as intellectual mentor.[38]

In the history of political philosophy de la Court (hereafter referring to Pieter only) acquired a reputation as an intermediary between the thought of Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Spinoza. Sonja Lavaert notes that Spinoza owned a copy of de la Court's *Consideratien van staat* (1661) and *Politike Discoursen* (1662), and Hans Blom claims that Spinoza first encountered Hobbes and Machiavelli through his reading of de la Court.[39] Although de la Court certainly played such a mediating role between the great minds of his age, an emphasis on the formative influence of others easily overshadows his own originality as an independent thinker.[40] At a time when the Dutch Republic was trying to consolidate its political position among the great European monarchies and empires, de la Court developed into one of the main theorists on sovereignty and the legitimacy of republican states. With his translation of *Leviathan*, van Berkel intervened in that debate on political philosophy. To properly understand his position, we must take a brief detour to compare two prominent participants: Pieter de la Court and Franciscus van den Enden.[41]

De la Court's first book – *Consideratien en exempelen van staat* (1660), reissued as *Consideratien van staat ofte polityke weeg-schaal* (1661) – presented a review of the structure and legitimacy of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. It demonstrated the advantages and disadvantages of each polity through reviews of actual states, where the Ottoman empire provided the archetype of monarchy, Venice and Genoa represented aristocracy, and Athens democracy. Echoing the Hobbesian account of the state of nature,

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37   Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 52.
38   Johan had already died in 1660. Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 149.
39   Blom, 'Spinoza en de la Court', 10–11; Lavaert, *Vrijheid, gelijkheid, veelheid*, 86.
40   Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 147.
41   Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 152–153.

de la Court reasoned that people living outside of any polity remain stuck in a constant 'war of all against all'. In an unregulated society, Hobbes wrote, human beings have an unlimited right to follow their passions and natural inclination towards self-preservation. Hobbes and de la Court both contended that this condition is untenable, but disagreed about the solution. Hobbes argued that reason allowed humans to understand the 'natural laws', which prescribe the acceptance of any means that will protect one's existence. The first natural law therefore commands the end of the devastating war of all against all. The second natural law holds that peace only becomes possible if human beings are willing to grant others as much freedom as they would claim for themselves. A dedicated royalist, Hobbes insisted that this balance of rights to freedom can only be accomplished through a social contract with an external force, a monarch. Democratic societies will always collapse into civil war, he assumed, because human nature is inherently asocial: *homo homini lupus*. De la Court alludes to this famous quote from Hobbes's *De Cive* and affirms the associated pessimist view on human nature, which echoed the Augustinian and Calvinist doctrines of original sin. But he maintained that in order to establish a peaceful society, human beings should not transfer their individual right to a monarch, but to the majority of their 'common wealth'.[42] The centralisation of (military) power in the hands of one individual would inevitably lead to an unequal power balance, to conflict, and effectively result in a return to the state of nature. Democracy should therefore be considered the most appropriate form of government, de la Court concluded. He supported this conclusion by appropriating Hobbes's marginal argument that the natural order of power is democratic.[43] Despite their fundamental disagreements, the political theorist from Leiden thus employed the royalist Hobbes to argue for the republican cause.

De la Court stimulated the growing political awareness within freethinking circles in Leiden and Amsterdam. He received an elaborate response from Franciscus van den Enden. In 1662 van den Enden published *Kort verhael van Nieuw-Nederlants gelegentheit*, a study of the Native Americans in the 'New World' and a political design for a democratic settlement in the Dutch American colonies. Disagreeing with de la Court on several issues, he felt compelled to express his own views on democracy and political freedom.[44]

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42 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 143–144.
43 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 152–153.
44 Anonymous [= Franciscus van den Enden], 'Voor-reeden', front matter in Anonymous [= Franciscus van den Enden], *Kort verhael van Nieuw-Nederlants gelegentheit*, VI. Cf. Lavaert, *Vrijheid, gelijkheid, veelheid*, 131; Paijmans, 'An Ambivalent View of Colonialism'.

He criticised the naïve assumption that a reasonable and stable democratic government could be established in a 'superstitious' and religiously divided society. This criticism – which is also crucial to Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* – was further substantiated in van den Enden's *Vrye politijke stellingen, en consideratien van staat* (1665). The author refused to view humans 'like a Wolf', as creatures with an inborn inclination to immorality.[45] Human passions are not good or bad in themselves, van den Enden believed. These moral categories depend on external conditions, such as 'violent government', 'deceptions of various superstitions', and 'malicious education'.[46] A democratic society could only come into being if its members were liberated from such negative stimuli. Proper education (in the vernacular or a well-known lingua franca) offered the only means to achieve this liberation. According to van den Enden, non-democratic governments were incapable of curbing superstition since political repression is more likely to enhance than to temper human passions.[47] Van den Enden thus responded to Hobbes and de la Court but disagreed with them on crucial points. His political theory foregrounded the role of reason, like Hobbes's, but with a radically different take on human nature. He was a proponent of democracy, like de la Court, but for different reasons.

It is to van den Enden's credit, then, that the members of Spinoza's circle started to renegotiate Pieter de la Court's and, by extension, Hobbes's political thought. Various scholars characterise van den Enden as a 'proto-Spinozist' and a mentor to the young Spinoza, but Frank Mertens convincingly downplays the teacher's influence.[48] Nevertheless, van den Enden addressed political topics – the problem of religious disharmony, the conditions for democracy, the political function of the passions – that later resurfaced in similar ways in Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and *Tractatus Politicus*. At least in political matters, Spinoza's friends respected van den Enden. Arthur Weststeijn argues that the de la Court brothers thus 'prompted the first political publication of the group of freethinkers around Spinoza' and others suggest van den Enden subsequently sparked Spinoza's interest in de la Court's republicanism.[49] Spinoza's friends were no longer preoccupied with questions of natural philosophy and metaphysics only,

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45 Anonymous [= Franciscus van den Enden], *Vrye Politijke Stellingen*, 2.

46 Anonymous [= Franciscus van den Enden], *Vrye Politijke Stellingen,* 2.

47 Anonymous [= Franciscus van den Enden], *Vrye Politijke Stellingen,* 42.

48 Mertens, *Van den Enden en Spinoza.*

49 Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life*, 114. Spinoza owned a copy of both *Consideratien van staat ofte polityke weeg-schaal* and *Politike discoursen.* For a philosophical comparison between de la Court's and Spinoza's political thought, see Blom, 'Spinoza en de la Court'.

but started making connections between the Cartesian worldview and their political reality.[50]

This political turn has been documented in several (translated) treatises on politics and political theory produced by Spinoza's friends from the 1660s onwards. It was a sign of the times, for instance, that political and anthropological books started to appear on Glazemaker's publication list during the 1660s. He translated a comparative political study by Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, a Leiden professor and former teacher of the de la Court brothers.[51] In 1669 and 1670 – while Spinoza was finalising his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* – Glazemaker translated two detailed studies of the very states de la Court considered archetypical examples of absolutist and aristocratic government: a political account of the Ottoman Empire by the English diplomat Paul Rycaut, and a study into the political organisation of Venice by one de La Haye. Glazemaker continued to fan the flames of interest in political theory in his later translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus Politicus* (included in the 1677 *Opera Posthuma*) and his renewed translation of John Barclay's political romance *Argenis* (1680), which contains various debates on sovereignty and the best form of government.[52] This translator's oeuvre thus signified de la Court's influence on the growing interest in political philosophy among freethinkers in Amsterdam during the 1660s and 1670s.

Such were the circumstances when van Berkel set out to translate *Leviathan* in 1663 or 1664. By translating Hobbes, he contributed to the discourse on politics. The apparent contradiction between Hobbes's absolutism and the republican milieu of his Dutch translator aside, van Berkel's friends shared Hobbes's criticism of the power of the church in secular matters.[53] He of course disagreed with Hobbes's contract theory mentioned above, commanding the members of a society to renounce their rights to everything in order to end the continuous war in the state of nature. They should transfer their rights to an absolute sovereign, and by 'absolute' Hobbes meant exactly that: any person or organisation that retains some of their rights effectively

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50   This connection marks the foundational moment in intellectual history where Cartesianism and philosophical materialism fuelled a critique of ecclesiastical and political authority, a connection that is key to both Jonathan Israel's and Margaret Jacob's conceptions of the Radical Enlightenment. Cf. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*, 25; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 4–5.
51   On the political thought of Boxhorn, see Nieuwstraten, 'Historical and Political Thought'.
52   On the Dutch translations and adaptations of Barclay's *Argenis*, including Glazemaker's, see van Gemert and van der Deijl, 'Not Just a Love Story'.
53   Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 218; Lavaert, *Vrijheid, gelijkheid, veelheid*, 146. For studies about the philosophical relationship between Hobbes and Spinoza, see: Bertman et al., eds., *Studia Spinozana. Spinoza and Hobbes*; Malcolm, 'Hobbes and Spinoza', in *Aspects of Hobbes*.

limits the power of the sovereign and perpetuates the potential for conflict that the sovereign was designed to resolve. Hobbes thus subordinated the church to the sovereign and left no authority at all to the clerics. Even in theological and ecclesiastical matters such as the interpretation of Scripture or the organisation of the church, the king should always prevail. Van Berkel summarised this position in his preface: 'that [the Church] should have, or exercise, no Authority, because there can and should be only one Lawful Power-executive'.[54] Needless to say, this argument appealed to van Berkel's circle of Mennonites, Collegiants, Arminians, and borderline atheists who were all feeling the growing power of the Reformed Church in their daily lives. It was this Church, not the more pragmatic civic authorities, that would later demand the prohibition of their books and the prosecution of their friends. Submitting the Church to Johan de Witt's liberal government or the (mostly Arminian) magistrates in Leiden and Amsterdam must have sounded like a good idea.

Besides van Berkel's explicit endorsement of Hobbes's criticism of the church, the translator declared to have no other intention than to improve the knowledge of his fellow citizens concerning 'the sovereignty of their lawful rulers'.[55] The political status of those lawful rulers did not seem to matter as long as their government was legitimate. Van Berkel praised Hobbes for being the best defender of the sovereignty of lawful government, '(regardless of whatever way in which it is governed)'.[56] This presentation of *Leviathan* as an analysis of political legitimacy – rather than an argument for absolutism – opened the door to republican appropriation of Hobbesian political theory, although the preface did not take a principally republican stance. The translator did not consider Kings or Stadtholders to be unlawful by definition: he too was shocked by the execution of the 'Legitimate and Souverain' King of England in 1649, for which he blamed the political ignorance among the English people.[57] In the Dutch Republic, Johan de Witt simply happened to be the lawful ruler; too bad for the Prince of Orange.

54   'dat sy geen Magt moeten hebben, ofte gebruycken, ter oorsaeck datter maer een Wettelijcke Magt-gebruycking kan en wesen moet'. A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*6r].
55   'Anders hebben wy met dit Werck geen voornemen, dan de Onderdanen van den Staet, door goede onderrigtinge, in de Kennisse van de Souverayniteyt ende Wettige Regeeringe, meer en meer te bevestigen.' A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*5v].
56   '('t zy op wat voor een wijse datse dan oock geregeert wort)'. A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*5v].
57   Helmer Helmers documents the shock widely felt in the Dutch Republic caused by the English regicide. Cf. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*.

The claim of political neutrality in van Berkel's preface was not just a rhetorical strategy. Unlike de la Court and van den Enden, van Berkel was not making a universal case for republicanism. It was civil war rather than absolutist rule he was trying to prevent. After all, since the 1648 Peace of Munster, domestic conflict once again posed a serious threat to the Republic's existence:

> Because their weapons were barely dried from Spanish Blood by an Eternal Peace, before they, as a result of ignorance about those who were their Souverain and Lawful Rulers, tried to stain and douse them again with Civil-blood.[58]

From van Berkel's perspective, the peace of the state was first and foremost put at risk by the Orangists and the Reformed Church. He therefore needed to persuade his readers that *their* claim to power was illegitimate, under the current circumstances. Van Berkel was not just preaching to the choir: when he wrote in his preface that the 'scales of ignorance' would fall from the eyes of the 'Inhabitants of this State' while reading *Leviathan*, he probably referred specifically to the supporters of the House of Orange. Even an Orangist would not remain deaf to a reasonable argument against civil war, van Berkel seemed to assume. The translator thus resembled Hobbes himself, who also expected his ideas to improve the mind and behaviour of the people. In his biography of Hobbes, Aloysius Martinich describes the philosopher's firm belief 'that his doctrine would prevent bloodshed'.[59] Van Berkel's ambitions for the New Philosophy were similarly high: peace could be established through reason and education.

Van Berkel lived long enough to witness how the lynching of the de Witt brothers in 1672 proved him wrong. However, the translator's response to the Disaster Year confirms that he did not prioritise the legitimation of republican government. He was not a hardliner like van den Enden, who was executed in Paris for conspiring against the French King. Van Berkel was a pragmatic man, albeit one with a consistent political attitude. His disgust towards the execution of Charles I in 1649 might explain his unexpected support for William III in 1672: rather than renouncing his supposedly republican

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58 'Want nauwlijcs waren hare wapenen door een Eeuwige Vrede van het Spaensche Bloedt afgedroogt, ofse tragtede de selve, door onkunde van de gene die hare Souverayne ende Wettige Regenten waren, wederom met Burger-bloet te besoetelen ende nat te maecken.' A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*4v].

59 Martinich, *Hobbes. A Biography*, 177.

principles, van Berkel was simply betting on the best peacekeeper available, 'regardless of whatever way it [the state] is ruled'. Strengthened by growing support in the Spring of 1672, the Stadtholder became better equipped to defend the peace of the state, and van Berkel's priorities required him to join the Orangist party. In short, we should consider the possibility that his political adherence was conditional. Accepting van Berkel's eclecticism and pragmatism makes it much easier to understand why this key figure in republican and freethinking circles translated a staunch royalist and Calvinist such as Hobbes.

Finally, there is another irony in van Berkel's career that complicates his ideological position: Jacobus Wagenaar decided to issue the first and only reprint of van Berkel's translation of *Leviathan* during the national crisis of 1672, including an unaltered version of van Berkel's original preface supporting Johan de Witt.[60] This means that while (or shortly after) van Berkel was requesting permission to praise the Stadtholder in Leiden, preparations had started in Amsterdam for a reprint of the translator's defence of the Stadtholder's opponent. We do not know whether Wagenaar informed van Berkel of his plans, but a collaboration seems unlikely given the latter's disassociation from his early writings. In any case, the publisher did not aim for a corrected or revised edition, which would have required the translator's help. Apart from a remarkable change in the laudatory poem below the author's portrait,[61] the 1672 print delivered an unaltered copy of the first edition and a rush job full of errors.[62] Wagenaar probably hoped to strike while the iron was hot. Meanwhile, van Berkel's praise of the Grand Pensionary acquired a new, wry meaning in light of what happened to Johan de Witt, who, according to van Berkel's old preface, 'saved and redeemed our dear Fatherland from a Country-corrupting Division in the Lawful Government, and our free State from inevitable Ruin [...]'.[63]

Similar to the life and works of Glazemaker and Balling, the wider discourses surrounding van Berkel's oeuvre need to be explored in order

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60   Hobbes, *Leviathan: of van de stoffe* (1667 [= 1672] (engraved title page: 1672)).

61   The revised version no longer emphasises Hobbes's absolutist position but instead focusses on his aim to avoid political violence.

62   A selection of typographical errors can be found on page 110: 'Oceaen' (1667) versus 'Occaen' (1672), 'Gerberus' (1667) versus 'Cerberus' (1672), 'aengeroepen' (1667) versus 'aengeroeppen' (1672), 'Priapus' (1667) versus 'Pirapus' (1672). I am indebted to Herman Wiltink, who sent me a list of differences in the type setting of the two editions.

63   'die met u Raedt en Daedt, ons lieve Vaderlants van een Landt-uerdeffelijcke Verdeeltheyt in de Wettige Regeeringe, en onsen vryen Staet van een onvermijdelijcken Ondergang, diese, nu als in arbeyt gaende, voor sig selven begon te baren, verloft ende gereddet hebt?' A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*4v].

to understand his ideological disposition. In this section I have underlined that Adriaan Koerbagh and Pieter de la Court played a central part in those discourses. Van Berkel's translation of Browne's *Religio Medici* interacted with the debate on reason and faith that would define Koerbagh's life (and death). The translation of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, furthermore, was a contribution to the debate on political sovereignty and republicanism that emerged in response to the de la Court brothers. The translator valued Hobbes as a theorist of legitimacy and sovereignty and selectively appropriated Hobbesian ideas into a specific cultural discourse, which was considerably different from Hobbes's English Calvinist, royalist background. Like Glazemaker and Balling, van Berkel not only translated the New Philosophy into another language but also transposed it into different discussions: about reason, freedom of conscience, and the legitimacy of Holland's Grand Pensionary.

6.2   Van Berkel's poetics: Translating Hobbes's *Leviathan*

Van Berkel's adaptability to changing political and intellectual circumstances not only affected the content but also the actual shape of his texts. The language and the form of his work seem to comply to rhetorical norms and ideas about language inspired by the two intellectual heroes of his younger years: Adriaan Koerbagh and Pieter de la Court. Their aversion to the obscure, inaccessible language of Scholasticism could explain, I argue, the characteristics of van Berkel's translation practice. This relationship between rhetorical norms and van Berkel's translation style provides a case in point for the way socio-ideological conditions and language philosophy shaped the vernacular discourse on the New Philosophy. Through a combination of automatic collation and qualitative analysis I will examine this relation by addressing one specific dimension of van Berkel's translation practice in his version of *Leviathan*: the reversal of Hobbes's ideal of rhetorical brevity.[64]

In late 1649, a sixty-one-year-old Hobbes wrote the first sentences of a book that would become the crown upon his oeuvre: *Leviathan, or The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651). The 394-page folio edition combined the three pillars of his philosophical project: physics, physiology, and politics. Building upon *De Cive*, Hobbes aimed to lay the foundation for a proper *scientia civilis*, a political science on rationalist grounds. From a materialist description and epistemology of the physical world he progressed to a study of the conditions under which

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64   On Hobbes' rhetorical ideal of brevity, see Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 361–362.

human beings can preserve peace through political organisation. *Leviathan* represented political society as a human 'body' consisting of the members of the Christian 'common-wealth'. Hobbes metaphorically named this manmade political body after the Biblical sea-monster Leviathan (e.g. Job 41), a creature whose power was unparalleled on earth, which Hobbes may have intended as an allegory for the State.[65]

Although Hobbes borrowed the philosophical groundwork from his previous books, *Leviathan* took on a radically different shape. Whereas *The Elements of Law* (first published in 1650) and *De Cive* (1642) had promoted an anti-Humanist scepticism of the idea of eloquence as the necessary supporter of reason, *Leviathan* presented – as argued by Quentin Skinner – 'a belated but magnificent contribution to the Renaissance art of eloquence'.[66] It was 'a treatise in which the persuasive techniques of the classical *ars rhetorica* are systematically put to work to amplify and underline the findings of reason and science'.[67] While writing *Leviathan*, Hobbes abandoned his earlier conviction that the political sciences should be liberated from the predominant theories of eloquence, which required students of rhetoric to be able to argue '*in utramque partem*', i.e. to be able to defend any possible position in a political or moral debate.[68] Such moral and epistemological relativism had no place in any discipline with scientific ambitions, Hobbes believed. The validity of an argument should never depend on the rhetorical talent of its author. The structure and language of *De Cive* reflected that opinion, using systematic deduction to develop arguments from general definitions into theorems, demonstrations, and conclusions. *Leviathan*, in contrast, addressed its readers in a different language (English instead of Latin) and a different style. It employed the entire rhetorical toolkit inherited from the classic rhetoricians: the establishment of ethos, the use of irony to ridicule one's opponents, and the embellishment (*ornatus*) of language through figures of speech while striving for rhetorical clarity and brevity. Many noted the irony that a philosopher with such a strong suspicion of rhetorical devices and metaphors would end up writing one of the greatest rhetorical and metaphorical works of his age.[69]

In his study of Hobbes's use of rhetoric, Skinner attributes this remarkable change in style to the philosopher's ten-year exile in France prior to

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65   Malcolm, 'The Name And Nature of Leviathan', 31.
66   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 4.
67   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 4.
68   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, e.g. 9; 346.
69   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 363.

the publication of *Leviathan*, from 1641 to 1651. There Hobbes immersed himself in a different rhetorical discourse that did not share his previous unconditional faith in the power of reason. He became acquainted with François de La Mothe Le Vayer (1588–1672), Louis XIV's tutor in the art of rhetoric. Le Vayer was an exponent of a tradition of French rhetoricians who acknowledged reason's inability to persuade in situations where political or personal interest left the sovereign, or people in general, deaf to rational arguments.[70] For them, eloquence remained an indispensable tool for supplementing reason when self-interest precluded rational persuasion. Skinner thus points to the French 'age d'eloquence' during the 1640s to explain Hobbes's change of style. But equally important, Skinner continues, was the falsification of the philosopher's faith in reason by the current political reality across the Channel. While Hobbes was writing his philosophical defence of royalism during his exile in Paris, the Parliamentarians executed his king and civil war tore his country to pieces. Hobbes came to understand that reason was flawed. The human intellect was unable to keep people from violence against their rulers, property, and fellow citizens. Hobbes could no longer afford to ignore the power of eloquence. Reason simply needed rhetoric if the political sciences wished to fulfil any role in the education of the people and the progress of the commonwealth. That idea was key to Hobbes's change of mind regarding eloquence and determined *Leviathan*'s compromise between reason and rhetoric.

It took a few years for European readers to notice this revolutionary work. The delayed impact was not only due to the expensive folio edition, but also to Hobbes's similar ideas already published in the widely read *De Cive* (1642) – translated into English in 1665 – and the first parts of *The Elements of Law* (1650).[71] This slow reception probably explains why no Dutch translation was yet available when van Berkel started with his around 1663 or 1664 (modelled after the first print, the so-called 'Head'-edition from 1651).[72] Consequently, the circumstances of van Berkel's publication in 1667 were quite different from those under which Hobbes had written the treatise. The Kingdom of England had been restored in 1661, and the Dutch Republic flourished during the relatively peaceful First Stadtholderless Period (1650–1672). Given the strong association between Hobbes's use of

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70   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 428.
71   Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, 96–97.
72   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 58. Schoneveld also dated and located the reprints of the English text, but this reconstruction has been disputed convincingly by Noel Malcolm: Malcolm, 'The Printing of the "Bear"', in *Aspects of Hobbes*, 340.

rhetoric and the turbulent political culture in which the English *Leviathan* appeared in 1651, the question arises which elements of that rhetoric survived in its Dutch representation printed in Amsterdam in 1667.

In his analysis of van Berkel's translation style, Cornelis Schoneveld offers a detailed answer to that question. He concludes that 'a strong desire for explicitness and clarity […] resulted in a disregard of the artistry of style and its rhetorical function in the English text'.[73] Hobbes's brevity, symmetry, and use of metaphors were often lost in translation. Schoneveld furthermore demonstrates that van Berkel consulted the Latin text of *De Cive* when he encountered difficulties in Hobbes's treatise, apparently revealing van Berkel's imperfect understanding of the English language. Overall, leaving aside a few insignificant exceptions, van Berkel produced a faithful representation of the original argument, which is nevertheless characterised by 'a great discrepancy in style between original and translation'.[74] The most recent Dutch translator of *Leviathan*, Wessel Krul, agrees with this assessment, adding that van Berkel's first translation reads like a 'verbose and dull' and much lengthier version of the original, which fails to meet modern standards.[75] Finally, Wielema qualifies the text as 'a complete and, on the whole, relatively accurate translation of Hobbes's major work'.[76]

Previous studies thus established that van Berkel retained the content of his source but failed to reproduce its form. However, a distinction between form and content runs the risk of underestimating the formal dimension of *Leviathan*. Is it possible to adjust the style of *Leviathan* and still accurately represent its argument? In *Leviathan*, form became an instrument for the author's philosophical and political aims. Hobbes's deliberate revaluation of eloquence seems to be lost in translation: van Berkel was insensitive to his stylistic brevity and metaphorical language. However, it is not sufficient to attribute this stylistic discrepancy between original and translation to van Berkel's imperfect command of English or his personal style alone. Van Berkel imported *Leviathan* not just into a different language, but also into a different time, place, and discourse. A study of the changes in the text should take the changes in its conditions into account. I will therefore complement the existing literature on van Berkel's practice by contextualising some of his manipulations into the wider debates in his circles and the ideas on language and rhetoric that informed them.

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73   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 57.

74   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 48.

75   Krul, 'Bij deze vertaling', in Hobbes, *Leviathan of de samenstelling*, 42.

76   Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 215.

Van Berkel's most important transformation concerns his extension of the source, as noted by both Schoneveld and Krul. Schoneveld illustrates the translator's verbose translation style by citing examples of van Berkel's preference for doublets ('hendiadys' used for emphasis) where the original used a single word – translating 'awe' with 'ontsag ende vreese' and 'agreement' with 'accorderen ende over-een-komen' – as well as his transformation of adjuncts into long relative clauses and the occasional insertion of additional explanations.[77]

Schoneveld does not provide an interpretation for these expansions and thus implies that van Berkel was simply a verbose author with no feeling for the rhetorical qualities of his source. The underlying assumption would be that van Berkel's language was consistently lengthier than the English original, regardless of the source's content or form. To test that assumption, I performed a simple token count of all 47 chapters in tokenised versions of Hobbes's English original, van Berkel's 1667 Dutch translation, and Wessel Krul's 2010 modern translation. The relative length of van Berkel's and Krul's translations compared to the English source is plotted in Figure 6.1. There is a certain degree of variation between the chapters, but Figure 6.1 shows that in each translated chapter, Hobbes lost a considerable degree of his brevity. On average, the chapters in van Berkel's translation contained 23.9% more tokens than the English source. This verboseness was indeed a characteristic of van Berkel's translation style: Wessel Krul's translation from 2010 shows that it is very well possible to retain Hobbes's conciseness in Dutch. Krul's representation is even slightly shorter than the original English edition (probably due to compounding), with an average chapter length of 98.0% of the number of tokens in the original.

In order to evaluate the percentages in Figure 6.1, I ruled out the possibility that these numbers simply reflect a linguistic overload of early modern Dutch compared to early modern English. A similar comparison of two seventeenth-century Bible translations – the English King James Version from 1611 and the Dutch States Translation from 1637 – reveals that the Dutch Bible books are on average only 0.5% lengthier than their English counterparts (Figure 6.2). With an average chapter expansion of 23.9% compared to the source, van Berkel's style is far removed from the literal translation norms that applied to these major Bible translations.

The preliminary conclusion should be (1) that van Berkel overall produced a much lengthier version compared to his source and (2) that his verboseness

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77   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 47.

Figure 6.1 Relative chapter length in two Dutch translations of Hobbes's *Leviathan* compared to the English source ⏎

Figure 6.2 Relative length of the States Translation (1637) compared to the *King James Version* (KJV, 1611) by Bible Book ⏎

was indeed a feature of his individual translation style, not an effect of structural linguistic differences between early modern Dutch and English. This conclusion thus offers quantitative confirmation of Schoneveld's findings.

Nevertheless, further study is needed, because calculating length differences between chapters is insufficient for determining whether van Berkel's verboseness also depended on the actual source. After all, averages often conceal meaningful variations in the data. Even though the translation is much lengthier overall, it is possible that van Berkel expanded only in specific cases, or that he may even have abbreviated the source in some places. To better understand this variation, automatic collation was performed, pairing each sentence from van Berkel's translation with the equivalent sentences from Krul's modern Dutch translation.[78] In this analysis Krul's translation functioned as a baseline, being the most literal Dutch representation of the English original currently available.[79] Calculating sentence length in these equivalent sentence pairs subsequently enabled me to compute the relationship between sentence length in the English original (represented by Krul's translation) and sentence length in van Berkel's translation. Figure 6.3 displays this relationship for 2,194 successfully aligned sentence pairs.[80]

This messy cloud of dots visualises van Berkel's liberal translation style: his sentences are often many times longer than the equivalent sentences from the source (represented by Krul's translation), although he also abbreviated the source several times. A Spearman correlation test confirms the marginal but relevant fact that there was a significant positive correlation between van Berkel's sentence length and that of Krul ($r_s(2192) = .56$, $p < .001$). This is a statistical test that is often used to evaluate the relationship between two continuous variables (in this case: the length of sentences measured by the number of words per sentence). The correlation demonstrates that van Berkel was, in the end, still translating: in most cases, the length of the sentence in the source determined the length of the sentence in the translation. But there is a degree of nuance.

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78   I am grateful to Wessel Krul for sending me a digital copy of his translation. See van der Deijl, 'The Dutch Translation and Circulation', Appendix A, 231–234, for an extensive explanation of this method.

79   It would have been better to use the English original as a baseline, but since the alignment of the 1651 English source and its 1667 translation would require a word-based multilingual sentence alignment model (provided by a tool like GIZA++) trained on a parallel bilingual corpus of early modern English and early modern Dutch text (which is not available), I consider Krul's translation a valid alternative. After all, his representation approximates the original in terms of sentence length, as displayed in Figure 6.1.

80   This selection of 2,194 sentences offers only a sample of all sentences in van Berkel's translation, because not all sentences could be aligned automatically. To reduce false alignments, aligned sentence pairs were included in this sample if the cosine similarity between the identified sentence equivalents scored higher than 0.2.
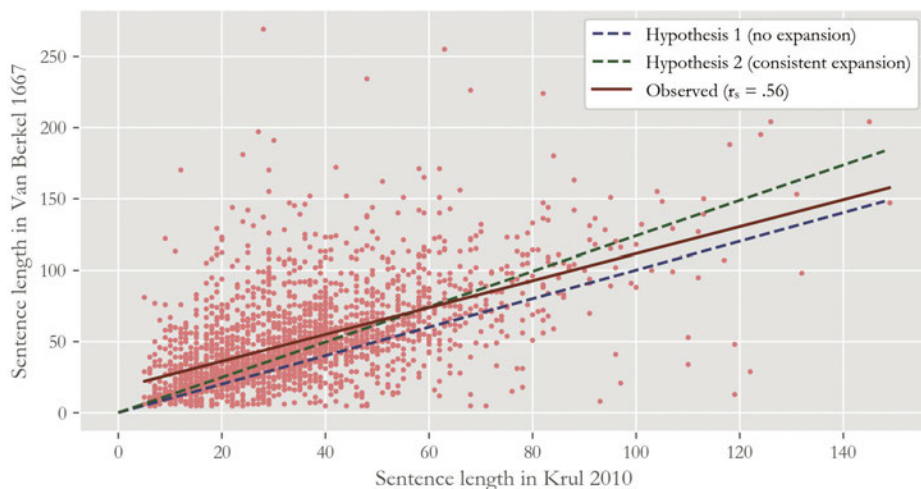
Figure 6.3 Relationship between sentence length in Krul 2010 and van Berkel 1667 ⏎

Two hypotheses have been tested to evaluate the observed relationship between van Berkel's and Krul's translations. The first 'null' hypothesis (Hypothesis 1) holds that van Berkel's and Krul's sentences would be equally long – assuming that there is no correlation between sentence length and individual translation style. According to this baseline scenario, the length of van Berkel's sentences would equal those in Hobbes's original (as represented by Krul's translation). This hypothesis is visualised by the dashed blue line, the 'No expansion' scenario. The second 'null' hypothesis (Hypothesis 2) holds that van Berkel would have extended the source *consistently*, meaning that the extension did not depend on sentence length. The underlying assumption is that the translator's extension of the source at the sentence level would equal the 23.9% average extension observed at the chapter level. Hypothesis 2 thus holds that van Berkel's sentences would consistently be 23.9% longer than the equivalent ones from Krul, regardless of the length of those sentences.

The results plotted in Figure 6.3 contradict Hypothesis 1: in 1,643 out of all 2,194 sentence pairs (74.9%), van Berkel's translation contained more tokens than Krul's, as visualised by the large proportion of red dots above the dashed blue baseline. This means that in most sentences, van Berkel's expansiveness at the chapter level applied to the sentence level as well. On the other hand, this number also confirms that in 25.1% of cases, van Berkel actually abbreviated Hobbes. While he preferred an expansive mode of translation, he was in fact capable of formulating more concisely than the source. This ability suggests that he only expanded the source *selectively*. The linear trend in the observed sentence pairs deviates from the the dashed green line that marks a consistent
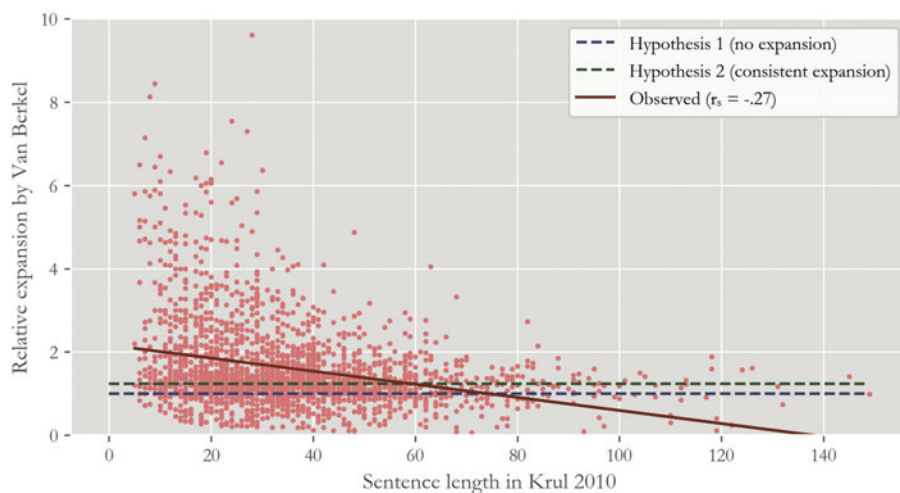
Figure 6.4 Relationship between sentence length in Krul 2010 and relative sentence extension by van Berkel ⏎

expansion of 23.9% compared to Krul's translation. The observed correlation is less steep than the one predicted by Hypothesis 2, which could mean that van Berkel was more likely to extend short sentences than longer ones.

To test the statistical significance of this trend, I computed the correlation between sentence length and van Berkel's relative extension in each sentence (measured by percentage of tokens in the equivalent sentence from Krul's translation). A Spearman correlation test indicates a weak but significant negative correlation between sentence length in Krul's version and van Berkel's relative extension ($rs(2,192) = -.27$, $p < 0.001$), allowing a rejection of the null hypothesis that assumes a consistent expansion of 23.9% of the original sentence length represented by Krul's translation. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 thus reveal that van Berkel not only expanded the source considerably overall, but he also tended to add relatively more words to short sentences than to longer sentences.

This is a remarkable tendency because it means that van Berkel effectively reversed Hobbes's attempt to write a succinct, rhetorically efficient text. Quentin Skinner explains how Hobbes embraced the ideal of shortness and perspicuity in *Leviathan* as opposed to his earlier convictions expressed in *De Cive*. While writing *Leviathan*, the new Hobbes believed that the achievement of true knowledge could be revealed in the ability to write in a perspicuous style.[81] Associating the validity of truth with the manner of expression thus

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81   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 362.

created a dependency between the rhetorical phase of '*elocutio*' – the mastery of style – and the mastery of true knowledge. This dependency would have been absurd in the context of *De Cive*, where validity was assessed exclusively using rationalist criteria. Linguistic representations of scientific statements were merely considered a medium for deductive reasoning. But in *Leviathan*, rhetorical shortness signalled intellectual sharpness. Hobbes's famous conception of the state of nature in *Leviathan* illustrates his powerful, often staccato style, describing a condition with 'no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short'.[82] The following quote, from chapter eight, provides another example of Hobbes's good sense of meter and rhyme. Van Berkel's expansiveness can seen in his translation of the quote, which nearly doubles the original number of words.

Hobbes 1651	**Van Berkel 1667**
'The secret thoughts of a man run over all things, holy, prophane, clean, obscene, grave, and light, without shame, or blame; which verball discourse cannot do, farther than the Judgement shall approve of the Time, Place, and Persons.' [38 words][83]	'De heymelijcke gedagten van de menschen gaen over heylige en onheylige, over reyne en vuyle, over sware en ligte saecken, sonder daer eenige schaemte, ofte berispingen over te ontfangen. Doch met de Discoursen die in woorden bestaen, is het also niet gelegen, daer kan men wel eenige schaamte en schande en berispingen van krijgen, doch voor soo verre als het oordeel van tijt, plaets en personen sal mede brengen.' [69 words][84]

In this passage, van Berkel is not only translating but also clarifying Hobbes's intentions. Instead of a literal translation, the second sentence offers an (inaccurate) paraphrase of Hobbes's admittedly cryptic 'farther than the Judgement shall approve of the Time, Place, and Persons'. A literal and equally concise translation of this clause would have been perfectly possible in Dutch, but van Berkel chose to intervene with an explanation rather than a translation of the abstract notion of 'Judgement'.

In several other sections too, van Berkel thus tried to help his reader in understanding Hobbes where he considered the text too succinct. The next

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82   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 89.
83   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 52.
84   Hobbes, *Leviathan*, trans. van Berkel, 68–69.

example, describing the ingredients of a good history, also illustrates van Berkel's role as a translator-exegete. He translated 'the Method' as 'that a good order is being kept', 'the Truth' as 'that the truth will be distinguished correctly from the probable and fictional things', and added 'by the descendants' to 'to be known'.

Hobbes 1651	Van Berkel 1667
'In a good History, the Judgement must be eminent; because the goodnesse consisteth, in the Method, in the Truth, and in the Choyse of the actions that are most profitable to be known.' [33 words][85]	'In het beschrijven van een Historie moet het Oordeel aldermeest wtmunten; om dat een goede Historie hier in bestaet, dat in het beschrijven van de selve een goede order gehouden, dat de waerheyt van de waerschijnlijcke en versierde dingen wel onderscheyden wort, ende datmen die daden alleen maer wtkiest, die alderdienstighst zijn, om van de nakomelingen geweten te worden.' [59 words][86]

In many cases, these explanations greatly affected the sentence structure. Van Berkel often added agency to passive phrases or introduced a human subject to sentences where he did not find one in the original, explicitly marking connections between syntactic components that remained implicit in the source. Abstract noun phrases taking the subject position in main or subordinate clauses – 'Judgement', 'discourse', 'History', and 'actions' – regularly return in the object position (if at all) when translated. The following quote, the fourth chapter's first sentence, offers another example of the latter kind of manipulation. Again doubling the number of words from the original phrase, the translated equivalent of 'The Invention of Printing, though ingenious' radically changed the sentence structure. When translated literally back to English, van Berkel's version reads: 'Although one must acknowledge that the first inventor of the *Art of Printing* must have been a very ingenious human being'. Van Berkel added a human subject ('one') and personified 'The invention of Printing' by adjusting the noun phrase to 'the first inventor of the *Art of Printing*'. The sentence's general meaning remains intact, but the syntactic structure is completely different. In van Berkel's translation poetics, values like explicitness and agency overruled syntactic consistency.

85 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 51.
86 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, trans. van Berkel, 66.

Hobbes 1651	**Van Berkel 1667**
'The Invention of Printing, though ingenious, compared with the invention of Letters, is no great matter.' [17 words][87]	'Alhoewel datmen voor vast moet stellen, dat den eersten vinder van de Druck-konst een seer vernuftig mensch moet geweest hebben, soo is het selve nogtans voor soo grooten saeck niet te houden, indiense met het wtvinden van de Letteren vergeleecken wort.' [41 words][88]

Examples like these demonstrate that van Berkel's expansiveness was not caused by insufficient understanding of the text, but by his efforts to clarify, to specify, and to resolve confusion. He knew perfectly well how to translate words like 'method' and 'truth' with similarly brief Dutch equivalents. The problem was, I hypothesise, that he expected Hobbes's aphorisms would confuse his readers, who were less familiar with Hobbes's succinctness and the English habit of piling up relative and subordinate clauses ('though ingenious', 'compared with the invention of Letters' etc.). Van Berkel was not so much expanding as *explaining* the source. A true Latin teacher and schoolmaster, van Berkel aimed to educate his fellow citizens and assist them in their reading of the sources wherever he could. Expansiveness was not simply a stylistic characteristic, but a deliberate strategy permitted by his self-acclaimed role as an educator. He preferred clarity over literalness, explicitness over ambiguity and complexity.

These preferences can be partly explained by the translator's personal style and the responsibility he felt for educating his fellow citizens about Hobbes, the 'Father of Political and Constitutional Authors'.[89] Nevertheless, van Berkel's translation style was not merely a personal matter. It cannot be separated from the rhetorical and literary norms promoted by his friends Koerbagh and de la Court, who were in turn inspired by Hobbes. Their fascination with Hobbes's political theory equalled their interest in his philosophy of language, and both components left their mark on van Berkel's life and work. Most importantly, Hobbes's aversion to the obscure language of the Scholastics became key to de la Court's work. Arthur Weststeijn points out that both Hobbes and de la Court considered the unintelligible terminology favoured by academia an abuse of language, whose purpose it was to exclude laymen from learned discourse.[90] Likewise, they both

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87 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, 24.

88 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, trans. van Berkel, 23.

89 'Vader der Politijcke en Staet-kundige Schryvers'. A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*5v].

90 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 134–135.

rejected the moral relativism implied by the rhetorical ideal of arguing *in utramque partem*.[91] The alternative proposed and practiced by de la Court was a 'mercantile rhetoric' promoting outspokenness, frankness, and free speech – in accordance with the rhetorical ideal known as *parrhesia*.[92] Truth was to be spoken honestly and directly, in a language that anyone without a university degree would understand. While indebted to rhetorical conventions through its wealth of metaphors, similes, jokes, and fables, de la Court's work represented an innovative attempt to employ literary devices to create a language that could address and educate a large audience in a truthful and moral way. Although expressed in a different, less literary style, van Berkel's poetics of translation adhered to the same rhetorical programme, promoting clear and direct speech.

Koerbagh's linguistic-philosophical activism was driven by a similar search for a language that would enable the uneducated majority to participate in learned discourse. His friend Lodewijk Meijer introduced him into the field of lexicography, but it was Koerbagh who more than anyone recognised the emancipatory power of the dictionary.[93] Perhaps inspired by the importance Hobbes attributed to definitions, Koerbagh's Latin-Dutch dictionaries offered lengthy descriptions of numerous Latin terms in addition to their actual Dutch equivalents. These aspects of Koerbagh's intellectual project – his emancipatory goal, aversion to Latin discourse, and pairing of translation with explanation – resurfaced in van Berkel's work. These parallels reveal the coherence in the joint activities carried out by Koerbagh and van Berkel during the 1660s, both on a philosophical and a formal, linguistic level. The comradeship and intellectual guidance he received from de la Court and Koerbagh shaped van Berkel intellectually and set the formal conditions in which his major translations would emerge.

Van Berkel's case illustrates the social situatedness of the vernacular discourse on the New Philosophy, and the connection between language, rhetoric, and ideology during the Dutch Early Enlightenment. To interpret his tendency to expand his source I quantified sentence length in his translation of Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Computational analysis of the relationship between sentence length in Krul's modern Dutch and van Berkel's version revealed the latter's tendency to be more expansive when translating short sentences. In other words, verboseness was not only an individual stylistic feature, but

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91   Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 135.

92   Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 71; 137; On the literary function of *parhessia* in Vondel's work see Paijmans, *Dichter bij de waarheid*.

93   Leeuwenburgh, *Het noodlot van een ketter*, 120.

also depended on the source and the hermeneutical problems it was expected
to cause among Dutch readers. Instead of taking van Berkel's tendency for
expansion as a sign of his incompetence or limited proficiency in English,
I proposed to view this feature in the rhetorical context of his intellectual
peers Pieter de la Court and Adriaan Koerbagh. By expanding the source,
van Berkel was mostly *explaining* it. His translation thus contrasted with
the rhetoric ideal of Hobbes's deliberately succinct *Leviathan*. Van Berkel's
representation not only contradicted the author's political motives, but also
abandoned his rhetorical strategies.

6.3   Conclusion

In several respects Abraham van Berkel was quite different from Balling
and Glazemaker. First of all, he interacted differently with his intellectual
conditions. Unlike the two Mennonite translators, van Berkel did not hide
his opinions. In his Dutch rendering of *Religio Medici*, he used the paratext
for his own commentary on the translated text, adapting Browne's ideas
into a libertine discourse. He was also more explicit about the political
intentions behind his translation of Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Previous studies
have shown that van Berkel's version appropriated Hobbesian royalism
into the republican discourse about political theorist Pieter de la Court.[94]
Such a bold reversal of the source's political agenda was foreign to Ball-
ing and Glazemaker, who refrained from manipulating the anticipated
interpretation of their sources. Van Berkel did fundamentally altered not
only Hobbes's political message, but also the rhetorical medium of that
message. Whereas Hobbes had aspired to rhetorical succinctness, van Berkel
systematically extended the source to create rhetorical clarity. His style, I
argued, conformed to the 'mercantile rhetoric' and rhetorical transparency
that characterised de la Court's work.

Secondly, van Berkel operated in different social circumstances. Whereas
Balling and Glazemaker translated the New Philosophy for Spinoza's circle
and their Mennonite community, van Berkel primarily addressed a Leiden-
based group of republican thinkers and followers of de la Court – which
partly overlapped with Spinoza's circle in Amsterdam. More than Balling
and Glazemaker, however, van Berkel emphasised his apparent aim to
reach a much larger group of readers: he explicitly intended to educate

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94   Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 39; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 155–156;
Wielema, 'Abraham van Berkel's Translations', 220.

the ignorant masses. A key quote from his preface to the Dutch version of *Leviathan* could serve as a final illustration:

> we considered it worth the pain to take upon ourselves the work and effort of translating this *Leviathan* into the Dutch Language, and share it with the inhabitants of this State; so that the thick scales of ignorance will fall from the eyes of those people, who until these times have remained in an abyss of deep darkness due to evil persistence and harmful, wrong passions, or also otherwise due to simplicity, naivety, and ignorance.[95]

Possibly, van Berkel refused to copy the purist style popular among his fellow translators in Amsterdam because he was hoping to reach a larger variety of readers. If he wanted to be heard by the 'inhabitants of this State', it was reasonable to speak a language that sounded familiar to them.

However, the dramatic style of this passage raises suspicion about van Berkel's expectations of the project's success. In this preface, the translator was not talking *to* 'those people' (*soodanige Luyden*) he aimed to educate; he was talking *about* them. The Freudian slip possibly exposes van Berkel's realisation that despite his good intentions, he was in the end restricted to the 'filter bubble' of his likeminded peers – to use an anachronistic analogy. The 1674 ban on Hobbes's work did not help his cause either. In spite of their attempts – whether genuine or not – to educate larger groups than their immediate circle of friends, the translators of the New Philosophy faced all sorts of restrictions: political, rhetorical, and linguistic. The pragmatic way they coped with those restrictions is most characteristic of their unique position as brokers of knowledge in the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

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95 'soo hebben wy het oock de pijne waerdig geagt, de moeyte en arbeyt op ons te nemen, om desen Leviathan in de Nederlandsche Tale over te setten, en aen de inwoonders van desen Staet gemeen te maecken; op dat daer door de dicke Vliesen en Schellen van onwetenheyt, van de oogen van soodanige Luyden mogten worden af-geligt, die noch tot dese tijdt toe, door een snoode hartneckigheyt, en schadelijcke verkeerde Passien, of andersins oock door eenvoudigheyt, onnoosele, ende onkunde, in een afgrondt van diepe duisternisse gebleven zijn'. A.T.A.B. [= van Berkel], 'Voor-reden', [*5r].

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7   The eclecticism of the marketplace

Stephan Blankaart's translations of Descartes

Abstract: Stephan Blankaart obtained his place in the history of early modern medicine and science as a productive and eclectic author of popular medical books in Latin and Dutch. His role in the rise of empiricism and chemistry in the medical sciences of his age has been well documented in the existing historiography. Less attention has been paid to Blankaart's role as a translator of René Descartes. This chapter characterises Blankaart's social profile and commercial strategies, focusing on his long-standing collaboration with publisher and book-seller Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. That profile informs an analysis of Blankaart's Descartes translations in comparison to two parallel translations by Jacob Copper, revealing Blankaart's ability to switch between different socio-linguistic codes and intellectual discourses.

Keywords: early modern medicine, book history, medical books, linguistic purism, lexical analysis

The scion of an old and prominent Dutch family of magistrates and burgomasters, Stephan Blankaart (1650–1704) developed into a distinguished physician in Amsterdam and a productive author of popularising medical treatises.[1] He authored more than thirty-five books in Dutch and Neo-Latin, translated nine different texts into Dutch, and produced critical editions of ten medical works by major physicians of his age, such as Leiden professor Johannes van Horne (1621–1671) and his friend Cornelis Bontekoe (1640–1685). Many of his books remained in print throughout the eighteenth century – in two cases even up to 1832 – and translations were produced in Latin, French, German, and English.[2] Eighteen dif-

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1   On Blankaart's family background see Regt, 'Het geslacht van professor Blancardus'.
2   For a bibliographical overview of Blankaart's work see Vandevelde, 'Bijdrage tot de studie'.

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ferent editions of Blankaart's *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-Latinum* (1679), nine of his *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen* (1678), and seven of his *De nieuwe hervormde anatomia* (1678) survive in contemporary libraries, including translations in Latin, English, and German. The German translator G.H.W. possibly overestimated Blankaart's reputation only slightly, introducing him hyperbolically as a 'world famous' (*weltberühmt*) physician in the German translation of *Nieuw-ligtende praktyk der medicynen* (1685).[3]

Through his status as a famous and best-selling author of medical works, Blankaart acquired a solid place in the historiography of early modern science and medicine. Anette Munt has investigated the influence of Cartesian medical theory on the German Early Enlightenment, mediated by a Dutch generation of Cartesian physicians and medical reformers that, besides Blankaart, included Cornelis Bontekoe, Heydentryk Overkamp (1651–1694), Johannes Muis (1659–1699), and Janusz Abraham Gehema (1647–1715).[4] Saskia Klerk has studied Blankaart's position in the changing relations between chemistry, medicine, and pharmacology during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating his negotiations between

traditional medical practice, rationalist philosophy, and empirical experimentation.[5] Blankaart's empiricism has also been highlighted by Edward Ruestow in his history of the microscope, and by Eric Jorink, who interprets his entomological work as an example of the changing attitude during the seventeenth century towards the 'Book of Nature', from allegorical to materialist explanations of natural phenomena.[6] These studies jointly describe a successful physician and natural philosopher challenging the hegemony of Aristotle and Galen in contemporary medicine.

Studies on Blankaart might give the impression that he only engaged with early modern debates in medicine and natural history. One easily overlooks that he also produced the first Dutch translations of four (minor) treatises by Descartes – *L'Homme* (1662), *Description du corps humain* (1664), *Primae Cogitationes circa Generationem Animalium* (1701), and *De Saporibus* (1701) – which Glazemaker had left untranslated. He also translated the complete works of the Syrian satirist Lucian of Samosata (ca. 125–180 AD) and the *Aphorisms* by the Greek physician Hippocrates (ca. 460–ca. 370 BC)

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3   Vandevelde, 'Bijdrage tot de studie', 471.
4   Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 58–91.
5   Klerk, 'Galen Reconsidered', 173–201.
6   Ruestow, *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic,* 34–35; Jorink, *Het boeck der nature*, 256.

from Ancient Greek to Dutch. Blankaart's preference for the vernacular was both unusual and controversial in a discourse still mostly reserved for the educated few. Medical professor Andreas Ottomar Goelicke (1671–1744) for example complained about Blankaart's publishing of 'so many works in the vernacular language, in this way opening the door of the sanctuary of medicine to charlatans who know nothing of this science except to abuse it'.[7] This raises questions about the relationship between Blankaart's oeuvre, his intellectual programme, and the language and media he used to convey his ideas.

In order to understand Stephan Blankaart as one of the key figures in the translation history of the New Philosophy, it is necessary to create a balanced account of this versatile man who combined so many roles: physician, natural philosopher, translator, author, and editor. I will first characterise Blankaart's social profile and commercial strategies, focusing on his long-standing collaboration with publisher and book-seller Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. Ideologically, Blankaart appropriated Cartesianism, negotiated between rationalism and empiricism, and created the self-image of an innovator rewriting the Ancient canon of medical literature. This profile informs an analysis of Blankaart's translations of Descartes, representing the 'second wave' in the Dutch translation history of the New Philosophy. Although Blankaart was only six years old when Glazemaker published his first translation of Descartes in 1656, I will demonstrate that his translations from the 1690s were predefined at a textual and a social level by the generation that preceded him.

7.1 Blankaart's profile: An eclectic physician negotiating Cartesianism

In contrast to the relatively obscure Glazemaker, Balling, and van Berkel, Blankaart's life is relatively well documented. The first son of Maria Eversdijck (1628–1674) and Nicolaas Blankaart (1624–1703), Stephan was born in the Lange Delft in Middelburg on 24 October 1650. His father Nicolaas taught classical history at the *Illustre School* there and would become a professor of Greek in Franeker in 1669. From Stephan's loving dedication to his father in *De nieuw hervormde anatomia* (1678) we learn that Nicolaas played a key role in his son's intellectual upbringing, training him in

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7   Cited in Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 83.

philosophy and the classical languages ('*Philosophia & utraque lingua*').[8] Having finished at the Latin School in Middelburg, Blankaart followed his parents to Franeker, where he obtained a doctoral degree in medicine and philosophy on 18 December 1674. He started a medical practice in the Eerste Leidtschestraat in Amsterdam and published his first book in 1676, a treatise on the circulation of blood.[9] It marked the beginning of an outstanding career as an author, translator, and editor. In the following six years, preceding his marriage with Isabella de Carpentier (1644–1730) on 3 March 1682, Blankaart published no fewer than ten different books. Meanwhile, he also issued the first Dutch scientific journal in medical history (*Collectanea Medico-Physica, oft Hollands jaar-register der genees- en natuur-kundige aanmerkingen* (1680–1688)), annotated a translation of Carlo Lancilotti's *Guida alla chimica* (1672), and translated the collected works of satirist Lucian of Samosata into Dutch. He devoted his entire life to the noble cause of public health, curing his patients during the day and writing at night. 'How many hours have I withdrawn myself from good company', he lamented, 'to keep the press going?'[10]

   Such self-pity conveniently omitted the considerable benefits of his writing. The commercial success of for instance Johan van Beverwijck's *Schat der gesontheyt* (1637) and its reprints had proven that publishers could make good money with Dutch books on health and medicine.[11] In a society where many still died from diseases such as smallpox and scurvy, readers were eager to believe anyone who claimed to know a remedy. Blankaart understood this very well: his nocturnal hours were not just sacrificed out of a sense of responsibility for the ill. According to Dániel Margócsy he was a 'secretive medical entrepreneur in search of financial profit' who explicitly offered his readers additional instruction against payment in his *Collectanea Medico-Physica* (1680–1688), his *Anatomia Reformata, sive Concinna Corporis Humani* (1687), and his *Verhandelinge van het podagra en vliegende jicht* (1684).[12] He also reserved space on his pages to advertise

8   Blankaart, 'Edele, gestrenge, en hoog-geleerde heer', front matter in Blankaart, *De nieuw hervormde anatomia.*
9   Blankaart, *Tractatus Novus de Circulatione.*
10   'hoe menigen uir heb ik my goede geselschappen ontrokken, om de Druk-pers gaande te houden'. Blankaart, 'Voor-reden tot den leser', front matter in Blankaart, *Nauwkeurige verhandelinge van de scheur-buik*, [*3v].
11   Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 354–355; van Gemert, 'Nawoord', in van Beverwijck and Cats, *De schat der gezondheid*, ed. van Gemert, 170.
12   See the 'Bekentmaking' published in different volumes of the *Collectanea Medico-Physica*: 'Indien eenige Messieurs genegentheid hebben onder my in de Medicijne Collegie te houden,

his books and to announce forthcoming publications.[13] Margócsy refers to several contemporary writing physicians who complemented their income in similar ways.[14] They did not just receive cash or books from their publishers, but also profited indirectly, using their books to advertise their medical practices, to sell medical instruments, and to strengthen their reputation as experienced physicians.

Meanwhile, the brand 'Stephan Blankaart' became an asset to his publishers as well, most importantly Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. Blankaart engaged in a life-long collaboration with ten Hoorn and occasionally published with his brother Timotheus ten Hoorn as well. Jan Claesz probably paid handsomely for the author's loyalty. Blankaart's brother Cornelis (1659–1696) also ran a small publishing business in the Warmoestraat, but Cornelis's small portfolio mentions Stephan's name only three times.[15] Apparently, ten Hoorn could offer him a better deal; he specialised in medical literature and probably enlisted Blankaart to attract a lucrative clientele consisting of students, physicians, surgeons, and interested laymen. A book catalogue (1712) from Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and his son Nicolaas listed 56 medical books, including 13 written or edited by their cash cow Blankaart.[16] Similar lists were sometimes printed in the editions themselves.[17] These advertisements signal the key position of medical literature in the commercial profile of the ten Hoorns and the importance of Blankaart to their publishing firm.

However powerful Blankaart's commercial instincts may have been, his authorship was also driven by an urge to promote recent developments in medicine and natural philosophy. His adherence to the new science became key to his reputation, even if his views were often borrowed from eclectic sources and proved subject to change throughout his career. He explicitly associated himself with likeminded physicians and anatomists – most of them a generation or two older – who shared their materialist views on the human body, their innovative adoptions of anatomical and microscopic observations, and their critical attitudes towards the medical legacies of Aristotle and Galen. These men included: Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680),

weten, dat ik altijd tot haar dienst ben'. Margócsy, 'Advertising Cadavers', 194–195; cf. Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 82.

13   See: 'Catalogus der voornaamste boeken die den autheur uitgegeven heeft en nog meint uit te geven' in Blankaart, *Collectanea Medico-Physica*.

14   Margócsy, 'Advertising Cadavers', 190–192.

15   The brothers collaborated in the publication of: S. Blankaart, *Anatomia Practica Rationalis*; Blankaart, *Traité de la verole*; and Bontekoe, *Fundamenta Medica*.

16   *Catalogus van boeken*.

17   For instance in a 1716 reprint of Blankaart's *Nieuwe konst-kamer der chirurgie*.

William Harvey (1578–1657), Francis Glisson (1597–1677), Reinier de Graaf (1641–1673), Walter Needham (1631–1691), Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731), Niels Stensen (1638–1686), Franciscus Sylvius (1614–1672), and Thomas Willis (1621–1675). Blankaart's work can be considered an attempt to consolidate the progress these 'new authors' made in contemporary medical practices: he presents his successful textbook *De nieuw hervormde anatomia* (1678) as a synthesis of the contributions by his youngest predecessors.[18] In his medical dictionary *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-Latinum* (1679) he incorporated recent discoveries by Mayow, van Leeuwenhoek, Swammerdam, Willis, and Boyle;[19] with his medical periodical *Collectanea Medico-Physica, oft Hollands jaar-register der genees- en natuurkundige aanmerkingen* (1680–1688) he created a platform for sharing recent medical discoveries.

Blankaart's enthusiasm for the discoveries of his age would develop into an intellectual crusade against medical doctrine based on the Ancients. He was certainly not the first Renaissance author to acknowledge the progress made since the Classical era, but contemporary medicine was still firmly rooted in old traditions. Too long had authors been 'following each other like sheep', being led astray by the false assumptions of 'the great Galen and his erratic legacy'[20]: the time had come to start anew. The frequent use of the word 'new' in Blankaart's book titles – a common advertising strategy at the time – signals his revisionism.[21] Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) provided the motto for this intellectual programme, printed in *De nieuw hervormde anatomia* (1678): 'There are no less fortunate minds than those who firmly believe that our predecessors were ignorant of nothing.'[22] Seneca was also quoted affirmatively: 'That our predecessors have discovered much, but not fulfilled everything.'[23] Blankaart's friends and fellow physicians kindly supported this self-image of a rational sceptic heroically challenging whatever sprouted from 'the old robed greybeards'[24]: the author's refusal to further

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18   Blankaart, 'Aan den lezer', front matter in Blankaart, *De nieuwe hervormde anatomia*.
19   Blankaart, *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-Latinum*. See: Jarcho, 'Blankaart's Dictionary', 575–576.
20   Blankaart, 'Opdracht en Voor-reden', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuwe konst-kamer der chirurgie*.
21   Cf. Blankaart, *De nieuwe hervormde anatomia*; Blankaart, *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen*; Blankaart, *De nieuwe Nederlantsche apothekers winckel*; Blankaart, *De nieuwe hedendaagsche stof-scheiding*; Blankaart, *Nieuwe konst-kamer der chirurgie*.
22   'Nihil infelicius iis ingeniis, quae mordicus tenent, maiores nostros nihil ignorasse.' Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum*, exercitatio 306, p. 916.
23   Blankaart, 'Aan de lezer', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen*.
24   Blankaart, 'Voor-reden aan alle lief-hebbers der heel-konst', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuwe konst-kamer der chirurgie*.
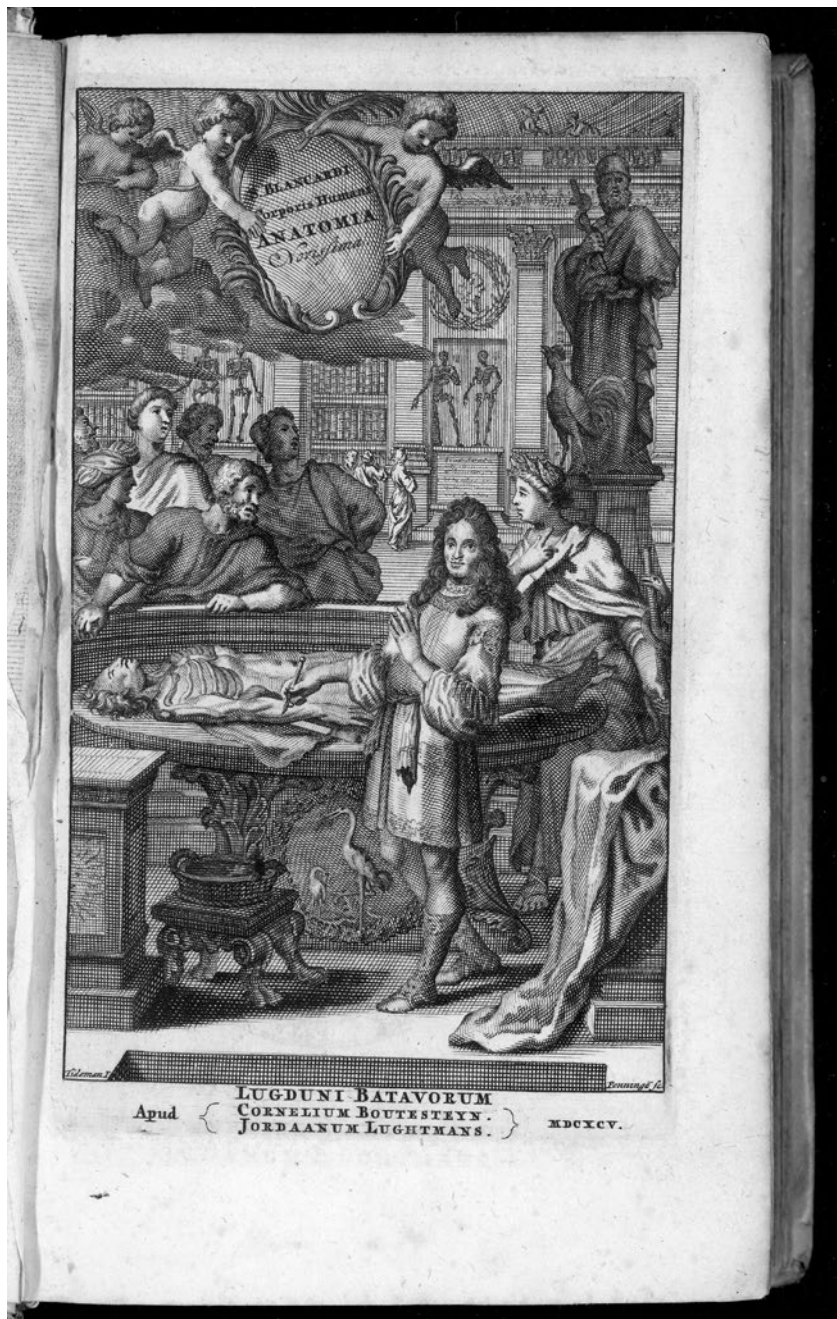
Figure 7.1 Frontispiece from Stephan Blankaart's *Anatomia Reformata* (1695). Allard Pierson – the Collections of the University of Amsterdam. OTM: O 62–7306. ⏎

'drive Galen's donkey' or to 'yield to the Greek or Roman-minded' became a recurrent theme in the dedication poetry in his work.[25]

While one of the foundational debates of the Enlightenment – the 'Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns' – was just about to divide the Académie Française for forty years, Blankaart had already settled the dispute in favour of the latter.[26] His likeminded friends were eager to agree: 'Very shiny must he be,' Johan van Dueren versed, 'who will overshadow the Ancients.'[27] An engraving from a 1695 edition of the *Anatomia Reformata* (Figure 7.1) strikingly captured this image of an 'enlightened' physician who had liberated himself from Classical tradition: Blankaart, in Classical dress *and* (contemporary) wig, leads a public dissection on the illuminated centre of the image while his audience turns its back on the statue of Asclepius, Greek god of medicine (symbolised by the rooster at his feet and the rod of Asclepius he carries), in the shaded background. Analogous to Asclepius, Blankaart is also accompanied by a bird: the crane in the table's ornament, symbolising the new medicine flying beyond old horizons.

What exactly entitled Blankaart's version of modern medicine to outshine the Ancient heritage? According to the textbook version of seventeenth-century medical history, Hippocrates and Galen continued to inform early modern conceptions of the human body. They viewed the body as a balanced system of four humours or bodily liquids: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Each of these humours was connected to a specific quality, either moist and warm (blood), warm and dry (yellow bile), dry and cold (black bile), or cold and moist (phlegm). Diagnosis of disease assessed which of these four qualities was lacking or superfluous. Subsequent treatment needed to correct the body's defect, either through the intake of nutritious plants or surgical reduction of liquids (blood-letting).[28] This medical practice became controversial during the seventeenth century as a result of the simultaneous rise of rationalism and anatomical empiricism. While some

25   'D' ervarentheyt dees' Heers, vertoont de ware reden / Om zulken Meester-stuk te brengen in het ligt, / Dat voor geen Greek of Rooms-gefronste Hoofden zwig.' Millandt, 'Op de Anatomie', dedicatory poem in Blankaart, *De nieuw hervormde anatomia*; 'Galenus Esel voort te dryven / Valt swaar, vermits sijn trage tret: / Sijn kraam te vol van drank beset.' Van Yperen, 'Ontledinge der Ontleding', poem in Blankaart, *De Kartesiaanse academie*.

26   For an interpretation of the importance of 'The Quarrel' to the self-image of the Enlightenment, see Edelstein, *The Enlightenment. A Genealogy*, 37–43.

27   'Zeer glimprig moet hy zijn die d'Ouden zal verduist'ren.' Van Dueren, 'Aan den hoog-geleerden heer', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen*.

28   See e.g. Klerk, 'Galen Reconsidered', 3–8. Brief summaries of Galen's views (like in my text) do no justice to the complexity of his work, but a detailed discussion would be beyond the scope of this chapter.

scholars attempted to harmonise the old medicine with the new, others came to the conclusion that the two paradigms were incompatible. The holist theories of Galenic medicine were gradually replaced by a mechanic conception of the human body, sparking a wealth of detailed studies about physical functions, body parts, and diseases and their symptoms.

Blankaart and Bontekoe arguably replaced one speculative medical model with the other. Yet the philosophical foundation of their medical practice proved to be radically different: Galenic medicine and Aristotelian physics were substituted by Fanciscus Sylvius's chemical principles and Descartes's materialist worldview. Bontekoe, Blankaart, Overcamp, and others tried to harmonise Sylvianism with Cartesianism, 'similar to Dutch theologians who tried to unify Cartesianism and Coccejanism'.[29] Blankaart substantiated his programme for medical reform with an eclectic 'compilation of existing medical knowledge', but Descartes remained a relatively stable point of reference throughout his oeuvre.[30] He did not shy away from advertising his Cartesian sympathies on his title pages with the phrase 'mostly built on the grounds of Descartes'.[31] With *De Kartesiaanse academie ofte institutie der medicyne* (1683) Blankaart claimed to have written a complete medical text book – in the genre of the *Institutiones Medicinae* – according to Cartesian principles, covering physiology, pathology, and pharmacology.[32] 'I have put my feet in his [Descartes's] footprints,' Blankaart explained pompously, considering himself 'the first to have brought Medicine thus far on these grounds'.[33]

While Blankaart incorporated Cartesianism into his carefully shaped self-representation, the Amsterdam doctor did not always agree with the French philosopher. In fact, he deviated from Cartesian principles on fundamental issues, which raises the question why Descartes was so important to him. Blankaart's medical dictionary *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-Latinum* (1679) bluntly dismissed Descartes's theory about the pineal gland as the seat of the soul, 'since animals that seem totally devoid of imagination, memory, and other superior functions of the mind have a rather large and

29   Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, 260.
30   Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 82.
31   E.g. Blankaart, *Nauwkeurige verhandelinge van de scheur-buik*; Blankaart, *Venus belegert en ontset*.
32   Klerk, 'Galen Reconsidered', 189.
33   'soo heb ik mijn voeten in sijn voetstappen geset.' Blankaart, 'Opdracht aan Sebastianus Schelkens', front matter in Blankaart, *De Kartesiaanse academie*; 'dat ik d' eerste ben, die de Medicijne op dese gronden soo verre gebragt heb'. Blankaart, 'Voor-reden tot den Leser', front matter in Blankaart, *Nauwkeurige verhandelinge van de scheur-buik*.

conspicuous pineal'.[34] Nor was Blankaart convinced about the Cartesian method of rationalist deduction, which he deemed inferior to empiricism. In his dedication letter to Johan van Dueren, inserted in a translation of two treatises by Thomas Willis, Blankaart was straightforward about his methodological priorities:

> because from this [chemistry] one derives true reasoning, which no *Cartes* or his equals can illuminate with their minds: here one does not need to embellish an assumption, but everything is demonstrated with finger and thumb, so that Chemistry has more unshakable foundations than general philosophy, which is mostly founded upon shaky propositions.[35]

Such claims are difficult to reconcile with Descartes, who in his *Principles of Philosophy* made it crystal clear that one 'should never rely on the senses, that is, on the ill-considered judgements of his childhood, in preference to his mature powers of reason'.[36]

Blankaart adapted the materialist world view in his medical work, but besides this basic influence, he should be regarded as an eclectic Cartesian at best.[37] To him, Descartes mainly embodied the revolutionary challenge of Ancient knowledge to which Blankaart dedicated his life. Rather than his physics, metaphysics, or anatomical work, it was Descartes's independence from (or perhaps: arrogance towards) tradition that rendered him a useful mascot. In his preface to the *Kartesiaanse academie* Blankaart called Descartes the first *roer-vink* ('decoy bird' or, metaphorically, 'troublemaker') in the search for truth 'unwilling to build upon the ruins of Greek learning'.[38] The metaphor is telling for both Blankaart's attitude towards Cartesian philosophy and his use of Descartes's character as a model for his own intellectual ambitions. In later prefaces, the doctor detached himself from

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34   Jarcho, 'Blankaart's Dictionary', 571.

35   'want hier uit trekt men ware redeneringen, die geen *Cartes* or syns gelyke met haar verstand konden door-stralen: hier behoeft men geen onderstelling te versieren, maar alles werd met vinger en duim getoont, so dat de Schei-konst onwrikbaarder grond-steunsels heeft, dan de gemeene wys-geerte, die meest op wankelbare stellingen gevest is.' Blankaart, 'Opdracht en Voorreden', front matter in Willis, *Nieuwe verhandeling van de koorsen*, trans. Blankaart.

36   Descartes, 'Principles of Philosophy', in *The Philosophical Writings*, Vol. I, 222.

37   On Bontekoe's eclecticism see Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 71–72.

38   Blankaart, 'Opdracht aan Sebastianus Schelkens', front matter in Blankaart, *De Kartesiaanse academie.*

any school and stressed that he was nobody's disciple: 'I stand on my own feet, and write without any guidance from Books'.[39]

Perhaps Blankaart's affinity for the satirical work of Lucian of Samosata also relates to his advocacy for intellectual independence. Lucian's scepticism is praised in an epigram in Blankaart's *Alle de werken van Lucianus den Samosatenser* (1679): 'Because it's just mockery, whatever one considers Wisdom. / Man has nothing for sure, it disappears like the waves; / To one it is something wonderful; / the other stands and laughs at it.'[40] Lucian's relativist conception of truth possibly explains the eclecticism in the various medical therapies Blankaart reports. In his medical universe, the Chinese habit of inserting golden needles (acupuncture) was said to help cure 'all diseases', and tarantula bites required the physician to play a particular musical composition (for which Blankaart reproduced the score), causing the patient to dance with such great force that the spider's venom would leave the body through perspiration.[41] Such therapies were neither logical according to Cartesian rationalism nor 'evidence based' in a strictly empirical (western) paradigm. Apparently, Blankaart's eclectic curiosity could overrule theoretical principles of knowledge.

Rather than pledging allegiance to one philosophical school or medical theory, Blankaart thus presented himself as an all-round broker of medical knowledge whose prime aim was to educate the unlearned. His dietary books demonstrate a concern with public health, which he hoped to improve by providing open access to medical knowledge. Addressing 'the citizens of the illustrious Tradestown Amsterdam', Blankaart explained in *De borgerlyke tafel* how the ability to distinguish between healthy and unhealthy food would prevent illness.[42] A similar recommendation featured in the preface to the *Verhandelinge van de opvoedinge en ziekten der kinderen* (1684): equipping parents with elementary medical knowledge would help them keep their children healthy. He primarily wrote for a readership of laymen: 'In this work I did not want to philosophise because I had to deal

39 Blankaart, 'Voor-reden tot den leser', front matter in Blankaart, *Nauwkeurige verhandelinge van de scheur-buik*.

40 'Want 't is maar spotterny, 't geen dat men Wijsheit acht. / Niet zekers heeft de mensch, 't verdwynt al g'lyk de baren; / D' een is 't wat wonderlijks; / d'aar staat 'er om en lacht.' 'Epigramma van Lucianus', in Samosata, *Alle de werken van Lucianus den Samosatenser*, trans. Blankaart, n.p.

41 Ten Rhyn's description of this Chinese and Japanese habit was included in Blankaart, *Verhandelinge van het podagra en vliegende jicht*. For his description of Tarantula bites, see: Blankaart, *Collectanea Medico-Physica*, Vol. 1, 343–345.

42 Blankaart, 'Opdracht en voorreden', front matter in Blankaart, *De borgerlyke tafel*, n.p.

with the *borger* (burgess) rather than with wise men.[43] Blankaart also appealed to the worries and fears of this implied reader by proposing pragmatic and convenient treatments of common ills. He knew the '*groote walgh*' (great disgust) his reader felt concerning the painful therapies patients often had to endure.[44] Furthermore, he argued that medical recipes prescribing exotic, imported ingredients were outdated: Dutch kitchen gardens provided plenty of sufficient medicinal herbs.[45] Modern medicine no longer required extreme suffering nor expensive remedies, Blankaart assured his readers.

Given the characteristics of Blankaart's profile discussed thus far – his rejection of Ancient knowledge, his self-modelling after Descartes, and his role as a doctor of the people – it need not surprise us anymore that he decided to publish most of his books in Dutch. 'What a happy country where Wisemen live / and show that [wisdom] to all,' Adriaan Parsant cheered in his dedication to Blankaart's *Verhandelinge van het podagra en vliegende jicht* (1684).[46] As I mentioned above, however, not everyone was as pleased with this democratisation of medicine.[47] Medical books had been published in the vernacular since the Middle Ages, but medical discourse remained predominantly in Latin in the second half of the seventeenth century.[48] The fact that Blankaart occasionally felt compelled to justify his choice for the vernacular signals that exceptionality. For example, in the preface to the first volume of the *Collectanea Medico-Physica oft Hollands jaarregister der genees- en natuur-kundige aanmerkingen van gantsch Europa* (1680), Blankaart explains the need to publish this medical journal in Dutch: vernacular periodicals were being printed in France, England, and Germany whereas no such medical medium yet existed in the Low Countries. Elsewhere, this preference proved to be rooted in purist considerations as well, supported by familiar arguments from the debate about the unique qualities of the Dutch language:

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43   'Ik heb in dit werkje weinig of niets willen philosopheren, om dat ik met den borger te doen had en niet met wyse luiden.' Blankaart, *De borgerlyke tafel*, 89–90.
44   Blankaart, 'Aan de lezer', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen*.
45   Blankaart, 'Leer-gierige leezer', front matter in Blankaart, *Den Neder-landschen herbarius*.
46   'Gelukkig land waar Wijze woonen, / En dat aan alleman vertoonen'. Parsant, 'Op de Verhandelinge van het Podagra', dedication in Blankaart, *Verhandelinge van het podagra*, n.p.
47   See Blankaart's complaint about the hate he received in response to his books: 'Voor-reden tot den leser', front matter in Blankaart, *Nauwkeurige verhandelinge van de scheur-buik*. Cf. Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 135–140.
48   Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 135.

> Noticing that in previous centuries everyone wrote in his own Mother tongue, which is understood by only few of us, [moreover that] our Language is so adequate and word-rich unlike any other language could have ever been, and fuller of single meaning-words, or *Monosyllables* compared to the *Greek* and the *Romans*, therefore I was motivated by various others to bring Medicine into the *Dutch* Language, for the use and benefit of our Citizens.[49]

Its relative absence of ambiguity and high frequency of monosyllables qualified the Dutch language to become the scientific lingua franca – an idea that was borrowed from Simon Stevin's *Uytspraeck van de weerdicheyt der Duytsche Tael* (1586) but originated in Johannes Goropius Becanus's 1580 *Hermathena*. This inspiration reveals that, for Blankaart too, the choice of language was not just a commercial or practical concern. Swammerdam, Bontekoe, and he formed the exception by preferring Dutch in many of their works, which seems to have been no coincidence given the shared aspects these physicians' ideologies.[50] Bontekoe had argued that one needs to practice dissection oneself 'and not with Greek words'.[51] Blankaart likewise realised that Classical languages and vocabulary ought to be used differently for the empiricist science he practiced. Latin vocabulary was allowed, but the current medical lexicon needed to undergo a profound revision. In his *Lexicon Medicum Graeco-Latinum* Blankaart employed the genre of the dictionary to rid the words of their old meanings and enrich them with new meanings.

Lexical revision thus became a tool for philosophical renewal. Like Koerbagh, Blankaart used the dictionary to redefine particular words and to criticise their existing meanings, for example in his entry on 'Astrologia': 'It rests upon fundamentals that are slippery, indeed false, and hence is not necessary for physicians, as old writers used to believe'.[52] Semantic criticism, genre characteristics, and writing in the vernacular were useful means for the medical and philosophical enlightenment propagated by Blankaart and his friends.

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49   'Merkende dat in de vorige eeuwen, elk in sijn eygen Moeder-tale schreef, die onder ons maar van weynige verstaan werdt, en onse Taal soo bekwaam en woort-rijk is, als oyt eenige andere heeft konnen zijn; en volder van enkele begrijp-woorden, of Monosyllaba, als by de Grieken en Romeynen, soo ben ik van verscheyden bewogen, de Medicijnen in de Nederduitsche Taal te brengen, tot nut en voordeel van onser Burgeren'. Blankaart, 'Aan de lezer', front matter in Blankaart, *Nieuw lichtende praktyk der medicynen.*

50   Cf. Jorink, *Het boeck der natuere*, 229.

51   Munt, 'The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers', 64.

52   Cited in the translation by Jarcho, 'Blankaart's Dictionary', 570.

Having established a reputation as a vernacular broker of medical knowledge and natural philosophy inspired by Descartes, Blankaart ultimately came to translate the philosopher himself. Ten Hoorn's complete edition of Descartes's translated works, *Alle de werken*, comprised mostly reprints of Glazemaker's translations, but the collection also included Dutch versions of five treatises Glazemaker had left untouched: *Epistola ad G. Voetium*, *L'Homme*, *Description du corps humain*, *Primae Cogitationes circa Generationem Animalium*, and *De Saporibus*. An anonymous translation of the *Epistola ad G. Voetium* had been published with Rieuwert Dircksz van Baardt in 1643, and ten Hoorn gratefully copied it.[53] *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* were also already available in Dutch – in translations by the Leiden physician Jacob Copper from 1682 – but the Amsterdam publisher was either unfamiliar with this print from Middelburg or reluctant to infringe on fifteen-year privilege. In any case, he ordered new translations.[54] With Glazemaker no longer around – he had passed away in 1682 – it was only logical for ten Hoorn to assign the remaining, mostly anatomical works to his good friend Blankaart.

In his 'Voorreden aan den lezer' (preface to the reader), ten Hoorn identified Blankaart as the translator of the *Primae Cogitationes circa Generationem Animalium*, but Thijssen-Schoutte is probably correct in assuming the latter translated the other new works too.[55] A separate sheet lists their Dutch titles – *Konstig gebouw des menschelijken lighaams*; *Verhandelinge des menschelyken lighaams / Vorminge des vrugts*; *Eerste gedachten ontrent de voortteelinge der dieren* – above a short note signalling Blankaart's authorship: 'Translated from his [Descartes's] own manuscript by S.B. *P. & M.D.* [= Stephan Blankaart, Philosophical & Medical Doctor]'. In theory this note could refer exclusively to the last work listed, but the phrase 'Thus far the manuscript of sir R. DES-CARTES' at the end of three of these (unfinished) treatises, confirms Thijssen-Schoutte's hypothesis.[56] Moreover, peculiar stylistic features decrease the likelihood that Glazemaker translated these books.[57] That leaves Blankaart as the most plausible candidate. There is thus

53   Descartes, *Brief van Rene Des Cartes, aen [...] Gisbertus Voetius*.

54   Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*.

55   Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, 324–325.

56   'Dus verre het hand-schrift van den Heer R. DES-CARTES'. Descartes, *Alle de Werken Van de Heer Renatus Des-Cartes*, vol. 3 of 4 vols., 338, 363, 366.

57   On page 251 of *Konstig gebouw des menschelijken lighaams* for example, the translator refers to Descartes's *La Dioptrique* as '*verhandelinge der Doorzichtkunde*', whereas Glazemaker used the term '*Verregezichtkunde*' in the title of his 1659 translation of this essay. It would seem unlikely that Glazemaker misquoted a title of his own work. Furthermore, this translator

solid ground to consider him the translator of not just one but four books by Descartes, which qualifies him as the second most productive early modern Dutch translator of Descartes (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1   Overview of texts by Descartes translated by Blankaart ⏎

	Original title	Dutch title	Dating of Blankaart's translation
1	*L'Homme*	*Konstig gebouw des menschelijken lighaams*	1690–1692
2	*Description du corps humain*	*Verhandelinge des menschelyken lighaams / Vorminge des vrugts*	1690–1692
3	*Primae Cogitationes circa Generationem Animalium*	*Eerste gedachten ontrent de voortteelinge der dieren*	1683–1692
4	*De Saporibus*	*Korte verhandelinge van de smaken*	1683–1692

Ten Hoorn's attempt to reach a new audience with Descartes's oeuvre was met with fierce criticism. An anonymous pamphlet from 1690, *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus*, appeared in response to ten Hoorn's translated Descartes edition.[58] It describes a scene at mount Parnassus where a man arrives in a desperately bad condition: Descartes. After a brief exchange of diagnoses between the physicians present, a character named Lodewijk Meijer explains the philosopher's illness from the fact that his works have now become the 'crown of the filthy trash bin of the two ten Hoorns'. The author goes on to slander Blankaart's (called 'doctor Witgeest' and 'doctor Steeven') involvement in the trade of the ten Hoorns, mocking the doctor's commercial pre-occupation and accusing him of plagiarism.[59] This was an author, possibly a competing publisher, who was above all trying to discredit the ten Hoorns – known for their cheap editions of pornography, novels, and medical works – whose imprint on the title page was to be considered an insult to the 'sacred writings of Sir Descartes'.[60]

interprets *Spiritus animales* consistently as '*dierige geesten*' whereas Glazemaker used '*dierlijke geesten*'. The new translation also features the loanword '*substantie*' for the frequently occurring *substantia* whereas Glazemaker consistently preferred to translate that term with the purist '*zelfstandigheit*'.

58   Anonymous, *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus.*

59   The author suggests that Blankaart copied his *De nieuw hervormde anatomia, ofte ontleding des menschen lighaams* (1678) from Thomas Bartholin's *Anatomia* [...] *Reformata* (1655) without crediting his source. This was not the only complaint about Blankaart allegedly stealing intellectual property: German professor Andreas Ottomar Goelicke (1671–1744) would raise the issue as well.

60   Cf. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 175.

This pamphlet testifies to the fact that Blankaart and the ten Hoorns were successful in popularising Descartes. Praising the 'unparalleled effort' by Glazemaker and Rieuwertsz to bring out the first Dutch editions, the pamphlet's author took no offense at Dutch translations per se: it was the sloppy printing and scandalous reputation of the ten Hoorns that bothered him or her. This explicit comparison to Rieuwertsz and Glazemaker is significant: Descartes was presumably allowed to be transmitted in Dutch, as long as it was done properly and only if his works were sold to the sober (Mennonite?) audience who visited a respectable bookshop like Rieuwertsz's. But the pamphlet's author was horrified by the idea that through the sale on street markets, the ten Hoorns now granted every ordinary Amsterdammer easy access to a relatively cheap, vernacular edition of the great philosopher. The receptive Dutch climate of Cartesian philosophy changed nonetheless: as a result of the cooperation between Blankaart and ten Hoorn, any literate man or woman could now learn about Descartes's principles firsthand.

My profile thus portrays Stephan Blankaart, besides an ambitious physician, foremost as a clever businessman who knew his way around the Amsterdam book market. He used translations, editions and journals to monetise medical discoveries and materialist ideas formulated by others. Cartesianism was only one ingredient in the intertextual mix that filled the pages of his books. The persona of René Descartes was more important than his ideas: the famous philosopher functioned as a model for Blankaart's self-representation, not an intellectual guide for the doctor's medical and philosophical principles. Blankaart viewed himself as an autonomous thinker who – like Descartes – refused to blindly follow Ancient wisdom. Galenic medicine could no longer be accepted without question. Medical knowledge was not exempt from Cartesian doubt and needed to be validated through empirical observation. That realisation urged Blankaart to delve into the medical practices of a diverse flock of contemporaries – including colleagues in Amsterdam, England, Italy, China, Japan, and East India – and to eclectically rebuild his version of the new medicine on the foundations of their work.

However, Blankaart did not only use Descartes as a model for his elaborate self-fashioning. As a translator of four treatises by the philosopher, he also contributed to the accessibility of Descartes's primary work to a Dutch readership. While Newton was about to bring the final blow to the already waning popularity of Cartesianism in the 1690s, Descartes continued to appeal to Dutch readers eager to decorate their bookshelves with ten Hoorn's quartos. Those were the kind of books to be shown to friends and neighbours while smoking one of the 'four to six' daily pipes

doctor Blankaart prescribed.[61] Possibly, the popularity of Cartesian medical literature by authors like Bontekoe and Blankaart during the 1680s had stirred interest in the man they glorified as their philosophical model. This created a business opportunity. After Blankaart, Bontekoe, and others had transmitted Cartesian medicine to the vernacular discourse, ten Hoorn made it fashionable to read Descartes in Dutch – or at least to display one's affinity with those who did.

7.2 Blankaart's poetics: Editing Descartes

Previous scholarship left a blank space for Blankaart's role as a translator of Descartes. His use of the source texts, his vocabulary, and his translation methods have not been subject to systematic scrutiny. I will offer a starting point by comparing Blankaart's translations of Descartes to a selection from his own work as well as to the parallel Dutch translations of Descartes's *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* by Jacob Copper (1682). This analysis will point to the discursive relationship between Descartes's oeuvre and the Dutch vocabulary considered appropriate to represent it. Blankaart's stylistic variations signal a pattern from earlier translations of the New Philosophy. Glazemaker and Balling had created a norm for reading Descartes and Spinoza in Dutch. Influenced by the first wave of translations from the 1650s and 1660s, Blankaart adjusted his language to the conventions of the previous generation.

In April 1629, Descartes had moved to Franeker, resettling in the Republic after almost a decade of travelling through France, Germany, Denmark, and Italy. Spared from the social and intellectual distractions of Paris, he wrote the first major expression of his philosophical system. Inspired by the appearance of a bright sun dog reported near Rome on 20 March 1629 – the optical multiplication of the sun known as a 'parhelion' in meteorology – Descartes decided to explain all meteorological phenomena in a new treatise.[62] Within months, his ambitions grew even greater as he ended up describing the physical world at large in micro-corpuscular terms. This revolutionary project prefigured much of the Cartesian physics and physiology he was to discuss in *Discours de la méthode* (1637) and *Principia Philosophiae* (1644). Between 1629 and 1633 – while frequently relocating between Franeker, Amsterdam, Leiden, and Deventer – he produced a wide

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61 Blankaart, *De borgerlyke tafel*, 88–89.
62 On the origin of Descartes's project, see Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 217–222.

range of material, which was to appear in different treatises including *Le Monde* (1664), *L'Homme* (1662), and two essays attached to *Discours de la méthode* (1637): the *Météors* and the *Dioptrique*.[63]

In the two main products of this project, *Le Monde* and *L'Homme*, Descartes developed his first mechanist account of the natural world and the human body. The treatises are closely connected: *Le Monde* sketches the physical structure of a fictional world whereas *L'Homme* offers a mechanist anatomy of the inhabitants of this imaginary cosmos. *Le Monde* first distinguishes three main elements in the natural world's composition (fire, air, and earth), each of them defined by the size and motion of its constituent parts. After chapter 5, *Le Monde* abandons the natural world and enters a fictional cosmos providing a mirror to the 'real' world. In chapter 7, it addresses the basic mechanics of the fictional world, ruled by three laws of nature: the stability of bodies, conservation of motion, and rectangular direction of motion. Descartes continued to describe a number of natural phenomena in this fictional world according to the basic principles explained in the preceding chapters, including celestial bodies, tides, and the nature of light.

To describe the human body in similar ways Descartes dedicated a separate treatise to the subject: *Traité de l'homme*, or simply *L'Homme*. This book puts the inhabitant of Descartes's fictional world centre stage, proposing its body be viewed as a 'machine', a mechanical substance entirely unrelated to the rational soul. Even if this body is created by God (the *Deus ex machina*), Descartes insists it is not essentially different from human-made machines such as fountains, mills, or clockworks. Therefore the human body was to be studied as if it were a clock. The philosopher proposed viewing all bodily motions within a complex system of cause and effect. He located the prime cause of this machine in the heart, which he observed to be slightly warmer than the rest of the body. All bodily functions subsequently depended on the 'animal spirits', an older notion that Descartes viewed as a 'wind' or 'flame' consisting of microscopic parts moving at high speed through the body's nerves.[64] The remaining chapters described how the animal spirits are similarly crucial to the functioning of the 'outer' senses (hearing, smell, sight, and feeling), the 'inner' senses (the emotions), and to the human brain and cognition. Descartes completed the treatises by emphasising their exclusive relevance to our understanding of the 'vegetative' and the 'sensitive' soul, both of which he understood as merely mechanical functions.

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63   Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 221–222.
64   On Descartes's understanding of the (older) notion of 'animal spirits' see Sepper, 'Animal Spirits', in *The Cambridge Descartes Lexicon*, ed. Nolan, 26–28.

The dynamic of the human body had nothing to do with the rational soul. The body depended exclusively on mechanical processes resulting from animal spirits and moved by the heat in the heart. A study of the *rational* soul required a different approach and deserved a different treatise in its own right.[65]

Although many elements were far from new, the philosopher knew he was entering sensitive territory.[66] Fictionalising his object of scrutiny enabled him to both demonstrate his anti-empiricist approach and to smooth out the controversial elements in *Le Monde* and *L'Homme* – concerning the circulation of the blood, the Copernican world view, and the radical implications of his epistemology.[67] Descartes justified this literary strategy by claiming it would increase readability, and throughout both treatises he invites his reader to imagine rather than observe the world he presented to them. Nevertheless, he repeatedly stresses the similarity between this fictional world and that of his readers, undermining the supposed fictional nature of his construction.[68] He understood that such a thin rhetorical disguise would not protect him should the theologians take offense. Indeed, the heliocentric world described in *Le Monde* eventually caused Descartes to refrain from publishing the two treatises during his lifetime. Shocked by Rome's strong condemnation of Galileo Galilei's *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems* (1632) in 1633, Descartes, still a pious Catholic, decided to keep his writings to himself. Confronted with the limits of scientific discourse, he realised the urgency of devising a universally valid scientific method. He finished his physics, stored it away, and dedicated himself to epistemology and metaphysics.

Descartes thus left the responsibility for publishing *Le Monde* and *L'Homme* to others, with profound consequences for the material's form, reception, and interpretation.[69] Printed editions of *Le Monde* materialised posthumously in 1664 and 1677, but its reach would never match that of *L'Homme* which became 'one of Descartes's most controversial and widely-read texts'.[70] Its first edition appeared in 1662, a Latin translation published in Leiden with Pieter Leffen and Franciscus Moyaerd and translated by

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65   Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 270.

66   On the physiological sources of *L'Homme* see Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 270.

67   Clarke, *Descartes. A Biography*, 124.

68   Descartes, *Oeuvres de Descartes / Correspondance*, eds. Adam and Tannery, vol. XI, 97.

69   For an extensive overview of *L'Homme*'s reception, see Antoine-Mahut and Gaukroger, eds., *Descartes's Treatise on Man*.

70   Descartes, *Le Monde de Mr Descartes*; Gaukroger, *Descartes*, 271.

Leiden professor of medicine Florent Schuyl (1619–1669).[71] Schuyl included an elaborate 'Ad Lectorem' which would be reprinted in many subsequent editions. Two years later, Descartes's editor and correspondent Claude Clerselier (1614–1684) published a French edition in Paris and enriched it with his own lengthy preface.[72] Clerselier also included Schuyl's preface but printed a different version of the text of the treatise – indicating the existence of different independent copies of Descartes's manuscript version.[73] Furthermore, Clerselier asked French physician Louis de La Forge (1632–1666) to annotate the text. With Descartes no longer around, Schuyl, Clerselier, and La Forge used these paratextual commentaries to represent his text within a critical hermeneutic framework. Recent scholarship has revealed Schuyl's and Clerselier's reluctance to address controversial topics in Descartes's physiology, such as his support for Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood and his rejection of the soul as the principal origin of life (which he replaced with the heat in the heart).[74] The debate over these treatises thus started in the very editions that made them public.

In addition to providing textual commentary, both Schuyl and Clerselier enriched the original text with a large number of explanatory images. In Descartes's manuscript the numerous letter references implied his intention to have this treatise illustrated with schematic images. The aim was to facilitate the reader's understanding of his anatomical ideas. However, Clerselier's manuscript copy lacked any visual material and Schuyl possessed only two sketches by Descartes's hand.[75] He solved this problem by illustrating the text himself, creating fifty-seven highly detailed copper-plate engravings for the 1662 Latin edition.[76] While Clerselier admired Schuyl's artistic skill, he preferred to collect his own selection of images for the 1664 French edition, which included forty woodcuts based on sketches by Descartes himself, as well as La Forge and Louvain professor Gerard van Gutschoven (1615–1668).[77] Although some of these images originated in the same source (Frans van Schooten's illustrations from his translation of *La*

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71   Descartes, *De Homine*.

72   Descartes, *L'Homme de René Descartes. Et un traitté.*

73   Antoine-Mahut, 'The Story of L'Homme', in *Descartes's Treatise on Man*, eds. Antoine-Mahut and Gaukroger, 5.

74   Bitbol-Hespériès, 'The Primacy of *L'Homme*', in *Descartes's Treatise on Man*, eds. Antoine-Mahut and Gaukroger, 39; 43.

75   Nadler, 'The Art of Cartesianism', in *Descartes's Treatise on Man*, eds. Antoine-Mahut and Gaukroger, 196–197.

76   Nadler, 'The Art of Cartesianism', 207.

77   Nadler, 'The Art of Cartesianism', 209.

Dioprique), most of Clerselier's representations were produced independently from Schuyl's edition.[78] Clerselier's visual material would prove to be more influential, as copies of it reappeared in most of the subsequent editions.

Thus, Clerselier and Schuyl framed the text's interpretation and reception significantly, as most later editions retained the complementary paratext and images introduced by them. In 1677 the Paris publishers Charles Angot, Michel Bobin, and Nicolas Le Gras issued a reprint of Clerselier's edition (appended with the text of *Le Monde*), which copied both Clerselier's and Schuyl's preface, included La Forge's extensive annotations, and copied the images from Clerselier.[79] In the same year, Daniel Elzevier published a new Latin translation of Clerselier's edition.[80] Elzevier omitted Schuyl's preface but copied both Clerselier's images and La Forge's commentary – printing the annotations inline instead of at the end. This edition was reprinted in Amsterdam by Blaeu in 1686 using the same type setting, and was included in Fridericus Knochius's Latin edition of Descartes's collected works published in Frankfurt in 1692.[81] Meanwhile, Guillaume Le Jeûne had ordered a reprint of the original French edition, including all its visual and paratextual features, which was printed on Daniel Elzevier's press in 1680.[82] Three decades after the philosopher's death in 1650, Descartes's treatise on man had apparently lost none of its relevance.

The revival of *L'Homme* from the late 1670s onwards also sparked interest among Dutch vernacular readers. Two Dutch translations emerged independently from one another, in 1682 and 1692.[83] The Leiden physician Jacob Copper came first, publishing in Middelburg with Remigius Schrijver's widow and Adolphus Rammazeyn. Copper had borrowed his model from Elzevier's 1677 Latin translation, including Clerselier's preface, La Forge's (inline) annotations, and Schuyl's preface. In his own preface, Copper acknowledges that he translated the book at the request of friends who would regularly meet in Den Briel to read and discuss several 'new authors' in Dutch.[84] This first Dutch edition was clearly an effort to imitate Elzevier's 1677 print as closely as possible: Copper produced a faithful translation, the typesetter

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78   Nadler, 'The Art of Cartesianism', 217.

79   Descartes, *L'Homme de René Descartes, et la formation*.

80   Descartes, *Tractatus de Homine, et de Formatione Foetus* (Amsterdam: Daniel Elzevier, 1677).

81   Descartes, *Tractatus de Homine, et de Formatione Foetus* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1686); Descartes, *Opera Philosophica* (Frankfurt am Main: Fridericus Knochius, 1692).

82   Descartes, *Les Traitez de l'homme*.

83   Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*.

84   Copper, 'Den overzetter tot den lezer', front matter in Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*, *[r]–*[v].

imitated Elzevier's page layout, and the engraver accurately copied the visual material. These formal similarities possibly indicate an intended use for study purposes, to be read in parallel with the Latin equivalent. The Middelburg edition apparently met sufficient demand: it was reprinted in 1695, in Leiden.[85]

The second Dutch translation (1692) treats its source differently. This concerns Blankaart's text, included in the third volume (1692) of Descartes's translated oeuvre published by ten Hoorn.[86] Unlike all editions of *L'Homme* preceding ten Hoorn's, this one does not include any of the paratextual material from Schuyl, Clerselier, or La Forge. Perhaps Blankaart disagreed with their framing of the text and omitted the extensive secondary commentaries for ideological reasons. It seems more likely, however, that ten Hoorn encouraged Blankaart to leave them out in order to save money – the commentaries for example would have more than doubled the text's length and its costs. The difference in length between the 1682 edition (enriched with paratextual commentary) and ten Hoorn's edition from 1692 is striking: ten Hoorn managed to print his Dutch edition of *L'Homme* on only 115 quarto pages, whereas Schrijver and Rammazeyn needed no fewer than 358 quarto pages for theirs, having included all commentary by Schuyl, Clerselier, La Forge. Editorial accuracy was clearly not ten Hoorn's primary aim: his customers were laymen, not scholars.

This difference in approach and priorities between ten Hoorn on the one hand and Schrijver and Rammazeyn on the other is further illustrated by the visual material in the two Dutch editions. Schrijver and Rammazeyn copied all the images that Clerselier had selected and printed accurate representations of them in their 1682 edition – like Angot and associates, Elzevier, and Le Jeûne had done before them. Ten Hoorn also used Clerselier's images as a model for his edition, but apparently instructed the block cutter to minimise the costs. In some cases, this resulted in a rather free interpretation of the original images from Clerselier's edition.[87] Elsewhere, ten Hoorn economised his printing expenses by providing only two images of the eye muscles where Clerselier had included three: by Descartes himself, by Gutschoven, and by La Forge.[88] In other cases, ten Hoorn combined different figures into one single image, which was then printed multiple times in the text, effectively simplifying the page layout and reducing the number

85   Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch* (Leiden: Frederik Haaring, 1695).

86   Descartes, *Alle de werken van de heer Renatus Des-Cartes,* vol. 3 of 4 vols.

87   Cf. Elzevier p. 29 versus ten Hoorn p. 232; Elzevier p. 35 versus ten Hoorn pp. 233–234; Elzevier p. 55 versus ten Hoorn pp. 237–238. I refer to the images printed in Elzevier's edition (instead of Clerselier's) because Blankaart and ten Hoorn most likely used this edition as their model.

88   Elzevier p. 45, 46, 47, 53 versus ten Hoorn p. 233 and 236. Cf. Nadler, 'The Art of Cartesianism', 209.
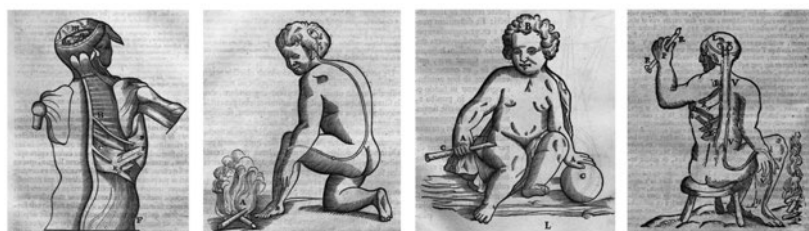
A (p. 55) B (p. 58) C (p. 81) D (p. 237, 239, 254)

Figure 7.2 Three images from Elzevier's Latin edition (*A, B, C*) combined into one in ten Hoorn's Dutch edition (*D*) ⏎
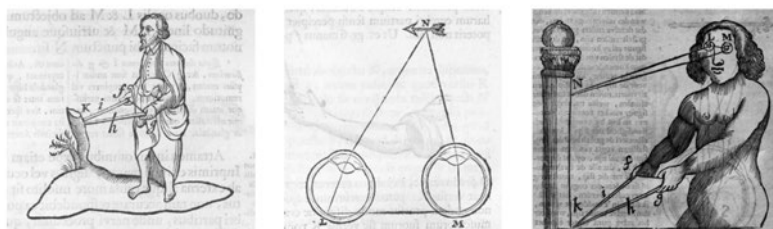
A (p. 83) B (p. 83) C (p. 156)

Figure 7.3 Two images from Elzevier's Latin edition (*A, B*) combined into one in ten Hoorn's Dutch edition (*C*) ⏎

of woodcuts to be paid for (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). There is no doubt that such stingy strategies contributed to ten Hoorn's bad reputation as a publisher and led to harsh criticism of his Descartes editions.

However pragmatic he may have been as a publisher, ten Hoorn did manage to collect and commission a selection of high-quality translations by Glazemaker and Blankaart. Glazemaker's skill was undisputed, and Blankaart's translation of *L'Homme* offers an equally careful reflection of his Latin source. Blankaart's intentions were similar to Copper's, who had instructed his reader to expect in this edition nothing but 'the meaning of the Authors, both of the Text and the Commentaries, transmitted faithfully'.[89]

Besides emphasising the edition's careful preparation, Copper's preface draws the reader's attention to a significant difference to the existing

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89 'alleenlijk den zin van de Autheuren, zoo van den Text als van de Aanteikeningen, getrouwelijk overgezet'. Copper, 'Den overzetter tot den lezer', front matter in Descartes, *De verhandeling van den mensch*, *[r]–*[v].

Descartes translations produced by Glazemaker. 'Without doubt', Copper admits, 'a few loanwords [*bastaart woorden*] will have slipped through', for which he apologises in advance. In a provocative passage, the translator continues to explain his preference for loanwords. He argues that the friends who asked him to translate the book would understand the conventional Latinist terminology better than less common purist alternatives. Copper also claims to have lacked the time to check everything merely 'to satisfy a few whiners' ('*ter complaisance van eenige vieshoofden*'). This explicit mentioning and sarcastic criticism of the use of loanwords – strengthened by the ironic Gallicism *complaisance* – signals Copper's awareness of a discursive norm concerning linguistic purism. Glazemaker's purist style had set the bar for future translations: Descartes was to be translated in purist terms. Although Copper explicitly positions himself as an outsider in this discourse, he knew that he was deviating from this stylistic standard and recognised its importance for Glazemaker and his readers. Copper chose to abandon this norm, but the explicit 'apology' for his loanwords signals Glazemaker's influence on the discourse of Descartes's vernacular reception prior to 1682.

A cursory examination confirms that Copper indeed did not care about purist terminology. The translator's two-page preface is already heavy with Gallicisms and Latinisms: *prolixiteit, practijcq, autheuren, tractaat, studie, concerneerde, geävanceert, transporteren, gesolliciteert, anticipatie, historische, excuis*, and *complaisance*. Moreover, throughout his translations of *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* Copper regularly provided the Latin names of body parts between brackets, implying that his readers were more familiar with the Latin jargon than its Dutch equivalent. Systematic analysis of the entire text further supports Copper's refusal to comply with the purist 'whiners'. Automatic loanword extraction (see Chapter 3) identified 289 instances of 59 different loanwords in Copper's translation of *L'Homme*. This equates to a relative word type frequency of 3.32% and a relative word token frequency of 1.24%. These are high numbers compared to Blankaart's parallel translation of *L'Homme*, which featured only 78 instances of 20 distinct loanwords (equalling a relative word type frequency of 0.96% and relative token frequency of 0.34%). A similar pattern occurs when comparing the two translations of *Description du corps humain*: Blankaart used only 41 instances (0.24%) of 9 distinct loanwords (0.52%) in his version whereas Copper's parallel translation featured 101 instances (0.58%) of 18 distinct loanwords (1.47%) (See Figure 7.4).

These figures reveal a clear difference in the prominence of foreign terminology in the idiom of the two translators. Blankaart restricted the use of loanwords to a minimum: a lemma like *manier* (manner) occurs 110 times in Copper's
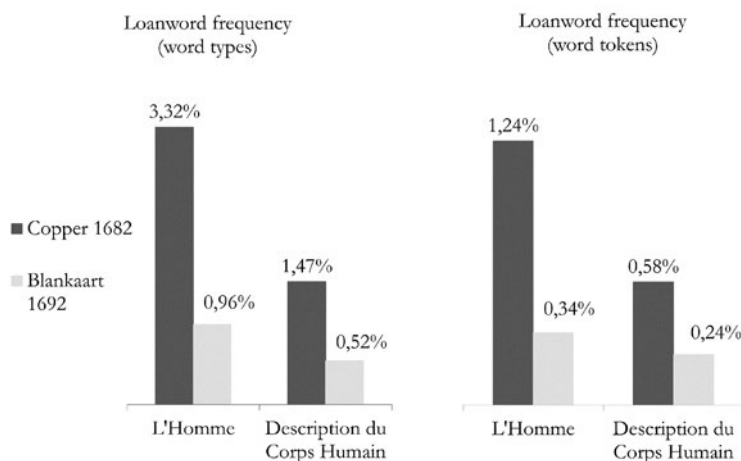
Figure 7.4 Loanword frequency in Blankaart's and Copper's translations of *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* ⏎

representation of *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* whereas Blankaart opts for the purist *wijze*. Likewise, the word *punt* (point) occurs frequently in Copper's language while Blankaart's equivalent sentences mostly feature the purist alternative *stip*. However, Table 7.2 demonstrates that Blankaart was not among the strictly purist *vieshoofden* Copper criticised: several loanwords from Copper's translation also occur in Blankaart's text, albeit less frequently. Copper's rival tried to avoid foreign influences in his translations of Descartes, but he did not categorically reject the use of loanwords.

Table 7.2 **Total frequency of the top 10 most frequent loanwords in Copper's and Blankaart's parallel translations of *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* ⏎**

	Copper 1682		Blankaart 1692	
	Lemma	**Frequency**	**Lemma**	**Frequency**
1	*punt* (point)	114	*vormen* (to form)	20
2	*manier* (manner)	110	*manier* (manner)	19
3	*linie* (line)	17	*longe* (lung)	13
4	*spatie* (space)	11	*linie* (line)	11
5	*fontein* (fountain)	10	*natuurlijk* (natural(ly))	11
6	*natuur* (nature)	10	*natuur* (nature)	11
7	*arterie* (artery)	8	*substantie* (substance)	9
8	*substantie* (substance)	6	*punt* (point)	6
9	*verteren* (to digest)	6	*vorm* (form)	2
10	*instrument* (instrument)	5	*tapijt* (carpet)	2

To what extent did Blankaart recognise and follow the purist norm in his Cartesian translations? Did he live up to his self-acclaimed ideal of being a doctor of the people, addressing his readers in an accessible variant of the vernacular? And if so, what did 'accessible' mean in this context? Copper expected his Den Briel readers to be more familiar with highly normalised foreign terminology than with artificial purist language. Translators like Blankaart and Copper thus found themselves in the odd situation where increasing accessibility meant leaving French and Latin terms untranslated. The ideal of 'accessibility' conflicted with the philosophically motivated development of a scientific language in the Dutch vernacular.

Blankaart's way of coping with this conflict of ideals would vary depending on the discourse he engaged in. A comparison of loanword frequencies in different texts from the doctor's oeuvre reveals a considerable degree of variation in his use of loanwords. He was less concerned with avoiding French and Latin terms when working on his own books, especially in his medical treatises such as *Verhandelinge van de opvoedinge en ziekten der kinderen* (VOZK, 1684), *Verhandelinge van de coffee* (VvdC, 1686), *De Kartesiaanse academie ofte institutie der medicyne* (KA, 1683), *Een nette verhandeling van de leger-ziekten, als mede van de scheeps-ziekten* (ENVvdLZ, 1703), and *De borgerlyke tafel, om lang gesond sonder ziekten te leven* (DBT, 1683) (Figure 7.5). In these treatises the relative number of loanwords (compared to the total number of word types) varies from between 2.04% to 3.59%. Welch's t-test was computed to test if there is a significant difference in the average frequency of loanword types in Blankaart's original work (M = 2.13 %, SD = 1.00 %) compared to the average frequency of loanword types observed in contemporary discourse (M = 1.59%, SD = 0.81%, see Chapter 3). Seven texts were selected as a sample representing his original work: the five medical works cited above and two of Blankaart's biological studies: *Schou-burg der rupsen, wormen, ma'den, en vliegende dierkens daar uit voortkomende* (SdR, 1688) and *Den Neder-landschen herbarius ofte kruid-boek der voornaamste kruiden* (NH, 1698). This test indicates no significant difference between the average relative frequency of loanword types in Blankaart's original work and the average relative frequency of loanword types in contemporary discourse (Welch's t (6.23) = –1.32, p > 0.05). This means that, overall, Blankaart's use of loanwords in his original work is similar to the average frequency of loanword types observed in contemporary discourse.

However, when translating Descartes, Blankaart considered foreign language less appropriate. The relative loanword frequency in his four Descartes translations ranged from between 0.52% and 0.96% of all loanword types (M = 0.78%, SD = 0.18%). Welch's t-test indicates a significant difference
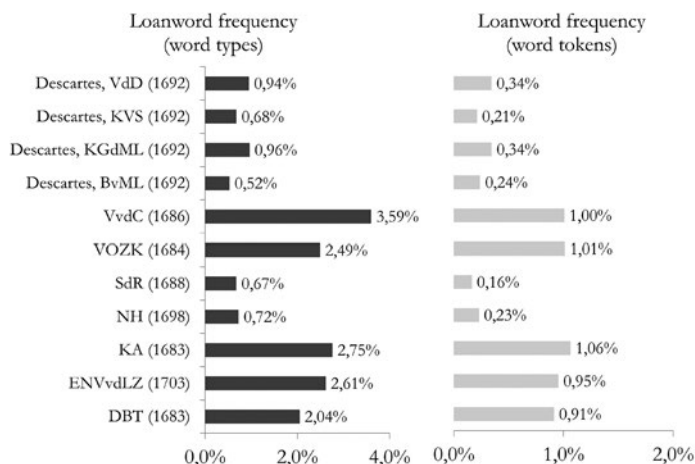
Figure 7.5 Loanword frequency in a selection from Blankaart's oeuvre ⏎

between this average and the average frequency of loanword types in contemporary discourse (M = 1.59%, SD = 0.81%, see Chapter 3) (Welch's t (4.95) = 6.70, p < 0.05). The difference between the average loanword frequency in Blankaart's original work (M = 2.13 %, SD = 1.00 %) and his four Descartes translations (M = 0.78%, SD = 0.18%) also proves to be significant (Welch's t (6.78) = 3.20, p < 0.05). This difference suggests that there has been an attempt to conform Blankaart's translations to the purist norm established by Glazemaker – either by the translator himself or an editor. Although Blankaart or his editor did not succeed in removing all foreign influence, the deviation from the average frequency of loanwords in Blankaart's idiom indicates a certain respect for the translation conventions established by Glazemaker.

It should be noted, furthermore, that these purist conventions did not apply to the Cartesian discourse in Blankaart's oeuvre more generally but to translations of Descartes specifically. For example, my analysis identifies no fewer than 1,307 instances (1.06%) of 258 different loanwords (2.75%) in *De Kartesiaanse academie ofte institutie der medicyne* (KA, 1683) – Blankaart's extensive medical textbook and arguably one of the doctor's most Cartesian books. Nor was Blankaart's purism limited to his Descartes translations. The biological books *Schou-burg der rupsen* and *Den Neder-landschen herbarius* contain a proportion of loanwords similar to Blankaart's Descartes translations (0.67% and 0.72% of all loanword types respectively). Apparently, Blankaart's studies in biology and his translations of Descartes's work were subjected to the same discursive norms concerning the use of borrowed terminology. Different genres, audiences, and knowledge domains required

different vocabularies, and Blankaart switched between them as aptly as he switched between epistemological paradigms.

The present section described the textual continuity between the two waves of Descartes translations in the seventeenth century. Automatic extraction of loanwords enabled me to quantify linguistic and stylistic variations in Blankaart's oeuvre. The use of loanwords proved not to depend on individual lexical preferences and purist ideals but on genre- and author-specific conventions introduced by Glazemaker. He was almost singlehandedly responsible for all vernacular Descartes editions prior to 1682, and even the second wave of Cartesian translations during the 1690s followed the conventions the late translator had introduced decades prior. Blankaart adjusted his translation style in accordance with those conventions, avoiding Latin and French terminology as much as he could. The preface to Jacob Copper's Dutch translation of *L'Homme* explicitly acknowledges the association between linguistic purism and Cartesian discourse. This association probably depended on the intended readership: Glazemaker's purist ideals suited Blankaart's efforts to emancipate and democratise scientific discourse in Dutch, whereas Copper judged that his readers were less familiar with purist terminology. The differences between Blankaart's and Copper's renderings of *L'Homme* and *Description du corps humain* should therefore be understood as socio-linguistic rather than merely textual. Descartes was read in Dutch by different groups of readers, for different purposes, fitting different discourses. The lexical variation in the translations reflects Descartes's varied reception in Dutch.

7.3   Conclusion

The translators discussed in Chapters 4–7 suggest a homogeneity between the studied individuals that easily overshadows the many differences between their intellectual conditions and social circumstances. As translators, Balling and Glazemaker stimulated discussions among the Flemish Mennonites and the members of Spinoza's circle. Van Berkel's translation activities were situated elsewhere, within the Leiden group around Adriaan Koerbagh and Pieter de la Court. Stephan Blankaart produced his translations in yet another social and intellectual context, and in a different period. Born in 1650, he started translating Descartes in the 1690s, almost forty years after Glazemaker. The diverse contexts of the two generations complicate a general synthesis.

Nevertheless, there are two important similarities between Blankaart on the one hand and Glazemaker, Balling, and van Berkel on the other. Referring to Bourdieu, the first similarity concerns the relationship to their individual 'habituses'.[90] Each translator adapted the New Philosophy in specific, local contexts that were not necessarily (or not at all) related to the metaphysics, natural philosophy, or political theory of the New Philosophers they translated. Blankaart used Cartesianism mostly as a fancy label and a commercial strategy. His medical writings are only loosely associated with Cartesian anatomy and materialism. In some cases they even explicitly contradict Descartes. Presenting oneself as a 'Cartesian' doctor foremost contributed to the reputation and possibly the sales of Blankaart's so-called 'Cartesian' medical handbooks. The financial motive of such appropriation was less pronounced in the case of Glazemaker, Balling, and van Berkel, but for all of them, appropriation was key to their translation practices. The first Dutch translators of the New Philosophy did not merely popularise the great minds of the Radical Enlightenment. They were curious brokers of ideas, eager to find intellectual support for their position in local discussions – about freedom of conscience, political sovereignty, and medical discoveries.

The second similarity involves the relationship between social circumstances and linguistic practices. For every translator of the New Philosophy, the form of their translations was affected by contemporary debates about language theory and rhetoric – although in different ways and in some cases indirectly. Blankaart's translatorship was one of those cases. Blankaart did not belong to Spinoza's circle, but he was connected to its members indirectly through the collaboration between his publisher Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and Jan Rieuwertsz Jr. The social continuity from the first to the second wave of Descartes translations – connected by Rieuwertsz Jr., ten Hoorn, Pieter van Gent, and Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus – became visible in Blankaart's vocabulary. His medical books contain high numbers of loanwords, but when translating Descartes, Blankaart tried to conform to the purist conventions established by his predecessors – Glazemaker and Balling in particular. Blankaart's preference for purist terminology in his Descartes editions may be read as a late (and possibly the last) example of the linguistic purism that became the norm for translators from the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

Based on the variation in loanword frequencies in Balling's and Blankaart's works, I propose that such variation can be explained as a form of code-switching between socio-linguistic and intellectual discourses. Their flexibility shows that translators could negotiate between the norms

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90   Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art,* 198.

and vocabularies of their habitus. They knew how to bend the rules of the language games they played. Dutch translators of the New Philosophy thus actualised – whether or not intentionally – the early modern revision of the relationship between language and reason that I defined as the Hobbesian Turn. Language may have been a flawed medium for communicating rational ideas, but translators understood that intelligibility still relied on readability. Balling's and Blankaart's willingness to comply with the language programme propagated by Koerbagh, Meijer, and Glazemaker depended as much on the issue of how to translate the New Philosophy as on the equally important question: for whom?

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8   Conclusion

A new language for the natural light?

Abstract: As a concluding essay, this chapter reflects on the main outcomes of *Translating the New Philosophy in the Dutch Early Enlightenment*. It reassesses the study's central thesis, viewing the Dutch Early Enlightenment as a rationalist attempt to revisit the relationship between reason and language. That attempt was characterised by the so-called Hobbesian Turn: the intellectual realisation that despite the fundamental unreliability inherent in language, reason required rhetoric because reason alone was not persuasive enough. Like the late Hobbes, the first Dutch translators of the New Philosophy tried to stimulate philosophical and theological reform with rhetorical means or linguistic reform. Translation was the main strategy to achieve that grand ideal, which nevertheless eventually failed to become reality.

Keywords: Dutch Early Enlightenment, translation culture, language philosophy, rationalism, computational methods

The Enlightenment arrived early in the Dutch Republic, and arguably even originated in the windy polders of the Low Countries. It was in those polders where René Descartes, the philosopher who spent many years among the Dutch, planted one of the seeds of the Early Enlightenment. The fact that his ideas grew so quickly on Dutch soil has been considered a characteristic of the *Dutch* Early Enlightenment. From the 1640s onwards, Dutch admirers appropriated Cartesian ideas beyond Descartes's primary fields of interest – mathematics, physics, and metaphysics – and put them to work in both academic and vernacular discourses about a wide range of topics. The Dutch were quick to interpret Descartes's philosophical attack on tradition as a potential liberation from religious orthodoxy and Biblical tradition. Descartes thus created a diverse class of Dutch freethinkers, academics, and theologians who started subverting accepted beliefs using Cartesian

arguments. This threat to Christianity implied by Cartesianism led to nervous reactions among clerics all over Europe, but it became especially explosive in a country that had built a national identity on its shared faith in the authority of the Bible. The stability and peace of the Dutch Republic – one of the political products of the Reformation – was founded on the Holy Book. And Cartesianism undermined that foundation.

In his study on the metaphor of the 'Book of Nature', Eric Jorink demonstrated that the Dutch exclusive faith in the Bible – Sola Scriptura! – was so strong that even nature was viewed as a book that, like Scripture, revealed God's greatness.[1] For this culture, defined by an epistemology that accepted only the Word of God as the truth, it was inevitable for the natural world to also be conceptualised as a *text* – as something to be read. Many scholars have shown how early modern Biblical scholarship gradually eroded this unconditional faith in the authenticity and the authority of Scripture, which then opened the door to new views on the Book of Nature as well. During the Early Enlightenment, the Dutch had to come to terms with this shifting epistemological landscape, which must have caused a collective sense of uncertainty. The Cartesian method of systematic doubt revealed a way to true and distinct knowledge and thus promised Dutch Cartesians a lifeboat that could save them from their epistemological 'sea of confusion', even if it was Descartes's scepticism that had left them drowning in the first place.

In this book I hope to have demonstrated that the Early Enlightenment not only coincided with a revision of the Word of God and the Book of Nature, but also led to a revision of the medium of these two domains of knowledge: language. The three canonical philosophers foregrounded in the previous chapters – Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes – all (at first) dismissed language as a reliable medium for rational knowledge. They distrusted linguistic carriers of the truth such as the Bible, which were prone to lead to confusion, misreading, and manipulation. Both Descartes and Spinoza replaced the Word of God with the human mind as the only reliable criterion for distinct knowledge. Deeply convinced by this problematic ambiguity inherent to any language, Dutch freethinkers like Adriaan Koerbagh, Lodewijk Meijer, Pieter Balling, and others tried to analyse and repair confusing elements in the Dutch language – such as loanwords and theological and legal jargon – because they believed the vernacular to be an inevitable medium for the dissemination of rational knowledge among the common people. They took it upon themselves to stimulate philosophical and theological reform through linguistic reform: a pragmatic position I defined as the Hobbesian

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1   Jorink, *Het boeck der natuere.*

Turn, because it resembled the intellectual turn regarding the relationship between language and reason Hobbes experienced in his philosophical development. Thomas Hobbes had found himself in a similar situation and arrived at a similar conclusion: 'that, faced with interest and ignorance, reason and science have little chance of being heard'.[2] Inspired by Quentin Skinner's work, I described Hobbes's change of mind as a realisation that reason required rhetoric because reason alone was not persuasive enough. I consider this pragmatic attitude regarding language, and the very real attempt to bring about change with linguistic means elicited by that attitude, as an overlooked characteristic of the Dutch Early Enlightenment.

In my case studies I assessed the meaning of the Hobbesian Turn for the people who found themselves in the paradoxical position of translating texts by philosophers who were sceptical of the capability of language to promote rationalism. If we compare the first Dutch translators of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes – Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, Pieter Balling, Abraham van Berkel, and Stephan Blankaart – in light of early modern debates about language and reason, then we begin to see how they were all affected by that Hobbesian Turn in different ways. Unlike the fictional character Philopater, who found himself at a loss for words when faced with a Spinozist understanding of the Bible, these translators responded to the New Philosophy with an urge to write, to rephrase, to translate. The Dutch intermediaries of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes *embraced* the powers of language and rhetoric. With the wide range of Dutch translations and responses, the New Philosophy was integrated in various rhetorical forms and discourses. Glazemaker, Balling, van Berkel, Koerbagh, Meijer – none of them separated theology from philosophy like the early Cartesians at Dutch universities or Spinoza himself. Translations of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes were just one category in the often diverse oeuvres produced by the translators. As they introduced and appropriated the New Philosophy into current, local Dutch debates – about freedom of conscience, political sovereignty, medical discoveries, etc. – the texts were adjusted for specific readers and specific discussions. Philosophical texts were not only translated for the sake of philosophy, but because there was something at stake. Translators thus not only amplified the ideas of the New Philosophers; they employed them in discourses that often had nothing to do with the rationalism of those canonical thinkers.

The first similarity between the studied translators therefore relates to the interaction between their intellectual conditions and social circumstances.

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2   Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 433.

They all engaged in local debates that were *informed* by the New Philosophy, but not primarily *about* the New Philosophy. Indeed, all four were to some extent inspired by Descartes, Spinoza, and/or Hobbes. Their commitment is indicated by their connection, directly or indirectly, to freethinkers involved in 'Spinoza's circle' and the publishing networks of Jan Rieuwertsz Sr. (ca. 1617–1687) and Jan Claesz ten Hoorn (1639–1715). But despite those social and intellectual attachments, the four translators were not just vernacular spokespersons for the philosophers they admired. They are best viewed as enablers of new opportunities for appropriating the New Philosophy into local contexts. Each translator was involved in local vernacular discussions where Cartesian, Spinozist, and Hobbesian ideas proved to be useful. For example: Cartesianism and Spinozism became especially relevant to Balling and Glazemaker when communities of Mennonites and Collegiants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were being torn apart over confessional quarrels – the so-called *Lammerenkrijgh* starting from the 1650s and the Bredenburg disputes during the 1670s. Van Berkel's 1667 translation of Hobbes's *Leviathan* was, in turn, mostly a contribution to the Dutch discussion about political sovereignty and republicanism based on the influential work of Pieter de la Court. Blankaart identified as a 'Cartesian' physician, not because his medical treatments were based on Descartes's theories about the human body, but simply because he liked to self-fashion himself as an autonomous thinker who – like Descartes – had the courage to throw the entire Classical medical tradition in the bin. To him, Descartes was merely a mascot, a reversed straw man erected to represent his intellectual bravado rather than his actual intellectual disposition. In the vernacular public sphere, the New Philosophy thus fuelled current discussions rather than sparked fundamentally new intellectual programs.

So the first Dutch translators of the New Philosophy were not necessarily devote acolytes of the philosophers they helped to popularise with their translations. At the same time, I observed – using computational text analysis – that most translators adjusted their language to purist norms that were often informed by rationalist ideas about the relationship between language and reason. And those ideas were in part borrowed from the very texts they were translating. Glazemaker consistently translated in a purist style, complying to (or inspiring) the rationalist language programme of Koerbagh and Meijer. The purism in Balling's and Blankaart's works was less consistent, but they still used significantly fewer loanwords when they translated Spinoza and Descartes. Van Berkel is the exception: he was not a purist translator at all. But I propose that those lexical preferences by Glazemaker, Balling, and Blankaart be viewed as symptoms of an attempt to

reduce confusing and misleading elements in the Dutch language, which was in turn based on the conviction that language was fundamentally unreliable as a medium for communicating rational knowledge. That conviction was key to the Cartesian, Spinozist, and (early) Hobbesian epistemologies. When viewed in this light, Glazemaker, Balling, and Blankaart adjusted their translation styles to the rationalist scepticism towards language and reason. Through translation, they contributed to the development and application of a new language for the natural light.

The case studies thus highlighted a second similarity between the studied translators: a pattern in the relationship between their social circumstances and linguistic practices. All translations were affected by contemporary debates about language and rhetoric, either directly or indirectly, albeit in different ways. Van Berkel for example, appropriated his source text to match the reading habits of specific readers. Whereas Hobbes had aspired to rhetorical brevity, van Berkel selectively extended the source to create rhetorical clarity. His style, I argued, conformed to the 'mercantile rhetoric' and rhetorical transparency that characterised de la Court's work and the Leiden circle of freethinkers that comprised the prime audience of van Berkel's translation of *Leviathan*. Glazemaker, in turn, had hoped to achieve such transparency through linguistic purism, inspired by rationalist ideals and linguistic norms that were popular among key members of Spinoza's circle in Amsterdam – Johannes Bouwmeester, Lodewijk Meijer, and Adriaan Koerbagh. Balling and Blankaart followed Glazemaker's purist example when translating Descartes, although less consistently. Automatic loanword detection reveals their tendency to avoid loanwords selectively: the proportion of loanwords in the translations of philosophical texts is significantly lower than in Balling's pamphlets or Blankaart's medical books. I explain such intra-author or intra-translator lexical variation as a form of cultural code-switching between socio-linguistic and philosophical discourses. The intellectual flexibility of these translators was reflected in the linguistic flexibility in their oeuvre.

However, beyond translations of philosophical books, the search for a new language for the natural light barely affected early modern linguistic norms, let alone the development of the Dutch language at large. Loanwords simply remained as omnipresent as they always had been. The purist philosophical terminology propagated through glosses and dictionaries by authors like Glazemaker, Balling, Meijer, and Koerbagh failed to survive. An obvious explanation for this failure should be that language users tend to ignore language norms imposed on them. But it certainly did not help that linguistic reformism became associated with pedantry and snobbism during the 1680s.

The fact that Dutch translations of the New Philosophy were written for specific ideological discourses and social circles thus also confined their impact to a selected group of readers, excluding others who were unfamiliar with the socio-linguistic codes of the implied inner circle. Competing Dutch editions of Descartes and Spinoza printed by publishers like 'Hans Jürgen van der Weil', Adolphus Rammazeyn, and the widow of Remigius Schrijver explicitly marked those sociolinguistic boundaries by criticising the decision to avoid loanwords and to include marginal glosses with Latin terminology in Glazemaker's translations of Descartes and Spinoza. The condescending tone in those prefaces by the printers seems to betray a sense of annoyance emerging in the 1680s and 1690s about the normative and somewhat elitist attitude implied in the linguistic reformism of prominent representatives such as Koerbagh, Meijer, and Bouwmeester – all of them academically schooled physicians, theatre-directors, and key members of what we might call the Republic's cultural elite. Such socio-cultural tensions became even more visible in the toxic pamphlet war that broke out when Meijer, Bouwmeester, and others discovered the theatre as an additional space for philosophical education, linguistic renewal, and social reform. As members of the theatre society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, founded in 1669, they were widely viewed as snobs: insufferable know-it-alls who started a campaign against the spectacular plays that drew big crowds to the theatre. They became enemies of popular taste.

A formidable expression of that discontent about *Nil*'s patronising reformism was Govert Bidloo's satirical play *De muitery en nederlaag van Midas, koning onverstand, of comma, punct, parenthesis* (staged in 1685, first printed in 1723). Bidloo at first felt attracted to the theatre reform propagated by *Nil*, but the society did not endorse his first plays *Karel, erfprins van Spanje* (1679) and *Fabius Severus* (1680). Both plays were staged in the years when *Nil* dominated the Schouwburg's directorship, but the texts were printed without *Nil*'s stamp of approval. *Nil*-founder Andries Pels would later criticise Bidloo's *Karel, erfprins van Spanje* in his *Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels*.[3] Disappointed by the society, Bidloo abandoned their poetic ideals all together. After he had joined the Schouwburg's directorship in 1684, he radically broke with the sober style propagated by *Nil*. With his 1685 adaptations of Vondel's *Salmoneus* (1657) and *Faëton* (1663) he returned to the very tradition of spectacular theatre *Nil* was trying to ban from the Schouwburg. His adaptations added singers, allegorical characters, and dance scenes to Vondel's drama, and used all the Schouwburg's special effects

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3   Porteman & Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 712–713.

and machineries that *Nil* loathed so much. Although loved by the public, Bidloo's version of *Faëton* was met with fierce criticism by the followers of *Nil*'s poetics. Bidloo used his power as a theatre director to respond with his satire about 'King Nonsense' Midas, staged on New Year's Eve in 1685. It tells a thin story about a battle between King Midas and Apollo, mocking *Nil*'s followers and their attempt to take over the Parnassus with their arrogance, language purism, and, above all, pedantry. He unmasked them as quasi intellectuals who relied on dictionaries for their knowledge – a clear reference to lexicographer Lodewijk Meijer (who had died four years earlier), one of *Nil*'s founders. Bidloo's play was a strong, public renouncement of the idea that intellectual and moral enlightenment could be achieved through lexicography and linguistic reform. People who thought otherwise were like Midas: charlatans.

   This was the ultimate tragedy of the freethinkers involved in the translation of the New Philosophy. They devoted themselves to educating unlearned readers with translations, dictionaries, and plays, but in the end their efforts were dismissed as elitist and insensitive to the needs of the common people. I believe that Meijer and Bouwmeester already started to realise during the late 1660s that neither philosophy nor linguistic reform were sufficient for talking sense into the masses. We might want to consider the possibility of a shifting attitude concerning language and reason among the first generation of translators and authors involved in Spinoza's circle. At the end of the 1660s and the beginning of the 1670s, Balling and Koerbagh were dead, van Berkel no longer openly sympathised with the radical ideas of his student years, and Bouwmeester and Meijer were increasingly devoting themselves to the activities of the theatre society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*. Shocked by Koerbagh's fate and the response to the Latin edition of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Spinoza no longer allowed his friends to produce Dutch translations while he was still alive – the rest of his oeuvre would only appear posthumously in 1677. After 1670, translations of Hobbes and Spinoza only appeared anonymously, if they appeared at all, and mostly circulated privately in manuscript copies.[4] After writing and translating several Dutch dictionaries, theological treatises, and philosophical texts over the past fifteen years, the remaining members of Spinoza's circle may have found their rationalist programme coming to a dead end. While Spinoza had never expected much from the country's theological elites, let alone the 'common people', many of his friends had always believed in the political necessity of enlightening the uneducated and liberating them from

4   Van der Deijl, 'The Dutch Translation and Circulation', 230.

superstition and religious dogma. Intellectual emancipation was possible by translating and writing rationalist books and developing a transparent and purist version of the vernacular. Such high ambitions were probably a recipe for disappointment. Holding on to their optimism must have been increasingly difficult when their books started being banned and Koerbagh ended up dead in a prison cell. At the end of the 1660s, the combination of translating the New Philosophy while purifying the vernacular did not turn out to be a very happy marriage.

I consider it plausible that another revision of the relationship between reason and language occurred among the members of Spinoza's circle during the 1660s – a second 'Hobbesian Turn', perhaps, and one with more far-reaching implications. From the early 1670s onwards, the old programme of linguistic reform had lost its value. Instead, new genres and rhetorical means were now being employed for the rationalist cause. During the politically and morally turbulent 1670s, the need to liberate the less educated from their *Unmündigkeit* became more pressing than ever. The brutal lynching of the brothers de Witt by a hysterical mob in 1672 appalled the progressive freethinking circles, but it also confirmed their fears about the political dangers of misinformation and unreasonable behaviour. In these turbulent years, *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, spearheaded by Bouwmeester and Meijer, envisioned the theatre to become a space for philosophical education and social reform:

> a forum for grandiose schemes intended to connect all the arts with philosophy and the sciences in a manner leading to a general reform of Dutch high and popular culture with a view to elevating and fusing both into a new freedom-loving and life-enriching moral and political consciousness.[5]

Rationalism, including Cartesian and Spinozist ideas, informed the theatrical programme of *Nil Volentibus Arduum* as well as a variety of other artistic and intellectual influences including Aristotelian poetics, French-classicism, and Neo-Stoicism.[6] Further study is necessary to show how the stage accommodated their philosophical, literary, linguistic, and artistic ideals – whether the 'second' Hobbesian Turn was more successful than the first.

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5   Israel, 'Spinoza, Radical Enlightenment, and the General Reform', 403.
6   The relationship between rationalist ideas, Spinozism and French-classicist theatre propagated by *Nil Volentibus Arduum* has been thoroughly documented by Holzhey, '"Als gy maar schérp wordt"'. See also van der Deijl, 'Orde en rationalisme'.

But for now it seems safe to conclude that the result of the Dutch Early Enlightenment was not a new language for the natural light. It was a diversification of the media and discourses in which rationalist ideas could be negotiated – in which reason could be used publicly, to use Kant's famous definition of the conditions for *'Aufklärung'*. Unlike Philopater's speechlessness following his conversion to Spinozism, the dissemination of the New Philosophy did not depend on a sober, purist language stripped of all rhetorical embellishments. Instead of being at a loss for words, the natural light refracted into an abundance of language.

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Appendix A. The Translation Corpus

Table A.1. **Corpus Descartes: Dutch translations of works by Descartes included in the Translation Corpus**

	Title	Source	Translator	Publisher
1	*Redenering van't beleed, om zijn reden wel te beleiden, en de waarheit in de wetenschappen te zoeken* (1656)	*Discours de la méthode* (1637)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
2	*Les passions de l'ame, of de lydingen van de ziel* (1656)	*Les Passions de l'ame* (1649)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
3	*Kort begryp der zangkunst* (1659)	*Compendium Musicae* (1650)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (i.a.)	Jan Rieuwertsz I
4	*Meditationes de Prima Philosophia: of bedenkingen van d'eerste wysbegeerte* (1656)	*Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1641)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
5	*Principia Philosophiæ: of beginselen der wysbegeerte* (1657)	*Principia Philosophiae* (1644)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
6	*Konstig gebouw des menschelijken lighaams, toonende alle de werkingen die van lighaam en ziele af hangen* (1692)	*L'Homme* (1664)	Stephan Blankaart	Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn
7	*Verhandelinge des menschelyken lighaams / Vorminge des vrugts* (1692)	*Description de corps humain* (1664)	Stephan Blankaart	Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn
8	*Eerste gedachten ontrent de voortteelinge der dieren* (1692)	*Primae Cogitationes circa Generationem Animalium* (1701)	Stephan Blankaart	Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn
9	*Korte verhandelinge van de smaken* (1692)	*De Saporibus* (1701)	Stephan Blankaart	Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn

Table A.2. **Corpus Hobbes: Dutch translations of works by Hobbes included in the Translation Corpus**

	Title	Source	Translator	Publisher
10	*Leviathan: of van de stoffe, gedaente, ende magt van de kerckelycke ende wereltlycke regeeringe* (1667)	*Leviathan, or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651)	Abraham van Berkel	Jacobus Wagenaar

Table A.3.   Corpus Spinoza: Dutch translations of works by Spinoza included in the Translation Corpus

	Title	Source	Translator	Publisher
11	*Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand* (?)	[lost]	Pieter Balling (i.a.)	[unpublished]
12	*Renatus des Cartes beginzelen der wysbegeerte I en II deel, na de meetkonstige wijze beweezen* (1664)	*Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* (1663)	Pieter Balling	Jan Rieuwertsz I
13	*Overnatuurkundige gedachten* (1664)	*Cogitata Metaphysica* (1663)	Pieter Balling	Jan Rieuwertsz I
14	*Zedekunst, in vijf delen onderscheiden* (1677)	*Ethica, Ordine Geo-metrico Demonstrata* (1677)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker & Pieter Balling	Jan Rieuwertsz I
15	*Staatkundige verhandeling* (1677)	*Tractatus Politicus* (1677)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
16	*Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (1677)	*Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione* (1677)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker	Jan Rieuwertsz I
17	*Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen aan B.D.S. met des zelfs antwoort* (1677)[1]	*Epistolae Doctorum Quorundam Virorum ad B.D.S. et Auctoris Responsiones* (1677)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (i.a.)	Jan Rieuwertsz I
18	*De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhan-delinge* (1693)	*Tractatus Theologi-co-Politicus* (1670)	Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (i.a.)	[unknown]

1   This edition of Spinoza's correspondences published letters written by Spinoza as well as his correspondents. Letters not written by Spinoza have been removed from this text. Inter alia, because Glazemaker did not translate the letters Spinoza wrote in Dutch.

Appendix B. The Test Corpus

Table B.1   **Dutch editions sampled in the Test Corpus, ordered alphabetically by author**

Author	Title (**year**)	Publisher	Genre
-	*Amsteldamse vrolikheyt. Vervult met veel'erhande gesangen* (1647)	Roest, Adriaen Hermansz	Songbook
-	*Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaande in zoete, vrolijcke ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes* (1654)	Stichter, Cornelis Jansz	Songbook
-	*Arions vingertuig, opdeunende verscheide minne-klagjes* (1645)	Fonteyn, Thomas	Songbook
-	*Biblia, dat is: De gantsche h. schrifture, vervattende alle de canonijcke boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments* (1657)	Ravesteyn, Paulus van (wed.)	Theology
-	*Boertige klucht, vande saus* (1679)	Groot, Michiel de	Drama
-	*Bybelsche historie-liedekens, lof-sangen ende gebeden* (166X)	Loymans, Treurniet	Songbook
-	*D'arkadisghe[!] minne-gloob, waer op, van aghter de gordijnen der liefde, breydelloose driften, en dwaze hartstogten spelen* (1683)	Utenbogaart, Abraham	Prose fiction
-	*De alder-nieuwste leyssem liedekens die ghesonghen worden op den kersnacht* (1684)	Verhulst, Martinus (I)	Songbook
-	*De belachchelyke sérenade. Kluchtspél* (1712)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
-	*De boekzaal van Europe* (1692)	Slaart, Pieter van der	Periodical
-	*De boosaardige en bedriegelike huisvrou* (1682)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*De geestelijke goudschaele. Zynde een versameling […] geestelijke liedekens, psalmen en lof-sangen* (1683)	Rintjes, Hendrick	Songbook
-	*De kluchtige Mercurius* (1684)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*De klugtige tyd-verdryver waar in de alder-aardigste vermaaklijkheden […] t'zaam gezet zijn* (1653)	Vries, Simon de	Prose fiction
-	*De Leeuwarder apotheek, volgens de Galenische en chimische wyze* (1720)	Hoorn, Nicolaas ten	Medicine
-	*De nieuwe Haagsche nachtegaal. Vol van de nieuwste deunen en aartigste zangen* (1659)	Duisberg, Jan van	Songbook
-	*De nieuwe hofsche rommelzoo* (1655)	S.n.	Songbook

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
-	*De nieuwe Hollandsen boots-gesel, ofte Bataviers helden-stuk* (1704)	S.n.	Songbook
-	*De nieuwe vermeerderde Haagse joncker, of 't Amsterdamse salet juffertje, singende alderhande […] liedtjes* (1717)	Konijnenbergh, Jacob (II)	Songbook
-	*De seldsaame en noit gehoorde wal-vis-vangst, voorgevallen by St. Anna-land in't jaar* 1682 (1684)	S.n.	History
-	*De trouwlooze vriend, en de broederlyke minnaar, of de kracht des bloeds* (1679)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Drama
-	*De twee vermaarde fortuins kinderen, ofte het wonderlijk leven […] van Niklaas de Molembais […] en van jonker Michiel vander Moesel* (1682)	Bouman, Jan (I)	Prose fiction
-	*De vermakelijcke buys-man, ofte Koddige boots-geselletje: singende veel vermaeckeli-jcke visschers […] liedjes* (1703)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
-	*De vliegende gedagten, in een hoofd vol muizenesten* (1683)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*De wandelende dukaat* (1682)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*De wanhébbelyke liefde, kluchtspél* (1704)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
-	*De wispeltuurige Turkin, of de onkuische Hattiga* (1680)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*D'edele Sandastra. Stralende uyt Asia in Europa. Of Cyprische Medea* (1680)	Royen, Jacob van	Prose fiction
-	*Delfschen Helicon, ofte grooten Holland-schen nachtegael* (1720)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed., erven van de)	Songbook
-	*Den gheestelycken speel-wagen op den blyden wegh van Bethleem, voor de christelijcke ionckheydt* (1699)	Verhulst, Godtgaf (II)	Songbook
-	*Den Italiaenschen quacksalver, ofte den Nieuwen Amsterdamschen Jan Potazy* (1708)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Don Jeronimo, maerschalk van Spanjen, treurspel* (1713)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Drama
-	*Een nieuw liedt-boeck, genaemt het Enchuyser bot-schuytjen* (1681)	Palensteyn, Jan	Songbook
-	*Een nieuw sangh-boeck, iuhoudende[!] eenighe psalmen, lof-sangen ende geestelijcke liedekens* (1650)	Janssen, Klaes	Songbook
-	*Een schoone historie van Sandryn ende Lanslot* (1708)	Poolsum, Jurriaen van (wed.)	Drama
-	*Geestelick vreugde-beeckje, toe-ge-eygent aen de Hollantse jeughd* (1645)	Broersz, Joost	Theology

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
-	*Geestelyke gesangen, opgemaakt door eenige godvruchtige sangers en sanger-essen* (1714)	Konijnenbergh, Jacob (II)	Songbook
-	*Geuse lietboeck, waer in begrepen is den oorsprongh vande troublen der Nederlant-sche oorlogen* (1645)	Feermans, Michiel	Songbook
-	*Haarlemsche mei-bloempjes, derde offer, aen de vreughd-lievende nymphjes* (1649)	Haen, Claes Albertsz	Songbook
-	*Haerlemsche somer-bloempjes, tweede offer, aen de vreught-lievende nymphjes* (1651)	Haen, Claes Albertsz	Songbook
-	*Haerlemsche winter-bloempjes, op-geoffert aen de vreugd-lievende nymphjes* (1647)	Wesbusch, Isaac van	Songbook
-	*Het amoureuze lust-hof, of't Vervolg van Thirsis minne-wit, bestaande in de aangenaamste gezangen* (1719)	Egmont, Jacobus van (I)	Songbook
-	*Het eerste deel van d'Amsteldamsche minne-zuch-jens* (1643)	Saeghman, Gillis Joosten	Songbook
-	*Het groote tafereel der dwaasheid, vertoonende de opkomst, voortgang en ondergang der […] windnegotie, in Vrankryk, Engeland, en de Nederlanden, gepleegt in den jaare MDCCXX* (1720)	S.l.S.n.	History
-	*Het Haerlems leeuwerckje, in-houdende veel aerdige nieuwe liedekens* (1672)	Cas, Johannes Theunisz	Songbook
-	*Het nieuwe princesse liedt-boeck of het Haeghse spelde-kussentje* (1682)	Lootsman, Theunis Jacobsz (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Het nieuwe rommelzootje, te samen-gh-estelt van verscheyden nieuwe liedekens* (1670)	Lootsman, Theunis Jacobsz (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Het nieuwe vermeerderde groote harpje, inhoudende vele schriftuurlijke liedekens, lof- ende bruylofts-gesangen* (1703)	Bouman, Jan (II)	Songbook
-	*Het oudt Haerlems liedt-boeck* (1682)	Bouman, Jacobus	Songbook
-	*Het tweede deel van de koddige olipodrigo* (1654)	Vinckel, Jacob	Songbook
-	*Het verkeerde huishouden, of aardige ontmoeting tussen man en vrouw: en eenige fraaije airen, op de ordinaire G sleutel gestelt* (1716)	Hulkenroy, Hermanus van (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Het vermaaklyk buitenleven, of De zingende en speelende boerenvreugd* (1716)	Hulkenroy, Hermanus van (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Het wonderlijck leven en bedryf van den vermaerden Nicolaes Molemy, anders genaamt, Kleyn Klaesje* (17XX)	S.l.S.n.	Prose fiction

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
-	*Het wonderlik leven, en de dappere oorlogs-daden, van de kloekmoedige land- en zee-heldin* (1706)	Bouman, Jan (II)	Prose fiction
-	*Hollantse trouw-gevallen* (1678)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*Hoorns liedt-boecxken, vol stichtige bruylofts-sangen* (1659)	Boerman, Rem Jansz	Songbook
-	*Kort en opregt verhaal van het droevig en avontuurlijk wedervaren, van Abraham Jansz van Oelen, schipper van nieu Vos-meer […] in die […] hooge water vloed. En hoe hij […] een (so genaemde) walvis, gevangen heeft* (1683)	Author (for the)	History
-	*Kruis gezangen of hémelweg* (169X)	Author (for the)	Songbook
-	*Leeuwarder apotheek na de Galenisch-chy-miçe manier* (1702)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Medicine
-	*Lente-bloemtjes geworpen in de schoot van aangename juffers* (1682)	Kuyper, Jan Dirksz	Songbook
-	*Leven, op- en ondergang van den verdorven koopman* (1682)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
-	*Matroosen vreught, vol van de nieuwste ende hedendaaghsche liedekens* (1696)	Lootsman, Casparus	Songbook
-	*Medenblicker scharre-zoodtje, ghevangen en ontweydt van verscheyden visschers* (1650)	Prins, Hendrik Jansz	Songbook
-	*Nederduitse en Latynse keurdigten, by een verzamelt door de liefhebberen der oude Hollandse vryheit* (1710)	Goes, Pieter van der	Poetry
-	*Nephtunis zee-wagen* (1667)	S.n.	Songbook
-	*Nieu dubbelt Haerlems lietboeck ghenaemt den laurier-krans, der amoureusen* (1643)	Casteleyn, Vincent (I)	Songbook
-	*Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijck lied-boeck: versien met verscheyden lof en triumphge-sangen, op de uytsteekende helden-daden van […] William en Maria, koning en koninginne van Engelant* (1695)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
-	*Nuttige besteedinge der afgebrookene uuren, in christelyke zang-stoffen* (1717)	Douci, Johannes	Songbook
-	*Oude ende nieuwe lof-sangen, die gemeenlijk gesongen worden op de geboorte […] Jesu Christi* (1718)	Bloemen, Gerardus van	Songbook
-	*Pharmacopæa Amstelredamensis, of d'Amsterdammer apotheek* (1683)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Medicine

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
-	*Reijnsburchs angier-hoff, beplant met alle de wercken, ende liedekens, die op't selve rethorices-beroep verhandelt zijn […]. Begonnen op den 26en mey, in't jaer 1641* (1641)	S.n.	Songbook
-	*Sommige geestelijcke, christelijcke liederen ende lof-sangen […]. Dewelcke ghebruyckt worden in de ghemeynten, toe ghedaen zijnde de […] confessie van Augsburg* (1650)	Cunradus, Christoffel	Songbook
-	*Stootkant of Nieuwe-jaars-gift, aan de Amstelsche jonkheidt* (1655)	Vinckel, Jacob	Songbook
-	*'t Eerste(-tweede) deel van Sparens vreughden-bron, uytstortende veel nieuwe als singens-waerdighe deuntjens* (1643)	Segerman, Michiel	Songbook
-	*'t Kleyn lust-hofje, vol van bruyloft-zangen* (1649)	Zoeteboom, Hendrick Jacobsz	Songbook
-	*'t Amsteldams minne-beeckie'* (1645)	Matthijsz, Paulus	Songbook
-	*'t Kleyn Hoorns-liet-boeck, inhoudende eenige psalmen Davids, lof-sanghen, en geestelijcke liedekens* (1644)	Deutel, Jan Jansz (I)	Songbook
-	*'t Kortswylige steekertie, omvlogten en doornagelt, met innige, vierige, minnetreck-jens* (1654)	Bruyningh, Claes Jansz	Songbook
-	*'t Ronde jaer of Den schat der geestelijcke lof-sangen* (1683)	S.n.	Songbook
-	*Veelderhande schriftuirlijcke liedekens, gemaekt uyt het Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* (1700)	Taeitsma, Berent	Songbook
-	*Vlissings-redens-lusthof, beplant met seer schoone en bequame oeffeningen […]* (1642)	Pick, Jacob Jansz	Songbook
Alewyn, Abraham (1664–1721)	*Beslikte swaantje, en drooge Fobert: of De boere rechtbank. Blyspel* (1715)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Alewyn, Abraham (1664–1721)	*De Puiterveense helleveeg, of beslikte swaantje aan den tap. Blyspel* (1720)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Antonides van der Goes, Johannes (1647–1684)	*De gelyke twélingen, kluchtig blyspél* (1682)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Antonides van der Goes, Johannes (1647–1684)	*De Ystroom* (1671)	Arentsz, Pieter (II)	Poetry
Antonides van der Goes, Johannes (1647–1684)	*Trazil, of overrompelt Sina. Treurspel* (1685)	-	Drama

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Arents, Thomas (1652–1701)	*De krooninge van haare majesteiten, Wilhem Hendrik, én Maria Stuart, tót koning, én koninginne, van Engeland, Vrankryk, én Yrland* (1689)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Arents, Thomas (1652–1701)	*Joan Galeasso: dwingeland van Milanen. Treurspel* (1718)	Gezelle, Jacobus	Drama
Asselyn, Thomas (1620–1701)	*De kwakzalver kluchtspel. De heer W.G.V. Focquenbroch gevolgd* (1692)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Asselyn, Thomas (1620–1701)	*Gusman de Alfarache, of De doorsleepene bedelaars. Blyspel* (1693)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Barclay, John (1582–1621)	*D'Argenis* (1680)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Barentsz, Jan (fl. 1607–1612)	*Klucht van Buchelioen 't kaboutermannetge* (1655)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Baron, Jan Zachariasz (17th century)	*Klucht van Kees Louwen ofte: Den geschooren boer* (1667)	Hogenacker, Bartholomeus van	Drama
Baron, Jan Zachariasz (17th century)	*Leyts-Prieeltje, ofte Cvpidoos zinn'licheyt* (1651)	Croy, Philippe de	Songbook
Beer, Petrus de (1653–1657 fl.)	*Gheestelycke rym-konst* (1657)	Mesens, Jacob (II)	Songbook
Bellemans, Daniel (1641–1674)	*Den lieffelycken paradys-voghel tot Godt om-hoogh vlieghende* (1674)	Velde, Jacob vande (I)	Songbook
Bentivoglio, Guido (1579–1644)	*Verhael-boecken* (1648)	Carpentier, Roeland de	History
Bidloo, Govert (1649–1713)	*Het zegepraalende Oostenryk, of verovering van Offen* (1686)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Bidloo, Govert (1649–1713)	*Komste van zyne majesteit Willem III. koning van Groot Britanje, enz. in Holland* (1691)	Leers, Arnout (II)	History
Bidloo, Lambert (1633/38–1724)	*Panpoëticon Batavum, kabinet, waar in de afbeeldingen van voornaame Nederland-sche dichteren, versameld […] door Arnoud van Halen, en onder […] aanmerkingen, over de Hollandsche rym-konst, geopendt* (1720)	Damme, Andries van	Poetry
Bie, Cornelis de (1627–1715/16)	*Den heyligen ridder Gommarvs, patroon der stadt Lier, oft Gewillige verduldigheyt, op het tonneel ghebrocht door de […] gulde […] Den Groeyenden Boom den 23. en 25. iunij 1669* (1670)	Wolsschaten, Geeraerdt van (III)	Drama
Bie, Cornelis de (1627–1715/16)	*Faems weer-galm der Neder-duytsche poësie* (1670)	Jaye, Jan	Emblem book
Blankaart, Steven (1650–1704)	*Den Neder-landschen herbarius ofte Kruid-boek der voornaamste kruiden* (1698)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Medicine

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Blankaart, Steven (1650–1704)	*Een nette verhandeling van de leger-ziekten, als mede van de scheeps-ziekten* (1703)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Medicine
Blankaart, Steven (1650–1704)	*Verhandelinge van de opvoedinge en ziekten der kinderen* (1684)	Sweerts, Hieronymus	Medicine
Boccaccio, Giovanni (1313/14–1375)	*De tweede vijftigh lustige historien ofte nieuwigheden* (1644)	Jansz, Broer	Prose fiction
Boekholt, Baltes (1656–1701 fl.)	*De edelmoedige mintriomphe, vertoont in de wonderlijcke vryagien en […] trouw-gevallen van desen tijdt* (1683)	Boekholt, Abraham	Prose fiction
Boelens, Adriaan (1648–1649 fl.)	*De klucht van de oneenige-trouw* (1648)	Germez, Adam Karelsz van	Drama
Boelens, Adriaan (1648–1649 fl.)	*Klvcht van de bedrooge vryer* (1649)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Boetius à Bolswert (ca. 1580–1633)	*Duyfkens ende Willemynkens pelgrimagie tot haren beminden binnen Iervsalem* (1656)	Aertssens, Henderick (II)	Dialogues
Bolognino, Guillaume (1590–1669)	*Den gheestelycken leevwercker vol godtvruchtighe liedekens ende leyssenen* (1645)	Cnobbaert, Jan (wed.)	Songbook
Bon, Arnold (?–?)	*Delfs Cupidoos schighje. Betreffende, veele geestige minne lietjes* (1652)	Bon, Arnold	Songbook
Bondt, Reinier de (1576–1623)	*Belegering ende het ontset der stadt Leyden* (1645)	Wit, Gijsbrecht de	Drama
Bontekoe, Cornelis (1647–1685)	*Gebruik en mis-bruik van de thee* (1686)	Hagen, Pieter	Medicine
Bontius, J. (1592–1631)	*Oost- en West-Indische warande. Vervattende aldaar de leef- en genees-konst* (1694)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Medicine
Boon, Cornelis (1680–1746)	*Leiden verlost. Treurspel* (1711)	Vries, Pieter de	Drama
Borcht, Willem van der (1622–1651)	*Brvsselschen blom-hof van Cvpido, ghedeylt in dry deelen* (1641)	Scheybels, Guilliam	Songbook
Bos, Lambert van den (1620–1698)	*Roode en witte roos. Of Lankaster en Jork. Blyeindent trevrspel* (1651)	Houthaeck, Tymon	Drama
Bottens, Pierre (1637–1717)	*Het goddelick herte ofte De woonste Godts in het herte* (1685)	Pee, Pieter van	Theology
Brandt, Geeraert (1626–1685)	*De veinzende Torquatus, treurspel* (1645)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Brughman, Pieter (–1668)	*Christelicke bedenckinge over het wel-gereformeerde christelick geloof* (1657)	Toll, Johannes	Songbook
Bruin, Claas (1671–1732)	*De grondlegging der roomsche vryheid. Treurspel* (1713)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Brune, Jan de (de jonge : 1616–1649)	*Wetsteen der vernuften, oft Bequaam middel, om van alle voorvallende zaken, aardighlik te leeren spreken* (1644)	Last, Cornelis	Dutch language and literature
Brune, Johan de (1588–1658)	*Davids psalmen* (1650)	Lootsman, Theunis Jacobsz	Songbook

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Bruyningen, Willem van (?–?)	*Vlaemsche klucht: van sinjoor lakus Smul* (1645)	Broersz, Joost	Drama
Buitendijck, Albertus (?–?)	*Bloem-hof, verciert met geestelijcke lof-sangen* (1659)	Woons, Cornelis	Songbook
Burg, Hermanus van den (1682–1752)	*Mengelzangen* (1717)	Blank, Hendrik	Poetry
Bushof, Bernardus (1592?–1639)	*Nieuwe lof-sangen en geestelijcke liedekens* (1694)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
Bussy Rabutin, Roger de (1618–1693)	*t Geheim van 't Fransche hof* (1680)	Liefde, Jan de	Prose fiction
Buysero, Dirk (1644–1708)	*De bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje, kluchtspel* (1707)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro (1600–1681)	*De toverés Circe, treurspél* (1690)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Callot, Jacques (ca. 1592–1635)	*De carneval van Roomen, of de vaste-navonds vermaaklykheden* (1718)	Hulkenroy, Hermanus van (wed.)	Songbook
Camphuysen, Dirck Rafaelsz (1586–1627)	*Stichtelycke rymen* (1647)	Colom, Jacob Aertsz (I)	Songbook
Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684)	*Andromeda. Treurspel* (1699)	Sweerts, Cornelis	Drama
Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684)	*Cinna, óf Goedertierenheid van Augustus. Treurspél* (1716)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684)	*De Cid, treurspel* (1697)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684)	*De dood van Pompeus, treurspel* (1684)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684)	*Horace. Treur-spel* (1648)	Germez, Adam Karelsz van	Drama
Courtilz de Sandras, Gatien de (1644–1712)	*De minneryen van den groten Alcander inde Nederlanden* (1684)	Haan, Gillis de	Prose fiction
Dalen, Joannis van (17th century)	*Klucht van de aerdige Colicoquelle* (1654)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Dan, Pierre (–1649)	*Historie van Barbaryen, en des zelfs zee-roovers* (1684)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Dancourt, Florent Carton (1661–1725)	*De vakantie, kluchtspel* (1707)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Dancourt, Florent Carton (1661–1725)	*De vermiste molenaar. Kluchtspél* (1713)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Decker, Jeremias de (1609–1666)	*Lof der geldsucht, ofte Vervolg der rijm-oeffeningen* (1702)	Verbeek, Philip	Poetry
Dircksz, Jacob (1673–1683 fl.)	*Een alegoris-historis verhaal van het edel en machtig koninkrijk van Salem* (1683)	Rieuwertsz, Jan (I)	Dialogues

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Domselaer, Tobias van (1660–1682 fl.)	*Beschryving der sieraaden van het tooneel [...] in het Beleg en onzet[!] van Leiden* (1706)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama-turgy and Musicology
Dreyer, P.A. (1610–1630 fl.)	*Stichtelyke liedekens* (1684)	Rintjes, Hendrick	Songbook
Droste, Coenraet (1642–1734)	*Vrouw Jacoba van Beyeren [...]. Treur-spel* (1710)	Rammazeyn, Gerrit	Drama
Dubbels, Pieter (1625–1671)	*Helikon, bestaande in Zangen, Kusjes, en Mengel-rijm* (1645)	Ravesteyn, Nicolaes van	Songbook
Eecke, Cornelis van (17th century)	*De koninklyke harpliederen, op nieuws in rym [...] uitgebreid* (1698)	Author (for the)	Songbook
Elger, Willem den (1679–1703)	*Zinne-beelden der liefde* (1703)	Aa, Boudewijn van der (I)	Emblem book
Elzevier, Pieter (1643–1696)	*De springende dokter. Kluchtspel* (1666)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Enden, Franciscus van den (1602–1674)	*Philedonius. Tonneelspel* (1657)	Bruyn, Cornelis de	Drama
Eudes de Mézeray, François (1610–1683)	*Chronyk van Vrankryk* (1685)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	History
Euripides (ca. 480–406 BCE)	*Feniciaensche of Gebroeders van Thebe. Treurspel* (1668)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Euripides (ca. 480–406 BCE)	*Ifigenie in Tauren* (1666)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Fockens, Melchior (17th century)	*Klucht van dronkken Hansje* (1657)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Gargon, Mattheus (1661–1728)	*Nut tyd-verdryv* (1686)	Matthijsz, Paulus (erven)	Songbook
Geest, Wibrandus de (ca. 1667–1716)	*De manzieke vryster, kluchtspel* (1700)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Gomez, Antonio (1501–ca.1570)	*Casimier, of Gedempte hoogmoet. Bly-spel* (1656)	Smit, Gerrit	Drama
Gouwerack, Leonardus (?–?)	*Erato: omhelst van verscheyde minned-euntjes* (1646)	Roeck, Lambert	Songbook
Graef, Hendrick de (1664–1671 fl.)	*Alcinea, of Stantvastige kuysheydt. Treur-bly-eynd spel* (1671)	Venendael, Adriaen	Drama
Gryphius, Andreas (1616–1664)	*Leo Armenius, treurspel* (1659)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Gysen, Jan van (1668–1722)	*De betoverde geldkist, kluchtspel* (1712)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Gysen, Jan van (1668–1722)	*De varke markt, klugtspel* (1713)	Egmont, Jacobus van (I)	Prose fiction
Haeften, Benedictus van (1588–1648)	*De heyr-baene des cruys* (1667)	Kerchove, Lucas vanden	Theology
Halma, François (1653–1722)	*'t Gereformeert gezangboek over de voornaamste gevallen en waarheden van 't christendom* (1712)	Halma, François	Songbook

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Hanins, Albertus (?–?) Ignatius D' (1661 fl.)	*Het bevel van Cvpido, bestaende in dry deelen […] het eerste is ghenaemt minne-lietjens, het tweede herders-ghe-dichten, ende het derde kluchten* (1653)	Scheybels, Guilliam	Songbook
Haps, Pieter Willem van (1696–1714 fl.)	*Verliefde Brechje, kluchtspel* (1705)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Heinsius, Nicolaas (Jr. : 1656–1718)	*Den vermakelyken avanturier, ofte De wispelturige, en niet min wonderlyke levens-loop van Mirandor* (1695)	Rijschooten, Pieter van	Prose fiction
Hennin, Jacob de (ca. 1629–1688)	*De dwaalende liefde. Vertoond in ses veranderlijke, waarachtige, ende zeer vermaakelijke historien* (1682)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Herlein, J.D. (18th century)	*Beschryvinge van de volk-plantinge Zuriname* (1718)	Injema, Meindert	Geography
Heussen, Frans Esausz den (1599–1679)	*Den christelijcken iongelingh: dat is Een stichtelijcke onderwysinge, hoe de iongelinghen […] haer in leven ende wandel hebben christelijck te dragen* (1644)	Stichel, Dominicus van der	Songbook
Hoeven, Willem van der (–1727)	*De dood van sultan Selim, Turksen keizer: treurspel* (1717)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Hoeven, Willem van der (–1727)	*De doodelyke minnenyd, treurspel* (1714)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Hoeven, Willem van der (–1727)	*De rechter in zyn eigen zaak. Blyspel* (1718)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Hoeven, Willem van der (–1727)	*Isabella princesse van Iberië, hof en landspel* (1720)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Hondorffius, Andreas (–1572)	*De tien geboden des Heeren* (1685)	Bouman, Jan (I)	Theology
Hoogstraten, Jan van (1662–1736)	*Zedezangen en stigtelyke liederen* (1708)	Cloppenburg, Lucas	Songbook
Hoogstraten, Jan van (1662–1736)	*Zegepraal, der goddelyke liefde, vertoont in zeven-en-veertig zielopwekkende zinnebeelden* (1709)	Cloppenburg, Lucas	Emblem book
Hoorn, Timotheus ten (1644–1715)	*Het leeven en bedryf van de hedendaagsche Haagsche en Amsterdamsche zalet-juffers* (1696)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Huygen, Pieter (1662–after 1724)	*De beginselen van Gods koninkryk in den mensch uitgedrukt in zinnebeelden* (1689)	Krellius, Johannes	Emblem book
Huygens, Constanti-jn (1596–1687)	*Tryntje Cornelis. Klucht* (1657)	Vlacq, Adriaen	Drama
Janssen van ter Goes, Anthony (c. 1626–1699)	*Christelijck vermaeck, bestaende in verscheyden stichtelijcke rijmen en gesangen* (1645)	Causi, Gerrit Anthonissen	Songbook
Janssen van ter Goes, Anthony (c. 1626–1699)	*Zederymen, bestaande in zangen en gedigten* (1656)	Rieuwertsz, Jan (I)	Poetry

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Jennyn, Philippus (?–?)	*Gheestelycken vvaeckenden staf der iodsche schaep-herders* (1651)	Kerchove, Lucas vanden	Songbook
Jonctijs, Daniël (1600–1654)	*Hedens-daegse Venvs en Minerva: of Twist-gesprek tusschen die zelfde* (1641)	Esch, Hendrick van	Songbook
Jongherycx, Philippus (?–?)	*Kint-baerenden man* (1698)	Beernaerts, Jacobus (I)	Poetry
Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679)	*Gysbrecht van Aemstel. D'ondergangk van zijne stadt, en zijn ballingschap* (1659)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Krook, Enoch (–1732)	*De boerekermis, kluchtspel. Met zang en dans* (1709)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Krook, Enoch (–1732)	*De buitenspoorige toebaksnuiver, of Het huwelyk door snuiftoebak. Kluchtspel* (1697)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Krul, Jan Hermansz (1602–1644)	*Pampiere wereld ofte Wereldsche oeffeninge* (1681)	Schipper, Jan Jacobsz (wed.)	Drama
La Fosse, Antoine de (1653–1708)	*Manlius Capitolinus: treurspel* (1711)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
La Thuillerie, Jean François Juvenon de (1653–1688)	*Krispyn, poeët, en officier. Kluchtspel* (1685)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Lacroix, Pieter de (1636–1687)	*De gewaande advocaat, kluchtspél* (1685)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Lacroix, Pieter de (1636–1687)	*De schynheilige, zynde het gevolg van de blyspeelen, genaamt: Het gedwongen huwelyk, en Lubbert Lubbertsz* (1686)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Laet, Franciscus de (?–?)	*Christelijcke en vermakelijcke gesangen* (1647)	Ravesteyn, Nicolaes van	Songbook
Lairesse, Gérard de (1640/41–1711)	*Groot schilderboek, waar in de schilder-konst [...] werd onderweezen* (1712)	Desbordes, Henri	Art forms
Langendijk, Pieter (1683–1756)	*Arlequyn actionist. Kluchtig blyspél* (1720)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Langendijk, Pieter (1683–1756)	*De wiskunstenaars, of 't Gevluchte juffertje, kluchtspél* (1715)	Rank, Dirk	Drama
Leeuw, Cornelis de (1613–1664/1665)	*Christelycke plicht-rymen, om te singen of te leesen* (1648)	Leeuw, Cornelis de	Songbook
Lingelbach, David (1641–?)	*De ontdekte schyndeugd, bly-spel* (1687)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Lingelbach, David (1641–?)	*Sardanapalus, treurspel* (1699)	Magnus, Albert (wed. en erven)	Drama
Lingelbach, David (1641–?)	*De bekeerde alchimist, óf Bedroogen bedrieger, kluchtspél* (1680)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Lingelbach, David (1641–?)	*Amarillis. Bly-speelend harders-spel* (171X)	Rammazeyn, Gerrit	Drama
Lingelbach, David (1641–?)	*Cleomenes. Trevrspel* (1687)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Lixbona, Joannes de (17th century)	*Hemelsch nachtegaelkē oft Gheestelycke liedekens om devght met vrevght te be-oeffenen* (1644)	Lesteens, Guilliam (I)	Songbook
Lust, Steven Theunisz van der (1637–1660 fl.)	*Herstelde hongers-dwangh, of Haerlems langh en strenghe belegeringhe [...]. Trevr-spel* (1660)	Kas, Kornelis Theunisz	Drama
Luyken, Jan (1649–1712)	*Geestelyke brieven* (1714)	Sys, Cornelis van der	Theology
Luyken, Jan (1649–1712)	*Jesus en de ziel* (1685)	Arentsz, Pieter (II)	Emblem book
Lyly, John (ca. 1554–1606)	*De vermaakelijke historie, zee en landt-reyze van Euphues, ofte Een ontleedinge des vernufts* (1682)	Vinck, Andries	Prose fiction
Maertsz, Cornelis (17th century)	*Het singende nachtegaeltje quelende soetelyck, tot stichtelijck vermaeck voor de christelijck ieught* (1671)	Groot, Michiel de	Songbook
Magnus, Olaus de (1490–1558)	*Toonneel der Noordsche landen* (1652)	Ravesteyn, Nicolaes van	Geography
Maimbourg, Louis (1610–1686)	*Historie der kruisvaarders, tot de verlossing van 't heilig land* (1684)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Maimbourg, Louis (1610–1686)	*Historie van de kettery der beeldstormers* (1685)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Mason, John (1582–?)	*Muliassus de Turk. Trevrspel* (1652)	Houthaeck, Tymon	Drama
Mauricius, Johan Jacob (1692–1768)	*Europa verkwikt op't gezicht der vrede, tooneelspel, hebbende gestrekt tot eene inwydinge van den Nederduitschen schouwburg te Utrecht* (1712)	Gaete, Hendrik van de	Drama
Mayvogel, Jacob Coenraetsz (17th century)	*Vermakelycke bruylofts-kroon, door-vlocht-en met verscheyden leersame gedichten* (1670)	Groot, Michiel de	Poetry
Meerhuysen, Jan Pietersz. (1618–1667)	*De geest van Jan Tamboer of Uytgeleeze stoffe voor de klucht-lievende ionckheydt* (1659)	S.n.	Prose fiction
Melton, Eduward (?–?)	*Zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen* (1681)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Merwede, Matthijs van der (1613–1664)	*Geestelyke minne-vlammen* (1653)	Burghoorn, Isaac	Songbook
Merwede, Matthijs van der (1613–1664)	*Uyt-heemsen oorlog, ofte roomse min-triomfen* (1651)	Burghoorn, Isaac	Songbook
Metaal, Frank Arentsz (17th century)	*Maes-sluysche compas, versien met veele aengename liedekens* (1693)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
Molière (1622–1673)	*Misantrope. Blyspel* (1682)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*Amphitrion bly-eynde-spel* (1670)	S.n.	Drama

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Molière (1622–1673)	*De burgerlyke edelman, blyspel* (1700)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*De listige vryster, óf De verschalkte voogd: blyspél* (1690)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*De schilder door liefde, blyspél* (1682)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*Fielebout, óf De dókter tégens dank, kluchtig blyspél* (1716)	Rotterdam, Pieter (II)	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*Het school voor de vrouwen, blyspel* (1701)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Molière (1622–1673)	*Klucht-spel, van het gedwongen houwelyck, of mariage forcè* (1680)	Groot, Michiel de	Drama
Mommaert, Jan (17th century)	*Het Brabandts nachtegaelken* (1656)	Mommaert, Jan (II)	Songbook
Montanus, David (–1687)	*Stemme des gejuygs en des heils over 't groote interest van een christen. […] in gezangen vervat* (1684)	Boekholt, Johannes	Songbook
Montanus, Janus (fl. 1676)	*De kat gestuurt na't vage-vuur, haar wederkomst, en verhaal van het selve* (1706)	Vries, Pieter de	Poetry
Moscherosch, Johann Michael (1601–1669)	*Ses satyrische wondergesighten* (1680)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Mouchemberg, A.M. de (?–?)	*Vervolgh op D'Argenis van I. Barklay* (1681)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Prose fiction
Neuye, Jan (1640–1706)	*Eneas of Vader des vaderlants treurspel* (1664)	Bergh, Johannes van den	Drama
Noozeman, Jillis (1626–1682)	*Bedrooge dronkkaart, of Dronkke-mans hel* (1649)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Noozeman, Jillis (1626–1682)	*Getemde snorker* (1649)	Goedesberg, Gerrit van	Drama
Noozeman, Jillis (1626–1682)	*Klucht van Krijn Onverstant, of Vrouwen parlement* (1671)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Norel, Roelof (1705 fl.)	*De listige minnaars, of De jonker boer, en boer jonker. Blyspel* (1705)	Kuyper, Gerrit	Drama
Nuyts, Pieter (1640–1709)	*Admetus, en Alcestis. Treurspel* (1694)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Ockes, Herman (1645–1649 fl.)	*Herman Ockes hemel-sucht, ofte, sijne laetste besigheydt: vervattende eenighe stucken des Nieuwen Testaments* (1649)	Wesbusch, Isaac van	Poetry
Oosterwijck, Volckerus van (1602–1675)	*Rymen ende zangen over het Hooge-liedt Salomons* (1655)	Bon, Arnold	Songbook
Orlers, Jan Jansz (1570–1646)	*Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (1641)	Dorp, Jan Jansz. van	History
Oudaen, Joachim (1628–1692)	*Haagsche broeder-moord, of Dolle blydschap. Treurspel* (1674)	Smith, Johan Ernst	Drama

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Oudaen, Joachim (1628–1692)	*Davids psalmen, nieuwlyx op rym-maat gestelt* (1685)	Rieuwertsz, Jan (I)	Songbook
Outrein, Johannes d' (1662–1722)	*Proef-stukken van heilige sinne-beelden* (1700)	Borstius, Gerardus (I)	Theology
Overbeke, Aernout van (1632–1674)	*De rymwercken* (1709)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	Poetry
Paffenrode, Jan van (1618–1673)	*De bedroge girigheyd ofte Boertige comoedie van Hopman Ulrich* (1661)	Vinck, Paulus	Drama
Pels, Andries (1631–1681)	*De verwaande Hollandsche Franschman. Blyspél* (1717)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Pels, Andries (1631–1681)	*Minne-liederen én méngelzangen* (1684)	Magnus, Albertus	Songbook
Peys, Adriaan (1630/1635–after 1699)	*De nacht-spookende joffer, blyspel* (1670)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Pierre Du Ryer (ca.1606–1658)	*Hester, oft Verlossing der jooden* (1659)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Placker, Christianus de	*Euangelische leeuwerck, ofte Historie-liede-kens* (1682)	S.n.	Songbook
Pluimer, Joan (–1720)	*De verlooren schildwacht. Kluchtpel* (1686)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Pluimer, Joan (–1720)	*Gedichten* (1692)	Magnus, Albert (erven)	Poetry
Pluimer, Joan (–1720)	*Reinout in het betoverde hof: zynde het gevolg van Armida* (1697)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Poirters, Adrianus (1605–1674)	*Den pelgrim van Halle, ofte Historie van onse lieve Vrouwe van Halle* (1657)	Velpius, Huybrecht Anthoon (II)	History
Poirters, Adrianus (1605–1674)	*Den spieghel van Philagie* (1674)	Woons, Jacobus	Poetry
Poirters, Adrianus (1605–1674)	*Het duyfken in de steen-rotse, dat is: Eene mede-lydende siele op die bittere passie Jesu Christi mediterende* (1657)	Meurs, Jacob van	Theology
Poirters, Adrianus (1605–1674)	*Het masker vande wereldt afgetrocken* (1646)	Cnobbaert, Jan (wed.)	Emblem book
Poirters, Adrianus (1605–1674)	*Ydelheydt des wereldts* (1645)	Cnobbaert, Jan (wed.)	Emblem book
Poot, Hubert Cor-nelisz (1689–1733)	*Mengeldichten* (1716)	Willis, Arnold	Poetry
Pos, Jacob Hendricksz. (?–?)	*Middelier lied-boeck: waer in eenighe nieuwe liedtjes zijn, […] getrocken uyt het Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* (1651)	Pos, Jacob Hendricksz. Edam	Songbook
Préchac, Jean de (1647–1720)	*De musket-draagende heldin. Ofte Een waarachtig verhaal van het doorluchtige leeven […] van Kristina van Meirak* (1680)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Préchac, Jean de (1647–1720)	*'t Ongelyk huwelyk, of De twee standvastige gelieven* (1680)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Quinault, Philippe (1635–1688)	*Agrippa, koning van Alba, of De valsche Tiberinus, treurspel* (1669)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Quinault, Philippe (1635–1688)	*Agrippa, óf De gewaande Tibérinus, treurspél* (1678)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Quinault, Philippe (1635–1688)	*De medevrysters, blyspel* (1689)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Quinault, Philippe (1635–1688)	*Tooneelspel zonder tooneelspel* (1671)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Racine, Jean (1639–1699)	*Alexander de Groote, treurspel* (1693)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Racine, Jean (1639–1699)	*Athalia, treurspel* (1716)	Gaete, Hendrik van de	Drama
Racine, Jean (1639–1699)	*De pleiters, blyspel* (1695)	Magnus, Albert (erven)	Drama
Racine, Jean Baptiste (1639–1699)	*Ifigenia. Treurspél* (1683)	Magnus, Albertus	Drama
Ridderus, Franciscus (1620–1683)	*Daagelijcksche huys-catechisatie* (1692)	Lootsman, Casparus	Theology
Ridderus, Franciscus (1620–1683)	*Huys-gesangen, gepast op sijn huys-cate-chisatie* (1658)	Vis-hoeck, Johannes	Songbook
Ringers, Vitus (1660–1725)	*Stichtelijk sang-prieel, belommerd met het Hooge Lied Salomons, ende andere heilige gesangen* (1686)	Gyselaar, Hans	Songbook
Roggeveen, Arent (–1679)	*'t Nederlantsche treur-spel, synde de verkrachte Belgica* (1669)	Goetthem, Pieter van	Drama
Rooleeuw, Reinier (1627–1684)	*Schriftuurlyke gezangen* (1702)	Sys, Cornelis van der	Songbook
Rosant, Jacob (?–?)	*De euangelische triumphwagen: by de welke de treffelijke daden des Koninkx der Glorie […] gelesen […] worden, op alle euangelien des geheelen iaars* (1654)	Ommeren, Gijsbrecht van	Songbook
Rosseau, Jac. (fl. 1716–1744)	*De welmenende bedrogen, klugtspel* (1714)	S.l.S.n.	Drama
Rosseau, Jac. (fl. 1716–1744)	*De zingende kraamer of Vermaakelyke Krispyn, kaamer spel* (1708)	Dor, Niklaas	Drama
Rotgans, Lukas (1653–1710)	*Wilhem de Derde, door Gods genade, koning van Engeland […]. In heldendicht beschreven* (1698)	Halma, François	Poetry
Rotrou, Jean (1609–1650)	*De gelukkige bedriegery* (1649)	Wild', Baltus de	Drama
Rotrou, Jean (1609–1650)	*'t Verwarde huwelyk, bly-eindent-spel* (1667)	Lescaille, Jacob	Drama
Ruyter, Jacobus de (1709–1712 fl.)	*Nieuw lied-boeck genaemt den maeg-dekrans gevlochten […] tot vermaeck der Nederlandtsche vryers ende vrysters* (1712)	Laurenz, J.O.	Songbook

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Savary, Jacques (1622–1690)	*De volmaakte koopman, zynde een naaukeurige onderrechting van alles wat den inlandschen en uitlandschen koophandel betreft* (1683)	Sweerts, Hieronymus	Prose fiction
Schipper, Jan (?–?)	*Waarachtige vryagie, tusschen de stantvastige […] Cloris en de trouwlooze Rosanier* (1681)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose Fiction
Scudéry, Madeleine de (1607–1701)	*Des doorlughtigen bassa Ibrahims en der volstandige Isabellæ wonder-geschiedenis-sen* (1679)	Bouman, Jan (I)	Prose fiction
Segrais, Jean Regnault de (1624–1701)	*De wonderlijke werkingen der liefde* (1680)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Seneca, L. Annaeus (5 BCE–65 AD)	*Agamemnon* (1661)	Neering, Gillis	Drama
Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)	*De dolle bruyloft. Bly-eyndend'-spel* (1654)	Houthaeck, Tymon	Drama
Six van Chandelier, Johan (1620–1695)	*Poësy* (1657)	Pluymer, Joost (I)	Poetry
Six, Jan (1618–1700)	*Medea. Trevrspel* (1648)	Wees, Abraham de (I)	Drama
Sluiter, Willem (1627–1673)	*Buiten- eensaem huis- somer- en winter-lev-en* (1680)	Boekholt, Johannes	Poetry
Sluiter, Willem (1627–1673)	*Christelijke doodts-betrachting, bestaende in verscheyden sterf-gesangen* (1687)	-	Songbook
Sluiter, Willem (1627–1673)	*Gezangen van heilige en godtvruchtige stoffe* (1687)	Schagen, Gerbrandt	Songbook
Sluiter, Willem (1627–1673)	*Jeremia's klaag-liederen* (1677)	Boekholt, Johannes	Songbook
Sluiter, Willem (1627–1673)	*Vreugt- en liefde-sangen. Aan de gemeinte J. Christi binnen […] Eibergen* (1682)	Boekholt, Johannes	Songbook
Smeerbol, J. (?–?)	*Bruylofts-kost, bestaande in verscheyden […] echts-gesangen* (1645)	S.n.	Songbook
Sophocles (ca. 496–406 BCE)	*Herkules in Trachin. Trevrspel* (1668)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Sorgen, Philippus van (?–1677)	*Aanhangsel, of tweede deel: van de dicht-kundige ziele-zangen* (1680)	Clerck, Willem	Songbook
Sorgen, Philippus van (–1677)	*Dicht-kundige ziele-zangen, op-gesongen door verscheyde zangh-lievers* (1681)	Clerck, Willem	Songbook
Speybroeck, M. van (17th century)	*Syons wijn-bergh, inhoudende verscheyden schriftuerlijcke liedekens* (1670)	Smidt, Henrick	Songbook
Stapel, Nicolaas (?–1686)	*Het lust-hof der zielen, beplant met verscheiden zoorten van geestelijke gezangen* (1681)	Ysbrantsz, Jacob	Songbook
Steendam, Jacob (1616–ca. 1670)	*Den distel-vink in't geheel* (1649)	Author (for the)	Songbook

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Stribeé, Cornelis (17th century)	*Chaos ofte verwerden clomp: in-houdende verscheyde vermakelijcke lietjes* (1643)	Canin, Jan Jansz. (II)	Songbook
Subligny, Adrien Thomas Perdou de (?–?)	*De valsche Clelie* (1680)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Swaen, Willem de (ca.1610–1673)	*Den singende swaen: dat is, den lof-sangh der heyligen, die als singende swaenen, de doodt blygeestigh hebben ontfangen* (1655)	Lesteens, Guilliam (I)	Songbook
Sweerts, Cornelis (1669–1742)	*Apollo en Dafne* (1697)	Sweerts, Cornelis	Drama
Sweerts, Cornelis (1669–1742)	*Boertige en ernstige minnezangen* (1705)	Strander, Johannes (I)	Songbook
Sweerts, Cornelis (1669–1742)	*Mengelzangen en zinnebeelden* (1694)	Sweerts, Cornelis	Emblem book
Sweerts, Hieronymus (1629–1696)	*Innerlycke ziel-tochten op't h. avontmaal* (1673)	Sweerts, Hieronymus	Songbook
Tasso, Torquato (1544–1595)	*Aminta, herders bly-eindende treur-spel* (1660)	Waesberge, Pieter van (I)	Drama
Thevenot, Jean de (1633–1667)	*Gedenkwaardige en zeer naauwkeurige reizen van den heere de Thevenot* (1681)	Bouman, Jan (I)	Geography
Thomas Asselyn (1620–1701)	*Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello, of Napelse beroerte […] treurspel* (1668)	Lescaille, Jacob, 1644–1680	Drama
Tijsens, Gijsbert (1693–1732)	*De windhandel, of Bubbles compagnien. Blyspel* (1720)	Bombario, A.	Drama
Tuinman, Carolus (1659–1728)	*Beginzel van hemelwerk: bestaande in mengelzangen* (1720)	Langerak, Johan Arnold	Songbook
Tuinman, Carolus (1659–1728)	*Zedenzangen, over een groot gedeelte der Nederlandsche spreekwoorden van dagelyks gebruik […] op verscheiden rymtrant en zangwyzen* (1720)	Langerak, Johan Arnold	Songbook
Ucay, Gervais (fl.1668–1695)	*Nieuwe verhandeling van de Venus-ziekten* (1700)	Hoorn, Nicolaas ten	Medicine
Uilenbroek, Hendrik (17th century)	*Christelyke gezangen* (1713)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
Vairasse, Denis (ca.1630–1672)	*Historie der Sevarambes, volkeren die een gedeelte van het darde vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlijk Zuid-land genaamd* (1682)	Hoorn, Timotheus ten	Prose fiction
Veen, Jan van der (1587–1659)	*Zinne-beelden, oft Adams appel* (1642)	Cloppenburgh, Evert	Emblem book
Vega, Lope de (1562–1635)	*Gedwongen vriendt* (1662)	Bouman, Broer Jansz	Drama
Verbiest, Hendrik (1649–1652fl.)	*Klucht van't wynvaatje* (1651)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Vincent, Ysbrand (1641–1718)	*De Hoogduitsche kwakzalver, kluchtspél, in muzyk* (1691)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Vincent, Ysbrand (1641–1718)	*De leevendige doode. Kluchtspél* (1716)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Vincent, Ysbrand (1641–1718)	*Pefroen met het schaapshoofd: kluchtspel* (1691)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Voiture, Vincent de (1597–1648)	*De historie van Alcidalis en Zelide* (1683)	Swart, Steven	Prose fiction
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*De Parnas aen de Belt* (1657)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Poetry
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Jeptha of Offerbelofte. Treurspel* (1659)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Joseph in Dothan. Trevrspel* (1644)	Wees, Abraham de (I)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Joseph in Egypten. Treurspel.* (1640)	Wees, Abraham de (I)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Lucifer. Treurspel* (1654)	Wees, Abraham de (I)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Noah, of ondergang der eerste weerelt. Treurspel* (1667)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Peter en Pauwels. Trevrspel* (1641)	Wees, Abraham de (I)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Salmoneus* (1685)	Lescaille, Jacob (erven)	Drama
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Verscheide gedichten* (1644)	Lescaille, Jacob	Poetry
Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679)	*Zungchin of Ondergang der Sineesche heerschappye. Treurspel* (1667)	Wees, Abraham de (I, wed.)	Drama
Vos, Isaac (–1651?)	*Klucht van de mof* (1660)	Bouman, Jan Jacobsz	Drama
Vos, Isaac (–1651?)	*De beklaeghlycke dwang. Bly-eyndent treurspel* (1677)	Bouman, Jacobus	Drama
Vos, Isaac (–1651?)	*Iemant en Niemant* (1707)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Drama
Vos, Isaac (–1651?)	*Singende-klucht. Van Pekelharing in de kist* (1699)	Smient, Otto Barentsz (erven)	Drama
Vos, Jan (ca. 1610–1667)	*Aran en Titus, of Wraak en weerwraak: treurspel* (1641)	Stichel, Dominicus van der	Drama
Vos, Jan (ca. 1610–1667)	*Medea, treurspel* (1679)	Groot, Michiel de	Drama
Vriend, J. (?–?)	*Verliefde, of klagende minnaer* (1698)	Groot, Gijsbert de (wed.)	Songbook
Vries, S. de (1628–1708)	*Franckrycks kercklijcke en weereldlijcke staet […] van't jaer Christi 420. tot op't jaer 1684* (1684)	Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten	History
Vries, Simon de (1628–1708)	*D'edelste verlustigingh der leer- en lees- geerige gemoederen. Of Groot historisch schouw-tooneel* (1680)	Bouman, Jan (I)	History

Author	Title (year)	Publisher	Genre
Vries, Simon de (1628–1708)	*'t Amsterdamsch hoerdom* (1681)	Rijn, Elie Jogchemse van	Sociology
Vrye, Hippolytus de	*De tien vermakelikheden des houwelyks* (1683)	Sweerts, Hieronymus	Prose fiction
Vryer, Jacobus de (1663–1720)	*Het oude koffyhuis, of De Haagsche Mercuur gehekelt, door Pasquin, Juvenalis, en Mercurius. Kluchtspel* (1712)	Gaete, Hendrik van de	Drama
Waarmond, Lieven van (?–?)	*Hollands koors, verergert in een derdendaaghse: vervallen in een quynende sieckte: en geëyndight in ellendige dootstuypen. Sijnde een verhaal van de onheylen […] die den lande van Holland […] sijn overgekomen* (1687)	Lyland, Clement van	History
Waeyen, Johannes van der (1639–1701)	*[De] Franequer los-kop: of holbollige student* (16XX)	S.n.	Prose fiction
Waltes, Marcus (?–?)	*Klucht van bol-backers-Ian* (1659)	Smient, Otto Barentsz	Drama
Waltes, Marcus (?–?)	*Klucht van de bedrooge gierigaart* (1654)	Houthaeck, Dirck Cornelisz	Drama
Weistritz, Philander von der (?–?)	*'t Leven en bedryf van d'heer Paulus Wirtz […] velt-maerschalck ten dienste deser Vereenighde Nederlanden* (1681)	Hagen, Pieter	History
Weyerman, Jacob Campo (1677–1747)	*De Hollandsche sinnelykheid bly-spel* (1713)	Gaete, Hendrik van de	Drama
Wilde, Maria de (1682–after 1755)	*Abradates en Panthea, treurspel* (1710)	Berge, Pieter van den (II)	Drama
Willems, Melchior (de Jonge) (?–?)	*Klught van't bakkers knaapje* (1652)	Houthaeck, Tymon	Drama
Willink, Daniël (1676–1722)	*Lusthof van christelyke dank- en beedezangen* (1715)	Gaete, Hendrik van de	Songbook
Winschooten, Wigardus à (ca. 1638–after 1683)	*Seeman: behelsende een grondige uitlegging van de Neederlandse konst, en spreekwoorden, voor soo veel die uit de seevaart sijn ontleend* (1681)	Du Vivié, Johannes	Dutch language and literature
Wits, Claes Jacobsz (1599–1669)	*Stichtelijcke bedenckinge, onledige ledigheyt, stichtelijcke tijt-kortinge* (1694)	Lootsman, Casparus	Songbook
Witsen, Nicolaes (1641–1717)	*Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte Bondig ontwerp van eenige dier landen […] welke voormaels bekent zijn geweest* (1705)	Halma, François	Geography
Zande, Hendrik van der (1713–1717 fl.)	*Demetrius, of Stryd tusschen de liefde en het staatsbelang, treurspel* (1717)	Rank, Dirk	Drama

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