

Edited by Ton van Kalmthout & Huib Zuidervaart

The Practice of Philology in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands





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Ton van Kalmthout and Huib Zuidervaart (editors)



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1. Introduction

*Ton van Kalmthout and Huib Zuidervaart**

Abstract

This introduction discusses modifications in the field of ‘philology’ in the nineteenth century and the discipline’s previous history since the late sixteenth century. Save in classical philology, the methods of this domain were also applied to other languages and periods. In the nineteenth century, the practice of philology passed through a crucial phase. In both the subject of study as the methods, fundamental changes occurred. Texts in the vernacular and national philologies attracted attention, and ‘neo-philology’ succeeded to take over the central position traditionally held by classical philology. Sub-fields such as ‘linguistics’, ‘edition technique’ and ‘historiography’ grew into new, more or less independent (sub)disciplines, whereas scientific methods such as stemmatology and comparative approaches were introduced in the humanities. The studies collected in this volume are devoted to a diversity of developments related to this fascinating process of professionalization and the search for new frontiers in Dutch philology of the nineteenth century.

The Netherlands can boast of a long and important tradition in scholarly philology. In the early days of Leiden University (1575) for instance, ‘philology’ or the critical examination of classical texts was regarded as a ‘cutting-edge science’. This field of scholarship had far-reaching implications on disciplines such as theology, chronology, astronomy, history, law, and other ‘demarcated bodies of knowledge identified as a separate science’.¹ Scholars like Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) attracted students from all over Europe. But over the years, philology – both taken as written heritage and as the technique of preserving, restoring, and interpreting it – changed dramatically in content and scope. Next to classical philology, the tools of the trade were also implemented towards other languages and periods. In 1777, a Dutch manual defined the discipline as

that part of scholarship that covers the knowledge of languages and their proper use. Its components are grammar, rhetoric, declamation, metrics

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1 Cf. Olesko, ‘Disciplines’, p. 213.

and criticism. A philologist is someone who is a lover of languages and of the origin of words.²

But regardless of the exact field of inquiry, philologists as protectors and teachers of the written heritage always played a pivotal role in the formation of the cultural repertoire of the educated public. As men of learning and high esteem, philologists also exerted influence outside the cultural sphere, especially in politics and religion. The ever-changing composition of the philological frame of reference made no difference in this respect. A good philologist was a broadly educated man. According to a statement made in the 1840s, a philologist must master geography, chronology, historical criticism, political science, the history of ethics, the arts, and literature.³

In the nineteenth century, however, the practice of philology passed through a crucial phase. In both its object of study and its methods, several fundamental changes occurred.⁴ Texts in the vernacular and national philologies attracted more and more attention, and ‘neo-philology’ succeeded to take over the central position traditionally held by classical philology, although this discipline still enjoyed a high status at the end of the century. Subfields such as ‘linguistics’, ‘edition technique’ and ‘historiography’ grew into new, more or less independent (sub)disciplines, whereas scientific methods such as stemmatology and comparative approaches were introduced in the humanities. This redesigned the landscape of philology radically. New boundaries became apparent and existing ones were questioned or drawn sharper. At the time, philology underwent an accelerated process of differentiation and professionalization. This fascinating process of change and the search for new boundaries in philology put forward the following question: Which material and immaterial factors can be regarded as determinative for Dutch philology in the nineteenth century?

According to the historian Charles Rosenberg, historians of science should focus on – what he called – the ‘ethnology of knowledge’. Rosenberg

2 ‘Philologia is eigenlyk dat gedeelte der Geleerdheid dat in de kennis der Taalen en derzelve regt gebruik bestaat. Haare Onderdeelen zyn Grammatica, Rhetorica, Oratoria, Metrica en Critica. Een philologus is iemand die een Liefhebber der Taalen en der woorddoorsprongke-lykheden is’ (Buys, *Nieuw [...] woordenboek*, vol. 8, p. 684).

3 Witsen Geysbeek, *Algemeen Noodwendig Woordenboek*, vol. pp. 2010-2011 (lemma ‘philologie’): ‘Vandaar derhalve, dat een philoloog, die van zijne studie het volle nut wil plukken, geen vreemdeling moet zijn in geographie, chronologie, historische kritiek, staatkunde, geschiedenis van zeden, kunsten en litteratuur, enz.’.

4 On the changing methods of (in particular Dutch) neophilology: Van Kalmthout, ‘Bouwwak-kers van de literatuurbeschouwing’.

used this metaphor to analyse entities such as discipline, sub-discipline and scholarly profession. This approach not only deals with the internal development of intellectual content, but also relates the studied processes with the social and institutional context in which the scholarly content is created and transferred.⁵ This volume has a similar orientation. It presents several articles discussing the practice of philology in the Netherlands in the period under scrutiny.

Philology in the nineteenth century

What is – and was – understood by philology? The literal meaning of the phrase is ‘Love for the word’.⁶ It concerns a cultural science which essentially has a high degree of continuity since Antiquity, but which is demarcated in different ways in the course of time.⁷ Since the Middle Ages, philology can be understood as the study of (textual) culture in all its facets. A comprehensive modern definition is:

the science of language and literature which investigates the relation between word and meaning, and in doing so the performance of creative writers in the language and spirit and culture of a nation in word and essence, in the broadest sense also, beyond the literary production, archaeology and ethnology, philosophy, music, the judicial system, religion, habits and customs, art, popular tradition (saga, fairy tale, riddle, proverb, myth) and so on. [Philology] is served by rhetoric, poetics, metrics, stylistics, phonetics, grammar, epigraphy, palaeography as sub-disciplines, and especially by literary history and linguistics.⁸

5 Rosenberg, ‘Toward an Ecology of Knowledge’, p. 447.

6 Helsloot, *Korte geschiedenis van de rede*, p. 9, however, gives a slightly different original meaning: the term would have meant ‘love for the logos’, love for ‘a regular creative power underlying all things’ (‘een wetmatig scheppende kracht die aan alles ten grondslag lag’).

7 See Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen*, pp. 49-55, 139-144, 188-207, 338-348.

8 Von Wilpert *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*, p. 567: ‘die Wissenschaft von Sprache und Schrifttum, die den Zusammenhang von Wort und Sinn, damit die Leistung der Dichter in der Sprache und Geist und Kultur e. Volkes in Wort und Wesen erforscht, im weitesten Sinne auch über den lit. Niederschlag hinaus Altertums- und → Volkskunde, Philosophie, Musik, Rechtswesen, Religion, Sitte, Kunst, Volksüberlieferung (Sage, Märchen, Rätsel, Sprichwort, Mythos) usw. Als Teilwissenschaften dienen ihr Rhetorik, Poetik, Metrik, Stilistik, Phonetik, Grammatik, Epigraphik, Paläographie und bes. Literaturgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft’. See for instance Kuiper, ‘Wat is neofilologie?’, p. 4.

In the Netherlands, after the Middle Ages, the concept has also been used in a narrow scope. The lemma in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (*WNT*) ('Dictionary of the Dutch language'), dating from 1921, expresses the nineteenth-century idea that philology only includes historical and literary studies, as well as linguistics. It describes the field as

The science of the practitioners of the language and literature of a nation, formerly especially with respect to those of the Greeks and the Romans, and subsequently also extended to the scientific study of the entire culture of classical Antiquity. Since the nineteenth century [philology is] also applied to the study of language and literature, history and archaeology of other peoples.⁹

In the twentieth century more and more restricted conceptions of philology emerged, for instance as the field exclusively devoted to linguistic and literary studies,¹⁰ or even as the study of a single text or author ('Shakespeare philology', 'Reinaert philology'). There are also views identifying philology as the field of study exclusively dealing with linguistics, whether or not it has an applied character,¹¹ or reducing it to the composition of scholarly editions of important literary-historical texts.¹²

In line with the nineteenth-century opinion, as reflected in the *WNT* definition, we regard philology as the study of historical texts in the vernacular, undertaken within (sub)disciplines such as linguistics, literary studies and historiography or their subfields, currently called 'textual scholarship' and 'language and literature didactics'. Along the same line, the authors in this volume have studied the practice of philology as it

9 *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (<http://gtb.inl.nl/>), s.v. 'philologie'. Cf. idem, s.v. 'philoloog' [in translation: 'Scientific practitioner of literary studies; formerly especially applied to practitioners of knowledge on the Antiquity (classical philology), at present [used] as the name of everyone devoting himself to the scholarly investigation of the language and literature of any nation, or in a broader sense for: someone who studies language and literature, history and archeology'.] On the nineteenth-century interpretation of philology, see also: Helsloot, *Korte geschiedenis*, pp. 47-48.

10 For instance Barnouw, 'Philology'.

11 For instance Meertens, 'Nederlandse filologie'; Neutjens, *De techniek van de filologische arbeid* (writing skills); Van Essen *Van praktische filologie tot onderwijslinguïstiek* (language acquisition). See also Weerman 'Taalkunde of filologie'.

12 For instance Van Dalen-Oskam & Depuydt, 'Lexicography and philology'. Confer, however, the broader definition of philology in Mathijssen, *Naar de letter*, p. 19: 'alle onderzoek naar teksten en hun verhouding tot de cultuur waarin ze ontstaan zijn' ['all research into texts and their relationship with the culture in which they arose'].

developed in the nineteenth century. In order to enhance our insight into the constants and innovations of nineteenth-century philological practice, Rens Bod's introduction discusses its previous history. Bod places this practice not only in a historical perspective and in an international context, but his essay also underlines the importance of research into the history of philology.

New perspectives for old skills

Traditionally, philology was closely related to biblical criticism, and in the nineteenth century it was still an important auxiliary science of theology, as Johannes Magliano-Tromp points out in this volume. At the same time, however, philology demarcated its own more or less independent sphere, with a specific authority. Gert-Jan Johannes, for instance, discusses the formation of national philology as an example of discipline formation in the humanities. Jan Rock elucidates another aspect of this interest in the national literary heritage. He explains the emergence of a renewed practice of Dutch textual scholarship from both an upcoming international historicism and a tradition already built up in the Netherlands to publish historical texts in the vernacular.

Kris Steyaert's contribution on the teaching of Dutch literature provided by universities in nineteenth-century Belgium demonstrates that this teaching was prompted by political-ideological motives; motives which also played a role in the more internationally oriented domains of philology. As Marie-Christine Kok-Escalte writes in her article, humanistic and liberal considerations inspired the teaching of modern foreign languages at the universities in the final decades of the century. And humanistic, nation-transcending ideas all the more influenced the emerging sub-discipline of comparative literature discussed by Ton van Kalmthout.

The construction of philology as a discipline in the nineteenth century

It is important to remark that the practice of philology in the nineteenth century is not identical to the application of knowledge and skills to secure an income and a living for the practitioners. A financial motive never played a decisive role in what at the time was considered as 'professional philology'. Other characteristics articulated in the study of professions were more

visible.¹³ At first, the professional practice of nineteenth-century philologists was set in an institutional context in which learned societies for a large part determined the agenda,¹⁴ as becomes clear in particular in the articles by Rita Schlusemann and Jan Rock. Here, personal networks were crucial. Schlusemann examines an example of a network from the first half of the nineteenth century, on the basis of the correspondence about Dutch language heritage, conducted by Jacob Grimm with representatives of the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten* ('Royal Dutch Institute of Sciences, Letters and Fine Arts').

Because in the early nineteenth century the boundaries between amateurs and professionals were not clear-cut,¹⁵ academic philologists sought to develop their profile as a separate group by a narrower demarcation of their working field. The case of the historian Robert Fruin presents an excellent example. Considering Fruin's daily life, Jo Tollebeek demonstrates how in the second half of the century a small-scale professional community of academic historians was formed.

Professionalizing and specialization are often considered as characteristic for the institutionalization of knowledge in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ An example of such a tendency towards specialization is presented by Jan Noordegraaf, who explains how the study of language developed from an auxiliary science of (classical) philology into the more or less independent comparative discipline of linguistics. In this process, philology was seen as occupying itself with the precise form of language and meaning of a single text, while linguistics was seeking for patterns in the use of language. A comparable difference was signalled between philology, concentrating on individual texts, and literary studies, which distanced themselves from them, trying to formulate more general statements.¹⁷ A similar distinction also was made with respect to history: in contrast to the single text the philologist was working on, the historian used an extensive body of documents for the reconstruction of a historical reality.¹⁸ Likewise

13 See for these properties and for processes of professionalization among others: Abbott, *System of Professions* 1988; Burrage & Torstendahl, *Professions in Theory and History*; Morrell 'Professionalisation'; Macdonald, *The Sociology of the Professions*; Jacobs & Bosanac, *The Professionalization of Work*.

14 See e.g. Miller, 'Professional Society'.

15 This situation was similar to the natural sciences. Cf. Barton, 'Men of Science'.

16 See for instance Higham, 'The Matrix of Specialization', esp. pp. 3-7.

17 Michels 'De plaats van de filologie', (repr.) pp. 56-57; Kuiper, 'Wat is neofilologie?', p. 171 and p. 192; Noordegraaf, 'Spelling, taalkunde en filologie', pp. 143-145.

18 Fraeters, 'Medioneerlandistiek in context', p. 300.

Tollebeek argues in this volume that historiography had to emancipate itself more from philology, even more than literary studies did.

In general, access to a discipline was regulated by procedures and codes of conduct, which the philologist had also to consider. He (or exceptionally: she) should possess special qualifications, whether or not acknowledged and sealed by diplomas. Such regulations led, as usual in processes of professionalization, to the foundation of different kinds of institutions: educational and research institutes, collection-forming bodies, professional organizations and publication channels. Just like other academic professionals, philologists not only sought scientific recognition, but also societal support. After all, for the legitimization and funding of their activities they were almost always dependent on public and private parties. In this volume, these facets of philological practice are discussed extensively.

Desiderata

Although during the nineteenth century the practice of the philologists became more and more embedded in an institutional context where learned societies played an important role, the contributions of Steyaert, Kok-Escalle and Tollebeek show that in this period the universities obtained a decisive share in the transfer of philological knowledge. This owed much, both in theory and practice, to classical and oriental philology. The history of this aspect of nineteenth-century Dutch philology requires further research and therefore remains a desideratum.¹⁹ This also applies to the role of several infrastructural facilities in the field of Dutch philology, such as scientific libraries, communication media, congresses, periodicals and – starting in the second half of the nineteenth century – some journals specialized in philology. Just like books, these journals were able to act as repositories of philological knowledge, being better equipped, however, to follow the contemporary debates. In addition, these specialized journals gave a larger public access to new insights, fields of philological interest, methods and results. Nevertheless, the large-scale investigation of the content of scholarly periodicals is still in its infancy.²⁰ However, ongoing digitization

19 For classical philology in the Netherlands refer to Krul, 'Klassieke studiën' and idem, 'Classicism and the Dutch State'.

20 Among the philological journals, especially the historical ones have attracted attention. See for instance Dann, 'Vom *Journal* zur wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift'; Middell, *Historische Zeitschriften in internationalen Vergleich*; Nissen, *Wissenschaft für gebildete Kreise*'.

programmes and the raising accessibility of scientific journals from the past hold the promise for researchers of being able to reveal in detail processes of professionalization and discipline formation. This volume on the Dutch case provides some of the necessary preliminary explorations.

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2. The Importance of the History of Philology, or the Unprecedented Impact of the Study of Texts

*Rens Bod**

Abstract

This chapter sketches the history of European philological practice from antiquity to the early twentieth century. It provides a background against which Dutch nineteenth-century philology may be understood and put into a historical context. The guiding questions of this chapter are: what were the methods used by philologists in different periods, what did they find with these methods, and what was the societal impact of their results? It turns out that philological insights and discoveries have had an unprecedented and lasting impact on society. Philology was at the birth of the Reformation and the Enlightenment and it triggered romanticism and cultural nationalism. As such, the history of philology deserves to be studied in all its details, and across all periods and regions.

For a specialized book on the history of philology it is appropriate and ironic at the same time to ask why we need books on the history of philology. The usual and satisfactory answer to this kind of question is that the historiography of a scholarly discipline has an intrinsic value and should therefore be studied in its own right. Yet the history of philology has an exceptional – if not to say unique – position in the history of learning. There has hardly been any discipline with a greater cultural and societal impact than philology. This may sound paradoxical as today philology has become a marginal if not an extinct discipline. Those who know about it, usually know it as a branch of scholarship from the past. Yet for many centuries, philology was the most influential field of learning. It was thanks to philological analysis that Lorenzo Valla was able to rebut the document *Donatio Constantini* showing that the Pope's claim to worldly power was based on fiction. And philological studies founded the basis for biblical criticism from Erasmus to Spinoza that led to the early Enlightenment. And it was again philology that developed precise genealogical methods for text reconstruction that were

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taken over by evolutionary biologists and geneticists. Moreover, it was the discipline of philology that boosted cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century by the creation of a canon of national texts.

To understand and appreciate this long-lasting influence of philology, we need to study its history in all its details, across periods and regions. It comes as a surprise, therefore, that such a detailed investigation has hardly been carried out for the history of Dutch philology, the more since the Netherlands produced some of the most influential philologists. The papers in this book thus provide a timely and urgent contribution to the history of learning in the nineteenth-century Netherlands. But to understand how the impact of philology came about, we need to go back to the origins of the discipline and discuss its development and major insights through the ages. The goal of this chapter is to provide a historical background of philological practice against which developments in the nineteenth-century Netherlands may be understood.¹

The origins of philology

Western philology stands in a long tradition that started with the Alexandrians in the third century BC. It was with the establishment of the library of Alexandria that hundreds of thousands of manuscripts² from all parts of the Hellenistic world had been brought together. This resulted in an empirical world of texts without equal. But it also led to one of the greatest problems in the history of learning: among the often hundreds of copies of the same text, no two were alike. In some cases the differences were modest and had come about because of copying errors, but the discrepancies could also be substantial, consisting of whole sentences that appeared to be deliberate changes, additions or omissions. And there were also texts

1 This chapter is partly based on my book *A New History of the Humanities*. In that book I approach the history of the humanities by searching for principles used and patterns found by humanities scholars. For the current chapter I have employed a similar way of working. My guiding questions are: what were the methods used by philologists through the ages, what were the patterns found and/or the discoveries made, and what was their societal impact? My chapter differs from other histories of philology in that I explicitly focus on the practice of philology and its results, which seems particularly adequate for the theme of this volume. For an overview of other approaches to the history of philology, see Gurd, *Philology and its Histories*. See also Most, 'Quellenforschung'.

2 According to most estimates the Alexandrian library grew from around 200,000 manuscripts in the third century BCE to over 700,000 manuscripts in 50 BCE. See Canfora, *The Vanished Library*.

that had only survived in the form of incomplete fragments. How could the original text – the archetype – be deduced from all this material?

The first person to systematically tackle this problem was Zenodotus of Ephesus (c. 333-c. 260 BCE), who was also the first librarian of the Alexandrian library. Zenodotus compiled a dictionary using typically Homeric words, with which he hoped to be able to formulate the ‘perfect’ text from the many corrupt remnants of manuscripts.³ Unfortunately there was no theory underlying Zenodotus’s attempt and his criteria appear to have been based on aesthetic preferences and guesswork.

His successors, Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257-180 BCE) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 216-c. 144 BCE) tried to provide such a theory so as to keep philology as free as possible from subjective elements. The problem of corrupted words represented one of the biggest challenges. How could an unknown word form be identified as an archaic word or an error? Aristophanes approached this problem on the basis of a concept of analogy.⁴ If he could establish that an unknown word was formed and conjugated or declined in the same way as a known word, he believed that he could reconstruct the original form with a certain degree of reliability. Aristophanes defined five criteria that word forms had to comply with among themselves in order to be described as ‘analogous’. The word forms had to correspond in regard to gender, case, ending, number of syllables and stress (or sound). Historical philology actually started with Aristophanes.

Already with Alexandrian philology we see a combination of the study of texts, language and the past, which would become a characterizing feature of early modern and modern philology. Also during the European Middle Ages we find attempts to reconstruct the original text, especially the Bible, but the methods used were based mostly on authority rather than criticism. For example, Roger Bacon devised principles for the Vulgate reconstruction. According to Bacon the old Latin manuscripts of the church fathers were the first authority. It was only if these old Latin manuscripts did not correspond with each other that it was necessary to refer to the original texts. Secular philological text reconstruction was most brilliantly carried out by Lupus of Ferrières (c. 805-862), who was working in Fulda under Rabanus Maurus (‘the teacher of Germany’).⁵ Using his contacts all over Europe he had manuscripts sent from Tours, York, Rome and elsewhere. Lupus was not the only manuscript hunter in ninth-century Europe, but what made him

3 Nickau, *Untersuchungen*.

4 For an in-depth study on Aristophanes, see Callanan, *Die Sprachbeschreibung*.

5 Graipey, *Lupus of Ferrieres*.

unique for his time was that he had manuscripts sent to him that his library already contained. Like the Alexandrian analogists before him, Lupus wanted to reconstruct the putative original text from surviving copies. In so doing he tried to mark the corruptions and variations in the manuscripts as accurately as possible. He annotated textual *lacunae* using spaces (rather than risk erroneous emendations). However, his own critical contributions are so modest that some people consider the use of the term philology to be inappropriate in describing Lupus's activities. Yet compared with the carelessness of most other 'classical' philologists, with the Christianization of the names of all classical authors by Hadoard in his *Collectaneum* as the nadir,⁶ Lupus's text analysis is a model of meticulousness.

During the whole of the Middle Ages there was a significant interest in the classics. But nobody did more to revive the ideals of Rome in a Christian community than Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374). The large-scale reconstruction of linguistic, literary and historiographical activities of the past started with Petrarca and became the model for later humanists. Petrarca's greatest philological fame is founded on his reconstruction of Livy's historical works, which was a widespread success, vulgarized in Italian and in French. Petrarca brought together different fragments from European libraries and was able to make one coherent whole of books 1-10 and 21-40 (books 41-45 were not discovered until the sixteenth century and the others are still missing without trace).⁷ He corrected, annotated and supplemented copies of Livy's work on a monumental scale. Petrarca was not the first person to try this, but he was by far the best in over a thousand years. He copied out some parts of Livy's text himself when visiting libraries. This activity instantly points up one of the most important features that identified 'humanistic philology': the humanists were manuscript hunters and were convinced that they made real discoveries in the world around them, which they saw as one of the texts, classical and otherwise. However, their discoveries were often no more than separate or even inconsistent observations that needed considerable inventiveness before they could be fused into a coherent whole. This humanistic attitude produced a new model – the philologist's task was to bring historical Antiquity back to life by reconstructing its texts, which were waiting in medieval vaults to be unveiled.

6 Beeson, 'The Collectaneum of Hadoard', pp. 201-222.

7 On Petrarca's reconstruction of Livy, see Billanovich, *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*. See also Gilmore, 'The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History', pp. 76-80.

Philology's first major impacts

Petrarch's philological criticism and manuscript hunting was taken over by Boccaccio and Poggio Bracciolini. But it was Lorenzo Valla (1406-1457) who showed that philology could be used not only to reconstruct texts but to criticize and systematically debunk forgeries. In 1440, in his essay *De falso credita* Valla demonstrated that the document *Donatio Constantini* ('the donation of Constantine') was a fake.⁸ In this document it was stated that the Roman emperor Constantine the Great (280-337) had given the Western Roman Empire to Pope Sylvester I out of gratitude for Constantine's miraculous recovery from leprosy. The document *Donatio Constantini* thus represented the most important justification for the church's worldly power. During the Middle Ages the document was widely regarded as authentic, although there had been doubts now and then. It was during the fifteenth century that humanists began to realize that the *Donatio* could not possibly be genuine. Nicholas of Cusa had already concluded that the document had to have been apocryphal in 1433,⁹ but it was Valla who subjected the text to a strict critical method and identified it as a fake by using a combination of linguistic, historical and logical arguments.

Valla's refutation was accepted almost immediately by Pope Pius II, the humanist Enea Piccolomini, who recorded it in a tract (1453). Yet nothing changed in regard to the legitimation of the papal state. After Pius's death Valla's work was largely ignored. And when, during the Reformation, Martin Luther used Valla's repudiation as an argument for reforming the church, *De falso credita* was put on the list of prohibited works. But a few decades later the church historian and cardinal Cesare Baronio admitted in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588-1607) that the *Donatio* was a forgery, and this slowly settled the matter. Valla's rebuttal was too well crafted to be contradicted. It also represented the first philological discovery with a 'world-changing' impact: it formed one of the arguments for church reformation.

Brilliant as it was, Valla's method underlying his criticism remained implicit: he did not describe his philological principles. The first (early modern) philologist who actually worked out his method to some extent was Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494). It resulted in an attempt to arrive at a proper methodology for philology that integrated linguistic, historical and textual knowledge. In his *Miscellanea* in 1489, Poliziano described a way of

8 *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, edited by Setz. See also Zinkeisen, 'The Donation of Constantine as Applied by the Roman Church', pp. 625-632.

9 About Cusa, *De concordantia catholica*, see Sigmund *The Catholic Concordance*, pp. 216-222.

working that enabled an accurate comparison and evaluation of sources.¹⁰ Poliziano realized that a group of completely consistent sources could still be a problem. Assume that we have four sources – A, B, C and D – which all agree on one point, and that B, C and D are entirely dependent on A for their information.¹¹ Should B, C and D nevertheless be included as extra evidence of the authenticity of A? According to Poliziano they should not: if derived sources were mutually consistent, they should be identified and eliminated.¹² Sources should be ranked genealogically so that their dependence in regard to an older source becomes clear. One anomalous manuscript can refute dozens of consistent manuscripts purely on the basis of its position in the genealogical ranking. The general preference for an older source existed long before Poliziano. Older manuscripts were more reliable than new ones because there were fewer transmission stages between the old source and the author. Poliziano's method, however, consisted of more than establishing the oldest possible source. It also involved determining the complete genealogy of sources. Once this genealogy had been set down, a start could be made on eliminating derived sources. Poliziano's principle is therefore known as the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*.¹³ This principle was further developed in the nineteenth century by Karl Lachmann to become one of the cornerstones of modern philology (see below).

Poliziano's method was an immense success. Erasmus combined Poliziano's *eliminatio* principle and Valla's textual criticism in his extremely influential edition of the New Testament. This work was based on research over many years into the oldest source of the Greek New Testament – which Erasmus brought back from all over Europe – after which he began to construct the best possible translation. Erasmus' translation resulted in a number of significant changes in the New Testament as compared to the existing Latin version.¹⁴ In particular it concerned leaving out a passage known as the *comma Johanneum*, which mentioned the Holy Trinity – one of the main doctrines of the church.¹⁵ This led to such a major controversy that Erasmus promised he would put the words back if they could be found in another Greek manuscript of the New Testament. Such a manuscript promptly appeared, but Erasmus rightly condemned it as a forgery. That said, Erasmus put the *comma Johanneum* back in the third and later editions.

10 Poliziano, *Miscellanea*.

11 This example comes (with slight modification) from Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, p. 56.

12 Poliziano, *Miscellanea*, I, p. 39.

13 Maas, *Textkritik*, p. 2.

14 De Jonge, 'The Character of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament', pp. 81-88.

15 Metzger, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 100–102.

Moreover, Erasmus's editorial approach was not always consistent. For example, he sometimes amended the Greek text of the Bible – which he printed in parallel with the Latin translation – to accord with St Jerome's Vulgate, which was precisely what he claimed to be improving.

Apart from this editorial transgression, however, Erasmus adhered faithfully to Valla's standpoint that the Bible, like any other work, should be treated as a text, together with Poliziano's principle that the oldest manuscript should be used. Yet it emerged that Erasmus, because he stood by the original (Greek) text of the New Testament, in this case departed from Poliziano's principle. After all, the oldest recoverable source could be a translation of the original text, in which case a source that might be not quite as old but was written in the original language would have to be preferred. This was indeed established by Erasmus with regard to a Greek manuscript of the New Testament that was less old than a Latin translation, but because it was in the original language it ultimately proved more reliable than the older Latin version. It should be pointed out here, however, that Erasmus thought his Greek manuscript was much older than it actually was.¹⁶ Despite considerable initial resistance, it was thanks to Erasmus that it was slowly but surely accepted that texts should be studied in their original language rather than in the form of a translation. Erasmus's approach meant that Poliziano's theory was not so much rebutted as transformed into a better one.

The heyday of early modern philology: towards a new world view

Humanistic philological attainments were whipped up to new heights in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), who can be considered as one of the greatest philologists of the early modern age.¹⁷ Thanks in part to the teachings of his father, J.C. Scaliger, his knowledge of Latin was many times greater than that of his predecessors. This emerged early on when he was able to create something comprehensible from the surviving text *Astronomica* by Marcus Manilius (first century CE), which had become so corrupted that large parts were completely unintelligible. Scaliger turned Manilius into a readable author where others had failed (first edition 1579). Scaliger was the first to treat an author as an organic entity by considering the author's intellectual background in addition to

16 De Jonge, "The Character of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament'.

17 For an in-depth biography of Scaliger and his works, see Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*.

the text itself. His fame spread rapidly and he was asked to succeed Justus Lipsius at Leiden University. After initial hesitation and several rounds of negotiations, things got too hot for Scaliger as a Huguenot in France and he accepted a position as a Leiden university professor without any teaching commitments. He was in charge of outstanding scholars, among them the prodigy Hugo de Groot, or Grotius, (1583-1645).

However, Scaliger's many reconstructions were nothing more than limbering up for his higher objective, for which he had collected manuscripts in Syrian, Aramaic, Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic and other languages. It was the reconstruction of the complete history of the ancient world on the basis of a precise scientific chronology, and to achieve it by using a single philological-historical principle – the oldest source principle, where Scaliger also considered the background of the author.¹⁸ It was the job of the philologist to reconstruct these oldest sources, in the process of which forgeries could be unmasked like the texts of Manetho and Berossus which were fabricated by Annius of Viterbo.¹⁹ Once they had been restored as accurately as possible, authentic historical sources could be used to record a total history from the beginning of time to the present. Scaliger applied the principle in an exemplary fashion during the remaining 24 years of his life, primarily in his *Thesaurus temporum* of 1606.²⁰ In this work he collected, restored and ordered virtually every surviving historical fragment. Scaliger reconstructed a few extremely important historical texts, among them Manetho's history of the earliest Egyptian dynasties. Using the information from these sources, particularly about the duration of the different dynasties, Scaliger was able to date the beginning of the first Egyptian dynasty to 5285 BCE. To his dismay this date was nearly 1,300 years before the generally accepted day of Creation, which according to biblical chronology had to be around 4000 BCE. However, Scaliger did not draw the ultimate conclusion from his discovery, which would have meant that either the Bible or his own method was incorrect. In order to 'save the phenomena', Scaliger introduced a new concept of time – the *tempus prolepticon* – a time before time.²¹ He placed every event that occurred before the Creation, such as the early Egyptian kings, in this proleptic time. Scaliger's solution may come across as artificial, but for a Protestant in around 1600 it was inconceivable to cast doubt on the Bible. Yet at the same time Scaliger was too consistent to give

18 Grafton, 'Scaliger and Historical Chronology', pp. 156-185.

19 Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, pp.76-103.

20 Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*.

21 Scaliger, *ibidem*, p. 278.

up on his philological method just like that. He preferred to introduce an imaginary era rather than abandon the oldest source principle.

Scaliger's chronological dating of the earliest Egyptian dynasties, which is currently thought to be largely correct, was barely accepted in his own time. Even his immediate followers Ubbo Emmius and Nicolaus Mulerius did not go along with Scaliger in his dating, simply because it flatly contradicted the Bible. The meticulous Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) thought he could solve the problem by assuming that the Egyptian dynasties were not successive but simultaneous (and occurred in different places).²² However, apart from an analogy with Babylonian history, he had no evidence whatsoever to support his position. Vossius's proposal almost appeared to be a return to the principle of biblical coherence, according to which every historical fact had to be brought into line with Christian biblical teaching. Others, the theologian Jacob Revius for instance, argued that everyone was wrong, referring to the usual biblical fragments, whereas in 1654 the Irish Archbishop James Ussher again determined that the creation of everything had taken place on Sunday 23 October 4004 BCE.²³

Within a year, though, all hell broke loose. In 1655, the French theologian Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676) asserted that people had lived before the creation of Adam and Eve – the so-called *pre-Adamites*.²⁴ For the time being his claims appeared to have been created out of thin air. For example, La Peyrère contended that the Egyptian kings had ruled for millions of years. However, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), the son of Gerardus, provided philological and historical underpinning. Rather than contending that people had lived before the Creation, he showed in *De vera aetate mundi* (1659) that the earth had to be at least 1440 years older than had been hitherto assumed.²⁵ Isaac substantiated his argument with additional evidence from geographical studies and Chinese and Ethiopian texts. His work became widely known in scholarly European circles and it had a profound effect on radical biblical criticism in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) elevated biblical criticism to a secular political philosophy. In his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, which was published anonymously in 1670, he argued with a passion not previously displayed that books of the Bible were texts written by people that had grown historically

22 Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*.

23 Elrington, *The Whole Works of Ussher*, p. 489.

24 The pre-Adamite hypothesis had a long history before it was made famous by La Peyrère – see Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, pp. 26-41.

25 Vossius, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi*, See also Jorink & Van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius*.

and were transmitted in a specific time.²⁶ The biblical criticism that Spinoza employed for his purposes was based on the historically underpinned textual criticism of his illustrious philological predecessors.²⁷ In Spinoza's hands the destructive power of philology led to an eruption – no text was absolute. He took the results of philologists and historians and extrapolated them to the ultimate implication, and then demanded the right to the free use of reason, without interference from theologians, with democracy emerging as the preferred form of government. Spinoza was able to use the historical-philological paradigm for a new, secular world view, which represented the *de facto* beginning of the Enlightenment.²⁸

In this context, Scaliger's philological discovery that world history conflicted with biblical chronology had far-reaching implications. What he had found stood at the beginning of a chain of sweeping changes that resulted in a world view in which the Bible was no longer taken to be a serious historical source and freedom of thought was necessary for the welfare of citizens and the state.²⁹ These were the ideas that the eighteenth-century 'rationalist' Enlightenment thinkers would use to create a *furor*. However, right at the beginning of this long chain were the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of whom Valla was the first relevant scholar and Scaliger was the greatest – a sceptical view of everything, including the Bible, and the precision, the consistency and the empirical approach together with sound theoretical underpinning. This method influenced all scholarly activities, not just philology and biblical criticism. Although we must not forget that many humanistic philologists had the sole goal of letting Antiquity live again, it also led to a critical selection of surviving sources, when the most critical exponents, for example Valla, Poliziano, Erasmus and Scaliger, cast doubt on every text.

The spread of critical philology

After Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) was seen as the most learned man of his time.³⁰ He was a Huguenot and a loyal friend of Scaliger, and in 1610, he fled to England after the murder of Henry IV of France. As well as many

26 Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*.

27 Steenbakkens, 'Spinoza in the History of Biblical Scholarship', pp. 313-326.

28 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*.

29 According to Jorink, *Het Boeck der Natuere*, p. 429, there is a line running from Scaliger via Saumaise and Isaac Vossius to Spinoza.

30 Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*.

editions of the works of Greek and Roman writers, Casaubon was able to thoroughly date, and in doing so to reject, a number of texts in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. This *Corpus*, which was attributed to one Hermes Trismegistus, was one of the most studied works in the Renaissance and was alleged to have a biblical age.³¹ It became widely known as a result of the Latin translation by Marsilio Ficino in 1471. Ficino observed agreements between the philosophy in the *Corpus* and Plato's dialogues, from which he believed that he could conclude that Hermes Trismegistus had lived before Plato and was even a contemporary of Moses. This generated enormous interest in the so-called Hermetic philosophy during the Renaissance. In 1614, however, Casaubon – using purely linguistic grounds – was able to date the *Corpus's* philosophical texts to between 200 and 300 CE.³² It followed from this that the *Corpus* contained no philosophical originality and was largely eclectic. This exposé of Hermetic ideas on the basis of textual criticism so captured the imagination that philology attained an unprecedentedly high status. Many exponents of the New Sciences – from Kepler to Newton – would study both nature and texts.

Philology in Germany was given a tremendous impetus by the foundation of the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in 1700.³³ One of the most important representatives was Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761),³⁴ because of his different vision of the classics – sometimes referred to as the 'new humanism' – which was taught with great energy at the University of Göttingen and then elsewhere.³⁵ According to Gesner the old humanism had tried to create a verbal imitation of the classics and a continuation of the Latin literature of Antiquity. Around 1650, this goal was deemed to be unfeasible and was gradually abandoned. The new objective that Gesner had in mind was no longer a matter of imitating Greek and Latin style, but of mastering its substance. The classics served to form the mind and cultivate taste, and through this to create a new literature instead of reconstructing and imitating the old one. Gesner's vision attracted a great deal of attention. It became a guiding principle for Winckelmann and Lessing.

The Neapolitan Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) is sometimes referred to as the last humanist philologist, but he also had one foot in the new age.³⁶

31 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*.

32 Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis*, pp. 70-87. See also Grafton, 'Protestant versus Prophet', pp. 78-93.

33 Joos, *Gelehrsamkeit und Machtanspruch*.

34 Reinhold, *Johann Matthias Gesner*.

35 Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 7.

36 Burke, *Vico*. See also Leerssen, 'The Rise of Philology', pp. 23-36.

The concept of culture as a 'systematic whole' has been attributed to Vico. He introduced a new scholarly discipline that was meant to shed light on the developments relating to all human existence in *Scienza Nuova* in 1725.³⁷ According to Vico the Cartesian assumption that nature would be more accessible than human affairs was fundamentally wrong. Vico argued that because God created nature, only He could really know it, whereas men could know about what they created, to wit their own civilization. The *factum* ('that which man creates') is the *verum* ('the truth'). In other words, people have a better understanding of what they themselves have made (*factum*) than what confronts them (nature created by God). Human history was inherently understandable because all people experience hope, fears, desire etc., while they would always remain outsiders when it came to nature.³⁸ In his anti-cartesianism, Vico contended that the proper study of man was and had to be the human past, literature and language. Here Vico laid the foundations of the philology as an integrated area of learning that would be built on by Wilhelm Dilthey and others. Yet it was to take almost a century before the implications of Vico's ideas would fully register, initially in the work of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and then among nineteenth-century historians and philologists.

Philology as Geisteswissenschaft

Nineteenth-century philology underwent a major transformation: from being a purely classical discipline it was converted into a national one. These changes did not appear out of the blue. During the course of the eighteenth century the response to the glorification of the classics became progressively more critical. The aspiration to create nation states moreover resulted in a growing interest in national history. Starting with the French Revolution, the past was made more accessible. Monastery archives were nationalized and museum collections became public. A nation's interest in its own past was matched by a growing appetite for popular literature and folklore. Johann Gottfried Herder was a pioneer in this field. Herder could be seen as the successor of Vico, but he could equally well be considered as coming from the modern age. For example, Herder was the source of the notion of a nation ('*Volk*') that can grow and die, and also the concept of

37 Vico, *New Science*.

38 Bedani, *Vico Revisited*, pp. 196 ff.

national spirit. Herder was moreover a spiritual father of the nationalism that was to play an overpowering role in the nineteenth century.³⁹

Historiography, as well as the other humanistic disciplines – from art history to musicology – underwent a real ‘philologization’: the precise and critical use of sources was to become the cornerstone of the humanities. The first major historian-philologist who followed the line of Vico and Herder and who, in flagrant opposition to earlier humanist scholars, wanted to treat all historical periods as having equal status was Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). After a career as a grammar school teacher, he joined the University of Berlin, following the success of his first great work, *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*, published in 1824.⁴⁰ In this work, Ranke used an arsenal of written texts, including memoirs, diaries, national archives, and diplomatic sources. He subjected them all to the strict methodical principles of philology. Ranke’s work led to the creation of a new type of history, which became known as historicism. This movement did not seek to make pronouncements about the past but merely to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen* (‘how it really was’).⁴¹ Ranke combined humanistic philology with a narrative historiography in order to achieve this. His students were dispatched to the many recently opened state and church archives, where they had to apply in-depth philological source criticism.⁴² Both the content of the source and the external facets, such as the form and the carrier, were subjected to a critical analysis. The use of this philological method was intended to guarantee the objectivity of the historian, so that Ranke’s goal – establishing facts – was achieved.⁴³

Ranke’s influence was immense, but despite the official scholarly objectivity, many nineteenth-century Rankeans started to dance to a nationalist tune. After his illustrious standard work on Rome,⁴⁴ for example, Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) went into politics and became a fervent supporter of Bismarck’s pursuit of national unification. Others used historiography to provide foundations for a specific national identity. Robert Fruin (1823-1899), the first holder of the chair of national history at Leiden University, was a prominent example. Although he was a self-declared Rankean – his inaugural lecture was entitled *The impartiality of the historiographer* – he gave a biased and over-simplified picture of the seventeenth-century diplomat

39 Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*.

40 Von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations*.

41 Andreas, *Von Ranke, Fürsten und Völker*, p. 4.

42 Eskildsen, ‘Leopold Ranke’s Archival Turn’, pp. 425-453.

43 Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History*.

44 Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*.

Lieuwe van Aitzema, whom he declared to be a secret catholic intriguer.⁴⁵ Yet it is to the credit of Ranke's disciples, in particular Georg Waitz, Heinrich von Sybel and especially Johann Gustav Droysen, that Ranke's ideas became institutionalized in nineteenth-century Germany, Europe and the US.

Ranke's historiography reinforced the search for an ever more precise method for deriving the original source from extant copies. The role of Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) was crucial here. He contributed more than any other to an overarching text reconstruction theory that integrated the methods of his illustrious precursors, and which is currently known as the *stemmatic theory* or *stemmatology*.⁴⁶ In this method a family tree (a *stemma*) of surviving texts is built that can be used to reconstruct the original text. Some elements of the stemmatic theory had already been in use for centuries, such as the concept of an archetype of a text and the genealogical method (employed by Poliziano). Lachmann put these separate elements into one systematic whole. First of all he divided the philological method into three separate phases:

- (1) *Recensio*. In this stage the philologist collects all surviving versions of a text, inventories the *variants* ('differences') and determines the genealogical relationship between the surviving texts – a *stemma codicum*, a sort of family tree. This phase is executed as mechanically as possible in order to keep it separate from the interpretation of the text.
- (2) *Examinatio*. After the 'primitive' text has been established by the *stemma*, the philologist has to decide whether or not it is authentic.
- (3) *Emendatio*. If the primitive text is judged not to be authentic, the philologist has to emend it in order to reconstruct the lost archetype from the oldest surviving accurate version.

Lachmann did not completely formalize any of these phases. The well-informed guess of the philologist remained an inherent part of text reconstruction. Once the family tree of the *stemma* of text variants had been put together, though, Lachmann showed that a number of very precise rules could be applied to it. The concept of the *stemma* is therefore one of the showpieces of stemmatic philology. The first published genealogical tree for a classical text is attributed to Carl Zumpt, but it was Lachmann who spelled out which rules applied to a *stemma* and how they could be used in his editions of Lucretius (1850) and the New Testament (1842-1850).

45 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 731-732.

46 For the fundamentals of Lachmann's theory, see Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Filologie*.

Lachmannian reconstruction takes place on the grounds of logical inference based on the differences between and agreements in the genealogical relationship between texts. Contrary to Poliziano's approach, Lachmann's method was worked out in sufficient detail in order to go through its life as a 'theory'. It turned out, though, to be an enormous task to manually build up a *stemma* for a substantial text in which all differences and agreements in all versions have to be compared, let alone going on to deduce emendations. It is moreover possible that very little can be emended, and it can even be the case that no genealogical tree can be developed. Usually, though, if there are several versions of a text, they can be organized in a genealogical relationship using Lachmann's method. The stemmatic approach was therefore a giant step forward compared with earlier philological techniques.

The Lachmannian school and its influence

Lachmann's philology came as a bombshell. It resulted in his reconstruction of Lucretius, which remains unequalled to this day, and also to a revised version of the New Testament that represented a rejection of Erasmus's *textus receptus*, which had served as the standard for centuries. Lachmann's greatest influence, however, was exerted on the reconstruction of medieval literature, including the poems of Walter von der Vogelweide, the *Hildebrandslied* and the *Nibelungenlied*.⁴⁷ Humanistic scholars had ignored the medieval lyric and epic and did not discover or rediscover them until some time in the eighteenth century. For example, the *Nibelungenlied* ('The song of the Nibelungs') was lost at the end of the sixteenth century but was unearthed again in 1755.⁴⁸ Before long there were no fewer than 34 manuscripts in circulation, none of which agreed with the others (and which often consisted of fragments). The versions could be put into a *stemma* and reconstructed thanks to Lachmann's method.⁴⁹ The scope of this discovery and reconstruction is virtually impossible to overestimate.⁵⁰ The *Nibelungenlied* was declared to be the national German epic and (despite criticism) elevated to the same level as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Passages from the *Nibelungenlied* appeared all the time on posters and during speeches. *Nibelungentreue* ('Nibelung loyalty'), in which mutual fidelity

47 Hertz, *Karl Lachmann: Eine Biografie*, pp. 100-119.

48 Raffel, *Das Nibelungenlied*.

49 Lachmann, *Der Nibelunge Noth und die Klage nach der ältesten Überlieferung*.

50 Hård, *Das Nibelungenepos*.

between vassals was on a higher plane than family loyalty or one's own life, became the cornerstone of German wartime propaganda, with the later national socialism as the nadir.

Yet it is hard to blame Lachmann for this nationalist exploitation of philology. He himself was a largely independent philologist. This emerged all the more when he applied his method, which was considered to be of use primarily for old literature, to contemporary authors too. It had been assumed for a long time that text reconstruction was unnecessary for works that the author himself had had printed. However, after the death of an author a text could soon deteriorate if it was reprinted a number of times. New misprints appeared with every edition.⁵¹ Lachmann showed how stemmatic philology could be useful for texts from the recent past. For example, he was responsible for a painstaking edition of the work of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781).

Under Lachmann, philology was applied to all periods and his method represented the standard for text reconstruction in Europe and beyond. In the Netherlands Lachmann's method was applied by Jacob Muller for the reconstruction of the thirteenth-century beast epic *Van den vos Reinaerde* (1884). Lachmann's method also had a following outside philology. Historians like Georg Waitz (1813-1886) were pupils of both Ranke and Lachmann and continued to develop the philologization of historiography.⁵²

All this success meant that the shortcomings of Lachmann's stemmatalogy might almost be overlooked. His method was based on a number of assumptions that were not always valid, such as the supposition that every version is derived from exactly one direct ancestor and that a copyist only made new mistakes without correcting the errors of predecessors. Lachmann's theory proved to be flexible enough, though, to be corrected in regard to these assumptions. A more serious problem was that the fundamental concept of an 'error' was not defined with precision. For instance, are differences in word order errors or not? It was not until the twentieth century that a start was made on formalizing Lachmann's method down to the smallest detail. An important step was taken by Walter Greg, who gave an unambiguous method in *The Calculus of Variants: An Essay on Textual Criticism* (1927) for constructing a *stemma* on the basis of variants – although the definitive explanation of Lachmann's method is usually attributed to Paul Maas's *Textkritik* (1960). More recent versions

51 On misprints, see Mathijssen, *Naar de letter*, p. 22.

52 Wölky, *Roscher, Waitz, Bluntschli und Treitschke als Politikwissenschaftler*, pp. 151-163.

of neo-Lachmannian philology have tried to completely ‘mechanize’ the assembly of a *stemma*. This involves building a *stemma* in two steps rather than one. First of all a type of deep structure is set up in the form of a chain, after which the final *stemma* is deduced in a second stage.⁵³ Meanwhile this process has been defined so precisely that it is both reproducible and implementable by using a computer program that automatically works out a *stemma* from a number of entered variants.⁵⁴ In consequence, stemmatic philology appears to be the only humanities discipline to have become a ‘normal science’. While the job of stemmatic philology has not yet been finished, the contours have been so clearly defined that the main activity in the field is problem solving.

Conclusion: philology as a conglomerate of disciplines

For centuries the concept of philology as textual criticism was dominant. Yet from the early modern era onwards, philology developed branches into historiography, literary history, numismatics, epigraphy, palaeography and more. During the course of the eighteenth century these branches could count on burgeoning interest, for example from Gesner and Vico (and in the nineteenth century from Lachmann’s contemporary August Böckh). ‘Philology’ was no longer taken to mean only textual criticism but the complete study of language, literature and culture in their historical context. It is precisely this notion of philology that became dominant in the nineteenth century, as we see in Dutch philology too. However, with the continuing specialization in academia, these fields developed into disciplines in their own right in the course of the twentieth century. The notion of philology as a covering field became an umbrella-term while stemmatic philology degraded to a useful but no more than an auxiliary discipline. What came out of this process were the many separate disciplines of the *Geisteswissenschaften* that only in some remote past had been united under the ‘Queen of Learning’ with its manifold and unprecedented impact.⁵⁵

53 For some recent developments in stemmatic philology, see Van Reenen et al., *Studies in Stemmatology* and idem, *Studies in Stemmatology II*.

54 For example, Salemans, *Building Stemma's*.

55 Bod, *A New History of the Humanities*, p. 143.

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3. ‘Dutch Language and Literature’ (and other ‘national philologies’) as an example of discipline formation in the humanities

*Gert-Jan Johannes**

Abstract

Around 1800, at a number of European universities, the discipline of national philology was introduced. The history of the Dutch national philology, Dutch Language and Literature (*neerlandistiek*), demonstrates that some of the prevalent ideas on discipline formation, often based on the model of the modern exact sciences, are inadequate. The motives for the institution of the first chairs were not so much academic in nature, but rather political and nationalist. Moreover, from the very beginning, this discipline was not a specialization of existing disciplines, but rather an expansion, to form an amalgam of linguistics, literary history or literary criticism and applied linguistics/rhetoric. After a phase of far-reaching specialization around 1850 (under the influence of the German philological school of Grimm and Lachmann), by the end of the nineteenth century, Dutch Language and Literature had once again assumed the interdisciplinary expanse that the discipline had occupied at the beginning of the century. Furthermore, it is interesting that right from the start, the practitioners of the discipline catered to social needs for orthography, language and literature education, national dictionaries, etc. All these characteristics make that national philologies such as Dutch Language and Literature seldom meet the image of a discipline predominantly determined by scholarly specialization, autonomy from other disciplines and a guarded stance towards social expectations. For that reason, humanities such as the national philologies are sometimes designated as no more than would-be

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disciplines. This article argues the opposite. The exact sciences have become atrophied disciplines: little more than temporary connections between zealous hobbyists.

Introduction: four starting dates

What was the starting point of Dutch Language and Literature as a scholarly discipline? For years now, historiographers of the discipline have opted for one or several of the following possibilities.

Some situate the beginnings around the middle of the eighteenth century. Point of departure is obviously the eighteenth century 'discourse of decline'. Since the glorious seventeenth century, the 'Golden Age', the Netherlands had been in decline. In popular opinion, this decline primarily concerned moral standards. Moral corruption and 'Frenchification' had weakened the ancient Dutch virtues. Restoration could be achieved by fortifying national culture. Central importance was attributed to the mother tongue. The Dutch language was 'the bulwark of the nation'. On the basis of such opinions, the Society for Dutch Letters, springing from several national-activist student societies, promoted the scholarly study of the national language and literature. 1766, the founding year of the Society for Dutch Letters, is therefore an obvious choice as the starting point of Dutch Language and Literature. This was indeed the time when an institutional focus came into being for research into several central themes, which still constitute the most prevailing directions of Dutch Language and Literature as practised at most Dutch universities around the year 2000: linguistics, literature and communication sciences or rhetoric.¹

Initially, the Society was intended to be the Dutch equivalent of the *Académie Française*, a forum of the preeminent scholars in the field, supported and directed by the government. In practice, the Society took the form of a private organization heavily dependent upon the financial contributions of its members and donors, and therefore severely marked by fragmentation of forces and 'dilettantism'. In this phase, moreover, the discipline had yet to become academically embedded, although it seems that some classical scholars had started teaching informal classes in the Dutch language.²

1 The Society also had an interest in history and national 'relics'. Also in the teaching commitments after 1815, to be discussed, history was included. Only in 1921 was this subject separated from Dutch Language and Literature. I do not consider this aspect here. Concerning this, see: Johannes, 'Nationale filologieën'.

2 Noordegraaf, 'Waartoe hij eene uitnemende bevoegdheid had', p. 50.

A second, frequently used option is therefore the year 1797. In that year, the young clergyman Matthijs Siegenbeek was appointed in Leiden as *professor eloquentiae Hollandicae extraordinarius* ('extraordinary professor in Dutch Eloquence'). Menno Liauw and Leon van de Zande (among the few who have attempted an approximately comprehensive history of the discipline) state: 'With the appointment, in 1797, of this first professor in Dutch Eloquence, the academic practice of Dutch Language and Literature starts'.³ In doing so, they neglect Everwinus Wassenbergh, professor of Greek in Franeker, whose teaching commitment had been extended with the 'Low German Philology' earlier that year.⁴ In any case, it is usual to let the history of Dutch Language and Literature start with the first chair(s) at the end of the eighteenth century. Apparently, the criterion for discipline formation here was not only institutionalization but more particularly academization.

It should be noted though that neither Wassenbergh's nor Siegenbeek's teaching commitment included 'Dutch Language and Literature' as a whole. The present Dutch term – *neerlandistiek*, which by the way only came into use at the end of the nineteenth century – comprises something like 'Dutch Language and Literature, including Eloquence'. Wassenbergh and Siegenbeek had a much more concise commitment: linguistics, respectively rhetoric. But it is remarkable that, in no time, both professors were teaching the whole of the national language and literature (including eloquence). Moreover, in 1799, Siegenbeek was appointed full professor *Litterarum Belgicarum* (of Dutch Literature). In 1811, his commitment was supplemented with the history of recent literature.⁵

This course of events offers a third option for a starting date of Dutch Language and Literature. The broader teaching commitment was further formalized by the Royal Decree on the layout of higher education of 1815. On the restoration of the monarchy, after Napoleon's downfall, the legislator showed a way of centralism quite untypical for the Dutch. For instance, the Decree called for the establishment of obligatory chairs for the discipline along the lines of Siegenbeek's chair at all universities in the Kingdom (of which Belgium would remain part for some time), and *athenaea* in the provincial capitals (in practice, this was limited to the Athenaeum of Amsterdam, the later University of Amsterdam). The new discipline was

3 Liauw & Van de Zande, 'Aen doorluchtige voorgangers hapert het niet', p. 1.

4 This was pointed out by Noordegraaf, 'Het begin van de universitaire neerlandistiek' and 'Waartoe hij eene uitnemende bevoegdheid had'.

5 Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, VII, p. 115 and p. 371.



Mattheus Siegenbeek, professor of Dutch Language and Literature at Leiden University from 1797 to 1847 (Amsterdam University Library).

situated in the newly founded department of Philosophy & Letters and was primarily intended as an introductory discipline for students in Theology and Law. Apart from using such terms as ‘Dutch style and eloquence’, the legislator now also spoke of ‘Dutch literature and eloquence’, ‘Dutch

language and literature' and 'Low German language and literature'. From this perspective, the academic discipline that would later be called *neerlandistiek* ('Dutch Language and Literature') only came into being in 1815.

The discipline had now been firmly 'established': a process had taken place of institutionalization and academization, and the result would prove to be permanent: from 1815 on, the Dutch universities have always had chairs in Dutch Language and Literature. This permanence also appears from the fact that (most of) the chairs were occupied, not by 'extraordinary', but by 'full' professors. On the other hand, the discipline would for a long period maintain its introductory character. Only in 1876 did Dutch Language and Literature become an independent discipline. That is why, according to some authors, we should consider a fourth date, to wit the year 1876, as the starting date of the discipline of Dutch Language and Literature. As a speaker at the bicentennial of Siegenbeek's first chair remarked: 'As a main discipline, the study of Dutch Language and Literature exists only from 1876 – instead of two centuries, we are only one century old'.⁶

A limited view of philology

The abovementioned dates are often quoted in the historiography of Dutch Language and Literature. Especially the establishment of Siegenbeek's chair in 1797 is generally considered to be the starting date of the discipline. But curiously, the same authors who keep proffering the same date or dates, also keep a very different date at the back of their minds as the 'proper' start of Dutch Language and Literature.

In 1846, Willem Joseph Andries Jonckbloet published his notorious review of a manual of the early flowering of Dutch Literature, written by the Groningen professor Barthold Henrik Lulofs.⁷ In this review, Jonckbloet wiped the floor with Lulofs, in a very extensive treatise with numerous examples of presumed mistakes. His opponent, he wrote, knew nothing of particularly medieval language and literature. In itself, this is not significant. Theoretically, it was very well possible that Lulofs was not knowledgeable in the field. But it is interesting that Jonckbloet criticized the author for being a representative of an 'Old School'. Not only Lulofs, but also all the other Dutch Language and Literature scholars of the first generation, were

6 Braet, 'Van vroeg-19de-eeuwse welsprekendheid', p. 77.

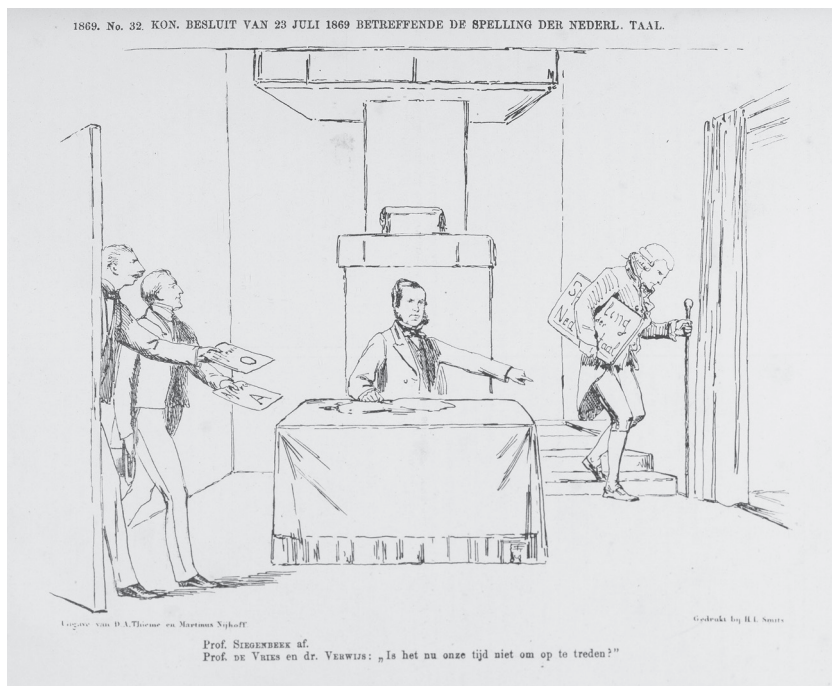
7 Jonckbloet, 'Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederlandsche letterkunde'.

bunglers and dilettantes. He himself, on the other hand, belonged to a 'New School', which held no dilettantes but only true scholars. It is not entirely clear who else belonged to the 'New School', but it soon appeared that he counted Matthias de Vries among its members. De Vries would later gain fame primarily as a lexicographer.

Jonckbloet's review is an especially beautiful example of the kind of phenomena which in science sociology is known as demarcation and boundary work: the often very polemic activities through which new disciplines or paradigms attempt to acquire a position within established science, or through which they try to shield the world of science from the world of incompetent 'laymen'. This boundary work necessitates the creation of an enemy image, casting competing scholars or laymen in the role of 'charlatans', 'bunglers' or 'dilettantes'. Proper scholarship only begins with the rise of the new direction, represented by the polemicists themselves.

Said direction was, as already appears from Jonckbloet's style of polemic, highly unusual for the Dutch scholarly world. His style was the spitting image of the style of the direction in language and literature then known as the 'German philological school'. This was a direction in research which arose in the years 1820-1850 in Germany under the influence of scholars such as Jacob Grimm and Karl Lachmann. Originally, this school intended to broaden its research field and not only study the national language and literature. The researchers also considered oral myths and artefacts in their research – initially with the ambitious objective of penetrating the 'German soul' or the 'pure' primeval forms of German culture. In practice, this form of philology quickly developed into a more limited vision on the discipline than the study of language and literature in the broadest sense. The activities of the 'German philological school' amounted to critically editing and annotating – first and foremost linguistically – medieval texts, and to the development of the thereby required tools, such as dictionaries of the medieval languages. To this aim, insights and methods from the comparative (Indo-European) philology and from classical philology (in the rather limited sense of 'scholarship of critical text edition') were employed. According to this approach, the medieval texts were not so much forms of literature but rather *Sprachdenkmale* ('Language Monuments').⁸ This already indicates that what took place was a severely restricting 'philologization' of the

8 Weimar, *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 225.



Old Matthijs Siegenbeek quits the scene, taking with him his presumably outdated spelling rules. Enter Matthias de Vries and Eelco Verwijs, self-proclaimed representatives of a New School (Amsterdam University Library).

Deutsche Philologie, the discipline which as from the middle of the nineteenth century was also known as ‘Germanistik’.⁹ Whereas around 1800, *Deutsche Philologie* still included *Deutsche Sprache und Literatur* in general, this term now began to denote primarily the critical editing of medieval texts, using methods from historical comparative linguistics. First and foremost, this involved strict requirements concerning an ethos of ‘philological precision’, ‘scholarly meticulousness’, ‘indefatigable investigation of language forms’, and more generally the *Andacht zum Unbedeutenden* (‘Attention to the insignificant’) so characteristic of the German school.

9 The term ‘Germanistik’ originally did not mean research into language and literature, but research into old legal sources. Cf. for the term ‘philologization’ and the consequences of this phenomenon: Kolk, ‘Liebhaber, Gelehrte, Experten’.

Finalism without a finale

This narrowly conceived form of philology was enormously successful, not only in Germany but also in other countries. All over Europe, the 'national philologies' now took shape, not as the study of the national language and literature in the broadest sense, but as scholarship concerned with the critical editing of the earliest medieval texts, for which the principles of historical comparative linguistics were a determining influence. In the Netherlands, the success of this limited view of philology appears from the requirements for the bachelor and graduate exam for Dutch Language and Literature according to the legislation on higher education of 1876-1877. A very prominent place in the requirement package is taken up by disciplines such as 'basics of Sanskrit', 'basics of comparative Indo-German philology in general and of the German language in particular' and the 'Anglo-Saxon or Middle High German, at the discretion of the candidate'.¹⁰ Compared to the early Middle Ages, other periods received scant attention, and for literary-historical, literary-theoretical or cultural-historical activities there was virtually no opportunity, nor was there for eloquence, originally the core of the discipline.

This success hugely impressed the historiographers of Dutch Language and Literature. In the opinion of many, only with Jonckbloet and De Vries, Dutch Language and Literature began as a proper discipline. We can find both these men, separately or brotherly united as comrades in arms, regularly represented as the 'ancestors of Dutch Language and Literature'.

More or less the same applies to the history of the sister disciplines in Germany and England. Regularly, German authors point out the fact that, only from the 1860s on, after the rise of the *Deutsche Philologie* in its more restricted sense, many of the temporary chairs in Germany were transformed into permanent chairs. At a number of universities, where they had been absent before, these chairs were only then instituted. Impressed by this, German historians are inclined to let the discipline 'proper' only start with the institution of the first *Seminar* (a kind of research school) for *Deutsche Philologie* in 1858.¹¹ They do indeed extensively discuss the institution, throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, of chairs for German Language, German Eloquence and such, comparable to the early teaching commitments of Wassenbergh and Siegenbeek of 1797. They also

¹⁰ Groen, *Het wetenschappelijk onderwijs*, II, p. 133.

¹¹ Voßkamp, 'Für eine systematische Erforschung der Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft', p. 3; Dainat & Kolk, 'Geselliges Arbeiten', pp. 20-21.

show that around 1800, several broader teaching commitments for *Deutsche Sprache und Literatur* were granted to universities, largely comparable to the Dutch chairs after 1815. But subsequently, it appears that all of that is regarded as nothing more than 'preliminary history'. The discipline proper seems to start only in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the establishment of the prestigious *Seminars* where the 'truly scholarly' methods of the German philological school were taught. Similarly, several English authors pay ample attention to all sorts of eighteenth-century societies for the study of the national language and literature, and to the different chairs for English Language and Literature that were instituted, not at the traditional twins Oxford and Cambridge, but at several new universities during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. But they are still inclined to let the 'proper' history of the subject as scholarly discipline start only at the moment when, at the end of the nineteenth century, the latter universities opened a prestigious English education, modelled on the German philological school.¹²

As already stated, historiographers of Dutch Language and Literature are similarly inclined. At first view, this method strongly reminds us of that of traditional history of science, which often had the form of a story told 'backwards'. Departing from the current state of affairs, the search was for 'precursors' in the past. Scientists, whose contributions did not immediately prove fruitful to the current state of affairs, were written out of its history or were typified as 'failures'. More recent history of science often reproaches traditional history of science with 'triumphalism' and 'finalism' (and does this, by the way, rather triumphant or finalistic). The standard argument about Jonckbloet and De Vries as the ancestors of Dutch Language and Literature and about the triumph of the German philological direction in the Netherlands inevitably brings to mind this 'finalistic' manner of reasoning. But not only do some historians still copy Jonckbloet's boundary work, with the accompanying opposition between an 'old school' of dilettantes and bunglers versus a 'new school' of true scholars, in a finalistic argument. It is even more remarkable that this 'finalistic' argument has never been challenged, even though it became clear, ever since 1900, that the success of the German philological school was by no means 'final'.

In historical surveys, it often appears as if the 'final destination' of philology in the broader sense consisted in its evolution into a philology in the restricted sense of 'critical editing of medieval texts on the basis of the

12 Palmer, *The Rise of English Studies*; McMurtry, *English Language, English Literature. The Creation of an Academic Discipline*.

methods originating from historical comparative philology'. (It is striking that in treatises about the members of the 'New School' as 'ancestors of Dutch Language and Literature', not Dutch Language and Literature as a whole, but Middle Dutch Language and Literature, is central.)¹³ But at the time when, elsewhere in Europe, the principles of the German philological school were preeminent, they already came under severe criticism in Germany itself. An example is the so-called *Nibelungenstreit*. The fierce polemic about the proper way of editing early texts such as the *Nibelungenlied* – critically or diplomatically, with cultural historical explanations or solely with linguistic annotations, etc. – had important social repercussions. In this, the *Gretchenfrage* was whether the *Deutsche Philologie* should venture beyond the university walls and edit the national classics in a more 'popular' way to make them accessible also to the non-academically educated and to the larger public.¹⁴ Another question was whether the restriction to medieval literature was really sound: 'Surely, for us the study of Goethe is not just equally important, but even more important than the study of the *Nibelungen*'.¹⁵ And was not the contemporary literature even more interesting and important for students? Philology's striking lack of interest in this sort of practical matters met with sharp criticism.¹⁶

Over time, this criticism led to a much broader view of the discipline, in Germany and elsewhere. More room was created for the study of other periods than the Middle Ages, for literary history, for literary criticism and several forms of theoretical and practical rhetoric. Obviously, many of the achievements of the German philological school have been retained by the different national philologies. Some of the practitioners of the discipline still show a stunning capability for *Andacht zum Unbedeutenden*. And yet, as regards their fields of attention, the national philologies – the disciplines concerned with national language and literature – in countries such as Germany, England and the Netherlands show more similarities with how they were practised in the first decades of the nineteenth century than with

13 Striking is for instance the confusion in the article by Van Dalen-Oskam on Matthias de Vries. The first sentence is: 'Matthias de Vries has regularly [...] been characterised as the "ancestor of *Dutch Language and Literature*". The last sentence is: 'Rightly, he [De Vries] is called one of the ancestors of the (*Middle Dutch Language and Literature*)' (italics GJJ). See Van Dalen-Oskam, 'De idealistische lexicografie'.

14 Fohrmann, 'Einleitung'.

15 Quoted from Kolk, 'Liebhaber, Gelehrte, Experten', p. 103.

16 Kopp, '(Deutsche) Philologie und Erziehungssystem', p. 705.

their occupations during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The days when every student of modern language and literature was supposed to acquire extensive knowledge of Sanskrit, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old Icelandic are long gone.

Discipline Formation in Humanities

I now return to the specific case of Dutch Language and Literature. I wish to explore what this case can teach us about the process of discipline formation in scholarship.

A first remarkable point is the view of scholarly discipline formation as a process of specialization and differentiation. Discipline formation is often seen as a form of *Innendifferenzierung* ('Inward Differentiation') – to use Rudolf Stichweh's term – within the system of scholarship as a whole.¹⁸ This internal differentiation is supposed to have steadily advanced in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century, until – in the period after the Second World War – there was a reaction in the form of 'interdisciplinarity'. The case of Dutch Language and Literature (and the other national philologies) shows that within the process of discipline formation, phases of specialization and 'generalization', of 'narrowing' and 'broadening', can occur, and that the process does not inevitably go in one direction.

Siegenbeek's teaching commitment, for instance, was much more limited than 'Dutch Language, Literature and Eloquence' in the broadest sense. Initially, his task comprised only eloquence. But he did not take advantage of this opportunity to turn his field into a specialized discipline; he immediately started to extend it by teaching much broader. In other words, the breadth of the discipline during the time of Siegenbeek and his peers was not a kind of primeval state, a phase in which all kinds of divergent 'hobbies' of 'dilettantes' were waiting for the moment when the

17 In the Netherlands, the academic fortunes of eloquence form an interesting example. Through the influence of the German philological school, the component of eloquence – once the total teaching commitment of Siegenbeek's – disappeared from the teaching commitments and the curriculum, to make space for subjects such as Gothic and Anglo-Saxon. After the Second World War, it was reintroduced and at the end of the twentieth century it formed – in combination with linguistics and literature, and now in the form of 'communication sciences' or 'new rhetoric' – one of the main subjects within university education and research for Dutch Language and Literature.

18 In referring to the terms 'Innendifferenzierung' and 'Ausdifferenzierung', I do not wish to imply that Stichweh's views are as unsophisticated as the use of his terminology by others sometimes suggest.

philologists-after-German-model such as Jonckbloet, would turn it into a 'proper' discipline. The breadth of the discipline was a characteristic actively acquired by Siegenbeek and his peers during what I consider an early phase of discipline formation itself.

Secondly, there is the opinion that discipline formation, apart from a matter of *Innendifferenzierung*, is also a matter of *Ausdifferenzierung* ('Outward Differentiation'), to use another term of Stichweh's. The assumption is that discipline formation is partly a process in which the field or the system of scholarship increasingly differentiates itself from other social fields or systems, such as those of politics, arts or education. The example of the national philologies such as Dutch Language and Literature shows that this assumption is insufficient. For the highly specialized and autonomous national philologies after the German model felt obliged, around 1900, to take the interests of the other fields into account again. Especially the role of extra-academic education is interesting here. From the moment the national language and literature acquired an important position in secondary education, a significant job opportunity for philologists arose. But in secondary education, there was little use for Sanskrit, Anglo-Saxon or Old Icelandic. Literary history and simply command of the language were much more relevant, and the academic discipline naturally directed itself more to this kind of subjects.

And so it appears that the prevailing assumption, that a discipline is fully formed within the academic world and subsequently proliferates ('top-down') through extra-academic education, is not always valid. For the national philologies, discipline formation was no doubt strongly influenced by the demands of secondary education ('bottom-up'), and this influence can still be felt strongly.

As far as the *Ausdifferenzierung* is concerned, it might also be enlightening to point out the fact that the practitioners of the national philologies often show strikingly little zeal to cut themselves loose entirely from the literary field. For Dutch Language and Literature, a number of researchers are also known as poets, novelists, literary critics and in other literary capacities. Moreover, they have always shown a willingness to give even their scholarly contributions a 'readable' character, from the idea that one should not write exclusively for one's own circle. (This does not only concern contributions to 'popular scholarship' but the opinion that the practice of scholarship itself should not depart too much from the generally accessible.)

Within this framework, lastly, I wish to point out the fact that linguists among the scholars of Dutch Language and Literature have always been willing to collaborate on spelling regulations, language counselling, etc.

And this even though, ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, these same linguists have professed their pride in their 'properly scientific' position that not the written, but the spoken language should be central to linguistic research, and that linguistics does not concern itself with normative description but only with the study of the actual use of language. Here also, *Ausdifferenzierung* and disciplinary autonomy are never absolute.

A third point concerns the opinion that the motivation for discipline formation is always an internal scholarly process. This opinion assumes that a new discipline arises when certain scholarly questions and problems cannot be adequately solved within an existing discipline. The new discipline is born in an effort to create a framework within which these questions can find their proper context. As we have seen, chairs in Dutch Language and Literature were instituted in 1797, and in 1815 Dutch legislation made such chairs obligatory for all universities in the Realm. There is no reason to suppose that this happened in 1797 because the legislator wished to see certain pressing problems within the existing (classical and eastern) philology solved, or because in 1815 the legislator thought that Siegenbeek and Wassenbergh had reached such sensational scholarly results that a strong stimulus for their discipline was urgently called for. Rather, it seems that all manner of political considerations – such as the wish to forge the kingdom into a truly unitary state with a uniform language and uniform spelling – gave rise to the thought 'that something should be done about the national language and literature'. The priority was clearly in politics, and not in scholarship. Whereas in research and the theories on discipline formation, the dominant picture is of 'a research question in search of chairs', the formative period of Dutch Language and Literature yields the picture of 'chairs in search of a research question'. In the Netherlands (and this seems to apply also to England) the first professors often were not academic philologists of origin. They constituted a diverse company of preachers, lawyers and sometimes even mathematicians, who were rather 'called to the profession' than in pursuit of their own ambitions.

Would-be disciplines?

I have argued that, in several aspects, the history of Dutch Language and Literature (and *mutatis mutandis* this also applies to other 'national philologies' and many other humanities disciplines and social sciences) does not accord with the prevailing picture of discipline formation in science. There is striking heterogeneity as regards fields of attention, methods and research

questions. The field shows relatively little autonomy, both in respect to other disciplines and to other social fields. And the genesis of the discipline cannot solely be explained from internal scholarly motives: the initiative rather lay in politics.

From all of this, one might draw the conclusion that disciplines such as Dutch Language and Literature are not 'proper' disciplines. To this kind of humanities disciplines (and also to some social sciences) Stephen Toulmin's term 'would-be disciplines' might be applicable. The big objection against such a conclusion lies simply in the continued existence, for one and a half or even two centuries, of the disciplines concerned. They show all the usual institutional characteristics of scholarly disciplines: they are embedded in universities and research centres, they have their own professional journals and professional societies and supply job opportunities for various educational formats, etc. The practitioners also consider themselves the representatives of a certain discipline ('Dutch Language and Literature', 'German Language and Literature') and are accepted rather effortlessly by others in society as representatives of a scholarly discipline. Therefore, it might be advisable to follow the opposite course here. These disciplines should be considered as fully fledged variations of the discipline formation process. It is not the humanities disciplines that are deficient for not meeting the standards of the established theories concerning disciplines. It is rather the other way round: the established theories concerning disciplines, based on the situation in the modern sciences, are seriously deficient as regards historically grown 'broad' and flexible disciplines such as the national philologies.

The existing theories pay lip service to the idea that disciplines are not 'natural kinds' but are historically developed and actively built up in open exchange with society at large by the institutions for research, education and job formation concerned. But in practice, the research into discipline formation loses perspective on the historical and political dimensions and attempts to establish general laws and evolutionary patterns in discipline formation. A typical example is a recent publication by A.M. Schneider. The author states that every discipline develops through the same four phases of rise and fall.¹⁹ In the opinion of the author, knowledge of these can be useful to young scientists who can now, on the basis of the phases, decide whether it is still worth their while to 'board' a certain discipline, or whether it is

19 Shneider, 'Four stages of a scientific discipline; four types of scientist', p. 217. Although the author speaks of science, he gives no indication of supposing any difference between science and the humanities or the social sciences.

already past its prime. 'Wars, political repressions, cultural superstitions, power struggles within the scientific community in addition to funding policies and pledged rewards' – all these factors never cause more than 'temporary deviations' in the 'natural' evolutionary stages of development. From this perspective, disciplines are absolutely autonomous units, whose rise and fall comes about through fixed evolutionary patterns. And the political dimensions determining the boundary work do not amount to more than a kind of academic 'office politics'.

We can find similar ideas in many theories about discipline formation. They can supply a useful explanation of how new sub-disciplines or paradigms (temporarily) conquer the scientific world, but they are found wanting as regards broader humanities disciplines (and probably social sciences) that have maintained themselves over one or two centuries.²⁰ If we really wish to honour the idea that disciplines are not 'natural kinds' but historically developed and actively, in interchange with society, constructed edifices, we need an approach that does not make the smallest research units central. In such an alternative approach, all manner of broad humanities disciplines are not deficient or would-be disciplines, which might one day develop into 'real' disciplines. From my perspective, it might be the other way round: the sciences could be perceived as 'atrophied' disciplines, which have lost important characteristics proper to 'real' disciplines. They have degenerated into rapidly fluctuating clubs of temporarily autonomously operating researchers, with reduced viability in the long run: so defined, disciplines actually are often identical to paradigms. The fact illustrated by the national philologies such as Dutch Language and Literature is that the features that characterize them as would-be disciplines in the eyes of many researchers, might well be the characteristics that help a discipline to survive in the long run: the 'lack' of focus and the 'lack' of differentiation in respect to other sciences enhance scholarly flexibility. And the 'lack' of autonomy in respect to society enhances public support.

All of this amounts to a plea not to seek the identity of humanities disciplines, as opposed to the sciences, in a specific kind of object, method or objective, but in a specific kind of historic discipline formation. In this perspective, the question is how these disciplines – probably not coincidentally developed in the era of nationalistic strivings – have been able to survive this long, even in periods when chauvinistic ideologies were considerably less popular than in the first half of the nineteenth century.

20 A very positive and highly interesting exception is the work by Heilbron, for example 'The Tripartite Division'.

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4. Between academic discipline and societal relevance

Professionalizing foreign language education in the Netherlands, 1881-1921

*Marie-Christine Kok Escalle**

Abstract

In the Netherlands, there has been, since the 16th century, a long tradition of foreign language education, especially in French, which was the second “mother tongue” of the Dutch upper classes in the 18th century. The law of 1863 introduced the compulsory teaching of German, French and English in secondary school and consequently the law of 1876 permitted the creation of chairs of philology of modern languages at the Dutch University. This was, partly, in order to educate on an academic level the future foreign language teachers. But it took 40 years to get recognition for the academic dimension of the discipline by introducing specific university degrees through the Academic Statute in 1921. At the University of Groningen, Barend Sijmons and Anton G. van Hamel, the founders of philology, promoted, through their Chair (1881, 1884), their discipline as a science with distinct social relevance. Modern language education was in fact serving both a humanist and a liberal ideology, and was a political issue answering the needs of the Bourgeoisie with her commercial purpose. Directly or indirectly, the international context influenced the development of philology as an academic discipline, as philologists were acting as *‘passeurs culturels’* (‘cultural transfer agents’).

Introduction

Even though there is a long tradition of foreign language education in the Netherlands that started in the sixteenth century, the teaching of modern languages, including French (which for a long time had been the educational

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language of the Dutch upper classes) took a long time to become institutionalized. It was first included in the university curriculum (the law of 1876¹) for the purpose of training teachers when modern language teaching became compulsory in secondary school (the law of 1863²), which was specifically created to educate middle and upper classes, those who supported the country's economy. We will first look at how modern language academic teaching started, like in Germany, in a – from a geographic point of view – peripheral university that took advantage of this opportunity to distinguish itself and specialize. We will then present the vision the founders of philology had of their discipline as a science with a distinct social relevance. Last, we will note the importance of the international context in the evolution of modern language education, serving both a humanist and a liberal ideology. This study focuses on the period starting from the creation of the first philology chair to the creation of the *Academic Statute* 40 years later, confirming at last the academic dimension of the discipline by introducing specific university degrees.

A historical moment

Almost a decade was necessary to include foreign language education in the Dutch university system, and those years (1878-1886) can be considered as 'a historical moment'.³ Three modern languages received a chair at the University of Groningen (situated in the north-east of the country, close to Germany) between 1881 and 1886. The bill on Higher Education of 28 April 1876 opened the possibility for at least one public university to start teaching 'French, English and High-German language and literature'.⁴ Prior to this bill, living or modern languages were 'no subject for study, nor science, but mere practical skills in higher education'.⁵ Even though language education

1 De wet tot regeling van het Hooger Onderwijs van den 28^{sten} April 1876 (*Staatsblad* no 102).

2 De wet van den 2^{den} Mei 1863 houdende regeling van het Middelbaar Onderwijs (*Staatsblad* no 50), famous as "Thorbecke Law".

3 De Boer, 'Een historisch moment', pp. 260-275.

4 *Staatsblad* no.102, art. 43, 5d.

5 Before the law of 1876, the teaching of modern languages was not legally regulated; a modern language was not deemed worthy of study or research nor was it considered to be more than a mere practical skill. Sijmons' booklet *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen* on the history of modern language education at the University of Groningen was written for the celebration, marking 300 years of the university, which was definitely prospering decades after the 1876 law on Higher Education. It gives an analytical reflection on thirty years of teaching modern language at the university as well as a critical point of view on the position of the chairs, including his own. It's

changed from a practical skill to a university discipline, ‘the legislature was not convinced that education in modern languages was anything more than a luxury article’, according to Barend Sijmons (1878, p.6). While a few university chairs were created, there were no exams or degrees to sanction language studies and there was no master’s degree in any of the three modern languages. However, since 1877 ‘ancient German languages’ had been included in the exams for a master’s degree in Dutch literature and it was possible to obtain a doctorate on a topic related to modern languages within Dutch studies.⁶

The chair at the University of Groningen was therefore no more than a *hors d'oeuvre*, since it did not include the ‘essential sanction of exams and university degrees’, according to Anton Gerard van Hamel.⁷ In his inaugural speech as ‘first Dutch Professor in French language and literature and roman philology’ pronounced on 20 September 1884 at the University of Groningen, while recognizing that the government had ‘understood that this chair is not a luxury object but an essential element of university education’, Van Hamel stated: ‘I have to say, the chair I will occupy is really an *empty chair*’.⁸ For more than 25 years, expressions like ‘an empty chair’, ‘a luxury article’, ‘the Cinderella of Higher Education’ would be used by university professors in their continuing battle for official recognition of their discipline.

Nevertheless, the first three modern language chairs were created at the University of Groningen: German in 1881, French in 1884 and English in 1886. Initially, several private teachers were appointed: Sijmons was appointed in 1878 to teach High-German and English language and literature, and became a Professor three years later (1881) with a focus on ‘ancient German, the principles of comparative linguistics, the principles of Sanskrit, and High-German language and literature’.⁹ By way of comparison, in 1884, Karl

also a political expression asking for recognition of modern languages as an academic discipline. Sijmons’ approach is analytical as well as historical as it is programmatic. Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 417.

6 Koops, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, p. 11.

7 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 34.

8 Ibidem: ‘Il lui [la chaire de français qui vient d’être fondée dans une Université néerlandaise] manque une chose essentielle: l’indispensable sanction des examens et des grades universitaires. La loi qui a voulu cette chaire la considère, [...] comme un hors d’oeuvre. [...] Or, il n’y a pas à dire, celle que je vais occuper est un peu “une chaire en l’air”’. According to Van Hamel, this expression ‘chaire en l’air’ came from Gaston Paris.

9 Thanks to the Sir Robert Taylor endowment, already in 1848 the University of Oxford had two Taylorian Teachers in Modern European Languages (French and German). These positions were abolished in 1868 and replaced by a chair founded by the university itself. Friedrich



Anton Gerard van Hamel 1867-1907 – (Universiteitsmuseum Groningen).

Hermann Breul (1860-1932), a German scholar who studied Germanic and Romance philology in Germany (Tübingen & Berlin) but also in Strasbourg & Paris, became the university's first lecturer in German at the University of Cambridge.¹⁰

Regarding the French language, Paul Pierson (philologist and musician, author of 'Natural metrics of language', 1883) had to decline the chair in 1877 for health reasons.¹¹ While the German language had been covered in 1881 with the appointment of Sijmons, 'French and German are still destitute and shiver with cold' according to Sijmons in his inaugural speech

Max Müller (1823-1900), from 1851 deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern European Language, became Professor of comparative philology, the first occupant of the chair financed by the University of Oxford. More than an expert in teaching Modern European Languages, he 'was a pioneer in the fields of Vedic studies, comparative philology, comparative mythology and comparative religion [...] and his philological methodology was replaced by the nascent science of anthropology' (R.C.C. Fynes, 'Müller, Friedrich Max (1823–1900)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2007, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18394, accessed 2 Dec 2013]). The history of modern language teaching in the United Kingdom is the object of a research project by Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith.

10 Paulin, 'Karl Hermann Breul'.

11 De Boer, 'Een historisch moment', p. 261; Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 10.

(28 March 1881, p. 29), otherwise dedicated to 'Jacob Grimm, the creator of historical grammar' and founder of the science of German philology. Indeed, the destiny of the French and English languages initially seemed to be connected; in 1883 the search started for a professor of both languages combined (French and English), until it was concluded that this was an impossible task since no qualified candidates were found for the combined languages.¹² In May 1884, Anton Gerard van Hamel was appointed as Professor in 'French language and literature and the general principles of Roman philology'. In 1907, Van Hamel had to resign for health reasons and was replaced by Jean-Jacques Salverda de Grave who came from Leiden. Salverda stayed in Groningen until 1920 when he left for Amsterdam to succeed Gustave Cohen.¹³ Kornelis Sneyders de Vogel succeeded him in Groningen. In September 1885, Jan Beckering Vinckers was appointed Professor in 'English language and literature'. Eight years later, in 1893, the German Karl Daniel Bülbring succeeded him. He stayed at the University of Groningen until he became Professor in Bonn in 1900.

While Amsterdam (where the Athenaeum became City University in 1876) had to wait until 1912 for the appointment of its first professor in a modern language (French), Utrecht had Johan Hendrik Gallee (1847-1908), who started as a German high school teacher, then as lecturer at the Utrecht University in 1881, before being appointed in 1882 as Professor in 'German language, comparative Indo-German linguistics and the principles of Sanskrit'. Johann J.A.A. Frantzen (1853-1923) succeeded Gallee, after his death in 1908.¹⁴ After Groningen (1884) and Amsterdam (1912), Nijmegen received a chair in French philology in 1923 and Leiden not until 1931. It is only after the Second World War that, both Utrecht (Mrs Bartina Harmina Wind in 1953) and the VU-University Amsterdam (1954) got their first French Professor. For English, Utrecht had to wait even longer (Rudolph Vleeskruyer in 1957). Compared to other European countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland,

12 In Germany, French and English were usually combined in the 26 university seminars created between 1867 and 1893 for Romance language education. Hassler, 'Les maîtres de langues et la constitution de la philologie romance', pp. 34-35.

13 Gustave Cohen was the department chair of French language and literature at the University of Amsterdam, from 1912 to 1919. In 1933, he founded the Maison Descartes, a French cultural centre in the Netherlands, similar to the Dutch pavilion at the International University Campus in Paris, meant to host artists, scientists and writers (cf. website Maison Descartes <http://institutfrançais.nl/nl/>).

14 Johann Frantzen, who had a German father and a French-speaking mother, was qualified both as a German teacher (1873) and a French teacher (1882); however, his bilingual education is disputed (cf. Vonk, *De studie van de moderne vreemde talen*; Herrlitz, *(Hoog-) Leraar Frantzen*).

Sweden, Denmark), the Netherlands was really behind with these appointments, as mentioned by Van Hamel, quoting M. Körting.¹⁵

Science was the responsibility of professors. They focused on teaching philology and studying editions of medieval texts. As requested by Van Hamel since the early days of his appointment, and conform to practice in Germany, teachers were appointed with the title of Lector for practical language education and modern literature.¹⁶ We can trace a whole range of teachers in different languages.¹⁷ For the German language, H. Pol was appointed in 1901 and H. Breuning in 1911, both in Groningen. For 'new French', the first teacher C. Pernot was a Frenchman, appointed in 1903. His successor in 1906 was M. Laurentie, also a Frenchman, but in 1907, the first female teacher in the Netherlands, Marie Elise Loke, was appointed at the University of Groningen; she got, in 1906, her doctorate from the University of Toulouse.¹⁸ Loke picked Madame de Charrière, also known as Belle van Zuylen or Isabella Agneta Elisabeth van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1740-1805), as the topic for her public lecture on 15 January 1908. Her successor in 1916 was another Frenchman, E. Boutan. For the English language, Adriaan E.H. Swaen was appointed in 1905 as the teacher for 'new English'. When he became a professor in 1913, J. Falconer, an Englishman, took his place from 1916 until 1918, and then, a female private teacher in new English literature, M.E. de Meester, was appointed. At the University of Groningen, Italian was also taught (by Van Hamel from 1892 and later by Salverda as part of his chair), and, temporarily, also Spanish, in 1918-1919 by a professor from Pennsylvania's Bryn Mawr College, Fonger de Haan, who temporarily

15 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 8 (note 1): 'M. Körting compte en Allemagne, y compris l'Autriche-Hongrie et la Suisse allemande 29 chaires de langues romanes'. Germany created eight Romance-language professor positions (chairs) at universities between 1827 and 1853. F. Diez (appointed in Bonn in 1830) 'taught classes about the origin and structure of Romance languages that attracted many students' including Gaston Paris, Van Hamel's teacher. G. Hassler notes that German philology was developed 'by specialists from other disciplines' such as experts in German, Sanskrit, and the Orient (Hassler, 'Les maîtres de langues', pp. 33-34).

16 Van Hamel, 'De levende vreemde talen aan de Universiteit', p. 250: Teachers 'from the country where the foreign language is being spoken, who try to make students familiar with the practical use of the foreign idiom, by leading speaking and translating exercises' [lectoren, die afkomstig uit het land waar de vreemde taal gesproken wordt, door het leiden van spreek- en vertaal oefeningen de studenten vertrouwd pogen te maken met het praktisch gebruik van het vreemde idioom].

17 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 430 gives many details about the persons and their work at the university.

18 I. de Wilde published a study on Marie E. Loke, the first woman lector at a Dutch university. The Ph.D. of Marie E. Loke (1870-1916) was a research on the Dutch translations of a medieval Poem by Renaud de Montauban, published in 1906 at Toulouse (Privat).

stayed in the Netherlands¹⁹. It is worth noting that De Haan donated a large collection of books on the Spanish and Portuguese languages to the university library.²⁰

At the time, the question of the importance of a native versus a non-native speaker for language teaching was already debated, as we can see from the comments made by Sijmons: 'The drawbacks of the notion that was always supported by Van Hamel, i.e. the teaching of foreign languages by native speakers, are quite major, in spite of some advantages'.²¹ The teachers usually stayed for a few years and then left for other positions, in the Netherlands (e.g. Swaen who left for a chair in Amsterdam in 1913), in Germany (e.g. Pernot who in 1906 left to become a correspondent in Berlin for a French newspaper), or in France (Laurentie in 1907). In a letter from Van Hamel we can read that he proposed a Frenchman to replace Salverda de Grave in Leiden in 1907, with the understanding that an appropriate Dutch candidate could probably fill the position rather quickly. In all this – a policy of using native speakers for the practical language learning and of creating study groups following the German model of 'Seminare', functioning as a laboratory for the natural sciences – the influence of Germany is evident.²² However, learning a foreign language from a native teacher has for centuries been considered a great advantage in European countries; from the sixteenth century, French masters exploited the opportunity to teach their own language in England and in the Netherlands. For example, Noël de Berlaimont (*Colloquia et Dictionarium* 1530), Claude de Sainliens, alias Claudius Holyband (*The French Littleton* 1607), Claude Mauger (*French Grammar with Several Choice Dialogues* 1656), Jean-Nicolas de Parival (*Dialogues François et Allemands selon le langage du temps* 1670), Pieter Marin (*Méthode familière* 1694) are well-known native French masters, thanks to the books they wrote which were used by generations of students. Madame de Beaumont, who was a *gouvernante* in England, also was the French teacher of generations of European pupils, with her books (*Le Magazin des enfants ou Dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et ses élèves* 1764 and many others of that type).

19 Clearly, teacher mobility was already a reality then, including international exchanges! To this day, Bryn Mawr College is perpetuating the tradition and, every year, offers Dutch students various scholarships to study at its 'Institut d'Études Françaises' in Avignon, France!

20 Koops, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, p. 23.

21 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 431: 'De bezwaren van het stelsel, door Van Hamel steeds voorgestaan, om het lectoraat in vreemde talen aan vreemdelingen op te dragen, bleken, hoe groot dan ook de voordelen er van mochten wezen, wel heel ernstig in de praktijk'.

22 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 432.

The University of Groningen made a strategic choice in favour of foreign language education, both to train academics and future secondary school teachers. Thanks to financial support from the city, Groningen became the university to elect modern language chairs (following the law of 1876), and as a result became the centre for both modern philology studies and for the education of modern language teachers. Groningen made this choice in its own interest, since *gouverner c'est prévoir* ('to govern means to anticipate').²³ It was a necessary choice for the University of Groningen in order to increase its profile on the Dutch market and, by teaching foreign languages, to attract more students for the education of teachers.²⁴ Indeed, many new teachers were needed as a result of the Thorbecke Law on secondary education (1863), which required French, English and German to be taught in a secondary school (*Hoogere Burger School*, or HBS). But, in spite of all the efforts from the three modern language professors, it would take almost 40 years for modern languages to receive the full academic recognition that Dutch language enjoyed. During his entire life, including his time as member of the Education Board, created in 1919, Sijmons did not stop fighting for a university education for modern language teachers. In 1898, at the first *Nederlandsche Philologen Congres* ('first Dutch Philologists Congress') in Amsterdam, he deplored the fact that the Netherlands still didn't have university education for modern language teachers. Both Sijmons and Van Hamel asked the founders of their chairs (the ministerial authorities) to create and develop favourable conditions for the recruitment of good modern language teachers. Sijmons believed that education in modern languages 'would slowly help create the necessity for academic education for future modern language teachers'.²⁵ According to Sijmons, national interest was a major factor in the creation of a body of teachers with both academic training and practical job skills. This is how he saw their training:

Our modern language teachers don't have to become sharp linguists or educated philologists primarily, even though they do need historical knowledge of language development and critical research methods. On the other hand, we also do not want them to become simple language teachers, even though they definitely need practical skills in the foreign

23 Ibidem, pp. 432-434.

24 In the 1870s, the situation was problematic because of the decrease in student numbers. The 1876 Law on academic education was therefore essential for the University of Groningen, whose very existence was being threatened (website Rijksuniversiteit Groningen).

25 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 434.

language and mechanical knowledge. Their education should train them to become specialists and interpreters of a foreign nationality, including the country, its literature, its history and its spirit.²⁶

Curiously, we find the same preoccupation in England, where, in 1894, 1895 and 1896, Breul gave lectures to both his students at the University of Cambridge and the College of Preceptors, during which he stated that 'Modern Languages are at last beginning to receive in this country the attention to which the subject is entitled not only by its practical usefulness but still more by its intrinsic value as an important element in a truly liberal education'.²⁷

Until 1919, the only exams preparing for modern language education were the *M.O. Aktes*, which were national teaching certificates but not university degrees²⁸. In 1919, the *jus examinandi et promovendi* ('the right to deliver university diplomas and have Ph.D. students') resulted in the recognition of foreign languages as a university discipline. The Academic Statute (15 June 1921) confirmed the creation of university degrees for modern languages and the possibility to get a Ph.D. in modern languages. Nevertheless, MO students represented a large part of the audience of modern language classes, even though it was not an official training for a *MO Akte* (professional teaching certificate). Although foreign language teaching is a skill just like calligraphy or modelling but not exactly like horseback riding, as Sijmons suggests, the university professors consider it their responsibility to train future modern language teachers.²⁹ Thus, the professors had to prove (1) that the study of modern languages was a science and should be sanctioned by university degrees, and (2) that future modern language teachers should be

26 Sijmons, *De opleiding der leeraren in de moderne talen*, p. 43: 'Tot scherpzinnige linguïsten of geleerde philologen behoeven onze "neusprachliche" docenten niet in de eerste plaats te worden gevormd, al zijn historische kennis der taalontwikkeling en methode van kritisch onderzoek voor hen onontbeerlijk, maar evenmin mogen zij bekrompen *maîtres de langue* blijven, al zijn praktische bedrevenheid in de vreemde taal en mechanische kennis voor hen het allereerste vereischte: hunne opleiding moet hen ontwikkelen tot kenners en vertolkers van eene vreemde nationaliteit, van haar land, haar letterkunde, haar geschiedenis en haar geest'.

27 Breul, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages*, preface VI.

28 'MO Aktes' were redefined in the 1879 law; A = language, pronunciation and phonetics; B = literature. MO B provided access to secondary education in 5 years. The law defined the knowledge that needed to be verified but not the training required to acquire this knowledge. And, in order to become a teacher, there was no verification of educational or didactical skills. Since the 1876 law, the committees that granted exams had been pleading for better training for teachers, both at the scientific and didactical level, also taking into consideration the low level of general knowledge.

29 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 419.

educated at the university, both in science and in practice, as educational and 'didactics' experts. It was in the interest of society to train specialists in bridging cultures. It was also the university's role to 'train for the independent practice of science and [...] to prepare for the occupation of positions³⁰ in society for which academic training is required'.³¹

Academics with a social vision

The study of neophilology in the Netherlands was in particular marked by two personalities who extensively and publicly discussed their vision about this discipline. According to de Boer, Sijmons' and Van Hamel's inaugural lectures are jointly considered to be the 'birth certificate of the academic study of neophilology in the Netherlands'.³² Barend Sijmons (1853-1935) is considered a key figure in the 'battle for recognition of modern language studies';³³ although he did all his studies in Germany – first at the Lyceum in Hannover, then at the University of Leipzig for general, German en Roman philology, where he graduated as a Doctor in 1876 – and wished for a career in Germany, he became department chair at the University of Groningen and stayed for more than 40 years. Van Hamel had a strong personality, and started off as a preacher in the Walloon Church, just like his father. In spite of being the founder of Dutch Romance Studies, he owed his academic education to France and Germany.³⁴ In his inaugural lecture (1884) he presents himself as a founder, just like his father, the former Walloon pastor who laid the first stone of the Walloon church in Groningen. He explains accepting his new position is just like laying the first stone once again: 'here I am called to build a new foundation, one of a new education'.³⁵ The position also required social responsibility: 'I have not come to establish Romance

30 Van Hamel stays very vague, without specifying the kind of social position he is referring to.

31 Van Hamel, 'De levende vreemde talen aan de Universiteit', p. 222.

32 De Boer, 'Een historisch moment', p. 262.

33 De Wilde, *Werk maakt het bestaan draaglijk*, p. 15.

34 Van Hamel attended classes by Gaston Paris at the EPHE in 1879 and by Paul Meyer at the École des Chartes in Paris; he also attended Darmesteter's lectures at the Sorbonne and participated in Adolf Tobler's seminar in Berlin. Tobler was a student of Frederic Diez whose classes Gaston Paris attended during two semesters in Bonn, in 1856-1857. Diez applied Grimm's scientific method to Romance languages. Twenty years earlier, Van Hamel also studied with Viëtor ('language is sound'). Thus, the German philology has definitely had an influence, although indirectly, on the development of Dutch Romance studies.

35 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 40: 'Et maintenant me voici appelé à poser un autre fondement, celui d'un enseignement nouveau'.



Poster of the Exhibition devoted to Barend Sijmons in the University Library Groningen (2007) – (Universiteitsmuseum Groningen).

philology in Holland [...] but I wish for this philology to be founded here and to be recognized by the law of the land and by the will of the university people'.³⁶

For both Sijmons and Van Hamel, philology is a historical discipline: 'Thus, the historical-comparative method is the only one that can put a scientific stamp on the practice of modern languages, and, as a result, also the only one to be used in university education'.³⁷ According to Sijmons, modern language studies must concentrate on historical grammar, research the origin of medieval texts, and study French, English and German

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 36: 'Je ne suis pas venu fonder la philologie romane en Hollande. [...]. Mais je désire que cette philologie y soit fondée et reconnue de par la loi du pays et de par la volonté du peuple universitaire'.

³⁷ Sijmons, *Over de wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne talen*, p. 13.

according to a historical-comparative method.³⁸ Sijmons considered himself a ‘follower of Grimm, the creator of historical grammar’ and Van Hamel considered himself a follower of Gaston Paris, an expert in both Roman and German philology as mentioned earlier. Van Hamel follows the same direction as Sijmons and sees the ‘historical method’ as the method for any serious philological education.³⁹ He underlines the fact that the academic study of a modern language needs to be both diachronic and synchronic: not only should a modern language be compared to an ancient language, it should also be compared to other modern languages. He insists on the synchronic dimension of linguistics, in both phonetics and morphology, and concludes that

the past needs to explain the present, the ancient condition of the language needs to explain its modern time condition, [...] thus, it is appropriate to take popular Latin as our starting point [...] and then follow the stream down to the current condition of the language.⁴⁰

The same goes for etymology and syntax, but the other way around: ‘going in the opposite direction, [...] starting from the current use, going back to the past and [...] comparing what is now to what used to be’.⁴¹

However, since a language reflects ‘modern customs in thinking and expression’, it also needs to be studied as a modern expression and in context. Fernand Baldensperger argues, in a letter to Salverda de Grave (Paris, 12 January 1930), for a redistribution of roles in the period between the two World Wars: ‘to remain the Dutch language without sliding back to German, the Dutch language needs French in modern times, just like it needed Latin in the Middle Ages’.⁴² A comparative study is not fully independent from choices and perspective. In addition to the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of a language study according to the historical-comparative

38 De Wilde, *Werk maakt het bestaan draaglijk*, p. 15.

39 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p.18.

40 Ibidem, pp. 25-26: ‘C’est au passé à expliquer le présent, c’est à l’état ancien de la langue à rendre compte de son état à l’époque moderne. [...] il convient donc de] prendre son point de départ [...] dans le latin populaire [...] et descendre ensuite le courant jusqu’à l’état actuel de la langue’.

41 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 26-27: ‘Pour la syntaxe [...] procéder en sens inverse [...] remonter de l’usage actuel à celui d’autrefois et [...] comparer ce qui est à ce qui a été’.

42 KB 133 M 81: ‘[...] pour rester le hollandais sans reglissier au germanique, le néerlandais authentique a besoin du français dans les temps modernes, comme il avait besoin du latin au moyen âge’.

method, there is also an ethical dimension, which Van Hamel cherishes. Van Hamel sees the historical philologist as an artist too:

Although we make French into a serious science, let's not forget it is also an art [...]. I know that from a purely academic point of view, the smallest alpine dialect is equal to the most brilliant language. But how could I forget that each language is not only a thought but also music? [...] Thus, I like to think that the artistic study of French deserves its place next to the philological study.⁴³

Modern language education, even at the university, was under the spell of the reform movement. Modern language professors were inspired by the direct method, according to which someone learns a foreign language by speaking it, just like learning one's mother tongue.⁴⁴ According to Wilhelm Viëtor (1892) it was also the university's role to anticipate Romance philology.⁴⁵ It is 'not only a historical study of Romance languages, but is mainly focused on the practical command of a language, which had become necessary, as mentioned by Mahn in 1863, by the growth of global commerce'.⁴⁶

In addition to this practical orientation, classical philology also stayed focused on the publication of texts, just like Van Hamel, Salverda (originally, a Dutch-language specialist) and others did. For Van Hamel, the study of a modern language was thus both technical and esthetical, and Sijmons (Professor from 1911 to 1924) emphasized that with the theoretical-scientific training of 'Neu-philologists', university education should also consider practical components such as

phonetics and speaking exercises, [...] composition, [...] and the explanation of modern authors, [...]. Why would these practical tasks [...] be less

43 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, p. 27: 'Tout en faisant du français une science sérieuse je ne saurais oublier qu'elle est en même temps un art [...] Je sais qu'au point de vue de la science pure le plus petit patois alpestre vaut la langue la plus brillante. Mais je ne saurais oublier que toute langue est une musique en même temps qu'une pensée. [...] J'aime donc à me dire que l'étude artistique du français mérite sa place à côté de l'étude philologique'.

44 From Johann Franz Ahn (1867), the German reformers (1880), and Gouin, *Exposé d'une nouvelle méthode linguistique*.

45 Wilhelm Viëtor (1850-1918) was the main initiator of the late nineteenth-century Reform Movement in modern language teaching.

46 Engels, 'Zeventig jaar Nederlandse Romantiek (1884-1954)', p. 257: 'een weliswaar historische studie van de Romaanse talen, maar voornamelijk gericht op de *praktische taalbeheersing*, welke nodig was geworden – zegt Mahn in 1863 – *door het zich uitbreidend wereldverkeer*'.

worthy than speaking exercises in Latin, legal practice, or the examination of corpus?⁴⁷

Thus, reading, speaking and learning to think in a foreign language was considered essential, and the starting point for the language learning process was no longer just the written word but also the spoken word; the knowledge of grammar needed to come through empirical and induced methods, and 'reading is more important than translating from the mother tongue'.⁴⁸

According to Frantzen, Dutch translator of the Gouin method, there was only one academic study of modern languages that was appropriate for *universitätsfähig* ('universities'), with influence from 'the natural science method, [...] on language physiology and psychology'.⁴⁹ However, the subject of study was the *viva vox*, the living language. Education expert Frantzen had two 'professional sides'.⁵⁰ He was both a specialist in secondary education and a philologist, a scientist. Salverda believed that 'the language we are teaching is also a living language'.⁵¹ He saw the modern language specialist as a 'connecting agent between [his] compatriots and another nation', a mediator *avant la lettre!* He contradicted Schuchardt, who believed the English and French didn't need to speak any language but their own, and showed how important it was for a person's general education to learn a foreign language and its literature, to study it and master it thanks to time spent in a foreign country.

In addition to the practical approach of the living language and the historical-comparative position, foreign language education also has a place in literary history. Van Hamel believed literary criticism should come after a historical study: 'a literary work [...] is not a simple historical or linguistic monument; it's a work of art, and one can only truly know a work of art

47 Sijmons, *De opleiding der leeraren in de moderne talen*, p. 44: 'Fonetische en spreek-oefeningen, [...] stijloefeningen, [...] verklaring van de hedendaagse auteurs [...] Waarom zoude deze praktische taak [...] met hare waardigheid minder strooken, dan oefeningen in het Latijn spreken, juridische practica of proeven op het cadaver?'

48 Ibidem, 40: 'Lectuur is van meer beteekenis dan vertalingen uit de moedertaal'.

49 Vonk, *De studie van de moderne vreemde talen*, p. 16. Frantzen received his doctoral degree in Strasbourg in 1892 on the topic of Rabelais (Herrlitz 2008: 13) but, as a teacher, he was driven to focus more attention on communication. By translating the Gouin method (*Exposé d'une nouvelle méthode linguistique*, 1880 | *Handboek voor den Onderwijzer [...] volgens de leerwijze van Gouin* – Manual for teachers according to the Gouin method, 1894), he introduced the direct method ('*méthode directe*') in the Dutch education system.

50 Herrlitz, (*Hoog-*)*Leraar Frantzen*, p. 14.

51 Salverda, 'L'enseignement du français en Hollande et en Suède', pp. 4-6.

after appreciating its esthetical value'.⁵² They each have to complement one another, because 'while the historical study does not in itself represent a literary review, it is the only way to get there, and the majority of critics would probably be better off sticking to the historical study alone';⁵³ hence, he warned against dilettantism in esthetical criticism and pleaded for a purely university-based approach. Later on, Van Hamel himself was operating as a literary expert, while at the same time recommending a chair for comparative literary history and founding a laboratory for experimental phonetics. According to Sijmons, Van Hamel was someone who had a 'mission to accomplish', namely to reveal to his fellow Dutchmen 'the clarity and elegance of the French language, [...] and the treasures of French literature [...]'.⁵⁴ This is why, from 1897 to 1907, Van Hamel wrote more than 60 articles for *De Gids* ('The Guide'); 'as an artist-philologist he delivered literary work', but, to Sijmons's regret, 'in a popular, non-scientific way' 'instead of writing them in a strictly scientific adaptation'. His successor Salverda de Grave made a clear distinction between language education and literary education.⁵⁵ He preferred the former:

The combination of language education and literary education, even though generally accepted, will always be more or less artificial, and it is rare to find scientists who have treated them both as equally important. [...] Thus, as far as I'm concerned, even though I am mostly attracted to the living language in the linguistics field, my literary teaching will focus primarily on its origins.⁵⁶

Academic education needed to make some choices with regard to the science that focuses on foreign languages. Which language should be studied, with which scientific tools? In 1907, in his inaugural speech, Salverda de Grave remarked: 'If one wants to teach a foreign language, the first thing to know is

52 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français dans une université néerlandaise*, p. 31: 'Un ouvrage littéraire [...] n'est pas un simple monument historique ou linguistique; c'est une oeuvre d'art, et une oeuvre d'art n'est vraiment connue que lorsqu'on est parvenu à en apprécier la valeur esthétique'.

53 Ibidem, p. 32. 'Ces études ne sont pas la critique, mais elles seules pourront y conduire, et pour la majorité des esprits elles feront bien de la remplacer'.

54 Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, pp. 428-429.

55 Salverda de Grave, *Quelques observations sur l'évolution de la philologie romane*, p. 22.

56 Ibidem, pp. 22-24: 'La combinaison de l'enseignement d'une langue avec celui d'une littérature, bien qu'universellement admise, sera toujours plus ou moins artificielle, et très rares sont les savants qui les ont traités à titre absolument égal. [...] Aussi, quant à moi, si en linguistique je me sens attiré surtout par la langue vivante, mon enseignement littéraire portera en premier lieu sur les origines'.

which version'.⁵⁷ The classical language, used in literary texts and described in grammar books, is an interesting topic for a historical language study. The modern language, 'used in the street, filled with neologisms and slang, [...] the popular language' is a study topic for the linguist, the language expert. It is rather what one may call the 'general language in France' that needs to be studied, 'average language, spoken by educated citizens at times that are neither too official, nor too intimate'.⁵⁸ This general French language, as opposed to the Italian language, is characterized by certainty, unity and stability, thanks to France's long tradition of political and social centralism. New sciences such as psychology or sociology can also contribute to modern language studies, embedded in the historical-comparative method. Hence Salverda's position that 'grammatical knowledge will remain patchy unless enlightened by psychology'.⁵⁹

The different aspects of a language can be rendered thanks to linguistic geography (which shows the differences), experimental phonetics (which indicates the shaping of sounds), and psychology (which prevents misunderstanding from the logic of a grammatical study); any good or bad judgment with regard to the language is not relevant here.⁶⁰

More than 20 years after the start of Romance language education at the University of Groningen, Salverda de Grave was able to emphasize, when accepting his new position, that Romance philology was part of the development of general linguistics, as a result in part of the work of his predecessor Van Hamel who was a proponent of experimental phonetics, and in spite of the fact that he still had to teach a 'non-university study' at the university. Indeed, Salverda states: 'I will have to teach a field of study that is not truly a university study since it doesn't lead (yet, if I may say so) to university exams'.⁶¹

A political issue: Influence of the national and international context

Financial reasons (e.g. the national budget) and scientific reasons (how scientific can it be to study a contemporary spoken language?) can explain

57 *Ibidem*, pp. 10-11.

58 *Ibidem*, pp. 10-11.

59 *Ibidem*, pp. 6-7.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 21.

61 *Ibidem*, p. 39: 'J'aurai à enseigner une branche d'études qui n'est pas universitaire en ce sens qu'elle ne conduit pas (dois-je dire, pas encore?) à des examens d'Université'.

the fact that it took 40 years for modern language education to be fully recognized as an academic study in its own right (cf. the 1921 *Academic Statute*) and that it took even longer, until after the Second World War, to see the start of academic training for modern language teachers in secondary education. However, other factors probably also played a role, in particular the political environment and the geo-political situation in Europe, as well as the perception of the 'foreigners' connected to a particular modern language. In the end, the academic recognition of modern languages in the Netherlands was probably held back by the country's long tradition of speaking a modern language and its socio-economic interests.

Learning modern languages was an old practice in the Netherlands. Before 1863 and the creation of the modern secondary education system (HBS), a language teacher was a professional who tried to theorize the practice and who defined his/her method through the publication of books. For example, Pieter Marin's *Méthode familière* was reprinted and reused in the northern part of the Netherlands from 1692 to 1873.⁶² In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language teachers were often immigrants who were in the Netherlands temporarily or permanently, such as the French-speaking people from Wallonia or, later, the Huguenots from France who were refugees and could earn a living by teaching their mother tongue. Starting in the sixteenth century, French and German schools were set up throughout the Netherlands; these schools educated children from the bourgeoisie to become business people or homemakers. In aristocratic families, children used to get a French education from a native *gouvernante* or *précepteur*.

The law of 1863 institutionalized modern language education (French, German and English classes became compulsory in secondary education); but no professional certificate was connected to the teaching of these languages – only knowledge and speaking skills were tested but there was no focus on teaching skills or cultural and intellectual training which would have been so very important for secondary education. Both the purpose and the method of learning a foreign modern language had been a topic of discussion for a while and, starting in the early nineteenth century, more and more questions were being asked about the position of the French language in (primary) education.

A very popular education specialist in the Netherlands, Niemeijer, wrote in his book *Grondbeginselen van de opvoeding en het onderwijs* ('Basic Principles for Education and Teaching'), that he considered 'learning foreign

62 Cf. Loonen, 'Is die P. Marin onsterfelijk?'; idem, 'Marin als maat voor de Franse les'.

languages [...] as a formal means [...] to educate the spirit'.⁶³ However, during a meeting of the teacher's union on 25 August 1860 in Rotterdam, on the topic of foreign language education, F.C. Delfos said that 'whoever wants to learn a foreign language has to learn to speak it and write it, nothing less and nothing more'.⁶⁴ Thus, to 'express one's thoughts in a foreign language immediately, that is without first translating from one's mother tongue, [...] speaking should be the starting point, then writing, and finally writing perfectly'.⁶⁵ Exercises, tasks and teaching materials were discussed in support of the teacher, who should use only the foreign language in his classes. The development of the discipline as a subject in school is partly due to professional magazines that started to be distributed in the second half of the nineteenth century, often for only a short time period except *De Drie Talen* ('The Three Languages'), which was published from 1885 until 1971. The Association of Modern Language Teachers' publication *Levende Talen* ('Living Languages') dates from 1911, ten years before the Academic Statute.

The importance of modern language education has long been linked to a social and economic interest; knowledge of a modern language, which contributes to the broadening of the students' mental horizon, was mainly seen as an economically functional type of skill. Academic education could help prepare future teachers by providing a general, cultural training as well as linguistic, philological and historical training. The versatility of the professors had been very useful here as well, since they were not only focused on science but also had a deciding voice as administrators, for example in the examination committee. Because of this, they were able to slowly encourage the academic training of future modern language teachers, in spite of the continuing absence of university degrees. We can see an example of the interaction between the scientist and the teacher in a didactic product, the *Grammaire Française, à l'usage des Néerlandais* ('French Grammar for the Dutch') by A. Bourquin and J.-J. Salverda de Grave, published in Leiden in 1901.⁶⁶ It is a very concise manual of 142 pages, 80 of which are devoted to syntax, 'which is the really innovating and original aspect of this little book, truly excellent in many ways'.⁶⁷ This grammar manual can be considered

63 Niemeijer, *Grondbeginselen van de opvoeding en het onderwijs*, p. 287.

64 *Nieuwe Bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding* (1861), p. 775.

65 *Ibid.* p. 788.

66 A review by E. Bourciez of this schoolbook, written by academics, can be found in the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 36 (1902), pp. 474-477. This publication, of great symbolic significance, is also mentioned in Salverda's correspondence (letter from Sunier to Salverda, dated 18 September 1902).

67 Bourciez, (preceding note), p. 475.

as 'socially useful' as it is a scientific product which can also be used in secondary education.⁶⁸ As an addition to the book *Précis de Phonétique Française, à l'usage des Néerlandais* ('Overview of French phonetics for the Dutch'), this grammar book is really more focused on 'spoken French' than on 'its written use' but is 'neither a kind of dictionary nor a collection of idiomatic expressions' (introduction to the *Grammaire*).

The (geo)political environment had its share of influence on the development of education in the three modern languages. In this period of political tensions and military confrontation, of power struggles between Germany and France, the English language had to conquer its position as the third modern language worthy of academic study. Schaeppman, a catholic lawmaker, considered that 'secondary education extends to a broad group of citizens, and one can very well teach the English language, needed by this group, without having made an academic study out of it'.⁶⁹ The perception of 'foreigners' as well as France's and Germany's positions of power played a role in the relationship between modern languages in the Netherlands and influenced the process of recognition of modern language education at university level. Modernity came first from Germany (*Neuphilologie*), and then also from France (Ahn's and/or Gouin's direct method). In addition, German linguistics had a substantial influence in the Netherlands; historical linguistics in Dutch language and culture studies reinforced the idea of a German tribe connection, the perception of the Netherlands as a German nation, far away from the Romance culture of influence.⁷⁰

As mentioned by Wolfgang Herrlitz in his farewell speech, the Grimm brothers could have been nominated Professors in German and Scandinavian language and literature in Utrecht in 1837, when they were chased away from Göttingen (as a result of their protest against the abolition of the 1833 constitution in the state of Hannover), if the request of George Willem Vreede, Professor of Law, had been granted.⁷¹ The *neuphilologie*, a national philology, which in Germany had become equal to the philology of classical languages and texts, provided the 'building stones for the house of the German nation in which the German people [found] its national identity'.⁷² This represented a model for the German philology in the Netherlands,

68 It includes both older and more recent works, such as those by Beyer and Passy, Ries and Svedelius, grammar by Meyer-Lubke and by the Belgians Delboeuf and Roersch.

69 HSG 1884/1885, p. 477, cited in Engelberts, 'Les premières chaires de français aux Pays-Bas', p. 45.

70 Vonk, *De studie van de moderne vreemde talen*.

71 Herrlitz, (*Hoog-*)*Leraar Frantzen*, p. 5.

72 *Ibidem*, p. 9.

as indicated by Sijmons in a letter to *De Gids* ('The Guide'), in response to Salverda's inaugural speech.⁷³ He believed that 'our language and culture... [have] more affinity with the German ones':

In German scientific work [we can find] flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood [...] Our national character [finds] most satisfaction in their way of seeing things and also somewhat in their way of saying things, because they are closest to our own ways.⁷⁴

An implicit or explicit connection is made between language national culture and identity, and this influences the perception of the language to be taught. For example, Van Hamel mentioned in his speech

a certain Mr Mielle, a pretentious and unsympathetic figure [who was a French literature professor when] the former Republic of the United Provinces was nothing more than a French county [and who] is only remembered in Leiden as a spy for his government, a reporter for his own account, and as living publicity for his tailor.⁷⁵

While the French influence continued to decrease after 1870 (in 1920, the French-language part was removed from the entry exam for secondary school), the Professors – Van Hamel, Cohen and Salverda de Grave – pleaded in favour of maintaining the French influence in the education of the mind, against the German influence. During the First World War, pressure increased on the perception of the two enemies, who both had a major impact on the development of modern language education. In Groningen, thanks to Sijmons's strong involvement, the German-Romance University Institute was founded in 1915, with the hope (after almost 40 years) 'that the study of modern philology in the Netherlands would finally get its deserved position'. And the Romanist Salverda de Grave created the 'France-Netherlands Society', with the purpose of restoring 'the balance between the German and French influence on our science and our art'. According to Salverda

73 Salverda de Grave, 'Waarom het genootschap 'Nederland-Frankrijk' is opgericht'.

74 De Wilde, *Werk maakt het bestaan draaglijk*, p. 40: 'In Duitse wetenschappelijke werken [vinden wij] vleesch van ons vleesch, bloed van ons bloed [...] Onze volksaard [vindt] in hun manier van de dingen te zien en gedeeltelijk ook van ze te zeggen het meest bevrediging, omdat zij het meest strookt met onze eigene'.

75 Van Hamel, *La chaire de français*, pp. 11-12.

de Grave this balance 'was lost years ago', when 'Germany got ready to dominate the minds of our people'.⁷⁶

The ideal image of French as a language that shapes the mind and which is a model for human qualities, as promoted by Van Hamel, was seen as defensive, in spite of the fact that Van Hamel pointed out issues that lay hidden 'behind and under the non-language-related and diverse historical, philological, linguistic and phonetic questions', as part of the *Neuphilologie*.⁷⁷ The philologist definitely also had a responsibility towards his fellow citizens: to reveal the treasures of language and literature – called 'the French soul' by Van Hamel – to a larger audience. In a speech, made in 1897 when Van Hamel transferred his vice-chancellorship, entitled 'Searching the French Soul in France's literature and language', he used a printed advert with the slogan *Prenez un peu ça, Mesdames les étrangères* to highlight the 'mysterious but at the same time revealing word *ça*' as the psychological essence to help accentuate where the French Soul shows up in the language.⁷⁸ By pointing out the artistic talent of the philologist, who acts as an artist in order to study the art of language, Van Hamel is convinced that he 'stays within the framework of an academic study of French literature and language when [he] characterizes the search, in both of these, for a national essence, a collective-psychological element, something [he] calls the French Soul, as important research, and focuses attention on it'.⁷⁹ In England, Breul played a similar prominent role in the Modern Language Association, in the English Goethe Society and in the Anglo-German Friendship Committee. These Professors, in the Netherlands as well as in England or Germany (Sijmons stayed in touch with his study friend Hermann Paul who was chair in Freiburg), used the intellectual capital they had acquired abroad and which gave them a multicultural and multilingual knowledge, to act as *passeurs culturels*, as mediators in discovering the foreign language's literature and culture, in historical perspective.

The introduction of the three modern languages (German, English, French) as compulsory subjects in secondary education (starting in 1863) and of their study at Dutch universities (starting in the 1880s) defined a

76 Salverda de Grave, 'Waarom het genootschap 'Nederland-Frankrijk' is opgericht', pp. 354-355: 'Het Genootschap streeft ernaar, het evenwicht te herstellen tussen de invloed die door Duitsland, en die welke door Frankrijk op onze wetenschap en onze kunst wordt geoefend. Dit evenwicht is sedert vele jaren verstoord; Duitsland was op weg ons volk op geestelijk gebied – het enige waarover de werkzaamheid van het Genootschap zich uitstrekt – te overheersen'.

77 Van Hamel, *Het zoeken van 'l'âme française'*, p. 10.

78 Ibidem, pp. 47-48.

79 Ibidem, p. 10.

new role for French in the education of the Dutch youth. Like German and English, French had become a foreign language and was no longer the privileged second mother tongue it had been for part of the Dutch population, before the creation of the HBS (school for secondary education).

Conclusion

Following the introduction of Dutch language and culture as an academic study, other modern language studies started being taught in universities in the 1880s. However, the fact that, for decades, they were not recognized as an independent academic discipline (there was no academic diploma in Modern Languages before the Academic Statute of 15 June 1921, and no Ph.D. in the Modern Languages before the Law of 1 March 1920) and that there was no real training for teachers at the university, led to discussions regarding the social importance and relevance of modern language studies. The realization started to dawn that these studies:

create [...] the realization of greater collective interests of humanity, by opening people's eyes, thanks to the foreign language and its writings [...] to the material and intellectual civilization of the foreign people, to the country and its inhabitants, to its life, its customs and institutions; they spread seed [...] that can bear fruit a hundred times [and must educate] experts and interpreters of a foreign nationality, its country, its literature, its history, its spirit.⁸⁰

By expressing oneself in a foreign language, and through the knowledge of a foreign people and its culture, one's spirit and intellect can be developed. Both French and German professors and philologists started to see their discipline as more than a mere skill, rather as a combination of theory and practice difficult to find in one and the same talented human being as Sijmons remarked in 1898.⁸¹ According to him, modern language studies

⁸⁰ Sijmons, *De opleiding der leeraren in de moderne talen*, pp. 41-42: De studie van de moderne talen 'wekt [...] het bewustzijn voor de grote gemeenschappelijke belangen der mensheid, door aan de hand van de vreemde taal en hare geschriften [...] oogen te openen voor de stoffelijke en geestelijke beschaving van het vreemde volk, voor het land en zijne bewoners, voor zijn leven, zeden en instellingen; [...] strooit zaad uit [...] dat vrucht kan dragen honderdvoud [en moet opleiden tot] kenners en vertolkers van eene vreemde nationaliteit, van haar land, haar letterkunde, haar geschiedenis, haar geest'.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

should offer a university-based education that '[involves] the entire human being' and prepares him or her for the modern world.⁸² In that sense these professors, as philologists and *passeurs culturels*, did act according to the dominant ideology of the middle classes, essentially involved in international contacts and contracts for commercial purposes.

During legislative discussions in preparation for the 1876 law, it was clear that the liberals defended modern language studies at the university because, as is stated in their committee report, 'the university [...] is not fulfilling its responsibility if it doesn't include the deliberate exercise of modern languages and literature'.⁸³ For the legislators, the necessity of a university education in modern languages was also based on the need for university-trained teachers in secondary schools, both gymnasium and the modern HBS. Indeed, there were complaints about bad results in modern language education at the HBS, which stemmed from 'the lack of academic training for teachers in those subjects'.⁸⁴

The creation of chairs in the three modern languages received political support mostly for secondary education purposes. Samuel van Houten, a representative from Groningen in 1884, recognized that he had 'a preference, with regard to the choice for teachers in secondary education, for someone who has been educated at a university – not primarily for the effect it has on his expertise, but more for his general education'. Thus, the use of a university education in foreign languages was 'the general education which is normally acquired in a university'.⁸⁵ This was what the middle classes were looking for in order to correctly prepare their children for professions (in trade or industry) that required knowledge and use of modern languages and cultures. University studies created the structure that would influence the education of the mind through secondary school, as analysed by Pierre Bourdieu in *Les héritiers* (1964) and in *La reproduction* (1979). The three modern languages, which represented great economic interest at the beginning of the twentieth century, were considered a pragmatic activity and treated as such by the authorities. The status of the first Chair in a modern European language was eloquent, as Sijmons summed up: permitted by the Minister, wished by the university and paid by the commune/city;⁸⁶ it was

82 Ibidem, p. 343.

83 HSG, 1874/1875, appendix 30, p. 31, in Engelberts, 'Bourgeoisie libérale et langues modernes', p. 40.

84 HSG, 1875/1876, p. 1294, in ibidem, p. 42.

85 HSG, 1884/1885, p. 470, in ibidem, p. 46.

86 'Een eigenaardig universitair wezen [...] bezoldigd door de gemeente, maar benoemd of liever toegelaten door den minister'. Sijmons, *Het onderwijs in de moderne talen*, p. 421.

a political issue, answering societal and economic needs. That is one of the reasons why it took so long to recognize the need for an academic education in modern languages and to acknowledge the theoretical dimension which makes it a complex discipline.⁸⁷

Even today there are still points of discussion with regard to the scientific content of the education for modern language teachers. The battle for the recognition of the didactics of foreign language as a so-called sub-discipline is ongoing, as can be read in the following quote by Herrlitz:

Linguistics, as a general theory, is not interested in language education. Indeed, issues, research questions and answers are determined by the paradigm that, at a certain point in history, has defined linguistics as a science. Under this definition, language education – or any other application – does not play a constitutive role, and this is true for historical-comparative linguistics as well as for structuralism and the theory of generative competence. [...] Linguistics should rather confront theories of educational developments and objectives. The *didactics of foreign language teaching* does exactly that [...]. Linguistics, in the sense of language education science, is essential as the scientific foundation for the organization of language education and the training of language teachers. In the department of German studies at Utrecht University this foundation only started to be laid in the 1980s and its strong expansion is currently being discussed.⁸⁸

Foreign language education, undoubtedly a complex academic discipline, can strengthen its position today, as it did in the past, due to its social relevance and its embedment in a larger context. The original historical-comparative approach is definitely still pertinent in the contemporary,

87 Engelberts, 'Les premières chaires de français', p. 90.

88 Herrlitz, (*Hoog-)*Leraar Frantzen, p. 24: 'Als algemene theorie heeft de taalwetenschap geen oog voor het taalonderwijs. Probleemstellingen, onderzoeksvragen en – antwoorden worden immers bepaald door het paradigma dat op een gegeven historisch moment de taalkunde als wetenschap definieert. In deze definitie speelt het taalonderwijs – evenmin als andere toepassingen – geen constitutieve rol, en dat geldt voor de historisch-vergelijkende taalkunde evenzeer als voor het structuralisme en de generatieve competentietheorie. [...] De taalwetenschap dient veeleer de confrontatie aan te gaan met theorieën van schoolse ontwikkelingen en doelstellingen. De taalonderwijskunde gaat deze confrontatie aan. [...] De taalkunde is – als zijnde taalonderwijskunde – onmisbaar als wetenschappelijk fundament voor de inrichting van het taalonderwijs en van de opleiding van taalleraren; Een fundament dat in de Utrechtse germanistiek pas vanaf de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw werd gelegd en waarvan nu de krachtige uitbouw ter discussie staat'.

multilingual context, which forms the foundation for the study of a foreign language. The perception of ‘foreigners’, the topic of imagology or image studies (an upcoming interdisciplinary science), has now become an integral part of foreign language studies. Although the acquiring of skills is still part of the education of modern foreign language experts, it now involves much more than correct grammar or pronunciation as it includes developing intercultural skills and the ability to mediate. From this perspective, Anton Gerard van Hamel, the first Professor of French language and literature in the Netherlands, was an enlightened precursor with a vision for the future.

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5. Fruin's Aristocracy

Historiographical Practices in the Late Nineteenth Century

*Jo Tollebeek**

Abstract

Robert Fruin, who was appointed the first professor of Dutch national history in the Netherlands at the University of Leiden in 1860, was seen by contemporaries and later commentators as a model of the modern historian. This raises questions about the historiographical practices and the daily routine in which Fruin conducted his discipline. The science of the modern historian was a domestic science, in which the tone was set not by the verses of the poet but by the prose of the bourgeois. Fruin's published works were mostly short, solid, meticulous and clearly formulated. They were based on extensive material collections and a highly individualised process of constant revision and correction. At the same time, a process of community-building was taking place in the historical world. The cement binding that community together was the new 'scientific principle' that was being cultivated by aspiring historians, based on the central values of indomitability, discipline and character. This science of small acts was celebrated in commemorative practices. These were modest manifestations, in which self-awareness and self-repudiation went hand in hand. The effect was to throw the scientific identity of the modern historian into sharper relief and to cause the historical profession to develop as a process of corporatist distinction.

For the thirty-seven year-old Robert Fruin, the appointment as professor of national history at the University of Leiden in 1860 – following the division of the chair in Dutch language and national history that had been held by Matthias de Vries – represented a pivotal moment in his life.¹ Before his professorship, his attention had primarily been claimed by politics. In

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¹ For the establishment of this chair, see: Otterspeer, 'De Leidse school'.

1847, his friend, the philosopher Cornelis Opzoomer, had enjoined him to maintain his 'hatred' for 'arid, head-in-the-clouds armchair scholars'; and as a convinced liberal, Fruin had indeed engaged in the party political struggle in the years that followed. But now, professor of history? Fruin felt the need to account for his choice. He assured himself and his friends that the past was not dead to him, and that he accordingly had no intention of locking himself away in his study. He did not want to become a historian such as the German historians were, but a man of 'the English school', in which historiography was continually leavened with political experience.² His successor as professor of national history at Leiden confirmed this. Fruin, wrote Petrus Johannes Blok in a short in memoriam in 1899, had 'observed' political developments 'from his Leiden study' all his life. As a scholar, he had remained an engaged onlooker.³

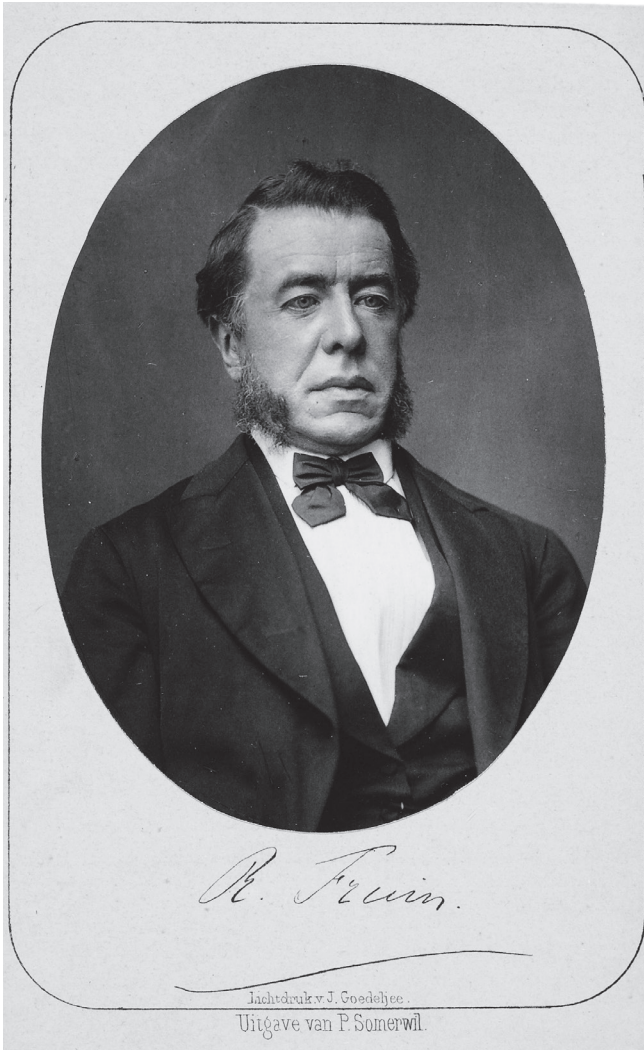
Nevertheless, Fruin lost little time after his appointment in establishing his profile as a thoroughbred historian. Naturally, he was helped in this by the success of *Tien jaren uit den Tachtigjarigen Oorlog 1588-1598* ('Ten Years from the Eighty Years War 1588-1598'), published in 1857-1858. Fruin was consulted from all quarters when questions concerning the nation's past arose, and in this way built up further historical credit. He was no longer regarded as a political activist, but as an expert in national history. His friends acknowledged this. Franciscus Cornelis Donders, with whom Fruin had come into contact in Utrecht in the late 1840s, gave him a series of photographs of historians in 1867: a portrait gallery of the new community to which the Leiden professor now belonged.⁴ In this way, the identification grew, until Fruin's name became inextricably linked with the origins of the modern historical discipline in the Netherlands. This raises the question of the historiographical practices – as opposed to the theoretical conceptions of history⁵ – that Fruin advocated. What did the discipline involve for him in its daily routine? How did he give it shape?

2 Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, nos. 15 and 98: 'dorre en suffice kamergeleerden haten', 'de Engelsche school'.

3 Leiden, University Library, Special Collections Department [abbreviated below as LUB], BPL 2985/13.

4 Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 175.

5 On these, see: Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, pp. 13-67; cf. earlier Vermeulen, *Fruin over de wetenschap der geschiedenis*.



Robert Fruin (1823-1899). Portrait by Jan Goedeljee, 1879 (The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History).

A domestic science

The environment in which Fruin lived was an academic one. His habitat was Leiden's small community of professors, a group of scholars including the Arabist and historian Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, the classical philologist Carel Gabriel Cobet, the librarian Willem George Pluygers and the church historian Johannes Gerhardus Rijk Acquoy. It was a world in which everyone

seemed to know everyone else. Life was largely spent in private homes where, in the presence of women and children, society was cultivated: they conversed, smoked and drank (tea, 'Rhenish wine' and Bordeaux). The links that were forged there could be very close: 'more than brotherly love' could arise.⁶ At the same time, this circle of professors was highly self-conscious. This awareness of standing was not alien to Fruin; he too attached importance to his status.

That status manifested itself in, among other things, the academic institutes and associations to which Fruin belonged: the Utrecht Historical Society, the Academy, and above all the Leiden Society of Dutch Literature. They formed extensive networks (as is illustrated by the sizeable collection of offprints in Fruin's library, bequeathed to the Leiden Society).⁷ Fruin dominated these: just as he had owed his own professorship in 1860 to the workings of such a network, so he now used them himself.⁸ For example, the fact that the famous German historian Leopold von Ranke was honoured with speeches of tribute in 1886, on his ninetieth birthday, by both the Historical Society and the Academy and Senate of Leiden University, was purely the consequence of Fruin's 'work' in these institutions. When professorial vacancies came up, too, he would deploy his networks in order to manoeuvre 'his' candidate into a good position. His actions were astute. Fruin understood the art of 'letting sleeping dogs lie'.⁹

The historian as professor in a university setting and belonging to academic networks: quite clearly, the practice of history in the second half of the nineteenth century was becoming 'academised' in the Netherlands, just as it was elsewhere in Europe. This can be understood both figuratively and literally: as a university discipline, history was taking shape in a specific university infrastructure. Thus Fruin's *collega proximus* and oldest pupil Pieter Lodewijk Muller, professor of general history, taught in a small building specially intended for the purpose in the *Kloksteeg*.¹⁰ Fruin himself did not do so, however. He remained loyal to the old custom, and gave his lectures at home. There were two series of lectures. Firstly, there were the lectures on national history, in which developments from the Burgundian period to the fall of the Republic in 1795 were discussed. Secondly, there were the lectures on the state institutions of the Netherlands. Fruin regarded

6 Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', p. 253: 'meer dan broederlijke liefde'.

7 See the list in Petit, 'Verslag van den bibliothecaris'.

8 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, pp. 449-451.

9 See the note in LUB, LTK 1555/82 and the letter in Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 478: 'geen slapende honden wakker te maken'.

10 For P.L. Muller, see: Santing, 'Muller'.

the knowledge of these state institutions as of the utmost importance: they were, he told his students, 'the machinery, as it were, by means of which the events take place'. Johan Rudolph Thorbecke in his teaching on this subject had treated them too exclusively from a legal standpoint.¹¹

Fruin gave these lectures in a room in his house specially equipped for the purpose. It was small and plain, furnished with just a few benches and a lectern. At the appointed hour, the professor would enter the 'lecture room', where the students awaited him, from the adjoining living room. The audience was never large: there were rarely more than ten students.¹² Despite this, there was no atmosphere of intimacy. Fruin's reserved attitude, somewhat in keeping with the English origins of which he was so proud, made that difficult.¹³ But the nature of the lectures permitted little intimacy in any case. Fruin gave traditional lectures. He dictated the essentials and then provided explanation, usually a stream of factual and detailed data that was imparted so rapidly that the students despaired.¹⁴ They were definitely not practical sessions (like the Seminars, which were customary in Germany, or the French and Belgian *cours pratiques*), at which the students would discuss a source text from the past or a historical problem together with the lecturer, often in an informal manner.

Not only was teaching tied to Fruin's home; so too was research. Unlike his colleagues in the natural sciences, as a historian Fruin did not work in one of the laboratories that had been introduced into the universities on such a large scale in the late nineteenth century. Equally, though, he did not work in a library or archive. He conducted research in his study. It was there that, surrounded by books, he assembled his material. It was there that he spent his holidays, so that he could write in peace and quiet – rather than going to 'a busy hotel in some fine region or other'.¹⁵ The science that Fruin practised might have been developing in an academic context, but it was clear that it was – and remained – primarily a home-based science.¹⁶

11 See Schöffers, 'Colleges van Thorbecke en Fruin'. For the quotation, see: LUB, BPL 2982/8, I: 'als 't ware, de machine, waardoor de feiten plaats hebben'.

12 See the detailed description in: Fredericq, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire*, pp. 179-182 (reprinted in Geurts & Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, pp. 146-150).

13 Blok, 'Robert Fruin', p. 282.

14 Otterspeer, *De wiekslag van hun geest*, pp. 335-336, 339, 374 and 467.

15 Fruin to Th.A. Goddard, 2 Aug. 1896 (LUB, BPL 3275): 'een druk hôtel in welke mooie streek ook'. See also Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 218.

16 Tollebeek, *Fredericq & Zonen*, pp. 80-109 and idem, 'A Domestic Culture'.

In Fruin, this domesticity became a stay-at-home attitude. Because this too could not be denied: although the new professor had assured his friends at the time of his appointment that he would remain a figure in society, and although he had poked fun somewhat at the 'respectability' for which stifling domesticity passed in Leiden, he himself soon became highly respectable. He avoided travelling. Two short holidays to Switzerland on Pluygers's insistence was as far as he went. He made no trips to consult archives or attend conferences, essential parts of the academic historian's life from the late nineteenth century, although in 1886, he did set up a fund to enable impoverished students to make a foreign study trip.¹⁷ Fruin led a quiet and regular existence at home, in a dwelling that, despite its owner's wealth, was frugal.

The man, referred to by his pupils as the 'father' of the modern Dutch historical discipline,¹⁸ possessed to a high degree the quality that he himself, in 1871, deemed essential to the national character: he was calm. A fellow professor referred to his 'old-fashioned Dutch nature': Fruin was never 'thrown off balance'; he lived an even-keeled life.¹⁹ It was the life of a bachelor, who was very attached to his own convictions (and hence could also be difficult company). But it was also a scholar's life, which was strictly private. Hendrick Peter Godfried Quack, whom Fruin had known when he was editor of *De Gids*, said after his death: 'He shut himself off; buttoned himself up'. A later historian called him – *horresco referens* – a Victorian, 'complete with repressed feelings and sensibilities'.²⁰ Fruin, it seemed, was a man without a biography, with that incomprehensibility and unknowability that he himself had identified in Cobet in 1889, when he was contacted by a potential biographer of his friend. 'Will you really have much work to do on Cobet the man?' he wondered. 'Is it not the philologist that you are sketching and wish to portray as an example for the upcoming generation?'²¹ The historian that Fruin was and presented as a model dispensed with the externalities of life.

17 See Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, p. 533. For the so-called Fruin Fund: Den Boer, 'Fruin en zijn Fonds'.

18 For Fruin's paternal status, see: Paul, 'De Hollandsche meester' and idem, 'Voorbeeld en voorganger'.

19 Fruin, 'Het karakter van het Nederlandsche volk' and Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 246: 'oud-Hollandsche aard', 'uit zijn plooi brengen'.

20 Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', p. 340 ('Hij sloot zich af; knoopte zich toe') and Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, p. 2 ('compleet met de achter de ellebogen weggemoffelde gevoelens en gevoeligheden').

21 Fruin to a fellow member of the Academy, 8 Nov. 1889 (LUB, AHM 1): 'Hebt Ge eigenlijk wel veel met den mensch te stellen? Is het niet de philoloog dien Gij schetsen en als een voorbeeld voor het opkomend nageslacht schilderen wilt?'

Bourgeois prose

This same domestic, stay-at-home historian wrote in an undated notice included in his *Philosophica*: '[...] anything that is not poetry is prose. [...] Anyone who is not a poet is a bourgeois. What would become of the world if the exception became the rule?'²² Fruin did not want to be an exception. He was a bourgeois, not a poet. He practised his discipline as a prose writer, not as a poet. Among other things, that meant that he did not regard it as his task to publish 'grandiose' work. Naturally, Fruin felt a duty towards the fatherland. He knew that his chair of national history at Leiden 'was like the pulpit in a cathedral, with a nation as the congregation', as Conrad Busken Huet expressed it in 1885.²³ He was aware of fulfilling a lofty role and wanted to serve the common cause. It was self-evident to him that he had a wide audience: after all, he wrote about the history of the nation – what theme could be more interesting? But he did not want to become a 'schoolmaster to the nation'.²⁴ He lacked the requisite abilities. In the literature, it is a *topos*: the contrast between the controlled, rational Fruin on the one hand and the zealous, eloquent De Vries on the other. The latter was 'fiery', and was able to 'embrace much in a broad sweep'. The former 'made an impression rather than inspiring love', was 'more admired than supported'.²⁵ It was clear who was able to address the nation.

The consequence of Fruin's 'bourgeois' attitude became a matter of urgency as time went by: the Leiden professor published little or no work on a substantial scale and with a somewhat broader perspective. There was nothing after the *Tien jaren*, a study that came out as a book in its own right in 1861, but originally dated back to the time when the author was attached as *praeceptor* to the Leiden gymnasium.²⁶ What followed the *Tien jaren* was usually minor work – 'small change', as one correspondent put it.²⁷ That Fruin's oeuvre largely consisted of a series of fragments about the nation's history was a matter of regret to both friends and enemies. All had the

22 LUB, LTK 1559/19: '[...] al wat geen poezie is is proza. [...] Al wat geen dichter is is bourgeois. Wat zou er van de wereld worden indien de uitzondering regel werd?'

23 Busken Huet, 'Fruin', p. 180: 'als een kansel in eene kathedraal met eene natie tot gehoor was'. See also Aerts, 'De lege kathedraal'.

24 See Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*, p. 528: 'schoolmeester van de natie'.

25 See Blok's speech on Fruin and De Vries in LUB, BPL 2988/I, 10: 'vurig', 'in breeden zwaai veel te omvatten', 'maakte meer indruk dan dat hij liefde inboezemde', 'meer bewonderd dan aangehangen'.

26 For Fruin's time as *praeceptor*, see: Huussen, *Fruin en het Stedelijk Gymnasium te Leiden*. On *Tien jaren*: Van der Lem, 'Het groote pleit beslecht'.

27 J. Verdam to Fruin, 9 January 1883 (LUB, LTK 1555/73): 'klein geld' (and 'betere munt').



A domestic science: Fruin's study at the Steenschuur in Leiden at the end of the nineteenth century (Leiden, Regional Archives).

feeling that the promise contained in the *Tien jaren* was not being or had not been made good.²⁸ After his death, Fruin's critics publicly pronounced the diagnosis: the Leiden professor had become desiccated. In a confused and grandiloquent piece published shortly after Fruin's death, Willem G.C. Byvanck wrote that Fruin had lacked 'inspiration', and 'something else too: the divine joy of a life led generously and freely'. Albert Verwey repeated this in 1905: Fruin had been 'a good but frugal figure'.²⁹ However, his friends classified the minor work differently: the 'small change' was also said to be 'superior coin'.

'Superior coin' meant above all thorough knowledge. That thoroughness presupposed reading and studying the existing literature, but above all assembling the material relating to the subject in question. Fruin did not shrink from the task. The papers he bequeathed to the Leiden University Library include dozens of collections of materials consisting of many hundreds

28 Wesseling, 'Fruin. De geschiedenis van een reputatie'.

29 Byvanck, 'Fruin', p. 218: 'bezieling', 'en nog iets anders: de goddelijke vreugd van het ruime, vrije leven' and A. Verwey, 'Robert Fruin', p. 124, 'een goede, maar schrale figuur'. For Byvanck's own values and practices: Tollebeek, *Men of Character*.

of snippets of notes, extracts and *bibliographica*. They demonstrate how his work grew from a multitude and plenitude of factual data, arranged in files on all kinds of topics: the *Studiën en schetsen* ['Studies and sketches'] of Reinier Cornelis Bakhuizen van den Brink, Cromwell in the Netherlands, Delft in 1572, the roof of the 'Great Hall' of the Court in The Hague, even the history of the hard winters during the nineteenth century. This could produce very extensive collections, such as the *Wittiana* (the term derives from Fruin himself): eleven volumes of extracts from the letters of Johan de Witt and all kinds of documents from his time.³⁰ Such practices were not characteristic of Fruin alone. Acquoy too, for example, the close friend with whom Fruin would be buried in the same grave (the image of the *Dichterfreunde* Goethe and Schiller comes unbidden to mind) shared this scholarly compilation culture.

Fruin's collections of materials testified to the professional ethos that he stood for: the historian should work with precision, meticulousness and prudence.³¹ The manual copies that Fruin maintained of his own publications also illustrated this ethos: the text was corrected after publication, and additions were continually made to it, in the author's minuscule hand. This was a historian with a tireless questing impulse, a historian who knew the significance of details and strove for the knowledge of specificities. Fruin, as the Utrecht archivist Samuel Muller Fz. pointed out with characteristic concision, 'was partial to minutiae'.³² He was a man who yearned for completeness. Nothing ought to escape him; his knowledge – about Cromwell, about Delft or about the hard winters – should be complete. Historical knowledge should be certain knowledge.

Not everyone was willing to give Fruin the credit he desired as a historian. Theodoor Jorissen summarised his historical 'recipe' in 1869 as follows:

Do not investigate the sources: conduct no investigation into the authors, their style of thought, character and relationship to the events that they relate, or to the people whose deeds they recount; do not ask the contemporaries for advice; construe history as you wish: be silent about whatever conflicts with your presentation; ignore the points raised against it.³³

30 LUB, LTK 1555/25, 31, 33, 64 and 152, and LTK 1558/36, I-XI.

31 For a similar 'professional ethos': Paul, 'Waar zijn de historische hulpwetenschappen gebleven?'

32 Quoted in Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', p. 246: 'hield van kleinigheden'.

33 'Onderzoek de bronnen niet: doe geen onderzoek naar de schrijvers, hun denkwijze, karakter en verhouding tot de gebeurtenissen, die zij vermelden, of tot de personen, wier daden

But Jorissen was an exception: Fruin became the benchmark for his meticulousness and critical attitude. At the same time, his character also became the character of the ideal historian. He should not be enthusiastic, but should compensate by being all the more careful and hardworking.

Science – the historical science – was thus a question of concretely embodied thoroughness. However, it was also a matter of creativity. Fruin emphasised this again in 1895, at the end of his career: the quality of historical work did not just depend on the extent to which the available sources were collected and excerpted, but was no less reliant on the acuteness with which the historian formulated questions and put together answers.³⁴ This required an agile mind, a form of ‘desk gymnastics’ as a historian later somewhat irreverently described this action of – controlled – creativity.³⁵ It also left room for interpretations and judgements, though these should be well-founded ones. Fruin had no hesitation, either in his work or in his lectures. In the lecture series on national history, for example, he very explicitly regretted the lack of centralization in the young Republic: ‘A state had been made out of the different provinces, but unity had disappeared’. In the same context he said: ‘William III gave our politics a more noble direction’.³⁶

But even this creativity did not lead to extensive, wide-ranging publications. Fruin incontestably stood for a historical science that was oriented more towards research (‘historical investigation’) than towards presentation (‘historiography’). More bluntly, a topic seemed to lose its attractiveness for Fruin once all the relevant material had been assembled and examined, and a clear representation had been formed of events; he preferred to forego writing about it so that he could immediately turn his attention to a new investigation. In other words, studying was a pleasure in itself; just as it was a vocation (anyone without such a vocation might just as well take ‘a job in a sugar factory’).³⁷ On the other hand, the urge to publish was slight. Fruin, as was constantly observed, lacked *le désir de se voir imprimé*; he

zij verhalen; vraag de tijdgenoten niet om voorlichting; construeer de historie zoo ge wilt: verzwijg, wat met uw voorstelling strijdt; ignoreer, wat er tegen wordt aangevoerd’. Quoted in Huistra, ‘Historisch leven’, p. 137, from Jorissen, *Het einde van den strijd. Een laatste woord tegen Dr. R. Fruin, hoogleeraar te Leiden*, p. 16.

34 See Blaas, ‘De prikkelbaarheid van een kleine natie’, pp. 24–25.

35 Kernkamp, ‘Robert Fruin’, p. 173: ‘kamergymnastiek’.

36 LUB, BPL 2298, II (‘Een staat was gemaakt van de verschillende provincies, doch eenheid was verdwenen’) and BPL 2298, III (‘Willem III gaf aan onze politiek een edeler richting’).

37 Fruin to R. Goddard, 18 December 1893 (LUB, BPL 3100): ‘een baantje in een suikerfabriek’.

was largely 'indifferent to the closed literary product'.³⁸ The book about De Witt did not appear.

Despite this, a long series of smaller publications did appear. They were written in an extremely clear, natural style, which never aimed at effect. Ernst Heinrich Kossmann almost jealously called it 'very plain': it had not yet been influenced by the *Tachtigers* literary movement.³⁹ Its purity and simplicity of style enabled Fruin not just to publish 'specialist' studies for fellow historians in the *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* which he edited: he could also continue writing for a broader public of sophisticated bourgeois in more general journals such as *De Gids* (although he grumbled now and then that 'it was so much more pleasant to conduct research for oneself than to write for a semi-indifferent public').⁴⁰ Even then, however, he primarily remained the historian that he wanted to be. Fruin made no attempt to win over his public – he had no 'journalist's blood' in his veins.⁴¹

The professor was proud of these minor publications. He kept the biography of his articles scrupulously updated, noting precisely when he had written the text, when he had received the proofs, when he had corrected them. He ensured that his work was circulated widely; lists of people to whom an offprint must be sent were intended to help with this. He carefully collected the reactions that he received.⁴² It may not have been poetry that he was writing, but his prose was the hallmark of the science that he embodied.

Community-building

Historical research as Fruin conducted it – with its unceasing detective work, its extensive handling of 'minutiae' and its 'desk gymnastics' – was to a large degree individual work. This was not entirely self-evident: in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the scientific workshop was increasingly making its appearance in the study of history in the universities. From this viewpoint, history was becoming a collective practice, in which a professor

38 Muller, 'Levensbericht van Fruin' and Huizinga, 'Robert Fruin', p. 527: 'onverschillig voor het gesloten letterkundig product'.

39 Kossmann & Wesseling, *Briefwisseling*, p. 10: 'zo gewoon'.

40 Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 311: 'het zoo veel genoegelijker was voor zich zelf na te sporen, dan voor een publiek van half-onverschilligen te schrijven'.

41 Kernkamp, 'Robert Fruin', pp. 139-140: 'journalistenbloed'.

42 See, *inter al.*, LUB, LTK 1555/93, 96, 103, 129 and 130.

conducted research together with a number of co-workers, on the model of what happened in the laboratories in the natural sciences, and including a modern culture of management and team building. The Ghent professor Paul Fredericq, for example, a regular visitor and correspondent of Fruin, worked from the 1880s onward with a number of 'secretaries', with whom he also co-signed his publications.⁴³ This was a development that Fruin did not follow.

Fruin also repeatedly said that he was conscious of not having formed a school. In 1885, he said 'that he had been unable to found a school because he lacked the spirit of proselytism'; nine years later he emphasized that he had not wanted to be a teacher 'who decanted his knowledge into others'.⁴⁴ The number of pupils he trained was not large, it is true; here too, Fruin's reserved attitude played a role. But pupils there were, nevertheless, including Blok, Pieter L. Muller, Samuel Muller Fz. and a number of younger scholars such as Carel Hendrik Theodoor Bussemaker and Herman Theodoor Colenbrander. Fruin repeatedly acted as their patron. He recommended them for vacant positions in teaching or archives, and followed their careers.⁴⁵ His pupils emphasized after his death that their master may not have been 'popular in wider circles', but that they had always revered him for 'his loyal warm-heartedness' towards them. Busken Huet compared Fruin's position in Dutch historiography with that of 'an abbot or prior, surrounded by a conventicle of younger men who were naturally prompted by their hearts to address him as head of the family'.⁴⁶

On both sides – on the part of the master and on the part of the pupils – there was a striving for continuity of achievement, across the boundaries of (academic) life. When the 'schemers' within his own faculty, who treated him 'more as an enemy than as a friend', wished on his departure to abolish his chair in order to establish a new chair in ancient history, Fruin successfully defended the continued existence of the chair of national history, which was

43 Tollebeek, 'A Stormy Family'. For a comparison between Fredericq and his *collega proximus* Henri Pirenne in this respect, see: Tollebeek, 'Pirenne and Fredericq'.

44 Ghent, University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Valuable Works: *Archief Paul Fredericq* [hereafter abbreviated as GUB, *Fredericq*], Ms. 3707/XIX ('dat hij geene school had kunnen stichten door zijn gemis aan geest van proselytisme') and Fruin, 'Afscheidsrede', pp. 404-405 ('die zijn weten overgiet in anderen').

45 See, *inter al.*, H.Th. Colenbrander to Fruin, 14 Febr. 1897 (LUB, LTK 1555/234) and W.G. Brill to Fruin, 14 May 1871 (LTK 1558/6, II), and Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 213.

46 Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', p. 247: 'niet populair in wijden kring', 'zijne trouwe hartelijkheid' and Busken Huet, 'Fruin', p. 181: 'een abt of een prior, omringd door een konventikel van jongeren, die uit een natuurlijken aandrang van het gemoed, hem toespraken als hoofd des gezins'.

transferred to the pupil that he himself had groomed to succeed him, Blok.⁴⁷ The pupils in turn ensured continuity by piously collecting their master's numerous short articles and protecting them against oblivion. 'The immense extent of his knowledge, fed by fifty years of uninterrupted study', as his successor put it, was collected by Blok and the two Mullers between 1900 and 1905 in ten monumental volumes, 'with notes, *addenda* and corrections from the author's own papers'.⁴⁸ As well as this edition of the *Verspreide geschriften* ['Disparate writings'], Colenbrander undertook an edition in 1901 of the lectures on *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek* ['History of state institutions in the Netherlands to the Fall of the Republic']. This made it easy for the historical community which had (partly) been formed by Fruin to gather around his work.

But what was the cement that held this community together? How, in the modern historical discipline that Fruin embodied, did a process of community-building take place and how did Fruin contribute to this himself? These are questions that are not easy to answer. The fact that historians had the sense of being members of the same scientific and professional community was related not so much to a method that could be precisely described and that was shared by everyone. It had still less to do with a theoretical project, a positivism, that some argue had been inherited by Fruin from Opzoomer and was passed on by him to his pupils: the master himself could only arouse moderate enthusiasm over such positivism even in the 1870s.⁴⁹ It was far more to do with cultivating a scientific spirit, imparting a 'scientific principle'.⁵⁰ What that scientific principle involved was formulated by Fruin among other things in a short address he gave on the death of Dozy in 1883: the historian must not stop before he had investigated everything. Fruin taught 'that we must not be too hasty in thinking that we have found something and that we cannot investigate things too carefully'.⁵¹

47 Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, nos. 365, 428, 435, 436, 445 and 446: 'konke-laars', 'eer als vijand dan als vriend'.

48 LUB, BPL 2985/13 : 'de ontzaglijke omvang zijner door vijftigjarige onafgebroken studie gevoede kennis', 'met aantekeningen, toevoegsels en verbeteringen uit des schrijvers nalatenschap'.

49 For Fruin and Opzoomer, see: Sneller, 'Opzoomer en Fruin' and 'Groen van Prinsterer en Fruin' as well as L.J. Rogier, 'Robert Fruins verhouding tot Opzoomer'. See also Wils, *De omweg van de wetenschap*, pp. 253-254.

50 The latter term is taken from Blok, 'Robert Fruin', p. 308: 'wetenschappelijk beginsel'.

51 P.A. Tiele to Fruin, [probably 1875] (LUB, LTK 1555/60) and LTK 1559/28: 'dat wij niet te spoedig moeten meenen iets gevonden te hebben en dat men de dingen niet te zorgvuldig kan onderzoeken'.

That meant that anyone who wished to belong to the community of historians must possess 'the virtue of self-denial' to a high degree.⁵² For the would-be historian must overcome many difficulties to gain entry to the guild. He – for in the decades around 1900 it was as yet rarely a she – must prove that he did not shun the unceasing quest for the truth, even if it took him down arid roads. He must show that he had a truly scientific spirit. Finally, he must accept that inclusion in the historical community was also a question of being chosen (by the master).⁵³ Moreover, the scientific principle required, in addition to self-denial, a high degree of discipline. On this point, the ascetic Fruin had himself, to judge from the comments of his pupils, set a virtually unfollowable example. He had never let himself go, had never been hasty, but had always compelled himself to be patient and to suspend judgement until he had investigated the topic in question exhaustively. Discipline became an essential element of both the modern historian's scientific identity and the corporate differentiation process of his profession.

Fruin's famous philosophy of impartiality can also be understood in this context. In the oration with which he accepted his professorship, dubbed by Pieter L. Muller his 'scientific creed',⁵⁴ the new professor called for the past to be encountered in a truly liberal manner: not with the liberalism of a free-thinking party supporter, but with the liberality of an open-handed history-writer, capable of recognising what was comparatively good and just in all parties in the past. 'True impartiality', he pronounced, 'seeks to be fair to all parties, not to please everyone'.⁵⁵ This final point was not superfluous: critics were to accuse Fruin of arguing in favour of relativism and of displaying an 'old woman's mentality'. Blok therefore emphasized both in the already cited in memoriam and in his funeral speech for Fruin that his teacher's impartiality had not been the 'soulless neutrality of an impassive spirit'. On the contrary, it had been 'the fruit of self-control', of the will to put oneself in the heart and mind even of the opponent, instead of pursuing one's own convictions. The fruit of discipline, in other words.⁵⁶

52 See Muller Fz., 'Robert Fruin: 'de deugd der zelfverloochening'.

53 For the latter, see: Blok, 'Robert Fruin', p. 307.

54 Muller, 'Levensbericht', p. 245: 'wetenschappelijke geloofsbelijdenis'.

55 Fruin, 'De onpartijdigheid van den geschiedschrijver', pp. 294-295: 'De ware onpartijdigheid zoekt aan alle partijen recht te doen, niet aan alle te behagen'.

56 See *inter al.*: Van Vloten, 'Prof. Fruin en 't jaar 1813, p. 50 (note 1) : 'oudewijvezin'. See also LUB, BPL 2985/13 and BPL 2988/II, 10 ('ziellooze onzijdigheid van een onbewogen gemoed', 'het gewrocht van zelfbeheersching').

Fruin demanded impartiality of the aspiring historian. Formulated negatively, this meant that he expected the would-be historian to follow his 'scientific conscience' – akin to the 'scientific principle' and the 'scientific creed' – when he caught others approaching history in a partial manner: he must challenge them.⁵⁷ Only in this way could a true scientific aristocracy – Fruin used the term himself – come about in the historical discipline too.⁵⁸ This showed the importance attributed to discipline for the purpose of building a community of historians: self-consciousness also presupposed self-control, Fruin taught. More generally, it made it clear how interwoven epistemology and ethics were in the modern historical discipline: the knowledge that Fruin practised was a matter not just of precision and certainty, but also of self-denial and perseverance, discipline and conscientiousness. In the study, sources were read, but virtues were also practised.

Thus science also became a question of character. The true historian had to toughen himself until he was indomitable. But the problem was more general. The reason character-building was so important in Fruin's eyes (as he grew older) was that the scientific aristocracy was increasingly confronted with a democracy which, according to the critic, was undermining the whole of society. Fruin's interest in contemporary politics increased again in the 1880s. He was extremely pessimistic. The reign of the sober-minded was over, he wrote, and 'the random throwing of bombs was becoming increasingly customary'. In other words, the revolution was close at hand. This did not yet make Fruin a conservative. Those who were not prepared to reform anything ultimately played into the hands of the revolutionaries, he believed. But order must be the rule.⁵⁹ The socialists, who by now regarded Fruin as 'an ageing bookworm', not only fell short on this point, but their political ideals also threatened the character, not of science, but of the nation: ending economic struggle and making the State responsible for the division of goods meant that 'spiritual power would remain unused', and 'general slackening of efforts must inevitably follow'. 'Right', wrote Fruin, thinking of Darwin, 'controls might, but does not replace it'.⁶⁰ Struggle and

57 Muller, 'Levensbericht', p. 249 and the quotation in Sneller, 'Kuyper en Fruin', p. 403: 'wetenschappelijk geweten'.

58 LUB, LTK 1559/19.

59 Fruin to R. Goddard, 18 December 1893 (LUB, BPL 3100) and LTK 1559/10; Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 410 and the quotation in Aerts, *De letterheren*, p. 355: 'Het werpen met bommen in het wilde weg werd meer en meer gebruikelijk'.

60 LUB, LTK 1559/19: 'de zielskrachten ongebruikt blijven', 'algemene verslapping niet uitblijven', 'Het recht regelt de macht maar vervangt haar niet'. For the characterization of Fruin as 'an elderly bookworm' ('een bejaarden boekenwurm'): Van der Goes, 'Kiesdwang', p. 318.

willpower were matters of great importance to the ageing professor, as a commentator later pointed out.⁶¹

Along with all this, the modern historical discipline of Fruin and the community trained by him was firmly embedded in a culture that was associated with masculinity. Paradoxically, Fruin himself appeared in a number of portraits as a figure who seemed to lack such masculinity. The authors of these portraits mainly pointed to his 'tender-heartedness'; in a speech given to mark the centenary of Fruin's appointment as a professor in Leiden, he was said to have been 'curiously sensitive'.⁶² But there were also less striking details. Sam Muller Fz. portrayed Fruin in 1894 as a 'small, black-clad man with a soft voice and soft hands'. Soft hands: the detail contrasted Fruin with his old friends Opzoomer and Donders, who were presented in the same text as powerful men of 'imposing appearance', and with 'the giant' Bakhuizen van den Brink.⁶³ From the gender perspective, the modern historical discipline retained a two-fold character.

Modest commemorations

The formation of a community of historians was not just a question of conveying principles and values. The closeness of a community could also be enhanced by means of commemorative practices. These were occasions which, as crucial moments in the *mise-en-scène* of the discipline, were usually intended as tributes, and thus assumed a role akin to that of family parties.⁶⁴ The Dutch historical profession saw two such occasions associated with Fruin's professorship in the late nineteenth century. The first took place on 1 June 1885 and marked Fruin's twenty-fifth anniversary as a professor. The initiative of organizing the ceremony was taken by Blok and the two Mullers. But it was not just Fruin's pupils who were invited: also involved were 'all those who took an interest in Dutch history and its

61 Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef*, p. 110.

62 Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', p. 248: 'teerhartigheid' and Rüter, 'Fruin', p. 474: 'curieus gevoelig'.

63 Muller Fz., 'Robert Fruin', 354 and 359: 'kleine, in het zwart gekleede man met zachte stem en zachte handen', 'door hun uiterlijk imponeerden', 'de reus'.

64 See Tollebeek, *Fredericq & Zonen*, pp. 186-199 and – in a broader perspective – Tollebeek, *Gedachtenissen*.

practice'.⁶⁵ It was an example of the self-evidently broad public that had been allotted to Fruin as a professor of national history.

We are well informed about how this event was arranged thanks to the detailed notes of Fredericq, one of the participants.⁶⁶ It was divided into two parts. It began with an informal reception of colleagues, their spouses and a number of students in the living room of Fruin's house. Several speeches were made, by the guests and by Fruin himself. After a break, the second part started towards evening: a dinner, also informal, at the spacious property ('Maison Wytenburg') with its garden next to Fruin's own home. This was attended by colleagues and their spouses, but also by family members and other guests, including the daughter of Dozy, who had died some time previously. More speeches were made, and there was singing, too. Fruin was given an extremely costly gift: a collection of over a hundred original historical prints, stored in a specially made cabinet designed by Pierre J.H. Cuypers (who at that time was working at the Rijksmuseum). This cabinet would later itself become a symbol of the desire for continuity in the historical community: after Fruin's death it was bequeathed to Blok.⁶⁷

At the 1885 party, respectability and warmth of feeling went hand in hand: fine words were spoken, about the 'love of truth' for example, but emotion was also displayed – 'Fruin quite simply wept', noted Fredericq. It reinforced the community of historians because it enabled friendships to be sealed, even between 'men of varying views'; their professional identity thus took precedence over their ideological identity, and in Fruin's view this was precisely what this process of scientific community-building required.⁶⁸ Fruin himself now seemed ready and willing to assume the central role in this community. Averse to external display and still deeply affected by the death, several months earlier, of his dear brother Jacques, he had not at all looked forward to the occasion.⁶⁹ But during and after the event he felt – somewhat to his own surprise, it seems – acknowledged as the country's foremost historian. Even during the event itself, the eulogistic

65 See the circular letter in LUB, BPL 2986/11: 'allen, die belang stelden in de Nederlandsche geschiedenis en hare beoefening'.

66 GUB, *Fredericq*, Ms. 3704/4 and Ms. 3707/XIX (and XXIII) (with the quotations 'Fruin weent heel eenvoudig', 'aandoenlijke houding', 'die ze allen beheerschte op de meest bescheiden, doch besliste wijze').

67 Haak & Vogelaar, *Het kabinet van Robert Fruin* and Veldman, 'De kast van Fruin'.

68 See Smit and Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 303: 'liefde voor de waarheid', 'mannen van uiteenlopende gezindheid'.

69 See the correspondence with Samuel Muller Fz. in: Smit and Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, nos. 295, 296 and 303.

article that Busken Huet had devoted to the subject of the celebration in the local newspaper was circulated among those attending ('Just as older people in the Netherlands call a beautiful June an old-fashioned summer, so Fruin has old-fashioned reliability', Busken Huet wrote).⁷⁰ Immediately after this tribute, Fruin accepted the honorary chairmanship of the Historical Society of Utrecht. He also now toyed with the thought of publishing a collected edition of his 'disparate writings'.⁷¹ But despite all this, the event of 1885 was a small-scale affair. The celebration took place in a small circle, and was not attended by senior politicians, as was sometimes the case at similar events.

The second event took place nine years later, on 1 June 1894, when Fruin's departure as a professor provided the occasion. Fruin had not looked forward to this day either. In the meantime, however, he had become more of a public figure than before. When he turned seventy in December 1893, a newspaper had mentioned the fact – 'and that set many people in motion'. Shortly after the event, it would also turn out that he had become more susceptible to official honours than had previously been the case. When the government made him a commander of the Order of the Dutch Lion on the occasion of his retirement as a professor, he proudly told a nephew that 'that was something unusual for a professor': 'Beets is the only other one on whom it has been conferred'.⁷² Thus recognition of Fruin persisted.

But the arrangements for the event made it clear that this was again a small-scale event. As in 1885, the celebration had two parts.⁷³ It started with a farewell address which – and here the science went outside the historian's home – was pronounced in the Academy Building. There was then an opportunity to shake the speaker's hand. In the evening there was again a dinner, at the same venue as nine years earlier. Toasts were again proposed, including by the *prorector* and the two Mullers. On this occasion the subject of the celebration was presented with a *liber amicorum*. Once again, the atmosphere was emotional. Fredericq noticed that the guests at the dinner had a 'touching attitude' towards Fruin, but also that 'he held sway with them all in an unassuming yet decided manner'. All the same, this second event was more formal than the first. This was certainly true

70 Busken Huet, 'Fruin', p. 181: 'Gelijk menschen van jaren in Nederland eene schoone Junijmaand een ouderwetschen zomer noemen, zoo is Fruin ouderwetsch degelijk'.

71 Smit and Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, nos. 302, 303 and 304, and P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller & S. Muller Fz., 'Voorrede', in: Fruin, *Verspreide geschriften*, pp. 1-21.

72 Fruin to R. Goddard, 18 December 1893 and 3 March 1895: 'en dat bracht velen aan de gang', 'dat voor een professor iets zeldzaams was', 'Beets is de eenige die er ook mee begiftigd is'. LUB, BPL 3100.

73 GUB, *Fredericq*, Ms. 3704/12 and Ms. 3707/XXXVII.

of the first part: the pronouncement of a farewell address was an 'official' ceremony, a ritual, the start of which was marked by the entrance of the procession of the *togati* into the hall. And Fruin himself gave the second part a more formal character, too: in contrast to 1885, he decided only to invite colleagues and 'university-educated family members, no ladies'.⁷⁴ As a result of this homogeneous male company, the event thus acquired a form of exclusivity, at the expense of the conviviality that prevailed at the first event.

For all this, the event was still on a small scale. It retained an intimate character, even in the Academy Building, where Fruin pronounced his speech 'as quietly as a mouse, with an emotional voice', reading from a *cahier de cours*. Thus the celebration reflected the isolation from which Fruin, who had remained unmarried, had suffered since the 1880s. As early as 1880, Pluygers's funeral had put him in mind of his own demise. Since then, signs of loneliness had multiplied in his correspondence. Every physical deterioration and every death – whether of a family member or of a member of the community of professors to which he belonged – made Fruin aware that the circle in which he lived was becoming ever smaller.⁷⁵ It led him 'to count with a sense of melancholy the houses, now forever closed to him, in which faithful friends' hands had once sought his'.⁷⁶ In 1894, at his leave-taking, Fruin felt like a survivor of a lost world. He now no longer lived solely among his books, but among his memories too. What remained was nostalgia.

At the same time, the commemorative practices also bore witness to the science that Fruin championed. It was a science of small acts. It was embedded in an academic setting with clearly defined networks, and was domestic and private in character. With its solidity and its controlled creativity, it employed the language of the bourgeois. It emphasized the principle of cautiousness, and propagated a community-building ethos of self-denial and discipline. Finally, it was manifested in a culture of modest celebrations. What should one make of this? Had Fruin finally fallen into the trap of the 'arid, head-in-the-clouds armchair scholars' against whom Opzoomer had warned him in 1847? Or had he, just under half a century later, opened up

74 Smit & Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie Fruin*, no. 447: gestudeerde familieleden, geen dames'.

75 Ibidem, nos. 247, 331, 367, 378, 390 and 391 ('heel stil als een muisje met bewogen stem'), and LUB, BPL 3100: Fruin to R. Goddard, 17 Feb. 1896.

76 S. Muller Fz., quoted in Van Heijst (ed.), 'Fruin in brieven en andere stukken', pp. 246-247: 'met droefgeestige zorg de huizen tellen, thans voor hem gesloten, waarbinnen eenmaal trouwe vriendenhanden de zijne hadden gezocht'.

new paths with his dedication to the discipline? In his valedictory address, Fruin contemplated the future with confidence. The historical science that he was passing on to the next generations was a science that had become an independent discipline, set free from the pressures of politics and religion and the egotism of literature. The modern study of the past was shaped not by the desire to provide support for one's own worldview, by religious or anti-religious critique or by a taste for brilliant colour, but by the discipline's own scientific dynamic. Moreover, history had become a full academic programme in its own right (albeit still linked with philology until 1921), a programme, in other words, that prepared not for a profession but for independent study according to scientific principles.

The next generation, led by the energetic Blok, would take fresh initiatives, which in many cases also brought Dutch historical practice more closely into line with what was happening elsewhere in Europe: the introduction of practical sessions in teaching, the establishment of a broader infrastructure (in many cases building on earlier attempts⁷⁷), the organization of foreign archive visits, the writing of a synthesis of national history, the coordination of collective efforts. This was a science that Fruin did not foresee in his valedictory speech. His gaze was too exclusively directed towards a vanished world for that. When Fredericq visited him in his home the day after his farewell, he told 'all kinds of stories from times gone by'.⁷⁸ In doing so, he brought a history to a close.

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77 For the earlier attempts, see *inter al.* Huistra, 'R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink en de moderne geschiedwetenschap'.

78 GUB, *Fredericq*, Ms. 3707/XXXVII: 'allerlei verhalen uit vervlogenen tijd'.

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6. Biblical Philology and Theology

*Johannes Magliano-Tromp**

Abstract

The 19th century saw the emancipation of biblical philology from theology in the form of historical and literary criticism. Against the background of a dominant epistemology that posited human rational intelligence as the sole source of reliable knowledge (to the exclusion of, e.g., divine revelation), historical criticism of the Bible became a powerful instrument in the hands of theological reformers who wished to argue that much of traditional Christian doctrine should be renounced. However, the historical criticism of the Bible is not to be exclusively associated with this radical theological current. Moderate thinkers accepted the secular standard as normative, confident that it could be reconciled with the truthfulness of the Christian heritage.

For two thousand years or more, biblical literature has been studied from two perspectives: that of theology and that of philology (in particular textual criticism and linguistics). For most of that time, philology served as a handmaid for the 'queen of sciences', theology, clarifying how the Bible demonstrated the truthfulness and reliability of the Church's teachings. In the Reformation period, this vocation acquired a special acuteness, when differences within the Western European Church occasioned one party (the Protestants) to give overriding authority to the Bible, as opposed to the dogmatic tradition of the Church. Protestant theologians were confident that their objections to the Catholic tradition were supported by the biblical record, but were slow to recognize that the doctrinal systems developed by them were no less vulnerable to run contrary to the piecemeal and confused information of their allegedly infallible source. In contrast, even protestant philologists began to sense, as early as the sixteenth century, that the Bible could not live up to the expectations fostered by their theological colleagues. In the nineteenth century, the rise of theological modernism (particularly strong in the Netherlands) brought their misgivings to culmination. Once again, a reform movement took up the Bible as a weapon against traditional theology, but now against the very protestant theology that had given it its exclusive status as a source of authority. In the wake of secularization,

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biblical philologists attempted to seize power over systematic theology, trying to demonstrate its shortcomings, even its impossibility. This contribution attempts to sketch some outlines of these developments and their backgrounds, with a brief look forward to their provisional outcome in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Schematically speaking, the philological approach of the Bible focuses on the text and its grammatical (lexical, syntactical) meaning, while theology by its nature is more interested in the Bible's potential contribution to making religious sense of life in the interpreter's own time. Obviously, the answers resulting from these two approaches differ because of the varying nature of the questions they pose. Again schematically speaking, one could say that the biblical philologist's questions require answers taken from the text's historical and linguistic context, whereas the questions posed by the theologian go beyond that, and seek actually relevant meaning and doctrinal coherence.

For example, if it is said in the first line of the Bible that God created heaven and earth 'in the beginning', then both the philologist and the theologian want to know more about the function and meaning of the phrase 'in the beginning'.

The philologist will stumble over the fact that the word 'beginning' lacks a complement in Hebrew, and (if I am not mistaken) in English and Dutch as well: it cannot stand on its own, and needs an indication of that what was begun; in other words, the phrase 'in the beginning' invites the reader to ask: 'the beginning of what?'

The theologian is no less interested in this beginning. He will want to know what happened before that beginning: whether God existed before things began, and, if so, what he did before the beginning, why did he not choose another initial moment to create, or even: why did he start to create at all. Eventually, the theologian's main question is: what does it mean that people are God's creatures and to what end was all of this done.

For most of the church's history, the philologist and the theologian cooperated with ease and pleasure — if only because many theologians were also excellent philologists, so in practice, the distinction between philology and theology was artificial, because these disciplines were often united in one person. Even if they were not, they worked efficiently together.

Philology provided theology with the material that it needed, and was satisfied with that subordinate role. On the one hand, linguistic meaning does not go beyond the surface of a text, and for some reason most people feel that deeper meanings than those found at the surface are more important. On the other hand, the philologist can ignore the theologian's work, whereas the

theologian cannot bypass philological results.¹ The self-assurance of the philologist is nicely illustrated by an early seventeenth-century professor of Hebrew at Franeker University. When a theologian suspected him of heresy, the accused confessed to know nothing of theology. He considered himself to be a mere *Grammaticus*, and added that, if there is heresy in grammar, he would gladly confess to the crime.²

This scholar of Hebrew, Johannes Drusius (1550-1616), also pleaded for a separation of offices: for each professor of Old Testament exegesis in the theological faculty, there should also be a professor of Hebrew in the faculty of arts. His plea was answered – an issue to which I shall return at the end of this contribution.

In the meantime, the theologian is mostly quite immune to new insights from linguistics. If, for instance, philologists were to decide that the first line of the Bible should not be translated as ‘In the beginning, God created heaven and earth’, but as ‘When God started to create heaven and earth’ (as many do), this changes nothing in the questions (and therefore the answers) of the theologian. As already stated, theological questions go beyond the details of linguistic meaning and ask for a deeper meaning; since these questions often cohere only formally with the biblical material, the answers do not strictly depend upon it.³

In the course of the nineteenth century, philological and theological approaches to the Bible were supplemented by a third: the historical approach. To be sure, some scholars had for some time been interested in the historical context of the origin of biblical literature since the seventeenth century. The names of Hugo Grotius and Baruch Spinoza are often, and justifiably, mentioned.⁴ However, the final decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a growing scepticism regarding the historical reliability of biblical literature that theologians could no longer ignore. Authors such as Joseph

1 This is certainly not to deny that philology has often been regarded with suspicion by theologians, especially in the heyday of early modern biblical criticism; cf. the sensational case of the *Comma johanneum* as discussed by McDonald, *Raising the Ghost of Arius*; see also Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture*; but also in the official Roman Catholic reaction to Modernism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; cf. Montagnes, *Marie-Joseph Lagrange*.

2 Drusius, *De Hasidaeis*; see Tromp, ‘The Treatise on the Patriarch Henoch’, p. 105.

3 Cf. Morgan & Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, pp. 36-37.

4 E.g. Kraus, *Geschichte*, pp. 50-53, 61-65; De Vries, *Bible and Theology*, p. 9;

Priestley in England⁵ and Hermannus Samuel Reimarus in Germany⁶ maintained that the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, was a huge repository of lies and deception. Miracles in particular were unmasked as magical tricks performed by devious figures, such as Moses and even Jesus himself, to dupe their followers into believing in supra-natural nonsense so they would be regarded and revered as agents of the divine.

This attack on traditional Christianity was partly motivated by Deism, a philosophic-theological current that gave new life to the ancient concepts of God's immutability and impassibility, precluding the possibility that the Deity would actively intervene in the effects of the natural law it had itself established.⁷

In addition, there had been, among scholars and intellectuals of all philosophical inclinations since the Renaissance, an ever growing awareness that problems did not necessarily have to be solved by the authoritative arguments of tradition, but could also be, and were often better, investigated by using one's own senses and reason. In the historical department, scholars gradually discovered what may be called the criterion of intrinsic probability (or improbability) of events reported in ancient sources.⁸

Initially, theology was much less immune to these objections than to those of the textual critic or linguist. If it is discovered that a certain biblical passage can no longer be used to underpin some particular doctrinal assertion, there may always be another passage that can do so. However, if it is stated that the history as told by the biblical sources cannot be true, the theological problem is much more substantial. It is characteristic of Christianity that it has no mythology, but is based on an account of events that it holds to have actually happened. The Christian doctrine of salvation depends upon historical facts such as the incarnation of God's Son, and his victory over death. When the historical reality of such matters is questioned,

5 In biblical criticism, other British scholars were intellectually more important than Joseph Priestley (1733-1804); however, I single him out, because of the effect of his *An History of the Corruption of Christianity* (1782). The translation of this work into Dutch (published in 1784) occasioned the foundation of a 'Society for the defence of the Christian religion' ('Het Haagsch Genootschap tot verdediging van de voornaamste waarheden van den Christelijken Godsdienst tegen hedendaegsche bestrijders'), which put up prizes and medals for those treatises that best refuted his impious ideas. Within decades, this society was transformed into a stronghold of Modernist theology. See Heering et al., *Op de bres*.

6 Kraus, *Geschichte*, pp. 103-104; Morgan & Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, pp. 52-57; De Lang, *De opkomst*, pp. 227-234 (with bibliographical data).

7 Kraus, *Geschichte*, pp. 92-94; Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible*, part III; Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism*, pp. 9-10, 149-150-153.

8 Cf. Kraus, *Geschichte*, pp. 103-113.

traditional theology cannot simply point to other facts to create a similar doctrine on their basis. The first task for theologians, then, was to refute the massive accusation of deception. The most successful answer had already been devised in the early nineteenth century, but the price was high.

Ever since antiquity, there had been awareness that human agents must have been instrumental in the origin of biblical literature. For instance, copyists were held responsible for errors that had slipped into the text during its transmission; but the biblical authors themselves were also excused for having made minor mistakes when producing their writings; such as a misquotation from the Old Testament in the Gospels.⁹ Also, theologians argued liberally on the basis of the theory of *accommodatio*, already known in antiquity, which explained theologically impossible statements in the Bible as the necessary adaptation of revelation to the limited human capacity of grasping divine truths. A fine example of this is that it is repeatedly stated in the Old Testament that God repented of having done something, which is of course impossible. This should be understood to mean that God sometimes acts in a particular way that may resemble human reactions to a great extent, but is actually motivated by different, although by definition inscrutable reasons.¹⁰

The human factor, then, was now employed to exculpate Moses, Jesus, and their pupils.¹¹ It was argued that the accounts in the biblical literature did not stand in a one-to-one relationship to historical reality, but were the result of human authors' reports on events they knew from oral tradition. Thus, such occurrences were accommodated as misunderstanding, exaggeration, or other forms of interpretation of events reported, even before they were put into writing. Miracles were not the machinations of evil deceivers, but the result of eyewitnesses' accounts of happenings which had impressed them to such an extent that they exaggerated certain details in order to convey the great importance they attached to these experiences.

The price that had to be paid for this solution may not have been the loss of the possibility of miracles. For many theologians, even some of the more traditionalist ones, the elimination of the miracle problem may have been quite a relief.¹² The price to be paid was much higher: the share allotted to the human factor became so large, that hardly any room was left for the concept of the Bible as revelatory literature. What was lost was the

9 Ibidem, pp. 16-18.

10 This example was taken from Calvin, *Institutio* I 17:13, ed. Baum et al., cols 165-166.

11 On the apologetic tendency of early literary criticism, see De Lang, *De opkomst*, pp. 271-288.

12 Cf. Morgan & Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, pp. 48-49.

absolute reliability of the biblical history, a concept cherished in particular by protestant theologians.¹³

This does not mean that all theologians took a defensive stance. On the contrary, it could be said that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the greatest opponents of traditionalist Christianity were the theologians themselves, in particular the representatives of the so-called Modernist movement. Impressed and encouraged by the advance of new views of humanity, the world and God, they had broken with traditional Christianity and became active fighters against what they saw as obsolete ideas and concepts. They abandoned notions which had once been central, such as incarnation and redemption, as well as miracles and revelation, altogether. They esteemed biblical literature on a par with other ancient literature, and as witness to religious forms that were archaic, past, naïve, and underdeveloped, not to say primitive.

In the Modernist struggle against supra-naturalism a strong appeal was sometimes made to the wish of the traditionalists to have their views regarded as intellectually respectable. A good example of this is provided by Abraham Kuenen's important essay of 1880 on 'Critical Method'.¹⁴

Abraham Kuenen (1828-1891), professor of Old Testament exegesis at the theological faculty of Leiden University, has without doubt been the most important representative of Dutch Old Testament scholarship.¹⁵ His insights have had great influence in this domain, both in the Anglo-Saxon and the German-speaking world. Karl Budde, who published Kuenen's collected essays in a German translation in 1894, declared that being able to read Kuenen's work was sufficient reason to want to learn the Dutch language.¹⁶ Apart from being a biblical scholar, Kuenen was also a leading figure in the Dutch Modernist movement and the liberal current within Dutch Protestantism.

In 'Critical Method', Kuenen poses a question about miracles to his traditionalist readers. First, he notes that miracles play an important role in all religious traditions: they are as important in the work of Herodotus and in the Qur'an as they are in the Bible. However, no sensible person regards them as veracious or valuable in any other sense – except, that is, in the case of ancient Israel and early Christianity. Kuenen then states:

13 Cf. Kraus, *Geschichte*, pp. 133-151.

14 Ibidem, pp. 248-254; Van der Kooij, 'The "Critical Method"', pp. 49-54.

15 On Kuenen, see the collection of essays edited by Dirksen & Van der Kooij, *Abraham Kuenen*.

16 Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. vi.

The assertion that this exception in favour of the Biblical miracles is justified by the greater weight of evidence in their favour is so notoriously contrary to the facts as to deserve no serious refutation.¹⁷

If biblical miracles might be true, then miracles reported by Herodotus might also be true. Conversely, if people regard Herodotus's miracles as childish fiction, then they should not be measuring the biblical miracles by different standards. The recognition of the veracity of biblical miracles, Kuenen continues to argue, coheres with people's own religious convictions, and cannot be based on arguments of a historical nature. It follows that historical arguments cannot ever decide the debate on the possibility of miracles. He then asks himself whether those who believe in miracles, and those who do not, will ever be able to converse with each other in a reasonable manner, and concludes that they can, on the basis of one shared presupposition and an honest answer to one question. The presupposition is this:

Without for a moment concealing my own conviction that there is not one single miracle on record which we can accept as a fact, I would, nevertheless, place in the forefront of historical criticism the principle that *miracles are possible*.¹⁸

Kuenen does not believe in the possibility of miracles, but is prepared to acknowledge that, as a historian, he cannot disprove it. Having ceded this, he requires an honest answer to a question to be posed for every report of a miraculous event:

Which is more probable, that a veritable miracle lies at the basis of the miraculous story, or that it has grown up under the action of this or that well-known cause without any foundation in miraculous fact?¹⁹

Kuenen is convinced that on this basis even the most tenacious believers in miracles will have to agree that his own approach is sound. By stating that miracles might be possible from a historical point of view (as the historical discipline has no means to disprove it), he invites the super-naturalists to be as open-minded as he is himself. Then he asks them whether it is

17 Kuenen, 'Critical Method', p. 484.

18 *Ibidem*, p. 485.

19 *Ibidem*.

more reasonable to assume that stories about miracles reflect miraculous events, or whether they can be explained on more mundane grounds, such as fantasy, exaggeration or naïveté. If they grant the latter, they should be prepared to accept this explanation for all miracles, including those of the Bible.

Meanwhile, Kuenen's conciliatory tone in this essay should not deceive us. In 1882, he wrote (in Dutch!) to his British colleague and friend W. Robertson Smith:

I cannot acknowledge God's special revelation to Israel; neither can I pass it over in silence. I *cannot but* controvert it; not on any theological or philosophical grounds, but for the sake of history, which – in my view – precludes it, and by the same token fully accounts for the origin and propagation of the belief in its reality.²⁰

Kuenen refuses to acknowledge that Israel has received a special kind of revelation that would render the Bible exceptional among all other ancient literature, and leave room for the acceptance of biblical miracles as historical, in contradistinction to their parallels in, for instance, Herodotus. However, there are no historical reasons for granting this exceptional status to the Bible, only reasons of a religious nature. Whereas Kuenen seemed to be prepared to grant the possibility of miracles on historical grounds in his 1880 essay, in his 1882 letter to his friend Smith, he wrote that the study of history as a scholarly discipline excludes it.

A noticeable feature of Kuenen's assertions is that his struggle against the traditional concept of revelation was not inspired by theological or philosophical motivations, but by historical arguments alone. In Kuenen's view, the historical discipline is epistemologically privileged over religious ideas and convictions, and he is confident that in maintaining this view, he is less biased and less prejudiced than his opponents. His opponents, however, even today, are not likely to accede to that automatically. They are likely to point to Kuenen's position as a liberal theologian, and object that

20 'De bijzondere openbaring Gods aan Israel kan ik niet erkennen en ook niet in het midden laten. Ik *moet* haar bestrijden, niet uit theologische of filosofische beweegredenen, maar ter wille van de historie, die haar, naar mijne overtuiging, uitsluit en tevens de opkomst en de verbreiding van het geloof in haar realiteit ten volle verklaart'. Citation translated and edited by Houtman, 'Abraham Kuenen', p. 235. On W.R. Smith, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism*, pp. 275-281; idem, *The Bible and Criticism*; Johnstone, *William Robertson Smith*; Bediako, *Primal Religion*.

his demand for biblical literature to be subjected to the ordinary criteria used for secular history betrays a philosophical *a priori*.

This brings us to the question of how theological Modernism and the historical-critical study of the Bible are related to each other.

First of all, it is clear that those who can do without the notion of revelation (i.e. special revelation or revelation altogether), will have no problems with a historical approach of the Bible. In this sense, liberal theology and historical criticism are easily seen as natural allies in the struggle against Christian traditionalism. Secondly, Modernist theology can be regarded as a representative, or at least a product, of the very Enlightenment that questioned the notion of revelation in the first place. Viewed in this way, Modernism and biblical criticism are two sides of one coin.

However, it would be facile to stamp all those who apply the historical method to biblical literature as Modernist theologians on that account. If it is true that modernist theologians practised biblical criticism in order to attack supra-naturalism and prove their points of view as opposed to the traditionalists, we must also acknowledge that many of those opponents accepted the challenge, and also engaged in biblical criticism, intending to demonstrate that history and revelation are not mutually exclusive.

In the Netherlands, a fine example of this category was Gerrit Wildeboer (1855-1911), professor of Old Testament studies in Groningen, and a representative of the so-called ethical current within Protestantism around 1900.²¹ The ethicists wanted to have an open mind for the cultural and scientific achievements of the nineteenth century, but also wanted to remain faithful to those traditional values that they considered conducive to a healthy religious condition. Wildeboer, who had been a pupil of Kuenen's, embraced the historical approach and, as a scholar, actively contributed to Old Testament criticism. History was important for him, because, in his view, God had made himself known within history. He welcomed the historical method, because it clarified history, and thus the ways in which God had revealed himself. One may note the shift in Wildeboer's concept of revelation: the Bible as such was no longer identical to God's revelation, but it became a witness to God's revelation within history. Wildeboer, then, accepted the historical-critical approach, but saw no conflict with revelation, even if the latter concept had to be modified. In 1893, he wrote:

21 De Vries, *Bible and Theology*, pp. 99-103; Groot, 'Kritiek en openbaring'.

And yet one will have to acknowledge that, in the end, a proper historical understanding of the Bible is of crucial importance for our knowledge of what God really prepared for us in and through Israel.²²

Historical criticism, sometimes employed as a weapon against traditionalism, is here transformed into an instrument to better understand God's revelation. Wildeboer adds that criticism is an ancillary discipline, 'no commander'.²³

Here, the historical discipline has obtained the same comfortable position with regard to theology as textual criticism and linguistics had earlier assumed: formally subordinate to theology, but independent of its requirements, whereas theology itself is unable to renounce the results of the philological, including historical, study of what it regards as its fundament: the Bible.

Let me conclude with a piece of historical irony. After his death in 1891, Kuenen was briefly succeeded by W.H. Kusters, and then by B.D. Eerdmans.²⁴ In Modernist views and ecclesiastical as well as political leadership, Eerdmans was as prominent as Kuenen (although in theological terms Eerdmans later became somewhat more moderate than Kuenen). His appointment secured the Old Testament chair at Leiden University in liberal hands. In 1907, Wildeboer was also called to Leiden – as the new professor for Hebrew in the Faculty of Arts. As a result, theology at Leiden University was served by an anti-traditionalist Old Testament scholar, and philology by a moderate traditionalist theologian. One way or the other, it seems that biblical philology and theology will never be completely separate. To philology it makes no difference; to theology, it is a great advantage.

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22 Wildeboer, *De letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds*, p. vi: 'En men zal toch moeten erkennen, dat ten leste het juiste historisch verstand des Bijbels de grootste beteekenis heeft voor de kennis van wat God werkelijk in en door Israëel voor ons bereid heeft' (my translation).

23 Ibidem: 'Kritiek is een dienende wetenschap, geen heerscheres'.

24 On Eerdmans, see De Vries, *Bible and Theology*, pp. 107-121; Van Driel, *Dienaar van twee heren*.

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7. Linguistics as a profession:

Diverging opinions in the nineteenth century

*Jan Noordegraaf**

Das vergleichende Sprachstudium kann nur dann zu sicheren und bedeutenden Aufschlüssen über Sprache, Volkerentwicklung und Menschenbildung führen, wenn man es zu einem eignen, seinen Nutzen und Zweck in sich selbst tragenden Studium macht.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über das vergleichende Sprachstudium* (1820)

The term *philology*, in British and in older American usage, is applied not only to the study of culture (especially through literary documents), but also to linguistics. It is important to distinguish between *philology* (German *Philologie*, French *philologie*) and *linguistics* (German *Sprachwissenschaft*, French *linguistique*), since the two studies have little in common.

Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (1933)

Introduction

The date is 1872 AD. We read verses 2-15 in the first part of the prologue to the recently published *Oera Linda Bók*:

Thissa boka mot i mid lif änd sele wârja. Se umbifattath thi skêdnisse fon us ele folk ak fon usa ethlum. Urleden jer häb ik tham ut er flod hred tolik mid thi änd thinra moder. Tha hja weron wet werden. Ther thruch gungon hja äfternei urdärva. Umbe hja naut to urlisa häb ik ra up urlandisk pampier uurskreven. Sahwersa thu se erve, mot du se ak urskriva. Thin bärn als – til thi hja nimmerthe wei naut ne kuma.¹

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¹ Sandbach, *The Oera Linda book*, p. 3: You must preserve these books with body and soul. They contain the history of all our people, as well as of our forefathers. Last year, I saved them in the flood, as well as you and your mother; but they got wet, and therefore began to perish. In order not to lose them, I copied them on foreign paper. In case you inherit them, you must copy them likewise, and your children must do so too, so that they may never be lost'. Cf. Ottema, *The Oera Linda Bok*, p. 3; Beckering Vinckers, *De onechtheid van het Oera-Linda-Bók*, p. 33.

This intriguing passage stems from *Thet Oera Linda Bôk* ('The Oera Linda Book'), a well-known mystification that caused a great deal of controversy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The book was said to be composed in Old Frisian and was supposed to date from the thirteenth century. It was Jan Beckering Vinckers (1821-1891), a teacher at the Kampen gymnasium and an enthusiastic comparative linguist, who exposed its language as pure 'nonsense' in his 1876 brochure entitled *De onechtheid van het Oera-Linda-Bôk, aangetoond uit de wartaal waarin het is geschreven*.²

Drawing upon historical-comparative language analysis (he compared the 'OLB-ese', i.e. the language in which the Oera Linda Bôk was written, to Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old-Frisian), Beckering Vinckers demonstrated that this text could not possibly be Old Frisian. In this way, he managed to determine the falseness of the *Oera Linda Bôk*. Even a critical and independent mind such as the celebrated Dutch writer Multatuli (1820-1887) had to concede, albeit unwillingly.³ The 'new, scientific, comparative language study', as Beckering Vinckers called his profession, proved capable of resolving the dispute regarding the authenticity of the book in a most convincing manner.⁴

It is not sheer coincidence that such a brochure appeared in 1876. In linguistic historiography, the year 1876 is generally considered as 'a turning point in the history of linguistics' and a true *annus mirabilis* ('year of wonders'). In that year, historical-comparative language study reached an unprecedented level, particularly in Germany.⁵ The euphoric sentiment that greets the reader in Vinckers's brochure is therefore not surprising. Moreover, 1876 is also the year in which a new Act on Higher Education became effective in the Netherlands. Following the passage of this legislation, Gothic, Sanskrit, the principles of Comparative Indo-European linguistics, and similar elements were added to the curriculum used for the study of Dutch.⁶

2 'The unauthenticity of the Ura-Linda-book, shown from the gibberish in which it is written'.

3 Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker), himself a fervent practitioner of speculative etymology, grumbled about Beckering Vincker's outbursts against the 'onwetenschappelyke etymologen', the 'unscientific etymologists'. 'I truly regret that I do not believe in its authenticity myself. How I should like to fight for it, if only the situation were different, and then as *unscientifically* as possible!' ('t *Spyt* me dat ikzelf niet aan de echtheid geloof. Wat zou ik er graag voor stryden als dit anders was, en dan zoo *onwetenschappelyk* mogelyk!'. Cf. Noordegraaf, 'Multatuli en de taal van Ur', p. 53).

4 Jensma, *De gemaskerde god*. The discussion on the authorship has been going on for more than a century.

5 Koerner, '1876 as a turning point in the history of linguistics'.

6 Van Essen, *Kruisinga. A chapter in the history of linguistics in the Netherlands*, pp. 38-39.

In 1885, Jan Beckering Vinckers, a *doctor honoris causa* of Utrecht University (1879), was appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Groningen, allowing him to make linguistics his sole profession: *Sprachwissenschaft als Beruf*, to make a variation on the title of Max Weber's well-known 1917 essay. After a long teaching career, which included private study and numerous linguistic publications, some called him 'the father of comparative language study' in this country.⁷ The strength of such a reputation justifies my use of his brochure on the *Oera Linda Bók* as a starting point for my exposition of certain aspects of the development of historical-comparative linguistics in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. Vinckers's booklet was the elaborated version of a paper presented to the fourteenth Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres ('Dutch-Flemish Conference on Language and Literature'), which took place in Maastricht in 1875. These conferences were held biennially from 1849 until 1912, alternating between Flanders and the Netherlands. They provided an important discussion platform with regard to the nineteenth-century study of Dutch in the broad sense.

When reading Vinckers's 1876 brochure, it is striking to observe the level of criticism that was launched against Dutch classical scholarship. It seemed as if these classical philologists still did not wish to become acquainted with the achievements of comparative language study. For example, the internationally reputed Leiden *graecus* Carel Gabriel Cobet (1813-1889) once sardonically remarked: 'The new art of etymology is currently in vogue, although – in quite plain terms – present-day knowledge does not generate anything more plausible than the lack of knowledge of the old days'.⁸ As Vinckers observed with a sigh, this statement was advanced by

7 Zuidema, 'Vinckers', p. 1310: 'vader der vergelijkende taalstudie'.

8 'Thans is er de nieuwe afleidkunde in zwang, maar ronduit gezegd, de tegenwoordige kunde baart volstrekt niets geloofwaardigers dan de vroegere onkunde' (cf. Beckering Vinckers, *De onechtheid*, pp.16-17). See also Van Bruggen, *Hedendaagsch fetischisme*, p. 116: 'Nunc nova Etymologiarum ars calet, sed, ne dicam dolo, ἡ ν ν τέχνη τ ες πρότερον ἀτεχνίας οὐ πάνυ πιθανώτερα τίχται' (Nowadays, a new art of etymology is hot, but, to say it plainly: today's art isn't producing anything more reliable than yesterday's lack of art.) ('Homeric' in *Mnemosyne* n.s. 2 (1874), 176). As late as 1925, the author Carry van Bruggen (1881-1932) referred to this depreciating attitude of 'the great Cobet' in a discussion of language criticism contained in her sociolinguistic treatise *Hedendaagsch fetischisme*. ('Contemporary fetichism') Cf. also Slings, *Jan Woltjer tegen de school van Cobet*, p.8. In his 1846 inaugural lecture in Leiden, Cobet refused any cooperation with historical-comparative linguistics. In his opinion, comparativists held the same low status as archaeologists. For Cobet's stance with regard to the *comparatīvi*, see also Naber, 'Cobet', p. 238. Note that in the early years of his career the well-known Sanskrit scholar Franz Bopp (1791-1867) was the target of many 'Kathederwitze' on the part of 'les philologues classiques de la première moitié du XIXe siècle' (cf. Rocher, 'Les philologues classiques et les débuts de la grammaire comparée', p. 252). Cf. Beckering Vinckers, *De onechtheid van het Oera-Linda-Bók*, pp. 16-17.

a famous professor associated with the same university as Professor Henri Kern (1833-1917), whom Vinckers regarded as 'one of the most versatile and profound language specialists in the Netherlands'.⁹ In Vinckers's opinion, the Dutch classical philologists were not yet using the new, comparative study of language to a satisfactory extent.

As it appears, a divergence of opinions had occurred during the course of the century in the field of language study.¹⁰ I use this opposition between (historical-comparative) linguistics and (classical) philology in this report to highlight several aspects of the 'autonomization' of linguistic science in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century.

It is interesting to note that in Beckering Vinckers's 1876 brochure, as well as in his adaptation of the third edition (1870) of the well-known book by the American scholar William Dwight Whitney (1817-1894), *Language and the study of language* (1867), Vinckers points to the linguistic works of the Dutch scholar Lambert ten Kate (1674-1731). According to Vinckers, the latter's name deserved as much respect as those names of the 'founding fathers' of historical-comparative linguistics, including Grimm and Bopp.¹¹ Because of Jacob Grimm (1819) and Franz Bopp (1816), along with 'a legion of congenial hardworking students of language', language study has been elevated to an inductive science, and the original unity of the Indo-Germanic languages has been made 'by means of irrefutable proofs into an uncontested fact [...]'. However, these scholars have accomplished this in the wake of a Dutch eighteenth-century linguist, viz. 'our ten Kate'.¹²

9 Beckering Vinckers, *Taal en taalstudie*, vol. 1, p. xii: 'een der schranderste, veelzijdigste en grondigste taalkenners in Nederland'.

10 Rocher, 'Les philologues classiques et les débuts de la grammaire comparée', 'Klassieke filologie contra vergelijkende taalwetenschap'.

11 Beckering Vinckers, *Taal en taalstudie*, vol. 1, p. 38.

12 Cf. Beckering Vinckers, *De onechtheid van het Oera-Linda-Bók*, p. 11: 'Maar nu – op voorgang van Leibnitz en onzen Ten Kate – Grimm en Bopp in het tweede tiental van deze eeuw, en na hen een heerleger van gelijkgezinde noeste taalbeoefenaars, de taalstudie tot een inductieve wetenschap hebben verheven, nu zij de Deutsche taaltakken, waaronder ook het O.friesch behoort, in hunne historische ontwikkeling hebben bestudeerd en door hun grondig onderzoek de oorspronkelijke eenheid der Indogermaansche talen door onomstootelijke bewijzen tot een onweerlegbaar feit hebben gemaakt [...]'. Idem, *Taal en taalstudie*, vol. 1, p. 39: 'Ik houd mij volkomen overtuigd, dat Grimm aan de studie van Ten Kate's werk niet weinig te danken heeft gehad [...] Wat Bacon was voor het wetenschappelijk natuuronderzoek in 't algemeen, dat was Ten Kate voor de wetenschappelijke taalstudie' ('I for one am fully convinced that Grimm learned a great deal from his study of ten Kate's work. [...] What Bacon has been for scientific research in general, ten Kate was for the scientific study of language'). Moreover, in numerous places Beckering Vinckers detected 'een allerverrassendste overeenkomst' ('a most surprising

According to Beckering Vinckers, the foundations of historical-comparative linguistics had actually been laid as early as the eighteenth century. I begin by showing how he could arrive at this conclusion, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and methodological consequences of the view that the science of language was something quite different from the ancient philology and the traditional *ars grammatica* with regard to the mother tongue. In other words, I demonstrate how new disciplinary boundaries were explicitly drawn in the nineteenth century, boundaries that had not yet been marked with any sharpness in the century before.

Eighteenth-century language study in the Netherlands: 'Newtonian linguistics'¹³

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Lambert ten Kate, of Amsterdam, and his mentor and fellow Amsterdam citizen Adriaen Verwer (ca. 1655-1717) deliberately chose to follow the historical-linguistic path in order to demonstrate the order and regularity in language. In this choice, they clearly appear to be inspired by religious motives.¹⁴ In the wake of Isaac Newton (1643-1727), whom both of them greatly admired, they used an empirical-inductive method in their research.

The polymath Lambert ten Kate 'learn'd the English on purpose to read Sir Isaac Newton's Works, of which he was a great Admirer', said his friend and very first biographer, Jacob Christoph Le Blon (1667-1741) in 1732. Among his other works, Ten Kate composed a treatise entitled 'Proef-ondervinding over the scheidende der coleuren' ('Experiment on the division of the colours' 1716), emulating an experiment described in Newton's 'Gezigt-kunde'.¹⁵

The year 1723 saw the publication of Ten Kate's bulky, two-volume 'Introduction to the Exalted Part of the Dutch Language', the celebrated *Aenleiding*

similarity') between the ideas of ten Kate and those of the distinguished linguist Whitney, one and a half centuries later – a quite interesting theme that still has to be explored. .

13 For this term, see Georges Gusdorf, *Les sciences humaines et la conscience occidentale*. VI. *L'avènement des sciences humaines au siècle des lumières* (Paris 1973), p. 295. Gusdorf mentions the 'linguistique newtonienne' as the successor to the 'linguistique cartésienne'. With regard to the latter term, see Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian linguistics. A chapter in the history of rationalist thought* (1966), a book which evoked many a critical reaction. Dijksterhuis (174-176) makes some pertinent remarks on the historiographical value of the term 'Newtonianism'.

14 Noordegraaf, 'Amsterdamse kringen. Taalkunde en theologie rond 1700', 'Lambert ten Kate and the logos'.

15 Newton, *Opticks* (1704).

tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake, waer in hare zekerste grondslag, edelste kragt, nuttelijkste onderscheiding, en geregeldste afleiding overwogen en naegespoort, en tegen het allervoornaemste der [...] taelverwanten, als 't oude Moeso-Gotthisch, Frank-Duitsch, en Angel-Saxisch [...] vergeleken word ('Introduction to knowledge of the sublime part of the Dutch language, in which its firmest foundation, noblest force, most useful order and most regular derivation is considered and explored, and is compared with the most relevant portion of the cognate languages such as the ancient Moeso-Gothic, Frankish-German, and Anglo-Saxon'). In 1729, Ten Kate wrote the following to a correspondent in Danzig: 'I assume that almost all of it is brand new and has not been treated thus far. As it appeared to me, it is the most important part of the study of our own language and that of all our linguistic relatives, such as the High Germans and the English, Swedish and Danish'.¹⁶ He was right: the *Aenleiding* proved a most important linguistic work, not only with regard to its contents but to its methodology as well.

Ten Kate was inspired to begin his historical-comparative linguistic research by the *mercator sapiens* ('wise merchant') from Amsterdam, Adriaen Verwer, whom I just mentioned. In addition to being a jurist and a linguist, Verwer was an early reader and great admirer of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687). He played a crucial role in a network of people who can be regarded as exponents of the scholarly culture in the second half of the seventeenth century. This network comprised researchers who were interested in various forms of *scientia*, from physics and mathematics to philosophy and language.¹⁷ One of these scholars was Lambert ten Kate.

Within this Amsterdam circle opinions varied as far as language study was concerned. 'I am not a member of the community of authors of note', Verwer noted in 1708.¹⁸ In other words, he stated that he did not count himself as a member of the literary network to which his acquaintance David van Hoogstraten (1658-1724), 'conrector' at the Latin school in Amsterdam, did belong. Undoubtedly, it can be argued that language was a common and binding factor in this literature-oriented circle, particularly with regard to the love of and the

16 Ten Kate to Johann Philipp Breyne, 1729. Printed in Noordegraaf, 'Ten Kate schrijft naar Dantsig', p. 100: 'Ik weet niet beter of 't is byna alles nieuw en onverhandelt, en, zo 't mij toegeleek, van 't gewigtigste in onze Taelkunde en in die van alle onze Taelverwanten, zo Hoogduitschers als Engelschen, Zweden en Deenen'.

17 Van de Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers*, pp. 30-34; Jorink & Maas, *Newton and the Netherlands*, pp. 22-25.

18 Van de Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers*, p. 36: 'Ik ben geen lidt der Schryveren van name'.

study of literary texts, both classical and contemporary, and attention to the norms and use of language. Verwer, however, was of the opinion that language research had to be research of the overall linguistic system first of all; according to him, the study of language had to be empirically founded. Linguistic researchers were like cartographers: they had to deduce the regularities from actually observed language use in the right sources exclusively. These sources were to be found in the past.¹⁹ All in all, one could argue that Verwer makes a *de facto* distinction between philology and linguistics.

To my mind, Verwer's stance *anno domini* 1708 reveals the essential tension between the empirical-historical study of language directed towards the discovery of the underlying language system, and an approach that was primarily directed towards the culture of language.²⁰ In this *caesura* between historico-empirical language study and a normative approach including language culture, explicit disciplinary consequences (linguistics versus philology) were seen only around the middle of the next century, in the publications of the Dutch scholar Matthias de Vries (1820-1892) and other authors. I shall return to this issue.

In 1812, the jurist H.W. Tydeman (1778-1863) wrote to Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) that the studies of the former merchant and independent researcher Lambert ten Kate were of the same calibre as the works of such internationally reputed professors as the orientalist Albert Schultens (1686-1750) and the classical scholar Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766). Schultens and other orientalists proceeded along the lines of language comparison, while Hemsterhuis and his school of classical philologists also developed a linguistic research method of their own in their practice as professional editors of texts and exegetes of New Testament texts. Empiricism, induction, the search for fixed rules and systematics were aspects of eighteenth-century language study that clearly found their reflection in the circles around the new *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* ('Society of Dutch Language and Literature'), which was founded in Leiden in 1766. Linguistic research was duly adopted within this society, and these empirical views pervaded elsewhere as well, for example in the *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (1805) by Pieter Weiland (1754-1842), a 'Dutch grammar' which was sanctioned by the Dutch government and prescribed to all government officials and teachers²¹, and in the works of Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742-1826), one of the first professors of Dutch language and literature. The publications

19 Ibidem, p. 304.

20 Ibidem, p. 83.

21 Bakker & Dibbets, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde*, p. 121.

of the influential man of letters Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807), also show the influence of Verwer and Ten Kate.²²

In the late eighteenth century, August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) had been working as a tutor in Amsterdam for some years and appears to have acquainted himself with Dutch studies on language. Thus, he recommended the works of the so-called *Schola Hemsterhusiana* to his brother Friedrich (1772-1829).²³ In 1815, Schlegel also referred to the works of Lambert ten Kate in his sharp critique of the Grimm brothers and their speculative way of etymologizing, when he remarked:

For the history of our grammar so far much more has been achieved by foreign scholars than by German. As an example we just name [...] a Dutch work: *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische Spraeke en de Nederduytsche* ['The relationship between the Gothic and Dutch languages', 1710] by Lambert ten Kate.²⁴

In other words, Schlegel's recommendation to Grimm was to follow Ten Kate's method.²⁵ It was indeed not without effect: 'It appears that the elder Schlegel's constructive criticism motivated Jacob Grimm to seriously follow this advice [...].'²⁶ Thanks to his Dutch correspondent Meinhard Tydeman (1741-1825), Jacob Grimm eventually managed to acquire a copy of Ten Kate's main work, *Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduytsche sprake* (1723), in 1818. Hence, Beckering Vinckers wrote: 'I am fully convinced that Grimm owed a considerable debt to the study of Ten Kate's work',²⁷ although Jacob Grimm was never very generous with references to the Dutch scholar's *magnum opus*.²⁸

22 Van der Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers*, passim.

23 Scholte, 'August Wilhelm Schlegel in Amsterdam', p. 137.

24 'Für die Geschichte unserer Grammatik ist bisher durch Ausländern mehr geleistet worden als durch deutsche Gelehrte. Wir nennen hier vorzüglich [...] eine holländische Schrift: *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische Spraeke en de Nederduytsche* [1710] von Lambert ten Kate' (citation taken from Jongeneelen, 'Lambert ten Kate', p. 212). This booklet, which Ten Kate composed at the prompting of his compatriot Adriaan Verwer, can be regarded as a preliminary study to the voluminous *Aenleiding* of 1723.

25 Jongeneelen, 'Lambert ten Kate and the Origin of 19th-Century Historical Linguistics', p. 212.

26 Koerner, *Practicing linguistic historiography*, p. 306.

27 Beckering Vinckers, *Taal en taalstudie*, vol. 1, p. 39: 'Ik houd mij volkomen overtuigd, dat Grimm aan de studie van ten Kate's werk niet weinig heeft te danken gehad'.

28 Verburg, *Language and its functions*, p. 456 n. 23 for Grimm's acknowledgment in his *Deutsche Grammatik* that Ten Kate had already noticed the importance of *Ablaut*. See also Bod, *A New History of the Humanities*, p. 282.

The existence of a methodological line that runs from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century can also be concluded from the linguistic works of the preacher and language researcher Joast Hiddes Halbertsma (1789-1869). This Frisian scholar started as a disciple of Tiberius Hemsterhuis and his most important student, Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715-1785), and he has always remained a true adherent of these scholars. Around 1830, Halbertsma discovered Grimm's historical school and began to follow this track, as is evident in his subsequent writings. In a letter dated 12 June 1843 to Valckenaer's grandson, Lodewijk Caspar Luzac (1786-1861), Halbertsma specified the source of his linguistic knowledge and 'historical view' as follows: 'I must say that it was solely Ludovicus Casparus [Valckenaer]. [...] everything I have achieved and still hope to achieve [is] nothing more than the application of his principles to the study of Germanic languages'.²⁹ It is therefore not surprising that Feitsma ventured to conclude that 'the transition between the Hemsterhusians and nineteenth-century historical linguistics seems to be very natural, or rather: historical linguistics had more or less taken its starting point in the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*'.³⁰ In other words, the *Schola Hemsterhusiana* demonstrates the continuity that existed between the linguistic thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³¹ I should like to emphasize that the founding fathers of historical-comparative grammar (e.g. Schlegel, Rask, Bopp, Grimm, and Humboldt) were all familiar with the works of the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*. These works were published (or republished) around the turn of the nineteenth century, during the formative years of these German and Danish linguists.

The case of Halbertsma is a clear link between the eighteenth and nineteenth-century approaches, as Feitsma concludes, with reference to convincing continuities and conformities and observing no evident *caesura*.³² As late as 1845, when the *Schola Hemsterhusiana* had already been out of fashion for a long time, Halbertsma (a scholar with an elaborate European network) edited an interesting linguistic lecture of Hemsterhuis. He sent a complimentary copy to his long-time correspondent Jacob Grimm. The latter was apparently unimpressed, however, as evidenced by his sharp criticism of the etymological work of the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, which he published shortly thereafter. Several of Grimm's compatriots also

29 Kalma, 'Briefwisseling Halbertsma-Luzac', pp. 139-140.

30 Feitsma, *Tussen Hemsterhuis en Grimm*, p. 94.

31 Various arguments for this continuity are adduced by Feitsma, *Tussen Hemsterhuis en Grimm*, p. 85 sqq.

32 Feitsma, 'Schola Hemsterhusiana', passim; De Jong, *Knooppunt Halbertsma*, p. 35.

demonstrated that they were not charmed by the achievements of their Dutch colleagues of old.³³

In sum, it can be argued that what has been called Dutch eighteenth-century 'Enlightenment Linguistics', is characterized by an empirical and inductive method of working and by a search – through the history of language – for regularity (analogy) and fixed rules in language.³⁴ In addition and, in some cases, contradiction to the prevailing practical-normative grammar, this positioning led to the foundation of a separate linguistic trend in the course of the nineteenth century. This discipline came to exist alongside such trusted fields of study as classical and oriental philology.

From 'ars' to 'scientia'. A paradigm 'under construction'

The work of the Reverend Halbertsma is a fine example of how historical-comparative linguistics was practised in the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century. In many cases, the historical and comparative study of language had a rather hybrid character. For example, results from the works of Jacob Grimm filtered through in the study of Germanic languages (Frisian, Dutch). It is a meandering stream of publications, with old and new intertwined, produced by a highly diverse assembly of theologians, dabbling jurists and the like. These works included the Dutch adaptation of the *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten* ('Mithridates or general knowledge of languages including the Lord's Prayer as a linguistic sample text in almost five hundred languages and dialects', 1806-1817, four volumes), the last work of 'Germany's great language master', Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806), a scholar who was frequently followed in the Netherlands. This adaptation, entitled *Geschied- en letterkundige nasporingen omtrent de afkomst en verspreiding der talen van de onderscheidene*

33 For example, having given a concise summary of the main ideas of the Dutch school of classical grammarians in his influential *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, Theodor Benfey (1809-1881) curtly concluded: '[...] es wäre Papierverderb, wenn wir diesen Unsinn weiter verfolgen wollten'. Cf. Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, p. 258. As late as 1884, August Friedrich Pott (1802-1887) remarked that the achievements of the 'holländischen Schule [...] uns heute nur ein mitleidsvolles Lächeln entlocken'. Cf. Pott, *Einleitung in die Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 248.

34 Noordegraaf, 'From "Radical Enlightenment" to Comparative Historical Linguistics', pp. 155-168.

volkeren ('Historical and linguistic investigations into the origin and the distribution of the languages of the various nations', 1826-1827), appeared in two volumes. It was composed by Jacob Carel Willem le Jeune (1775-1864), a polyhistor from The Hague.

One of the Dutch scholars who borrowed abundantly from the *Mithridates* was Barthold Henrik Lulofs (1787-1849), a jurist who was appointed professor of Dutch language and eloquence at the University of Groningen in 1815. In his 1819 *Schets van een overzicht der Duitse taal, of der Germaansche taaltakken, in derzelve oorsprong en tegenwoordige verdeeling in het Hoogduitsch, Nederlandsch, Deensch, Zweedsch, Engelsch, en andere soortgelijke verwantschape talen en tongvallen* ('Sketch of an overview of the German language, or of the Germanic language branches in their origin and present-day division into High German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, English and other similar cognate languages and dialects'), a work once characterized by Johan Huizinga³⁵ as a bric-a-brac of assorted linguistic trinkets, Lulofs acknowledged that he had borrowed many data from 'the well-known *Mithridates* by Adelung'.³⁶ It later became obvious, however, that he was an ardent admirer of Jacob Grimm, 'that miracle of linguistics in Germany'.³⁷ It was therefore in Groningen rather than in Leiden or in Utrecht that admiration for this German scholar was expressed for the first time and information concerning historical-comparative linguistics was advanced. Lulofs nevertheless remained merely an 'erudite dilettante' who lacked a proper methodical approach, according to the words of the historian Johan Huizinga.³⁸ A genuine 'paradigm shift' in Dutch linguistics

35 Huizinga, 'Geschiedenis der universiteit gedurende de derde eeuw van haar bestaan 1814-1914', p. 99.

36 Lulofs, *Schets van een overzicht der Duitse taal of Germaanse taaltakken*, p. vi: 'den bekenden Mithridates van Adelung'.

37 Lulofs, *Gronden der Nederlandsche woordafleidkunde*, p. v: 'dat wonder van taalkunde in Duitschland'. What's more, Lulofs praised Grimm in the following couplet: 'Vaak heeft men 't kroost onzer eeuw pygmeen in geleerdheid gescholden: / Grimm, wie uw werken aanschouwt, Reus, hij bewondert en zijgt' ('Though one often scolds the offspring of our century's pygmies in knowledge / Those who behold your works, Grimm – Giant – keep silent and admire').

38 Huizinga, 'Geschiedenis der universiteit gedurende de derde eeuw van haar bestaan 1814-1914', p. 98. It is important not to underestimate the historical-grammatical learning of Lulofs. In late December 1830, H.W. Tydeman wrote to Grimm: 'Among the best linguists whom we still have here, one finds Halbertsma, a minister at Deventer and Lulofs, Professor at Groningen'. In 1878, Huizinga's teacher at the gymnasium in Groningen, Jan te Winkel (1847-1927), remarked that Barthold Lulofs was 'the most excellent among the students of Dutch' in the first half of the nineteenth century. Lulofs was almost the only scholar who had occupied himself with 'the results of High-German language study, which were not very well known in our country until the middle of the century'. Cf. *Noord en Zuid* 1, 271.

was yet to happen. It was not until later that the accumulated insights could be brought together in a balanced *system*. Needless to say, the research at that time was fully occupied with diverse etymologies and with the publication of ancient texts, dialect glossaries and interpretations of places from ancient authors.

At the university in Leiden the orientalist Hendrik Arent Hamaker (1789-1835) had started to study Sanskrit, as becomes clear from his 1835 book that included his lectures on Indo-Germanic linguistics: *Over het nut en de belangrijkheid der grammaticale vergelijking van het Grieksch, het Latijn en de germaansche tongvallen met het Sanskrit* ('On the usefulness and the importance of grammatical comparison of Greek, Latin and the Germanic tongues with Sanskrit').³⁹ The 'discovery' of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones (1746-1794) in 1786, which was advanced in a rather biased eighteenth-century oration on the beauty of the various languages⁴⁰, had provided such European scholars as Franz Bopp (1791-1867) with an important instrument for research on the relationship of Indo-European languages. In this way, the comparative study of the grammar of Indo-European languages thus came into existence, a discipline that later, 'having stood the test, served as an example to any methodical language comparison in other fields of language study'.⁴¹ Thus, it was just a matter of extrapolation. In the Dutch context, one can observe that the study of Dutch was the first field of language study to accept the 'right' method of language study, or in other words, the study of the mother tongue was to function as the 'natural gateway' into 'linguistic science', as can be shown on the basis of the following case.⁴²

In 1849, the classical scholar Matthias de Vries (1820-1892) was appointed professor of Dutch language and eloquence at the University of Groningen, as the successor of Barthold Lulofs. From 1853 onwards, he worked as a professor in Leiden. Within the framework of the then prevailing Academic Statute, his subject area included no more than an obligatory course on eloquence and normative grammar intended for students of law and

39 In 1836, the well-known German historical linguist August Pott (1802-1887) published a stinging review of Hamaker's book, a work 'aus dem, durch seine grossen Philologen einst so berühmten Holland'. Hamaker was slated by Pott, among other things because he seemed to have followed the Hemsterhusian scholar J.D. of Lennep (1724-1771) in a certain matter. Cf. Pott, [review of] *Akademische Voorlezingen over het nut en de belangrijkheid der grammatische vergelijking van het Grieks, het Latijn en de Germaansche tongvallen met het Sanskrit*, col. 15.

40 Swiggers, *Histoire de la pensée linguistique*, p. 225.

41 Kern, 'Philologie en taalvergelijking', p. 51: 'proefhoudend gebleken, als voorbeeld diende voor alle methodische taalvergelijking op ander taalgebied'.

42 Cf. Andresen, *Linguistics in America*, p. 128.

theology.⁴³ The course notes that De Vries made for his first-year students, both in Groningen and in Leiden, reveal a division between a 'linguistic' and a 'philological' part. The aspects addressed by the linguistic part of the notes include the origin, affinity and history of our language (based in part on a work by the young German scholar August Schleicher from 1850). The philological part concerns practical language study (e.g. grammatical rules, proper choice of words, purity of language); in other words, it addresses language culture.⁴⁴

De Vries realized the importance of the knowledge of Sanskrit, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon to what he saw as a scientifically solid study of the mother tongue. Immediately following his appointment at Groningen in 1849, De Vries started 'a *privatissimum* on Sanskrit'. In Leiden as well, as he wrote in 1854, 'I am teaching comparative language explanation of Indo-Germanic to a few young people'.⁴⁵ It is thus obvious that De Vries restructured his teaching programme from the inside, with the goal of elevating the discipline from an art (i.e. an *ars bene loquendi atque scribendi*) to a true science. I shall provide a brief commentary on his pursuit.

Light from the East: Matthias de Vries and German linguistics

The following phase in the development of historical-comparative linguistics emerged in the 1850s and 1860s. This development is connected with 'ein verschärftes Bewusstsein über die Wesensverschiedenheit von Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft (Linguistik)', ('a sharpened awareness of the difference between the essence of philology and that of linguistics'),

43 Leemans & Johannes, *Worm en donder*, pp. 41-42. In 1797, professors had been appointed at the universities of Franeker (Everwinus Wassenbergh) and Leiden (Matthijs Siegenbeek) to teach courses on Dutch language and eloquence. Willemyns, *Dutch. Biography of a language*, pp. 126-142: Following the 'French period' (1806-1813) Dutch chairs were also established in Utrecht, Amsterdam and Groningen. I will leave the situation in the southern part of the Dutch-Belgian 'Verenigd Koninkrijk' (United Kingdom) out of consideration here; it is adequately discussed in Janssens & Steyaert, *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies en Luxemburg* (2008).

44 The negative judgments that De Vries made regarding the French language in the second part of his lecture notes are striking. This provides evidence of a motive of nationalism, which was an important theme in the nineteenth century, but one that I must leave out of consideration now.

45 De Vries, *Brieven*, p. 65: 'geef ik voor een paar jongelui vergelijkende taalverklaring van het Indo-Germaansch'.

and it is characterized by a diversion of opinions.⁴⁶ In his efforts to ground the distinction between linguistics and philology, De Vries aimed to stress the distinctive theoretical features of his own discipline, Dutch linguistics. He did this primarily in the wake of August Schleicher (1821-1868), who most consciously coined the term ‘Glottik’ in order to draw distinctions amongst the various approaches to language. In the words of Koerner, Schleicher ‘was concerned with establishing linguistics as an *autonomous discipline*, and not simply an appendix to classical philology, literature’.⁴⁷

In 1850, De Vries was apparently well aware of the fact that he had been called to Groningen as a ‘teacher of Dutch rhetoric’. His inaugural lecture refers to the distinction between the ‘linguist’ and the ‘master of the language’.⁴⁸ Both must be thoroughly acquainted with the language, and this implies a full knowledge of words and word forms, of meanings and of the laws that determine the character of the language, among other aspects.⁴⁹

Whereas a boundary marker has been reached here that science cannot cross, the command of the language should meet even higher demands. Even the most complete knowledge and the most concrete representation of the language, both in its deepest substance and in its thousand-fold phenomena, are not sufficient to rule it in truth, if the capacity is lacking to make full use of that knowledge and representation when applying them.⁵⁰

De Vries concludes: ‘You have seen ... that we have passed here from the field of science to that of art’. In the latter field, it is even possible – and perhaps necessary – to be normative. It is the duty to hand down the language in a pure form to subsequent generations.⁵¹ To De Vries, eloquence is the ‘art’

46 Wolf & Kalkhoff, ‘Sprachbegriff und Theorie des neusprachlichen Unterrichts im 19. Jahrhundert’, p. 84.

47 Koerner, ‘Linguistics vs philology’, p. 170.

48 De Vries, *De heerschappij over de taal, het beginsel der welsprekendheid*, p. 13: the ‘taalkenner’ vs the ‘meester der taal’.

49 Ibidem, p. 12.

50 Ibidem, pp. 13-14: ‘Maar terwijl hier het grenspunt bereikt is, dat de wetenschap niet kan overschrijden, heeft de heerschappij over de taal nog aan hogere eischen te voldoen. Want zelfs de volledigste kennis en de meest aanschouwelijke voorstelling der taal, in haar innigste wezen zoowel als in hare duizendvoudige verschijnselen, zijn niet voldoende om haar in waarheid te beheerschen, wanneer het vermogen ontbreekt om van die kennis en die voorstelling in de toepassing volkomen gebruik te maken’.

51 Ibidem, p. 15.

of expressing thoughts and sensations in a particular manner. Distinctions exist between 'theoretical science' and 'practical training' and between linguistics and eloquence.⁵² Incidentally, De Vries does not fail to refer to 'that ancient *Pallasstad*' (city of Pallas, sc. Leiden), where the spirit of a 'Boerhaave and Hemsterhuis' was still alive.⁵³ In Groningen, De Vries wished to work according to the examples he had acquired in Leiden. 'In doing so, I shall attempt not to be a disgrace to the school that has educated me'.⁵⁴

At the end of his inaugural address, De Vries inserts a brief consideration to that which he considers most interesting: historical linguistics. 'Finally, let us consider the science that should be the base of the practical training. It is of great importance to develop a clear idea of its character and purpose'.⁵⁵ Three years later in Leiden, he would elaborate that character and that purpose.⁵⁶ In Groningen, he limited himself to a concise exposition of his ideal: the historical study of the living language. In his 1853 inaugural lecture in Leiden, however, entitled *De Nederlandsche taalkunde in haren aard en hare strekking* ('Dutch linguistics in its character and its purpose'; he had studied the work of August Schleicher in the meantime), De Vries contrasted his own position forcefully with normative grammar and eloquence.

Does it suffice for one to limit oneself to the demands of civil society, to learn how to speak and write the language purely and elegantly and to learn to understand accurately whatever is written in the language? In short, [does it suffice] for its practice to be identical to that of the modern foreign languages, to which we rarely devote a more thorough study than is required for pleasant contacts and for not being deprived of the artistic enjoyment offered to us when abroad?⁵⁷

52 Ibidem, p. 25.

53 Ibidem, p. 36.

54 Ibidem, p. 37: 'Zoo doende zal ik trachten der school, waarin ik gevormd ben, niet tot oneer te verstrekken'.

55 Ibidem, p. 26: 'Slaan we ten slotte nog een blik op de wetenschap, die bij de praktische oefening ten grondslag moet liggen. Het is van groot belang, zich een helder denkbeeld te vormen van haren aard en hare strekking'.

56 De Vries, *De Nederlandsche taalkunde in haren aard en hare strekking*.

57 Ibidem, p. 17: 'Is het genoeg, dat men zich bepale bij de behoeften der beschaafde samenleving, dat men de taal *zuiver en sierlijk leere spreken en schrijven*, en wat in haar geschreven is, naauwkeurig verstaan. Kortom, dat hare beoefening gelijk zij aan die der uitheemsche nieuwere talen, aan welke wij zelden eene diepere studie wijden, dan vereischt wordt voor den gezelligen omgang, en om niet verstoken te blijven van het kunstgenot, ons in den vreemde aangeboden?' (emphasis added).

The answer is clear:

Nay, definitely, such a superficial knowledge, so completely limited to the external, cannot comprise the tribute that we owe the mother tongue. Linguistics must meet higher demands.⁵⁸

A comparison of the two inaugural lectures reveals the shift that had been made. In the Leiden lecture, eloquence as professed by De Vries's predecessors is for the main part disapproved. Despite the fact that he addresses his predecessor Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854) in the most affable words at the end of his lecture, he does away with the manner in which Siegenbeek and his colleagues have practised the study of Dutch language and literature: eloquence, the study of the command of language, is not a true science. In this address, De Vries explicitly advances his linguistic-scientific ideals: linguistics is an empirical science, with a strictly inductive approach, fixed laws and without any *a priori* philosophizing. He later explains that philology also lacks a scientific character.

In 1882, in his introduction to the multi-volume *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('Dictionary of the Dutch Language', 1864-1998), De Vries illustrates the various approaches again. To the 'scientific language researcher', the

most outworn and mutilated word form is no less valuable than the most beautiful and most exquisite expression, just as for the botanist the most trivial weed is as important as the most splendid flower. He does not judge the quality of the words and the forms he observes; he merely describes them, determines their typical features, explains their origin and points out the laws that rule their life. [...] The language student who chooses the written language as the object of research, however, is like a gardener who selects the finest ornamental plants, cultivates them carefully, groups them in a graceful manner and unites them into a lovely whole.⁵⁹

58 Ibidem: 'Neen gewis, in zulk *eene oppervlakkige kennis*, zoo geheel tot het uiterlijke beperkt, kan de hulde niet bestaan, aan de moedertaal verschuldigd. Hoogere eischen heeft de taalkunde te vervullen' (emphasis added).

59 De Vries, 'Inleiding', pp. lxxlx-lxxxix: '(heeft) de meest versletene en verminkte woordvorm niet minder waarde dan de schoonste en keurigste uitdrukking, gelijk voor den botanicus het nietigste onkruid even belangrijk is als de prachtigste bloem. Hij beoordeelt niet het gehalte der woorden en vormen die hij waarneemt; hij beschrijft ze eenvoudig, bepaalt hunne kenmerken, verklaart hunnen oorsprong en wijst de wetten aan die hun leven beheerschen'. De taalbeoefenaar

As is commonly known, the opposition between the botanist and the gardener had previously been used by August Schleicher. In 1860, Schleicher wrote that the philologist 'resembles the gardener. He cultivates only certain plants of outstanding importance for the human race. For him the practical value, the beauty of form, coloration, fragrance, *etcetera*, is of the utmost importance. Plants that are good for nothing are to him indifferent, partly hated as a weed'.⁶⁰ In contrast, the 'Glottiker', i.e. the linguist:

relates to the languages, as for example the botanist to his plants. The botanist must have an overview of all vegetable organisms, he must learn to know the laws of their structure; but the use he is to make of the plants, their practical and aesthetic value or worthlessness, is initially indifferent to him; the most beautiful roses, the most magnificent lilies of Japan concerns him equally as a random inconspicuous weed.⁶¹

With these remarks, Schleicher drew a distinction between philology and linguistics. 'Philology is a historical discipline [...] Linguistics, however, is [...] a natural history discipline'.⁶² As Schleicher had argued as early as 1850, the object of linguistics is investigation of 'language as such; [linguistics] forms part of the natural history of mankind'.⁶³ It is interesting to note that his French disciple Abel Hovelacque (1843-1896) in his *La linguistique* of 1876

die de schrijftaal tot object van onderzoek kiest, is echter als de hovenier, die de fraaiste sierplanten uitkiest, ze zorgvuldig kweekt, bevallig groepeerd en tot een liefelijk geheel vereenigt'.
60 Cf. Schleicher, *Die deutsche Sprache*, p. 121: '... gleicht dem Gärtner. Dieser cultivirt nur bestimmten Pflanzen von hervorragender Bedeutung für den Menschen, für ihn ist der praktische Werth, die Schönheit der Form, der Färbung, des Duftes u.s.f. von höchster Bedeutung. Pflanzen, die zu nichts zu brauchen sind, sind ihm gleich-giltig, zum Theil als Unkraut verhasst'.

61 Cf. Schleicher, *ibidem*: 'verhält sich zu den Sprachen wie z.B. der Botaniker zu den Pflanzen. Der Botaniker muss einen Ueberblick über alle pflanzlichen Organismen haben, er muss die Gesetze ihres Baues, kennen lernen; aber der Gebrauch der von den Gewächsen zu machen ist, ihr praktischer und ästhetischer Werth oder Unwerth ist ihm zunächst gleichgiltig; die schönsten Rosen, die prachtvollsten Lilien Japans gehen ihn nicht mehr oder weniger an als das erste beste unscheinbare Unkraut'. This type of comparison was not new. For example, see the statement by Karl Mager from 1844: 'Verglichen mit dem Linguisten, Historiker u.s.w. ist der Philolog ungefähr, was der Blumist gegenüber dem Botaniker ist. Den Botaniker interessiert jedes Gewächs, weil es ein Gewächs ist, der Blumist, immer nicht mit dem gewöhnlichen Kuchengärtner zu verwechseln, der Alles Unkraut nennt, was man nicht essen kann, will nur das in seinem Garten sehen, was Aug'und Herz erfreut.' Cf. also Mager, 'Die modern Philologie und die deutschen Schulen', p. 8.

62 *Ibidem*, pp. 119-120: 'Die Philologie ist eine historische Disciplin [...] Die Sprachwissenschaft dagegen ist [...] eine naturhistorische Disciplin'.

63 Schleicher, *Die Sprachen Europas*, p.1: 'die Linguistik hat die Sprache als solche zum Object [...], sie bildet einen Theil der Naturgeschichte des Menschen'.

exactly translated Schleicher's 1860 statements when discussing 'linguistics, the unique study of which is the exam of language itself and for itself'.⁶⁴

A well-known contemporary, the German-English linguist Max Müller (1823-1900) also considered linguistics a 'physical science'. In his widely read *Lectures on the science of language* (1861-1863) Müller stated, 'There are two great divisions of human knowledge, which, according to their subject-matter, may be called physical and historical. Physical science [...] deals with the works of God, historical science with the works of man'.⁶⁵ Note, however, that in this regard, there are major differences between the linguistic views of Schleicher and Müller, as with their views on Darwinist thought.

It is important to note another observation with regard to the statements of Matthias de Vries, who was a classical philologist by origin and inspired largely by Jacob Grimm in his work with historical linguistics. De Vries had done little independent work in the field of the philosophy of science. To my knowledge, the sharp oppositions formulated by August Schleicher and fiercely discussed in Germany in the late nineteenth century are not to be found in contemporary Dutch linguistics.⁶⁶ In general, however, Dutch scholarship had become aware of the autonomous position of linguistics, as is apparent in the remarks of H.E. Moltzer, a student of Matthias de Vries and an ardent admirer of Max Müller, who was one of the most popular linguists at the time, also in the Netherlands.

Max Müller and the Netherlands

In a retrospective on occasion of the death of Max Müller in 1900, Taco de Beer (1838-1923), the editor of numerous educational magazines, reflected on the debt that 'we, teachers of language' owe to him.

Through the *Lectures*, Dutch language teachers learned for the very first time that something as linguistics did exist, that the study of language is as exact as that of mathematics, that these people, who conjecture or

64 Hovelacque, *La linguistique*, p. 7: 'la linguistique, dont l'unique étude est l'examen de la langue en elle-même et pour elle-même'. A discussion of the views of August Schleicher and his French and Belgian followers can be found in Desmet's extensive study on 'la linguistique naturaliste' (1996).

65 Müller, *Lectures on the science of language*, vol. 1, p. 23.

66 Cf. Koerner, 'Linguistics vs philology', p. 171.

guess the derivation of words (à la Terwen)⁶⁷ are simply telling nonsense, but that there are almost immutable laws that rule the formation of words. [...] Through him, we learned to pay attention to language phenomena and to account of what appeared to us as strange or unnatural.⁶⁸

De Beer proceeds to argue that if individuals within the modest circle of Dutch language teachers of that time believed in linguistics and were convinced 'that the teaching method and the basis of argumentation is identical to the much-maligned knowledge of language and the highly praised mathematical and natural sciences, then it is Max Müller to whom we owe everything, the man who, by official linguistic scholarship, was judged with contemptuous benevolence, but who granted the unlearned a glimpse of the treasures of scholarship'.⁶⁹

Moltzer's 1872 characterization of Max Müller as 'a respected, honoured, celebrated and admired author' in the Netherlands, whose every contribution and essay 'is devoured by the professionals', is not an exaggeration.⁷⁰ Within the circles of professional Dutch linguists, Müller's *Lectures on the science of language* were studied with great interest as well. I shall give one example. The year 1868 saw the publication of a treatise that has remained relatively obscure to linguistic scholarship at large: *Over de classificatie der talen* ('On the classification of languages'). The treatise was written by Johannes Brill (1842-1924), a classical scholar from Utrecht and a son

67 J.L. Terwen (1813-1873) was the author of the rather unreliable *Etymologisch Handwoordenboek der Nederduitsche taal, of Proeve van een geregeld overzicht van de afstamming der Nederduitsche woorden* ('Concise etymological dictionary of the Dutch language, or specimen of a systematic overview of the origin of the Dutch words', 1864).

68 De Beer, 'Max Müller', p. 100: 'Door de *Lectures* leerden de Nederlandsche taalonderwijzers voor 't eerst, dat er een taalwetenschap bestond, dat de studie der taal even exact is als die der wiskunde, dat zij, die à la Terwen de afleiding der woorden raden of gissen, eenvoudig onzin vertellen maar dat er bijna onveranderlijke wetten zijn, die de vervorming der woorden beheerschen [...] Door hem leerden wij op taalverschijnselen schap vragen van wat ons vreemd of onnatuurlijk schein'. In the Dutch periodical *De Taalgids*, Müller's views were advanced in the years 1865-1867, under the title 'Max Müllers lectures over taalkunde'. A.M. Kollwijn Nz (1827-1900) published a number of extracts from the *Lectures*, as the work was not available in a Dutch translation and probably too expensive for student teachers and assistant teachers.

69 De Beer, 'Max Müller', p. 100: 'dat de leermethode en de grond van betoogen de zelfde is voor de diep gesmade taalkennis en de hooggeprezen wis- en natuurkundige wetenschappen, dan is het aan Max Muller, dat we dat alles te danken hebben, aan den man, die door de geleerden met minachtende welwillendheid werd beoordeeld, maar die aan de ongeleerden vergunde een kijkje te krijgen in de schatkamers der wetenschap'.

70 Moltzer, 'Inleidend woord', p. 3: 'een geacht, geëerd, gevierd en bewonderd schrijver', whose work 'wordt verslonden door de mannen van het vak'.

of Willem Gerard Brill (1811-1896). The elder Brill was Professor of Dutch Language in Utrecht and more conservative in matters linguistics. It is not difficult to identify the principal guide for the younger Brill in this regard: Max Müller.

In his treatise, Brill presents a brief overview of the development of the 'modern science of language', focusing on 'the classification it proposes of the languages spoken all over the face of the earth'.⁷¹ Having characterized the Oxford professor as one of the most brilliant contemporary language researchers, Brill quotes Müller's celebrated formulation about the true object of the science of language. In addition to Greek, Latin and other classical languages, Müller proposed that the science of language should focus on 'dialects that have never produced any literature at all, the jargons of savage tribes, the clicks of the Hottentots and the vocal modulations of the Indo-Chinese'.⁷² Brill eventually left the Netherlands for South Africa, where he successfully applied the insights of the 'new science of language' to the regional vernacular, the 'landstaal'.⁷³ In doing so, he played an important role with regard to the development and codification of what later became known as Afrikaans.⁷⁴

De nieuwe richting in de taalkunde ('The new trend in linguistics') is the provocative title of the inaugural lecture delivered by Henri E. Moltzer (1836-1895) in Groningen in 1865. Moltzer had studied with Matthias de Vries in Leiden. His inaugural lecture is characterized by a strong methodological awareness. As has been pointed out, the works of De Vries were influenced by his reading Schleicher. Moltzer's works now contain traces of his intensive study of Müller's *Lectures*. According to Moltzer, the difference between the old school and the new school was as extensive 'as that between the system of Ptolemaeus and that of Copernicus'.⁷⁵ Moltzer described the principle of the old school as 'the principle of servitude', given that 'until a lifetime ago, the study of language was hardly anything other than a servant of philology'.⁷⁶ Moltzer turns against a priori and deductive methods in matters linguistic. According to him, it would never be possible

71 Brill, *Over de classificatie der talen*, p. 6: 'de door haar voorgestelde classificatie der over den geheelen aardbodem gebezigde talen'.

72 Ibidem, p. 17; cf. Müller, *Lectures on the science of language*, p. 25.

73 Ibidem, p. 6.

74 Noordegraaf, 'De bril van de taalkundige', pp. 60-62.

75 Moltzer, *Nieuwe richting in de taalkunde*, p. 41: als dat tusschen het systeem van Ptolemaeus en dat van Copernicus'.

76 Ibidem, p. 11: 'het beginsel der dienstbaarheid', 'tot voor een menschenleeftijd was de taal weinig meer dan dienaarsses der philologie'.

to achieve reliable results as long as 'the system was preferred to an accurate knowledge of facts and speculation was preferred to experience', and as long as scholars did not aspire to climb 'from the phenomena to the laws to which they are subjected'.⁷⁷

'The acquisition of a profound knowledge of language requires much more than some abstract idea or arbitrary rule. It involves observation, complete and perfect, precise and definite; moreover, [it involves the] observation of a tremendously large number of phenomena'.⁷⁸ Moltzer then concludes: 'In this way, linguistics borrows its method from the natural sciences, and it reckons to know nothing unless it can be proven empirically'.⁷⁹ In the terms of Newton, Moltzer is referring to *hypotheses non fingo*.

The focus of the new school was thus as follows: 'not solely the grammar that limits itself to the present, but also the development of language, its genesis, its origin and its relationship; in one word, language, in its full extent'.⁸⁰ In my view, several of these verdicts are largely programmatic and rhetorical in character, serving to specify the new discipline that must be taught. Whether Moltzer followed these guidelines in his own research is a different question.

Having arrived at the end of the scholarly part of his inaugural lecture, Moltzer refers to the continued existence of a discussion concerning the question whether 'the youthful science should be incorporated into the natural sciences or into the historical sciences'.⁸¹ It is important to note, however, that Max Müller is completely clear on this point: philology belongs to the 'historical' sciences, while the 'science of language' demands 'a place among the physical sciences', as August Schleicher had also argued for the 'Glottik'.⁸²

77 Ibidem, p. 18: 'boven nauwkeurige feitenkennis het stelsel, boven de ervaring de bespiegeling gold', 'zolang men niet wilde opklimmen 'van de verschijnselen tot de wetten waaraan zij zijn onderworpen'

78 Ibidem, p. 26: 'Om tot kennis, tot grondige kennis der taal te komen, wordt iets meer vereischt dan eenen ander afgetrokken denkbeeld of willekeurig voorschrift. Er behoort eene waarneming toe, zoo volledig en zuiver, zoo naauwkeurig en bepaald, eene waarneming bovendien van een zoo ontzettend groot aantal verschijnselen'.

79 Ibidem, p. 27: 'Zoo neemt de taalkunde van de natuurwetenschappen hare methode over, en acht niets te weten tenzij het proefondervindelijk te bewijzen is'.

80 Ibidem, p. 24: 'niet de spraakkunst alleen, die zich bepaalt bij het tegenwoordige, maar ook de ontwikkeling der taal, hare wording, haar oorsprong, hare verwantschap, in één woord de taal in haren ganschen omvang'.

81 Ibidem, p. 54: 'of de jeugdige wetenschap behoort te worden ingelijfd bij de natuurwetenschappen of bij de historische'.

82 Müller, *Lectures on the science of language*, vol. 1, pp. 24, 30.

The influence of Max Müller on Moltzer is also clearly discernible in Moltzer's very first paper on the origin of language (1865), composed several years after the publication of Darwin's *On the origin of species* (1859). In this work, Moltzer states that Max Müller was perfectly right: language and reason are the features by which humanity is distinguished from brutes. He argued that humans speak because they think, just as they think because they speak. 'The word is the thought incarnate', he quotes from Müller.⁸³ In his later work, however, Moltzer changed his position completely. Not long after the publication of *The Descent of Man* (1871), he concluded that linguistic science supported Darwin's hypothesis concerning the evolution of humans.⁸⁴

1865: Henri Kern, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics

In the early 1860s, Matthias de Vries and his Leiden colleague, the Hebraist Abraham Rutgers (1751-1878), who had also taught Sanskrit for a number of years, had conceived the idea that a separate chair should be established for the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics and that their brilliant former student Henri Kern (1833-1917) was the most qualified candidate for the job. Kern's appointment did not run smoothly at all, however, as the Dutch government did not fancy the idea of such a chair, which was then still considered a sort of luxury. In 1865, however, the Netherlands became one of the last European countries to obtain a Professor of Sanskrit.

Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern of Leiden (generally referred to simply as 'H. Kern') was a truly professional linguist, often characterized as the *mahaguru* ('great master'). He had studied in Berlin and in London, and he had worked in India, thereby building an extensive network. In Leiden, he also taught courses on the comparative grammar of Indo-Germanic languages. The year in which this Leiden scholar was appointed could be considered a milestone on the path to the professionalization of historical comparative linguistics in the Netherlands. Some ten years later, in 1876, a New Act on Higher Education became effective. As I pointed out before, one consequence of this legislation was the official inclusion of such items as

83 Moltzer, *Nieuwe richting in de taalkunde*, p. 12.

84 Bart Leeuwenburgh's 2009 study *Darwin in domineesland* ('Darwin in the provinces') addresses the reception of Darwin's ideas among Dutch contemporary linguists in a slightly selective manner.

the principles of comparative Indo-European linguistics in the curriculum for the study of Dutch.⁸⁵

Kern is a fascinating figure, for various reasons. Within the framework of this volume, however, I would like to focus on his paper on 'Philology and language comparison', which he presented at the first *Nederlandsch Philologencongres* ('Dutch philology conference'), which was held in Amsterdam in 1898. The field of linguistics was well represented at this conference as well. In his paper, Kern sought only to advance 'his personal views on the relationship between comparative language study and philology in general'.⁸⁶ Among other arguments in the paper, the Leiden scholar criticized these classical scholars, who maintained due distance from comparative linguistics, despite the fact that comparative linguistics was 'the worthy daughter of classical philology', given that 'the first practitioners of note had had a thorough classical training'.⁸⁷

In a concise historical overview, Kern portrayed comparative linguistics as a relatively young discipline, having been 'born and matured only in this century'.⁸⁸ He also referred to the catalytic effect of the study of Sanskrit and the enormous influence that emanated from it to the study of the Germanic languages. With regard to philology, Kern remarked that

A philologist should first have a thorough acquaintance with the language, both grammatically and lexically, and he should understand the social conditions and the range of thought of the people and its authors. (...) For all of this, much time is needed, and therefore only very few have stood out both as practitioners of comparative linguistics and as philologists; but the many scholars who gained reputations as Germanists, Romanists, Slavists or Indologists, were fairly well versed in philology. The comparativists do know that they cannot do without philology, and the philologists in various areas are similarly aware of the fact that they may gain profit from the results of linguistics.⁸⁹

85 Van Essen, *Kruisinga. A chapter in the history of linguistics in the Netherlands*, p. 38.

86 Kern, 'Philologie en taalvergelijking', p. 50: 'zijn persoonlijke meeningen [...] over het verband tusschen de vergelijkende taalstudie en de philologie in 't algemeen'.

87 *Ibidem*, p. 52-53: 'de waardige dochter van de klassieke philologie', de eerste beoefenaars van betekenis hadden een grondige klassieke opleiding genoten'.

88 *Ibidem*, p. 51: 'pas in deze eeuw geboren en opgegroeid'.

89 *Ibidem*, pp. 52-53: 'Voor dit alles is veel tijd nodig, en daarom hebben maar uiterst weinigen uitgeblonken als beoefenaars van de vergelijkende taalwetenschap en tevens al philologen; maar de velen die zich als Germanist, Romanist, Slavist of Indoloog naam hebben verworven, waren behoorlijk philologisch onderlegd. De taalvergelijkers weten dat zij het zonder philologie

To the philologist, language is not the goal, as it is to the linguist; instead, it is a means of becoming acquainted with humanity and with the spirit of a people.⁹⁰ The two disciplines may nonetheless actually complement each other rather than being in opposition to each other.

Kern argued that there was a distinction between linguistics and philology, in which the study of language was not the obedient servant of philology,⁹¹ but was practised for its own sake. In his paper, Kern does not address any methodological differences between the two disciplines and, to the best of my knowledge, he never elaborated this issue in writing. This could also be because of the emerging awareness in German linguistics that 'no one had been able to draw a conceptual boundary between linguistics and philology, whose untenability could not easily be proved'.⁹² The distinction between linguistics and philology might be explained 'from the development which scientific research has taken', as stated by the German scholar Karl Brugmann (1849-1919) in his *Antrittsvorlesung* (inaugural lecture) on 'Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie' (1885).⁹³

In other words, this distinction had apparently once been important in connection to the development of linguistics, probably in order to emphasize the unique character of linguistics, but now it had become more and more important to aim for cooperation, said Brugmann in 1885, and Kern in 1898. I would like to stress, however, that linguistics had become an autonomous discipline in the meantime, and that it was no longer required to defend itself against the usurpation of neighbouring fields of research.⁹⁴

To avoid the reproach that my argument is based upon a one-sided focus on the Indo-European languages, I should like to note another side of Kern's activities. As noted by his former student Christianus Cornelis

niet kunnen stellen, en wederkeerig beseffen de philologen op allerlei gebied dat zij van de uitkomsten der linguistiek partij kunnen trekken'.

90 Ibidem, p. 55.

91 Cf. Moltzer, *Nieuwe richting in de taalkunde*, p. 11.

92 Brugmann, 'Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie', p. 17: 'noch niemand [sic] eine begriffliche Grenze zwischen Linguistik und Philologie zu ziehen gewusst [hat], deren Unhaltbarkeit sich nicht leicht darthun liesse'.

93 Ibidem: 'aus dem Entwicklungsgange, den die wissenschaftliche Forschung genommen hat'.

94 The distinguished German classical scholar Georg Curtius (1820-1885) had stressed as early as 1845 that 'die historische Sprachvergleichung weder in einem innern Gegensatze der Richtung steht, noch in der Art der Forschung wesentlich von ihr abweicht, dass also der Unterscheid nur in der Ausdehnung besteht'. In his 'Antrittsvorlesung' of 1862 on 'Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft', he subjected the relationship between the two disciplines to closer inspection, clearly steering towards reconciliation. Cf. Curtius, *Die Sprachvergleichung*, p. 45:

Uhlenbeck (1866-1951) in 1918, Kern was acquainted with too many other languages not to have seen ‘the vanity of a theory that was founded on merely one language family’. Twenty years later (in 1938), he referred back to the effects of this opinion on Kern’s courses: “‘Old Kern’ first taught us here in the Netherlands that the discipline of Indo-Germanic studies can benefit enormously from the study of non-Indo-Germanic languages’.⁹⁵ For example, Kern had paid considerable attention to such ‘exotic’ languages as Old Javanese and Fiji. In doing so, he had also shown himself to be critical of ‘the theories that announced themselves as a new gospel around 1880: the doctrine of the *Junggrammatiker*’. When a young student of Dutch language, Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) experienced this gospel personally: the Ph.D. dissertation on linguistics, which he wrote in Groningen, was rejected because it did not fit within the neo-grammarians paradigm. Subsequently, Huizinga turned definitively to cultural history and, as is well known, he became a distinguished historian.

The methodological requirement to consider non-Indo-European languages as well appears to have been a crucial factor with regard to the direction that Uhlenbeck would take later in his own research as a professor in Leiden. When one of his students, Coenraad Bernardus van Haeringen (1892-1983), wished to confine himself exclusively to Indo-Germanic language data, Uhlenbeck snorted, ‘*Binnenschipperij!*’.⁹⁶ When discussing comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century, this ‘exotic’ dimension of nineteenth-century linguistics should be given explicit consideration.⁹⁷

1898: A classical philologist looks back

At the first Dutch Philologencongres, which took place in 1898, linguistics had obtained a place of its own. It had eventually become a professionalized discipline. In his opening speech, the conference chair, the distinguished classical scholar Samuel Adrianus Naber (1828-1913), who was a former student of Cobet, looked back upon a number of aspects, including the relationship between philology and historical-comparative linguistics in

95 Hinrichs, *Nicolaas van Wijk*, p. 212.

96 Literally, ‘sailing in inland waters’.

97 Cf. Noordegraaf, ‘C.C. Uhlenbeck and the Humboldtian tradition in linguistics’. This tradition, generally associated with the name of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), was characterized by an interest in the general nature of language and a concern for ‘primitive’ languages, along with the typological classification of languages. This ethno-linguistic research programme was radically different from the historical-comparative research.

the century that lay behind him. In Naber's view, the *homines comparativi* were researchers who were only interested in language for its own sake. For these scholars, literature served purely as an auxiliary means of becoming acquainted with the development of the language.

The classical scholar from Amsterdam argued: 'Linguistics is a young discipline; it was born only when the continent of Europe became acquainted with Sanskrit, so less than a hundred years ago'. According to Naber, the achievements from the early years of this young science did not rise above the level of mere dilettantism. 'It was only half a century ago that linguistics gradually learned to obey strict laws'. Now there was no longer cause for caution with regard to its results. 'We have great expectations of the labour of our linguists', concluded Naber, reflecting optimistically on the future achievements of the linguistic section of the Philologencongres.⁹⁸ A controversial atmosphere was then apparently out of the question, now that linguistics had gained an indisputable place within the conference of Dutch philologists.

Final remarks

In 1827, Franz Bopp, one of the founding fathers of historical-comparative linguistics, noted that grammar had 'no independent and purely scientific value, if it merely paves the way to a perfect insight into the meaning of the writers, who have written in the discussed language'.⁹⁹ Discussing the foundations of a truly scientific study of language, Bopp pointed to a *bon mot* in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*: 'To master a subject totally, it is necessary to study it for its own sake'.¹⁰⁰

As we have already seen, in an *esprit boppien*,¹⁰¹ August Schleicher had argued that the object of linguistics is the investigation of 'die Sprache als

98 Naber, *Handelingen Eerste Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres*, p. 21: 'Wij hebben groote verwachting van den arbeid onzer linguïsten'.

99 Bopp, *Vocalismus oder sprachvergleichende Kritiken*, p. 3: 'keinen selbständigen und rein Wissenschaftlichen Wert, wenn sie sich bloß zur Aufgabe macht, den Weg zu bahnen zu einer vollkommenen Einsicht in den Sinn der Schriftsteller, die in der behandelten Sprache geschrieben haben'.

100 Ibidem, p. 3: 'Um einen Gegenstand ganz zu besitzen, zu beherrschen, muß man ihn um sein selbst willen studieren'. In his *Ueber Leben, Geschichte und Sprache* (1835), the German lexicographer Lorenz Diefenbach (1806-1883), a correspondent of Matthias de Vries', endorsed Bopp's point of view: 'wir rufen ihm [sc. the philologist] mit Bopp Göthe's Worte zu: 'Was nützt, ist nur ein Theil des Bedeutenden. Um einen Gegenstand ganz zu besitzen, zu beherrschen, muß man ihn um sein selbst willen studieren' (p. 29).

101 Klippi, *La vie du langage*, p. 106.

solche', and his French follower Abel Hovelacque had rendered Schleicher's statements into French when writing in 1876 about 'linguistics, the unique study of which is the exam of language itself and for itself'.¹⁰² It is this very phrase that was added by the editors of Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857-1913) *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916) as its final sentence: 'linguistics has as its one true object of study the language contemplated in itself and for itself'.¹⁰³ In the twentieth century, this pseudo-saussurean statement was to be considered as a guiding principle of the 'structuralist' conception of language.

As it appears, the rapid development and expansion of linguistics in the nineteenth century was a complex process, in the Netherlands as well as in the rest of Europe. Much has been written on this theme. In this contribution, I have just followed the line of the dominant trend: historical-comparative linguistics. In the words of a Dutch poet, I have sought to catch the sea in a fishing net by outlining the process of autonomization in this trend of linguistic research in our country in a few successive steps: from the Newtonian framework of the eighteenth century to the crucial period of the 1850s and 1860s, by way of a somewhat hybrid 'under-construction phase' lasting approximately half a century.

This paper has provided no explicit discussion of either the role model of the natural sciences in the nineteenth century or the important position of such learned panels as the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Leiden Society of Dutch Language and Letters and the various conferences. These forums should nonetheless be included in any broad and coherent overview of the activities concerning the study of language in the nineteenth-century Netherlands.

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102 See (n. 64). See also Klippi, *La vie du langage*, p. 106.

103 De Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, p. 317: 'la linguistique a pour unique et véritable objet la langue envisagée en elle-même et pour elle-même'.

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8. ‘Remember Dousa!’

Literary historicism and scholarly traditions in Dutch philology before 1860

*Jan Rock**

Abstract

The professionalization of Dutch philology after 1800 coincided with the emergence of nationalist philologies all over Europe. At the same time, it was a phase in a very long history of philological research in the Low Countries, going back to the sixteenth century. This article takes both broader evolutions into account, both the early stage of modern professionalization of Dutch philology in the 1840s, and its anchoring in the earliest vernacular philology, practised at the University of Leiden around 1600. It does so by outlining a history of scholarly editions of literary texts, and by focusing in particular on several innovations within this scholarly activity introduced by Willem J.A. Jonckbloet and Matthias de Vries, editions throughout the decades of Jacob van Maerlant’s *Spiegel historiael* and a chronicle by Melis Stoke, the forged chronicle by Klaas Kolijn, and epistemological statements. Thus, the history of Dutch philology before 1860 can be placed in the broader frames of, on the one hand, the history of philological criticism and antiquarianism, as discussed by Anthony Grafton, and on the other hand, literary historicism and the national cultivation of culture, as defined by Joep Leerssen.

Introduction

Hendrik van Wijn was one of the very few people in his time who studied Dutch history and literature by profession. When he became the national archivist in 1802, he was the first ever to be appointed to this office, as it was first introduced in the Batavian Republic, the state that succeeded the renowned Dutch Republic after a revolution in 1795. Van Wijn had been engaged in literary societies before, as well as in state affairs. The revolutionary decades had aroused his scholarly interest in the Dutch literary past from the Middle Ages onwards, which found expression in his *Historische*

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en letterkundige avondstonden ('Historical and literary evenings'), a series of didactical dialogues, published between 1800 and 1812. Today, it is generally considered the first – somewhat strangely conceived – literary history of the Netherlands. Van Wijn, however, remembered many predecessors in this field of study, some of whom, like him, had to face hard times. He referred in particular to the Dutch Revolt against King Philip II of Spain (1568-1648) and he saluted earlier Dutch philologists, who had saved old texts in the vernacular from being destroyed:

I thank, with all this, many of them, who, amidst this war, cultivated literature and, sometimes, alternately employed sword and pen, to avail of the Fatherland. Remember DOUSA, Father and Son! Remember others!

Van Wijn's commemoration of Janus Dousa senior and junior, two philologists from Leiden in the second half of the sixteenth century, is a telling example of the cultivation of a scholarly past in the modern era. In what follows, it will become clear that the professionalization of Dutch philology gained momentum at intersections like this, where the tradition of humanist philology in Leiden encountered revolutionary periods, bringing about new ideas on history, language and the nation all over Europe.

Such a broad scope needs some restrictions, so I will first explain what I will *not* do. This paper will not account for the many links that existed between Dutch philology and the study of classical and biblical texts, of early Christian and Eastern cultures and languages. Toon Van Hal has recently investigated these links for historical and comparative linguistics of some major late humanists in the Low Countries.² He points out that most of these scholars also studied the vernacular, but this field of interest had no separate research infrastructure, debates or curricula. Thus, a restriction to the study of Dutch can be seen as an anachronistic choice, and as a result this article could be considered as a teleological history of the modern discipline of Dutch 'lang and lit'. Yet, a second restriction could legitimize such a choice. From all processes of knowledge production on Dutch language and literature, I will focus on one single phase only, i.e. the phase of editions. More specifically, I will investigate the search for old

1 'Ik dank, met dit al, veelen van hun, die, te midden van dien oorlog, de letteren aankweekten en, somwylen, zwaard en pen, ten nutte van het Vaderland, beurtlings bezigden. Denk aan VAN DER DOES, Vader en Zoon! denk aan anderen!' (Van Wijn, *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden*, vol. 1, p. 227).

2 Cf. Van Hal, *Moedertalen en taalmoeders*.

texts in the vernacular, the act of reprinting them and adding historical, linguistic or other editorial comments to them.

Thus, this article will focus on one specific scholarly activity only. This activity preceded the philological profession, and had a broader and earlier existence than is evident from the printing dates of historical-critical editions and literary histories, to name only the most prominent products of modern and professional philology. This approach allows for a more or less separate scholarly field to come into view, contradicting any teleological conjecture: editors throughout the decades *did* refer to predecessors and their work on the vernacular language and culture. In this way the object of study, old texts in Dutch vernacular, delineates a field of study and can therefore legitimize the above-mentioned first, seemingly 'anachronistic' restriction.

Moreover, a focus on the editorial activity has other advantages. Firstly, because it is not result-oriented, the temptation to judge earlier philological ideas according to today's standards and knowledge is minimized. An interest in the history of scholarship needs to avoid any presentism. Secondly, the focus on a concrete scholarly activity can indicate how manifold the links were with other fields of study. Some of them became separate academic disciplines in the nineteenth century, but most of them kept the activity of studying, printing and annotating old texts in common. Thirdly, one who focuses on this preliminary stage of knowledge production will be able to catch the creation of philological facts. This approach will shed a new light on the very act of philology. For among all philologists, it is the editor who separates philology from its opposite: the loss of the smallest textual fragment into oblivion. Philology indeed can be defined as the arduous activity of saving and confirming important texts for future readers, exactly as Friedrich Nietzsche suggested in 'A remark for philologists' in 1882:

That some books are so valuable and so royal that whole generations of scholars are well employed if their labours to preserve these books in a state that is pure and intelligible – philology exists in order to fortify this faith again and again. [...] I mean that philology presupposes a noble faith – that for the sake of a very few human beings, who always 'will come' but are never there, a very large amount of fastidious and even dirty work needs to be done first: all of its work is work *in usum Delphinorum*.³

3 Nietzsche, *The gay science*, 157-158.

Following Nietzsche's definition, a history of scholarly editions is indeed at the core of a history of philology.

In what follows, a short history of Dutch literary editions will be a *pars pro toto* for the history of Dutch philology before its professionalization.⁴ This history will start at the end, when a few young scholars who had proven their capacities with editions established Dutch philology as an academic profession in the 1840s. From there on, links to earlier work in the field of Dutch philology will be mapped. This historical account will then be broadened with an interpretative frame: two synthetic oeuvres of scholars writing on the history of European philology. Eventually, this frame will point at a crucial continuity in philological knowledge production, throughout its professionalization in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Editors becoming academic and national philologists: Jonckbloet and De Vries

Although Dutch philology became an academic discipline only in the second half of the nineteenth century, Dutch scholars had already been studying and editing old texts in the vernacular for several centuries, a tradition I trace below. First, a start will be made with – in presentist terms – the scholarly triumph of some young text editors, who established an academic and national discipline of Dutch philology between 1840 and 1853.

In 1797, the study of Dutch language and literature gained a foothold in academia, when Matthijs Siegenbeek was appointed professor in Dutch language and rhetoric at Leiden University, followed by, among others, the appointments of Barthold Hendrik Lulofs at a similar chair in Groningen in 1815 and Adam Simons in Utrecht one year later, who was succeeded in 1834 by Lodewijk Gerard Visscher. Siegenbeek's teaching was primarily oriented to practical rhetoric in Dutch, for it was aimed at the education of future clergymen. Yet, in one generation's time, his field of study gained academic rights, as it emancipated from these practical aims. This process was twofold: young scholars emphasized the solid level of scholarship that Dutch literary studies had to reach, taking classical philology as an example and, at the same time, they emphasized the importance of their study for the nation-state being built, after the collapse of the Dutch Republic in 1795 and the unification of the former seven sovereign provinces into the

4 The cases presented here are selected from a broader history of Dutch editions: Rock, *Papieren monumenten*.

kingdom of the Netherlands newly established in 1813. These academic and national goals were mutually constitutive. The major agents in this twofold process were two close friends: Willem Jozef Andreas Jonckbloet (1817-1885) and Matthias de Vries (1820-1892). They got acquainted as students at Leiden University, sharing an interest in old Dutch literature, as well as the ambition to obtain an academic gown. They succeeded through seven steps of innovation in Dutch philology, numbered below: they formulated new goals for Dutch philology, they made it possible to obtain a doctoral degree on a Dutch scholarly edition, they left on literary journeys, they opened up new fields of study, they created an exclusive institution for editors, they created a methodological debate, and eventually they were appointed professors in modern philological disciplines.

[1] – They started by clearing the forum and the debate on vernacular philology in the Netherlands by putting forward new goals for philological scholarship. Jonckbloet was especially influential, as he published brochures and journal articles full of comments and corrections, as eloquent as severe, on the work by some older philologists. Already in 1838, when he was only 21 years old and a student of medicine, he published anonymously *Iets over Ferguut* ('Something about Ferguut'), a pamphlet criticizing the work of Lodewijk Gerard Visscher.⁵ Two years earlier Visscher, *professor ordinarius* in Dutch philology and history in Utrecht, had published an edition of the *Roman van Ferguut* ('Romance of Fergus'), a thirteenth-century Arthurian romance.⁶ According to Jonckbloet, Visscher's latest product represented the lethargic state into which philology in the Netherlands had fallen. This became clear when one contrasted Visscher's edition to the work practiced abroad, especially in the German countries and in Belgium, the new kingdom in the south that had separated itself from the Netherlands only eight years earlier. Jonckbloet lamented over the state of philology at home by pointing to Visscher's failures. He criticized the lack of variants in the edition, which would have been useful for drawing up a grammar of medieval Dutch in the future. He also disapproved of the glossary, its imperfect alphabetical order, its lacunae, and its errors. Lastly, Jonckbloet argued 'that, as it occurs to me, a Romance like this one, which is also a primary source for the way of life etc. in the Middle Ages, would have been highly worthy of being elucidated here and there with some archaeological

5 Jonckbloet, *Iets over Ferguut*.

6 Visscher, *Ferguut*.

annotations'.⁷ As an example for such future depictions of medieval life, Jonckbloet mentioned the *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* ('Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry', 1781) by Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. This French historian had collected medieval manuscripts and was a member of the Paris Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres. He had drawn up his *Mémoires* using chronicles and juridical documents, and indeed romances too, thus contributing to what Jonckbloet called 'medieval archaeology'.⁸ In short, Jonckbloet demanded an impeccable apparatus with textual variants, lexicographical elucidations, and historical notes; and not only German and Belgian, but apparently also French philologists could teach lazy Dutch professors how to treat their medieval literature.

Though Jonckbloet published this brochure anonymously, it was the starting point of myriads of critical reviews he would publish later on. In this way, he instigated a scholarly pillar which in his eyes Dutch philology lacked, namely that of 'the candour of critique' – as the Belgian philologist Jan-Hendrik Bormans would remember it.⁹ Jonckbloet, and later De Vries too, would indeed practise a public and critical, sometimes even vehement, form of philological debate. But the brochure's content can also be considered as a starting point for later developments, instigated by Jonckbloet and De Vries. The scheme of complaining about Dutch lethargy and seeking inspiration from abroad can be found in almost all of Jonckbloet's texts, and it was adopted by De Vries. The threefold deficiency of Visscher's editions would serve as a threefold goal for Dutch philology, which Jonckbloet and De Vries partially realized during their philological careers: (a) both made editions with a critical apparatus, which included variants or collations and sometimes even met the new German historical-critical standards; (b) De Vries started the production of major Dutch dictionaries successfully, and (c) Jonckbloet practised the history of national literature and mentalities from the era of chivalric literature onwards. In short, Jonckbloet's critical review of *Ferguut* is not only evidence of his youthful impatient personality, but it was also an innovation in itself, as he turned the philological debate in a new direction, and it was a programmatic exposition.

7 'dat, naar mij voorkomt, een Roman als deze, die mede eene eerste bron is voor de levenswijze enz. der middeneeuwen, wel waardig was geweest om hier en daar met eenige oudheidkundige aantekeningen opgehelderd te worden'. (Jonckbloet, *Iets over Ferguut*, p. 4).

8 'middeneeuwsche archaeologie' (Jonckbloet, *Iets over Ferguut*, p. 20); cf. De Schryver, *Historiografie*, p. 239; Gossmann 1968.

9 'de vrijmoedigheid van de critiek' (Bormans, cited in Moltzer's 'Levensbericht Jonckbloet', p. 13).

[2] – Jonckbloet was the first to attain a doctoral degree on a Dutch scholarly edition: in 1840, he published Lodewijk van Velthem's continuation of the *Spiegel historiael* ('Mirror of History'), a history of the world and the Low Countries initiated by Jacob van Maerlant around 1300. Jonckbloet defended this *Specimen e literis Neerlandicis* ('Proof from Dutch literature') publicly before a jury presided by Siegenbeek.¹⁰

[3] – Jonckbloet almost literally chased the foreign examples with which he had criticized Visscher: in 1842 he embarked on a literary journey through the German countries. 'Hopefully I left the fatherland', he reported in the cultural journal *De Gids* ('The Guide'), 'and I returned more than satisfied'.¹¹ The immediate cause for his trip was the edition of some fragments of the *Brabantse Yeesten* ('History of Brabant'), a medieval chronicle of the dukes of Brabant, of which fragments were published in 1841 in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* ('Journal of German Antiquity') by Theodor von Karajan, a Macedonian philosopher who worked as a philologist at the Imperial and Royal Court Library in Vienna. Jonckbloet visited this Viennese collection, as well as many others: in the Prussian capital Berlin; in university cities like Jena, Göttingen, Gressen, and Kassel; in other major cities like Dresden, München, and Frankfurt. In all of these places, he undertook a personal investigation *in loco* into old Dutch literature (e.g. he consulted the Comburg manuscript in Stuttgart). Further, he

fiery wished to establish personal relations with the men from *Germany*, whose genius and unwearied zeal were capable of raising that Learning, the study of which is dignified above all to me, – and, could it be, remains the purpose of my life, – to an equal level with the one classical Literature is on.¹²

Indeed, he met famous scholars like Eduard Kausler and Franz Josef Mone, and he received some communications from August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Jacob Grimm. This literary journey confirmed Jonckbloet's admiration for the philological practice in the German countries, not only because of the Dutch literary fragments which he found accessible, but also

10 Jonckbloet, *Specimen e literis Neerlandicis*.

11 'Hoopvol verliet ik het Vaderland en meer dan voldaan keerde ik terug'. (Jonckbloet, 'Verslag eener letterkundige reize door Duitschland, p. 574).

12 'wenschte ik vurig de persoonlijke kennis aan te knoopen met de mannen van Duitschland, wier genie en onvermoeide ijver die Wetenschap, wier studie mij boven alles waardig is, – en, kan het zijn, het doel mijns levens blijft, – vermogten op te voeren tot eene hoogte, gelijk aan die, waarop de klassieke Letterkunde staat'. (Ibidem, p. 574).

because the helpfulness of German scholars. All of that contrasted with the situation in the Netherlands – at least, Jonckbloet founded his rhetorical scheme in this way. In 1852, De Vries, too, undertook a trip to Germany, in his case to consult Grimm on his plans for a general dictionary, after they had met in 1846 at the famous Congress in Frankfurt.¹³ Both De Vries and Jonckbloet learned from the German philologists with regard to the organization of philological research in accessible libraries and ambitious lexicographical projects.

[4] – Germany did not only supply examples for a better scholarly organization, but also for a new field of study. This was another innovation that Jonckbloet already had announced in his brochure of 1838. During his German trip of 1842, he was confirmed in his opinion that the most interesting part of literary history was that of chivalry. Romances had to be studied and not only chronicles of medieval principalities (like the *Brabantsche Yeesten* and Melis Stoke's chronicle on the county of Holland), or didactic poems (like those by Maerlant). The German philologists had not only resuscitated their Dutch *confrères*, but, according to Jonckbloet's account of his journey, they had also broadened their historical horizon:

So, presently a great revolution took place in the consideration of our *Historia Litteraria*. For previously, MAERLANT was for each and all *the father of the Dutch poets*, in the strictest sense of the word; and who would have dared to claim that if anything, the decline of our Literature dates from him? At present, it is certain that our Literature was already blossoming in a high degree long before his didactical School, and that the time has arrived to trace the remnants of the Poems from that age, when romanticism still exclusively held sway over the knightly era, of which it was the characteristic expression; when the third estate, gradually rising in its esteem, had not yet exercised that influence on Literature, which indeed gave it a more practical direction, but also clipped the Singers' poetical wick.¹⁴

¹³ Van Driel & Noordegraaf, *De Vries en Te Winkel*, pp. 60, 97-98.

¹⁴ 'Weldra had er dan ook eene groote omwenteling plaats in de beschouwing van onze *Historia Litteraria*. Vroeger immers was MAERLANT voor eene iegelijk *de vader der dietscer dichter*, in den strengsten zin des woords; en wie had toen durven beweren, dat van hem in tegendeel het verval onzer Letterkunde dagteekent? Thans staat het vast, dat lang vóór zijne didactische School, onze Letterkunde eenen hoogen trap van bloei bereikt had, en dat de tijd geboren is, om de overblijfsels op te sporen der Gedichten van dat tijdperk, toen het romantisme nog bij uitsluiting den scepser zwaaide over de ridderlijke eeuw, waarvan het de karakteristieke uitdrukking was; toen de langzamerhand in aanzien toenemende derde stand nog niet dien

In no uncertain terms, Jonckbloet betrayed Maerlant. Maerlant had written his didactic works for a new bourgeois audience in the blossoming mercantile towns in the late twelfth century, and it was there, in Jonckbloet's view, that the decay of Dutch literature had started. Real poetic genius could only be found in older epic poems, in which suits of armour and liege lords figured, together with noble kings.

[5] – A year after Jonckbloet's literary journey, the innovations in philological debate, organization, and subject of study gave shape to an institution hitherto unknown. In 1843, an exclusive society for editors of old vernacular texts was founded: the 'Vereeniging ter bevordering der oude Nederlandsche letterkunde'.¹⁵ The Vereeniging was small. Apart from Jonckbloet, already holding the title of doctor, its members were a preacher and three students in classical philology in Utrecht and Leiden (among them De Vries). All were born between 1817 and 1821. Only P.J. Vermeulen, one of the initiators and an employee of the Utrecht provincial archive, was some ten years older. This generation, inspired by the 'Literarischer Verein zur Herausgabe älterer Druck- und Handschriften' in Stuttgart, created their own formalized international forum for Dutch philology. Their aims were realized in the first place in a journal, *Verslagen en berigten* ('Reports and communications'), which was published from 1844 onwards. There, they discussed their own and others' publications, and newly discovered literary fragments, which – of course – were often found in Dutch private collections, but also in German libraries, the British Museum in London or the Bodleian Library in Oxford.¹⁶ As proof of the progress made, some of these fragments were edited or collated in the journal. The *Verslagen en berigten* had a truly international reach: the list of subscribers not only mentions Dutch prominent men, students and institutions, but also libraries in Brussels, Berlin, Göttingen, and Tübingen. Other subscribers were the Institut française in Paris, and Belgian and German philologists, such as Jan Frans Willems, Jan Hendrik Bormans, Jan Baptist David, Julius Zacher, and Jacob Grimm. Next to their journal, the members of the Vereeniging set up a series of publications of their own, resulting in six editions published in seventeen volumes over four years. Each of these editions included, in addition to a diplomatic copy of the text, an introduction, a list

invloed op de Letterkunde had uitgeoefend, die haar, ja, eene meer praktische rigting gaf, maar ook de dichtelijke wiek des Zangers knotte'. (Jonckbloet 'Verslag eener letterkundige reizje', pp. 573-574).

¹⁵ Mathijssen, 'Stages in the development of Dutch literary historicism'.

¹⁶ Dozy, 'Brief'.

of variants, and a glossary – exactly as Jonckbloet had required in 1838. So, the Vereeniging realized more than one of Jonckbloet's ideals: it can be seen as an international research community, which succeeded in producing new philological knowledge, and debating it publically.

[6] – A sixth and last innovation was one pursued by Jonckbloet alone: editing literature on chivalry. In the first year of the Vereeniging's existence Jonckbloet published a manuscript he had found in Giessen during his German journey, containing the *Roman der Lorreinen* from the romance cycle of Charlemagne;¹⁷ and later he edited the *Roman van Walewein* ('Romance of Gawain'), from the Arthurian cycle.¹⁸ At the same time, when he edited a medieval collection of aphorisms by Cato, Jonckbloet was the only one to attempt a critical method, according to German practices. He compared two copies of the text, one from the Comburg manuscript and a fifteenth-century printed version, found both 'highly defective and incomplete',¹⁹ relinquished a diplomatic edition, and chose a critical method instead, attempting to reconstruct the original, yet unknown version of the text. He rearranged the aphorisms and introduced 'grammatical and rhythmical improvements', which interventions he accounted for in the footnotes.²⁰ Jonckbloet was convinced of the usefulness of this method for Dutch philology, given the corpus of medieval literature that now was accessible and readable. He thought it would constitute a new school in Dutch philology, relegating diplomatic editions to the past:

I took a step beyond the old school with this proof of criticism: I actively tried to demonstrate that it is also possible for us and not as dangerous as purported. May I thus have broken the ice, and may it soon be generally acknowledged that what is possible, becomes a holy duty as well.²¹

Though Jonckbloet coupled his methodological innovation with a distinct moral appeal, he did not convince his fellow members of the Vereeniging. His critical edition was not included in its series, and Jonckbloet started to publish outside the Vereeniging's channels. These and other methodological

17 Jonckbloet, *Roman van Karel den Grooten*.

18 Jonckbloet, *Roman van Walewein*.

19 'hoogstgebrekkig en onvolledig'. (Jonckbloet, *Die Dietsce Catoen*, p. ix).

20 'grammatische en rhythmische verbeteringen' (Ibidem, p. x).

21 'ik heb een stap buiten de oude school gedaan met deze proeve van kritiek: ik heb getracht metterdaad te bewijzen, dat het ook bij ons mogelijk is en niet zoo gevaarlijk als men voorgeeft. Mogt ik daarmee het ijs gebroken hebben, en mogt men weldra algemeen inzien dat hetgeen mogelijk is, een heilige pligt wordt'. (Ibidem, xiv).

and intrinsic controversies, spiced with some envy, lead to the Vereeniging's dissolution in 1848.²²

Throughout the rise and fall of this society however, major novelties in Dutch philology were established: it now was part of an international scholarly community, which had its own research objects, was accessible in institutions, and had an adopted methodology, with scholarly debates within its own channels. Indeed, even divergent opinions meant a step towards the creation of an autonomous academic discipline.

[7] – Eventually, not long after the Vereeniging's split, Jonckbloet and De Vries entered academia, to gain the disciplinary trophy. From 1848 onwards, they obtained different university chairs, enabling the first to further put his philological ideals into practice, and the latter to build up a modern Dutch lexicography. In 1848, Jonckbloet was appointed professor in Deventer, one year later De Vries became the successor of Lulofs in Groningen. In 1853, De Vries moved back to Leiden, to succeed Siegenbeek and to make place for Jonckbloet.

It was in Leiden that De Vries made major progress. Between 1858 and 1864, he edited the full *Spiegel historiael*, not only the parts by Van Velthem as Jonckbloet had done in his dissertation. He did so together with Eelco Verwijs, one of his first pupils. Besides that, De Vries made a start with a lexicographical production, again together with Verwijs and with Jakob Verdam. In 1864, the first issues of both his *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek* ('Middle Dutch dictionary') and the *Algemeen Nederlandsch woordenboek* ('General Dutch dictionary', later to be called *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, 'Dictionary of the Dutch language') appeared, though the first plans for both dated back to before 1850. The *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek* was in the most literal sense a work of philology following the editorial phase. De Vries used the glossary of his own edition of *Der leeken spiegel* ('The Layman's Mirror', published during the years 1844-1848 as part of the Vereeniging's series) as a base and completed it using the glossaries of other editions. De Vries only did so after critical linguistic study, on which he reported from 1856 onwards in his *Proeve van Middelnederlandsche taalzuivering* ('Proof of Middle Dutch purism').²³ Whereas this dictionary was aimed mainly at a scholarly public, the *Algemeen Nederlandsch woordenboek* explicitly intended to serve the people and its language – in short: the nation. De Vries planned to make lemmas for all Dutch words that had existed since 1637, the year of the first issue of the Dutch 'Staten Bijbel'.

22 Mathijsen, 'Stages in the development of Dutch literary historicism'.

23 Van Dalen-Oskam, 'De idealistische lexicograaf', pp. 68-69.

He arranged these lemmas etymologically and added exemplary sentences from the most acclaimed literary authors, both classical and modern. This historical-lexicographical plan had an unmistakable nationalistic aim: De Vries wanted to present the Dutch language at its best, and hoped by doing so, to improve the use of the language in his own days. The scholarly product had to be a source 'from which the whole nation can refresh itself at the living stream of language'.²⁴ The Dutch language was, as De Vries formulated it in his inaugural address of 1853, the 'reflection of our native character, the identifying mark of our existence as a people, the bond and pledge of our nationality'.²⁵ This national idea legitimizing lexicographical work was formulated even more emphatically in the dictionary's maxim, citing the Frisian philologist J.H. Halbertsma: 'The language is the soul of the nation, it is the nation itself'.²⁶

Jonckbloet, for his part, stayed on the path he had indicated in 1838. Shortly after his first appointment, he published an extended study on Middle Dutch prosodies, being at the same time a critique of Bormans, his Liège colleague.²⁷ After that he worked on two major Dutch literary histories: from 1851 onwards, he published a study of medieval Dutch literature (of course focusing on the chivalry period), and from 1868 onwards, he issued a general Dutch literary history. In both works he described the evolution of a Dutch national soul, as it expressed itself primarily in its literary products. Jonckbloet's subject of study was not intrinsically literary, but primarily national.²⁸ In the meantime, he kept making notes for a history of daily life of the Dutch nation in the Middle Ages. But on this topic he never published anything; this part of his programme remained unfulfilled for the rest of his life.²⁹ When in 1860, De Vries's chair in Leiden was split up between Dutch literature and national history, it was not Jonckbloet who was appointed, but Robert Fruin. The latter introduced a positivistic research programme, and did not participate in Jonckbloet's scholarly search for a national soul.³⁰

24 'waaruit zich de geheele natie aan den levenden taalstroom kon laven'. (De Vries, cited in Mathijssen, 'Een weinig bezocht museum van de taal, p. 56).

25 'afspiegeling van ons vaderlandsch karakter, het merkteken van ons volksbestaan, band en pand onzer nationaliteit'. (De Vries, cited in Van Driel & Noordegraaf, *De Vries en Te Winkel*, p. 85).

26 'De taal is de ziel der natie, zij is de natie zelve'.

27 Jonckbloet, *Over Middennederlandschen epischen versbouw*.

28 Santing, 'De Middeleeuwen met een Phrygische muts'; Leerssen, *Bronnen van het vaderland*, pp. 85-88.

29 Moltzer, 'Levensbericht Jonckbloet'.

30 Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*.

De Vries kept the literary half of his chair, and the lexicographic 'school' he had established would be regarded highly for a long time afterwards.³¹

Notwithstanding these partial results, it is evident that Jonckbloet and De Vries introduced more than one novelty in Dutch philology, even to the extent that they can be seen as the instigators of new disciplines, in which academic and national goals were combined. Jonckbloet saw his appointment in 1848 indeed as the beginning of real academic scholarship, separating the future from the work done before by 'dilettanti'.³² In a similar way, De Vries exposed in his inaugural address in 1856, his historical-lexicographic views as distinct from earlier work on rhetoric, carried out by his teacher Siegenbeek. Of course, there had been philological professors before them, mainly in the fields of Dutch rhetoric and history, but they were the first to attain a doctoral degree on a scholarly edition of a text in the vernacular (Jonckbloet), or to occupy a chair for Dutch literature, separated from national history (De Vries). Jonckbloet and De Vries supplemented these formal academic innovations with an organization (the Vereeniging), fields of study (the literature on chivalry and lexicography), and methods (the critical edition and standardized lexicography) of their own – or not really of their own, as they were inspired by developments abroad, in the first place in the German countries.

Philological traditions in the Netherlands: a. The Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde and the Koninklijk Instituut

The mere fact that it was possible for Jonckbloet to base his philological views on criticized practices, proves that neither he, nor De Vries, invented Dutch philology. There was no *creatio ex nihilo*. An important philological tradition already existed, with innovations of its own, and even with later highly acclaimed contacts abroad.

Already about seventy years before Jonckbloet's first critical brochure, a society was founded in Leiden to practise history, linguistics, and literature: the 'Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde'. In 1766, it emanated from an informal student club at the city's university. Although the Maatschappij saw many difficulties in the first period of its existence, this society was the most important philological forum before 1780. The Maatschappij held annual meetings and although they were decreasingly

³¹ e.g. Karsten, *100 jaar Nederlandse philologie*.

³² 'dilettanten' (Jonckbloet, *Roman van Walewein*).

well attended, the proceedings were published, together with a series of philological treatises. Furthermore, in 1769, the Maatschappij made innovative plans for an explanatory dictionary of the Dutch language. This became its main objective for decades and many members contributed to this project, by sending in definitions on standardized file cards.³³ The dictionary as such was never published, nevertheless the collaborative work served others well. Nicolaas Hinlópen based his own dictionary on it, and the file cards were also put at the disposal of Jacob Arnout Clignett and Jan Steenwinkel, two members of the Maatschappij who worked on an edition of Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*. A first volume of this edition was published in 1784.³⁴

The Maatschappij was also important because of its library, which grew – thanks to donations, legacies and purchase – into one of the main book collections and a workshop for philologists.³⁵ The collection bequeathed by Zacharias Hendrik Alewijn, one of the Maatschappij's founders, was of major importance, since it made one manuscript in particular accessible to scholars, containing the text of *Esopet*, *Ferguut*, and the *Roman van Walewein*.³⁶ These three texts played the primary role in the development of Dutch philology in the nineteenth century, firstly because in 1819 *Esopet*, a medieval adaptation of Aesop's fables, would be the first piece of medieval fiction in Dutch to be edited (by Clignett) for scholarly purposes and in a separate volume, instead of only in a journal article or in a chapbook as a popular tale. Secondly, Visscher's 1838-edition of *Ferguut* provoked Jonckbloet to herald a new era in Dutch philology, and thirdly *Walewein* would be one of the romances Jonckbloet himself would edit. Even before that, the Maatschappij's library was consulted by Hoffmann von Fallersleben.³⁷ Such international visitors in its library, and the fact that manuscripts left private circuits for (semi-)publicly accessible deposits, as well as the collective work on a dictionary; all proves that major innovations were already made before the generation of Jonckbloet and De Vries.³⁸

33 Kossmann, *Opkomst en voortgang*, pp. 142-162; Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel, Hollands roem*, pp. 30-31.

34 Clignett & Steenwinkel, *Spiegel historiael*, vol. 1, p. lxxi.

35 Bisschop, 'Korte geschiedenis der bibliotheek'; Rijnbach, 'De bibliotheek van de Maatschappij'; De Groot, 'De bibliotheek van de Maatschappij' (1966a&b); Van Gent, 'Daer gestaâg bijkomt, en niet afgaat'.

36 Bouwman, 'Het legaat-Alewijn'.

37 Brinkman, 'Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Dutch Medieval Folksong'.

38 cf. Rock, 'Gewonnen perkament, gewaarborgde kennis'.

While during the revolutionary era around 1800 the Maatschappij had to cope with hard times, similar philological activities were undertaken in another scholarly institution, the 'Hollandsch Instituut' (later 'Koninklijk Instituut'). It was founded in 1808 by Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland from 1806 to 1810, and it survived the restoration of the Oranges in 1813. A major player in this institute's philological 'Second Class', at least until 1816, was Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), its president and secretary.³⁹ Relentlessly, Bilderdijk presented to his fellow members new philological plans, which reflected the collective character of the projects undertaken earlier by the Leiden Maatschappij.⁴⁰ The subjects were similar too: Bilderdijk proposed to work on a general Dutch dictionary, on studies of the state of Dutch theatre, the history of the Dutch language, and on orthography. Although little of these plans was actually realized, some derivative products were published, such as explanatory dictionaries on individual authors. Bilderdijk's own edition of P.C. Hooft's poems, for example, was accompanied by an explanatory dictionary, published by the Second Class.⁴¹ Besides its plans and publications, the Institute's library – this too comparable to those of the Maatschappij's – benefitted greatly from Bilderdijk's untamed activity. He succeeded in acquiring several medieval manuscripts, sometimes with texts by Maerlant. Through the mediation of Hendrik Willem Tydeman, Bilderdijk also obtained information on the Comburg manuscript by Jacob Grimm.⁴² All these achievements enabled Bilderdijk (in the name of the Koninklijk Instituut) to hijack the Maatschappij's most successful project: the edition of Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*, of which still only the first two volumes were published. Steenwinkel, one of the initial editors, had continued to work without Clignett after the political revolutions, and when he died, the manuscript and his notes were acquired by Bilderdijk for the Institute's library. Together with David Jacob van Lennep and with a grant from the King, Bilderdijk published a third volume of the *Spiegel historiael* in 1813.⁴³

So, several of the innovations that Jonckbloet and De Vries initiated, were already more or less tested by the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde in Leiden and the Koninklijk Instituut in Amsterdam. Both learned societies worked on Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*; both explored institutional and methodological innovations, like standardized collaborative

39 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, p. 91; Van den Berg, '7 september 1765', p. 160.

40 Ibidem, pp. 143-145; Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, pp. 67, 82-83.

41 Bilderdijk, *Hoofds Gedichten*; Simons, *Uitlegkundig woordenboek op Hooft*.

42 Van den Berg, '7 september 1765', pp. 152-153.

43 Steenwinkel, *Spiegel historiael of Rijkmkronijk*.

work on a dictionary or editions; they made old texts accessible in their libraries; and had contacts abroad, for instance with Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Grimm. Bilderdijk even edited a piece of chivalric literature, a fragment of *The Four Sons of Aymon*.⁴⁴ The Maatschappij and the Instituut are two examples of the institutionalized scholarly societies that came into being in the Netherlands from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Like other societies, they combined scholarship and science with concern about a supposed decay of the Dutch Republic.⁴⁵

Philological traditions in the Netherlands: b. Antiquarian philology in Leiden from 1591 onwards

As I have shown, the national and academic Dutch philology established in the 1840s was preceded by plans and publications from philologists at the Maatschappij and the Koninklijk Instituut. But, as can be expected, these philologists had their predecessors too.

To trace an apparently even older philological tradition back, I will discuss the subsequent editions of one text in particular. Whereas editions of the *Spiegel historiael* were indicative for the philological work after 1766, editions of a chronicle by Melis Stoke do the same for the earlier period. Stoke was a thirteenth-century monk of the monastery in Egmond and recorded the illustrious achievements of the counts of Holland. His chronicle was the oldest source for students of the Dutch language in its oldest-known form, and for students of the history of Holland, who had special interest in episodes like the feudal founding of the county, or the assault on count Floris V, partially because of the constitutional implications for the later Dutch Republic.

The chronicle was printed for the first time in 1591 by Barent Adriaensz in Amsterdam. It was edited by Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, a merchant and poet from the same city. This is the very first edition of a Dutch narrative text, and thus the starting point of Dutch philology. It was initiated by the owner of the manuscript, Janus Dousa (1545-1626), who played a central role in both the political and scholarly history of the Dutch Republic. Dousa was a nobleman, engaged in diplomatic missions during the Dutch Revolt, and one of the envoys offering queen Elisabeth of England the sovereignty over

44 Bilderdijk, 'Fragmenten'.

45 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*; Johannes, *De lof der aalbessen*; Mijnhardt, *Tot heil van 't menschedom*.

the Dutch provinces. He also was a military leader during the occupation of Leiden by Spanish troops. As a reward for this, he became one of the curators of the newly established Leiden University in 1575. After that, he started practising philology: he made editions of and commented on works by Sallustius, Horatius, and other classical authors. From 1585 on, he was the university's first librarian and the official historiographer of the provincial states of Holland and Zeeland. In Leiden, Dousa formed a *Collegium poeticum*, a circle of friends that discussed Latin and Dutch poetry and that included also the classical philologist Justus Lipsius and Jan van Hout (also known as Janus Hautenus), the city secretary and a poet renowned for his use of the Dutch language.⁴⁶

In 1591, Dousa instigated the edition of Stoke's chronicle. By doing so, he not only introduced the scholarly genre of the edition in Dutch philology, but also the editor as a scholarly agent. He did so explicitly, and in rhyme, in a panegyric introduction to Spiegel's work. He praised the editor and the benefaction he had conferred to Stoke's chronicle by printing it, 'not without pain and costs'.⁴⁷ The benefactions of the printing press mattered greatly for this chronicle of a then anonymous monk:

Until now with no hope of having been printed,
If it were without you, who now has raised him first
From night and sleep, and makes [him] see the light of heaven,
Not without costs and troubles.⁴⁸

Dousa once more stressed the editor's financial and intellectual efforts, but also the high reward: Spiegel saved the author from night and sleep and brought him to light. Already in the first edition, the philologist's work was discussed in metaphorical terms of night and day, later on to be intensified in many editions to metaphors of death, dust and oblivion versus light, life, and revival. Thus, Dousa created the editor, both in practice and in discourse, as an agent in the tradition of Dutch texts. This was undeniably a fundamental innovation in Dutch philology.

In 1663, a single page of the same chronicle was printed, revealing the author's name. It supplemented another Holland chronicle, edited by Petrus

46 Heesakkers, 'Twee Leidse boezemvrienden'.

47 'niet sonder pinen // En costen'. Dousa, in: Spiegel, *Hollandtsche Riim-Kroniik*, fol. ij/v.

48 '[...] Tot noch toe sonder hoop in druck te syn gebracht, // Twair sonder u geweest, die hem nu van der nacht // En slaep eerst hebt ontweckt, en s'hemels licht doen scouwen, // Niet sonder cost en moeyt. [...]' Ibidem, fol. iij/3v.

Scriverius, a late humanist philologist studying the history of Holland at Leiden University.⁴⁹ He did so by using methods from classical philology, after being educated in this discipline by the renowned Josephus Justus Scaliger. Scriverius was familiar with Roman inscriptions, and started later in life with reading old Dutch chronicles.⁵⁰ In 1699, the chronicle of Melis Stoke was published again, this time by the antiquarian Cornelis van Alkemade (1654-1737). He compared three versions of the chronicle, added an introduction to discuss questions such as the tradition of the text, its sources and its authorship, and he included some complementary chronicles, legal documents and historical songs regarding the episode of the murder of count Floris V. In all this, Van Alkemade's edition met many of the standards that Jonckbloet would later impose. For instance the engravings that Van Alkemade included, depicting the subsequent counts after paintings in the Harlem town hall, are remarkable witnesses of non-textual historical artefacts.⁵¹

In the philological practice of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century learned societies and academia, however, Stoke's text was best known in the edition made in 1772 by Balthasar Huydecoper (1695-1778). He published it at the end of his life, and added many, mainly linguistic notes to the text.⁵² Huydecoper had practised philology for a long time, apart from being a classicistic theatre author and a regent on the isle of Texel. He edited the correspondence of Hooft and a book of edicts from the history of his island.⁵³ Most influential however was his *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* ('Proof of Linguistics and Poetics'), which was published in 1730 and was reprinted several times.⁵⁴ In this linguistic treatise Huydecoper discussed the language of the seventeenth-century Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, especially his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ('Transformations'). In his commentaries, Huydecoper made Vondel into an example for his own time, as many Dutch linguists did during the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Huydecoper however broadened his view throughout his life, and in later editions of his *Proeve* he included some medieval texts. He came to

49 Scriverius, *Het oude Goutsche chronycxken*, pp. 251-252.

50 Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, pp. 114-115.

51 Van Alkemade, *Hollandse jaar-boeken ofrijm-kronijk van Melis Stoke*.

52 Huydecoper, *Rijmkronijk van Melis Stoke*.

53 Huydecoper, *Brieven van Hooft*; idem, *Privilegien en handvesten der stede en des eilands van Texel*.

54 Huydecoper, *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde*; Huydecoper, *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* (2nd ed.).

55 Rutten, 'Vondels "volkomen voorbeeldt".'

appreciate not only Vondel, but also authors from a more remote past, especially because of the – in his eyes – unspoiled character of their language.⁵⁶ This resulted eventually in his edition of *Melis Stoke*, which was, according to Burgers (a present-day editor of *Stoke*), 'the first modern scholarly edition of a Middle Dutch text' and 'the foundation of Dutch philology'.⁵⁷

The sequence of editions of *Stoke's* chronicle, however, demonstrates that the very idea of a Dutch edition, as well as the editor himself, and in a way Dutch vernacular philology (following Nietzsche's definition), were brought forth in Leiden academic circles already in 1591; in the convergence of war, politics, classical scholarship and vernacular poetry, personified by Dousa, Lipsius and Van Hout. Every time this convergence occurred afterwards, editions of old texts were produced, until the nationalist and academic times of Jonckbloet and De Vries.

Forgeries, philological criticism, and material proof

To the creation of philological knowledge, from Dousa till Jonckbloet and De Vries, there was of course a drawback: editors could publish forged texts and philological criticism could fail. The game of forgeries and philological criticism became most acute in an episode in which the mentioned Van Alkemade played a major role. Throughout the eighteenth century a forged chronicle of the history of Holland, attributed to a monk called Klaas Koliijn, was studied by Dutch philologists. It was Van Alkemade who around 1700 received a copy of this manuscript. Many scholars were interested and several copies circulated, since this text was complementary to *Stoke's*. The text was cited in several historical and linguistic works, and was edited by Gerard van Loon in 1745.⁵⁸ However, some scholars started to doubt its antiquity. It took about three quarters of a century for such criticism to be heard, when Huydecoper and Jan Wagenaar, both early members of the *Maatschappij*, expressed their objections. The first voiced linguistic criticism of Koliijn in his 1772 edition of *Stoke*; the latter added the disclosure of anachronisms and other historical impossibilities. He did so in 1777, in

56 Buijnsters, 'Kennis van en waardering voor Middelnederlandse literatuur'; Miltenburg, *Naar de gesteldheid dier tyden*.

57 'de eerste modern-wetenschappelijke uitgave van een Middelnederlandse tekst', 'de grondslag voor de Nederlandse filologie'. Burgers, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland*, p. 12.

58 Van Loon, *Rymchronyk*.

a treatise that was published by the Maatschappij. In his final argument, Wagenaar lay bare the ultimate base for certain knowledge in philology:

One now has to add to this, finally, that it was not found that anyone ever declared to have seen an old Manuscript of Kolijn's *Rymchronyke*. By *an old Manuscript* I do not understand a manuscript from the twelfth century, the time in which Kolijn would have written; but, at least, a Manuscript from the fifteenth, or sixteenth, or even from the beginning of the seventeenth century. And it is not known to me that anyone ever said to have seen such a manuscript.⁵⁹

Besides linguistic and historical arguments, the mere presence of an old manuscript, in order to attest the antiquity of the text it contained, appears to be a valuable epistemological requirement at the end of the eighteenth century. Wagenaar restated an early, antiquarian longing for hard to forge and tangible signs of antiquity.⁶⁰

This antiquarian longing lived on throughout the philological societies in the Netherlands and the nineteenth-century establishment of national and academic Dutch philology. The libraries of both the Maatschappij in Leiden and the Koninklijk Instituut in Amsterdam were at times considered as deposits for parchment evidence. This was for example the argument for Joannes Clarrise in 1818, when he bequeathed some fragments of Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael* to the Maatschappij, in order to make his collation of the fragments verifiable:

The readers can safely rely on the faithfulness of the comparison, and if need be assure themselves of it, as the above-mentioned *Maatschappij* has done me the honour of accepting and depositing the *Fragments* for safekeeping with its books.⁶¹

59 'Men voege hier nu nog, eindelyk, by, dat niet blykt, dat iemand ooit verklaard heeft een oud Handschrift van Kolyns Rymchronyke gezien te hebben. Door *een oud Handschrift*, versta ik geen handschrift van de twaalfde eeuw, den tyd, waarin Kolyn zou geschreven hebben; maar, ten minsten, een Handschrift van de vyftiende, of zestiende, of zelfs van 't begin der zeventiende eeuw. En my is niet bekend, dat iemand ooit gezeid heeft, zulk een handschrift te hebben gezien'. (Wagenaar, 'Toets van de egtheid der rymchronyke', p. 230).

60 More elaborate and with further bibliographical references, in Rock, 'De ezels'.

61 'Op de getrouwheid der vergelyking kunnen de lezers veilig afgaan, en des noods zich van dezelve verzekeren, daar de welgemelde *Maatschappij* mij wel de eere heeft aangedaan, van de *Fragmenten* aan te nemen en bij hare boeken ter bewaring neder te leggen'. (Clarisse, 'Berigt', 194).

Bilderdijk attributed a similar function to the library of his Instituut, and considered literary fragments that were not available there, or in another Dutch library, as invaluable for Dutch philological knowledge production, even when its existence was attested by the most prominent philologists abroad. Concerning a fragment of a Dutch translation of the *Roman de la rose* ('Romance of the Rose'), he wrote to Jan Frans Willems that 'the fragment, [though] available in the collection of the Brothers Grimm from Kassel, has to be considered lost for the Dutch language and our country'.⁶²

In their Vereeniging, the young philologists invariably feared forgeries. In their first publication in 1844, they defended the choice for editions as their main activity. They claimed that only good editions would lead to ascertained knowledge:

How could one ever reach a right appreciation of our present-day language and linguistic conceptions, if we do not know the ground on which both are built, and it therefore becomes easy for every impudent or audacious person to blind the mob with the appearances of scholarly pieces? The eighteenth century with the monster of the pseudo-KOLIJN can attest to that.⁶³

Even so, in the full edition of the *Spiegel historiael* – the main product of young academic philology – De Vries and Verwijs referred to philological forgery. For them, it was the reason not yet to pass onto the German critical method for editions, which prescribed that a text should be normalized in spelling, grammar and prosody. De Vries and Verwijs doubted that Dutch philology had developed enough in order to do so. Normalization according to a system drawn up by a modern philologist would therefore always contain some 'arbitrariness', and 'moreover, the uniformity obtained in that way, systematic and seemingly strictly scientific as it may be, is always to a certain extent a bare fiction'.⁶⁴ This fear of arbitrariness and fiction in

62 'men het fragment, [hoewel] in de verzameling der Gebroeders Grim[m] van Cassel voorhanden, als voor de nederduitsche tael en ons land verloren moet rekenen'. (Bilderdijk, in: Deprez, *Brieven Willems*, nr. 289).

63 'Hoe zal men ooit geraken tot eene juiste waardering onzer hedendaagsche taal en taalkundige begrippen, wanneer wij den grond niet kennen, waarop beiden gebouwd zijn, en het daardoor iederen onbeschaamde of vermetele gemakkelijk wordt de menigte door schijn van geleerde stukken te verblinden? Dat kan de XVIII^e eeuw met het wanschepsel van den pseudo-KOLIJN getuigen [...]'. (Tideman, 'Inleiding', p. 26).

64 'willekeur', '[d]e eenparigheid daarenboven, op die wijze kunstmatig verkregen, hoe systematisch ook en schijnbaar streng wetenschappelijk, is altijd tot eene zekere hoogte eene bloote fictie'. (De Vries & Verwijs, *Van Maerlant's Spiegel historiael*, xcviij).

critical editions lasted until the 1880s, when the historical-critical method developed by the German Karl Lachmann was adopted for the first time in Dutch philology.⁶⁵

Literary historicism and the history of philology in Europe and the Netherlands

What does this short history of Dutch philology from the beginnings until ca. 1860 mean? Why is it useful to trace the nationalist and academic growth of the discipline from around 1800 onwards back to longer traditions? Both faces of the history of Dutch philology are part of larger, European evolutions. How they fit in has been explained by two authors in particular: the Amsterdam comparatist Joep Leerssen and the Anglo-Saxon historian of scholarship Anthony Grafton. Their work will be discussed here shortly in order to give the above historical sketch more depth.

Firstly, it is evident that the philological work done at the Maatschappij, the Koninklijk Instituut and by Jonckbloet, De Vries, and their contemporaries fits neatly in what Leerssen has called 'literary historicism' and 'the cultivation of culture'.⁶⁶ These two closely related ways of thinking about past culture and modern nations, occurred all over Europe from 1760 onwards. 'Literary historicism' refers to a previously not existing interest in the eldest stages of vernacular culture, especially epic literature, which was forgotten since 'the Republic of Letters suffered from wholesale amnesia as regards any vernacular, non-classical texts predating Dante'.⁶⁷ Dante was only one of the authors in a universal canon in vigour, together with Homer, Voltaire, and others. The new interest in vernacular epic literature first took shape in the recreation of epic poetry, in the wake of Thomas Macpherson's publication of the supposedly ancient Scottish poetry by Ossian, starting in 1760.⁶⁸ Doubts about its authenticity soon gave a boost to different philologies of European vernaculars.

Leerssen does recognize the older roots of such philology, like seventeenth-century anthropology, eighteenth-century patriotism or the work by Giambattista Vico, all of which contributed in the understanding of Europe

65 Mathijsen, 'De Belgische opstand als spelbreker voor het nationale editeren', pp. 115-116 & 313, note 12.

66 Leerssen, 'Literary Historicism'; Leerssen, 'Nationalism and the cultivation of culture'.

67 Leerssen, 'Ossian and the rise of literary historicism', p. 114.

68 Ibidem.

in terms of differences between regions and countries, as expressed by the people in their own culture.⁶⁹ Yet, he stresses a determining new set of ideas that was introduced in about 1805-1815 by the Bökendorfer Kring, consisting of the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Friedrich Carl von Savigny, and Clemens Brentano, among others.⁷⁰ These men for the first time studied European cultural diversity through its earliest manifestations in language and literature, and in terms of historical evolution and changeability. They thus gave a scholarly interpretation of the ideas of Johann Gottfried von Herder, who considered the people as the collective creative force behind national cultures. On the other hand, this new philology was practised on an equally new, growing factual base: a search for forgotten folk tales and other remains of national literature was undertaken in libraries and in open air, thus establishing new empirical standards for cultural scholarship. The result of these new ideas on ancient culture, the people, the nation, and scholarship was a splitting up of the universal and timeless canon, into different literatures for each nation, with each its own history. Thinking about literature now became manifold, national, and historical all over Europe. In Leerssen's own words: a 'national-historical diversification of the concept of literature' occurred, which was the core innovation of literary historicism.⁷¹ However, there was one cenacle in Böckendorf at the centre of a Europe-wide network of like-minded vernacular philologists. Their ideas about vernacular culture and its history were similar, and although personal contacts between them can be traced, this new literary historicism resulted in scholarly and cultural rivalry among the now literary and historically differing nations. At times this rivalry was used even in political and military confrontations.⁷²

While Leerssen's work can serve to frame the nationalist and scholarly evolutions of Dutch philology, Grafton's study of the history of scholarship helps to contextualize the discipline's longer traditions. His work was initially focused on the French humanist scholar Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), of whom Grafton published an intellectual biography and a bibliography.⁷³ Scaliger became his guide through the history of humanist scholarship and of the humanities in general, studying both still existing disciplines, such as architectural theory or historiography, and forgotten

69 Leerssen, *National thought in Europe*, pp. 25-92.

70 Leerssen, 'The rise of philology', 27-30.

71 Leerssen, 'Ossian and the rise of literary historicism', p. 125.

72 e.g. Leerssen, *Bronnen van het vaderland*.

73 Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*.

ones, like astrology and chronology.⁷⁴ In all these cases, Grafton focuses on historical continuities in concrete phenomena which establish knowledge in the humanities, or – on the contrary – cause scholarly doubt. He has written, for example, on the history of the footnote, the unmasking of forged texts or the continued validity of textual knowledge after the discovery of the New World.⁷⁵

A returning decisive moment in many of Grafton's accounts of the history of the humanities is Scaliger's stay in Leiden from 1593 onwards. Firstly, Scaliger himself was important, because of his criticism of Giovanni Nanni, a fifteenth-century monk from Viterbo, whose history of Western civilization, how well documented it might have appeared, he unmasked as a partial forgery. Scaliger distinguished authentic from forged elements within this text, proving that it is possible for a text to be partially true and partially false, and that even forged texts could contain authentic elements. He thus instigated textual criticism as a core philological activity.⁷⁶ Secondly, as a location of scholarly encounters Leiden was important too.⁷⁷ There, Scaliger was appointed professor almost simultaneously with Jacobus Perizonius, who came from Franeker University. Through him, he got to know the works of Frisian scholars Ubbo Emmius and Suffridus Petrus. These scholars were involved in a debate on the authenticity of Frisian foundational epics, tracing the people to displaced Trojans. Emmius distrusted these myths because he could not find any sources to support them, while Petrus tried, like Scaliger did for Nanni, to distinguish between authentic oral traditions and later frills.⁷⁸ On the opposite side, Perizonius negated the mere possibility of historical and textual knowledge.

Together, Scaliger and the Frisians marked the two camps a philologist could belong to for two centuries: either pyrrhonism, or antiquarianism. The first position was hypercritical and led Jean Hardouin in the 1690s to state that all sources from Antiquity, including Homer, were invented by a few medieval forgers.⁷⁹ The latter position led to a blossoming of critical scholarship, focusing on hard to forge inscriptions and on the most important juridical documents. Handbooks, such as Jean de Mabillon's *De*

74 Grafton & Jardine, *From humanism to the humanities*; Grafton, *What was history?*

75 Grafton, *The footnote*; Grafton, *Forgers and critics*; Grafton, *New worlds, ancient texts*.

76 Grafton, *Forgers and critics*.

77 Grafton, *Bring out your dead*, pp. 118-137.

78 Waterbolk, *Twee eeuwen Friese geschiedschrijving*; idem, 'Reacties op het historisch Pyrrhonisme'.

79 Grafton, *Bring out your dead*, pp. 185-191.

re diplomatica ('On Diplomatics', 1681) and different *artes historicae*,⁸⁰ and institutions like the Paris Académie des Inscriptions (1663) and the London Society of Antiquaries (1751) turned this critical position into philological fields of study, already before 1700.

So, next to Leerssen's political and ideological frame in which vernacular philology appeared as an exponent of international literary historicism, there is Grafton's more epistemological frame that points at continuities in the history of philology that can be traced back to Leiden's late humanist scholarship on classical history and literature.

Conclusion: The long history of Dutch philology

A history of Dutch philology should take into account both the rise of vernacular philology all over Europe after 1760 and the tradition of classical philology in the Republic of Letters, including Leiden, from around 1580 onwards. Indeed, different episodes from the above history of Dutch philology indicate that both frames never excluded each other, and even were intertwined.

On the one hand, the Netherlands was only one of the many *loci* of the rise of literary historicism. Leerssen, for instance, has studied the international philological rivalry that arose between France and Germany, but also in the Netherlands and Belgium, around medieval texts like the *Ludwigslied* ('Song of Ludwig'),⁸¹ or *Reinaert de Vos* ('Reynard the Fox'), a text studied and nationally appropriated by Jonckbloet and Bilderdijk, as well as by Grimm and the French medievalist Paulin Paris.⁸² Such rivalry did not exclude an international exchange of ideas, as noted above for Jonckbloet, De Vries, Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Grimm. They mutually discussed lexicographical ideas and methods of editing texts. But the international connection existed well before the young academics appeared on the scene: Bilderdijk received Hoffmann von Fallersleben at home,⁸³ and got letters and medieval fragments from Grimm for his Koninklijk Instituut.⁸⁴ Clignett edited *Esopet*, with which he granted Dutch literary history a place of its own between, on the one hand, the supposedly German *Reineke Fuchs*,

80 Grafton, *What was history?*

81 Leerssen, 'Bomen hebben wortels'.

82 Leerssen, *Bronnen van het vaderland*.

83 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Loverkens. Altniederländische Lieder*, p. iii.

84 Leerssen, *Bronnen van het vaderland*, p. 29.

recently reevaluated by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe with his 1794 adaptation, and, on the other hand, the classical tradition of satirical fables which La Fontaine and Aesopus figured together.⁸⁵

Even earlier, literary historicist ideas can be traced in the Maatschappij in Leiden, where Rijklof Michael van Goens promoted the study of authors from the past, especially from the seventeenth century, as an example for his own time.⁸⁶ The same idea led Clignett and Steenwinkel to edit the medieval *Spiegel historiael*: they did so because they were convinced that the only means for learning 'pure Dutch' is 'the knowledge of the old Dutch language'.⁸⁷ They published Maerlant's chronicle as an example of a historical, therefore simple, use of the Dutch language, from a time when it was 'not yet spoiled' by a surplus of rules in poetry and language. An edition was the best instrument to make the public read the poetry of old times, as they had witnessed in Germany and France.⁸⁸ So, the aim of editing a medieval text was to serve the reader in the editors' own time, in the hope that 'he could read such works with the same pleasure as the present-day French their *Roman de la Rose*' – or the Scots their Ossian, one could add.⁸⁹ Such legitimating for scholarly editions of texts from the literary past, together with the international contacts, prove that literary historicism rose in Dutch and foreign minds alike.

On the other hand, these Dutch minds had local examples too, since Scaliger, one of the protagonists in the antiquarianism quest against pyrrhonism, was active in Leiden, together with Perizonius and Scriverius.⁹⁰ They stand at the beginning of a long period of detailed philological study, in the Netherlands too, in which the epistemological challenge of forged sources remained valid. That becomes not only clear by the edition of Stoke by Van Alkemade, who supported Stoke's written account of the history of Holland by evidence outside the text, namely the series of portraits of the counts of Holland. Editions and forgery, scholarship and fiction: an opposition from the very beginnings of classical philology remained valid, even in vernacular philology's national and academic attire.

85 Ibidem, p. 21.

86 Johannes, *De lof der aalbessen*, pp. 16-17; Van den Berg, '7 september 1765'.

87 'dat de kennis der oude Nederduitsche Tale, het eenig hulpmiddel is, om goed en zuiver Nederduitsch te leeren'. (Clignett & Steenwinkel, *Spiegel historiael* 1784, p. iii).

88 Ibidem, p. iv.

89 'hy zulke werken met hetzelfde vermaak, als de hedendaagsche Franschen hunnen *Roman de la Rose*, lezen kunnen'. (Ibidem, pp. vii-viii).

90 Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*.

From the case history presented here, it is evident that professional Dutch philology, as it was established in the second half of the nineteenth century, is a product of both European literary historicism and the Leiden tradition of antiquarian philology of the classics and the history of Holland. Both broader evolutions intertwined in the Netherlands: they are not only compatible, but reinforced each other. Inspiration was not only synchronically exchanged between philologists from different European countries – as is made clear by the study of *Reinaert de Vos*⁹¹ – also diachronically between different generations within the Netherlands – as is indicated by the subsequent editions of Melis Stoke's chronicle and Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*.

Only when both literary historicism and philological traditions are taken into account, can a complex relation such as the one between the old and ailing Bilderdijk and German philologists become understandable. Bilderdijk's aversion to everything German was well-known and after 1820, he even came to distrust the scholarly qualities of German philologists, denying them access to his notes.⁹² He frequently expressed his pride of the Leiden philological tradition, and already since his youth, he had nourished a fierce adoration of Janus Dousa senior.⁹³ Bilderdijk's personal attachment to the Dutch philological tradition is in fact his own realization of international literary historicism, despite his Dutch protectionism, even in scholarly matters. In a similar way, Van Wijn's 1800 commemoration of Dousa, father and son, quoted above, connects both frames. It shows once more how the philological tradition of the Netherlands, starting with Dousa in 1591, was incorporated in Dutch culture and was cultivated by literary historicists from the 1780s onwards.

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91 Leerssen, *Bronnen van het vaderland*.

92 Bilderdijk, 'Kort verslag', pp. 145-146.

93 Van Eijnatten, *Hogere sferen* pp. 30, 34.

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9. Beam of a many-coloured spectrum

Comparative literature in the second half of the nineteenth century

*Ton van Kalmthout**

Abstract

This article deals with the rise of comparative literature in the Netherlands. It discusses the role the discipline played in the nineteenth century, focusing on the relationship between comparative literature and related disciplines such as comparative linguistics and comparative mythology, on the principles on which comparative literature was based, and finally on its results. Emerging in the second half of the century, the discipline remained an auxiliary branch of Dutch studies, where it would eventually break through. Thus it helped to give Dutch philology a more international bent and prompted it to become more professional, adopting a positivistic and deterministic methodology.

Introduction

In the early twentieth century, Professor of Romance Studies Anton Gerard van Hamel wrote:

Any serious study of literature, no matter how much it wishes to limit itself by its choice of subject – a people, a person, a genre, an art form – is driven towards comparative literary history. Besides the one with which it is concerned and on which it seeks to focus all its attention, there are the many others that appear in the practitioner's field of vision. No pure, clear light can shine on the chosen subject that is not derived from the beam of a many-coloured spectrum.¹

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1 Van Hamel, 'Wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne letterkunde', pp. 103-104: 'Iedere ernstige studie der letterkunde, zij moge zich door de keuze van haar voorwerp – een volk, een persoon, een genre, een kunstvorm – nog zoozeer willen beperken, wordt gedreven in de richting der vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis. Naast het ééne waarom het haar te doen is en waarop zij de volle aandacht zoekt te vestigen, staat het vele dat zich eveneens op het gezichtsveld van

Though this beam must have been obvious to Van Hamel, anyone who consults Dyserinck & Fischer's *Internationale Bibliographie zu Geschichte und Theorie der Komparatistik* gets the impression that a comparative approach was given barely any consideration in the Netherlands prior to 1901.² I should like to show that this impression is misleading and that Van Hamel was not alone in his opinion. The issue is what role comparative literary history – or comparative literature, as it is often called – played in the Netherlands at that time, and what circumstances lay behind it.

I shall focus on the relationship between comparative literature and related disciplines such as comparative linguistics and, above all, comparative mythology; on the question of the principles on which comparative literature was based; and finally on the results that were achieved, or were at least in prospect. My findings are based primarily on contemporaneous specialist linguistic and literary publications and on articles in general cultural journals, particularly *De Gids*, which discussed comparative literature at some length. Several professors of Dutch literature also played a key role. Until the 1880s, they were more or less the only people in the Netherlands teaching a modern language at university level. Van Hamel wrote about one of them, Jan ten Brink, for example, that

from the very beginning, alongside Dutch literature he incorporated the literature of other nations in his teaching, in so far as the literature of the fatherland encountered it. And as is evident from some of his writings, from the *Series Lectionem* and the *Regeeringsverslagen* ['Government Reports'], he continued to do so throughout the seventeen years that he was in office, save perhaps for a few years.³

Although Ten Brink was no longer involved in linguistics, he deserves a place in this publication because he was a 'philologist' in the broader sense

haar beoefenaar afteekent. Geen zuiver en helder licht kan over het gekozen onderwerp opgaan of het moet zijn saamgesteld uit den stralenbundel van een veelkleurig spectrum'.

2 Dyserinck & Fischer, *Internationale Bibliographie* (1985) refers only to Willem de Clercq's 1824-discussion mentioned below and two pieces on the matter by H.C. Muller from 1898.

3 Van Hamel, 'Wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne letterkunde', pp. 127-128: 'reeds van den aanvang af, naast de Nederlandsche letterkunde de letterkunde van andere volken, voor zoover de vaderlandsche met haar in aanraking geweest is, in het kader van zijn onderwijs [heeft] opgenomen. En blijkens sommige zijner geschriften, blijkens de 'Series Lectionem' en de Regeeringsverslagen, is hij dit gedurende al de zeventien jaren van zijn ambt, een enkel jaar misschien uitgezonderd, blijven doen'.

attributed to the word from around 1900, as recorded in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* ('Dictionary of the Dutch Language') in 1921:

Academic practitioner of the arts; [...] currently used to denote anyone concerned with the academic study of the language and literature of any people, or in a broader sense anyone who makes a study of language and literature, history and archaeology.⁴

The historiography of comparative literature has a long tradition, starting with *Histoire des littératures comparées des origines au XXe siècle*, written by Frédéric Loliée in 1903, who gave the new discipline a rich history, thus helping to establish its legitimacy.⁵ My contribution provides an impression of the rise of comparative literature in the Netherlands. No in-depth exploration of this field is available for this country, such as that which Leerssen produced for the study of comparative literature in Great Britain.⁶ I shall provide a number of building blocks for such an exploration, and for a history of literary historiography in the Low Countries, that Baur already called for in 1939.⁷ I shall focus exclusively on the situation in the northern Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century, when comparative literature began to develop, though I shall on occasion extend the scope to the First World War.

4 *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*: 'Wetenschappelijk beoefenaar der letteren; [...] thans als benaming voor ieder die zich toelegt op de wetenschappelijke studie van de taal- en letterkunde van eenig volk, of in ruimeren zin voor: iemand die zijn studie maakt van de taal en letteren, geschied- en oudheidkunde'. See also 'Philology': 'the science of the practitioners of the language and literature of a people, particularly with reference to those of the Greeks and Romans, later extended to the academic study of the entire culture of classical antiquity. Since the 19th century also applied to the study of the language and literature, history and archaeology of other peoples, and of other languages'.

5 Schrijnen gives a contemporaneous historical review from the Netherlands. Cf. Schrijnen, *Inleiding tot de studie der vergelijkende indogermaansche taalwetenschap*, pp. 22-36.

6 Leerssen, *Komparatistik in Grossbritannien*.

7 Baur, 'Inleiding', p. LXXX: 'A history of literary historiography in the Low Countries is still part of the *pia desideria*, and would be difficult without the aid of a comparative study of West European literary historiography – which has had a deep and continuous influence on it, and which itself has not been described sufficiently comprehensively'. ('Een geschiedenis van de letterkundige historiographie in de Nederlanden behoort nog steeds tot de *pia desideria*; en zou bezwaarlijk buiten de hulp kunnen van een vergelijkende studie der West-Europeesche literatuurgeschiedschrijving – waarvan zij doorlopend den diepsten invloed heeft ondergaan, en die zelf nog niet in voldoende samenhang werd beschreven').

Comparative linguistics

Comparative literature developed in the wake of comparative linguistics, which was very much in the ascendant in the first half of the nineteenth century. Just like comparative geography, for example, the language-based disciplines took their principles and methods from comparative anatomy. The study of anatomy already had a long tradition. But shortly after 1800, once the French scholar Georges Cuvier had published his *Leçons d'anatomie comparée* (1800-1805), it began to develop into an independent branch of science. The method used was comparatism, whereby separate phenomena were described and compared, not only to classify them and derive natural laws, but also to discover any missing connections.

Neither was comparative linguistics a nineteenth-century invention. However, under the influence of nineteenth-century positivism and developments in the natural sciences, it boomed.⁸ According to Dutch studies expert Jan te Winkel, it was his tutor Matthias de Vries who introduced the German method of linguistic comparison to the Netherlands.⁹ Like August Schleicher, De Vries and other Dutch linguists regarded language as a classifiable organism that obeyed immutable natural laws.¹⁰ Although Te Winkel was critical of comparative linguistics, he did gain some experience of it through comparative dialect studies.¹¹ Furthermore, he was one of the Dutch scholars who applied this method to the study of literature. In his inaugural lecture as professor of Dutch literature, Gerrit Kalff underlined the kinship between his field and that of comparative linguistics:

For many years the task undertaken by linguists has been to observe, record facts, collect, order, group, discover the circumstances in which these facts generally occur and the conditions on which they depend; if possible, to identify laws [...]. With the help of physiology and psychology, one attempts to study the growth of the language, learn about its life, even reveal the secret of its origins. If it is not to remain where it is, the study of literature must follow the same path, only via that path can it progress further.¹²

8 See, inter alia, Bakker, 'De grammatica in de negentiende eeuw', pp. 128-133.

9 Te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, p. 460. See also Noordegraaf, *Norm, geest en geschiedenis*, pp. 390-392.

10 Noordegraaf, *Norm, geest en geschiedenis*, pp. 369, 383.

11 Ibidem, pp. 426-429, 471.

12 Kalff, *Taalstudie en literatuurstudie*, pp. 9-10: 'Sedert lang stelt men zich ook in de taalstudie tot taak: waar te nemen, feiten vast te stellen, te verzamelen, te rangschikken, te groeperen, de

Just as linguists attempted to trace the historical origins and formation of words, said Kalff and his sympathisers, so modern literature scholars were keen to trace the development both of separate literary phenomena and of complete bodies of literature. And while linguists studied the verbal interaction between speakers, literary scholars explored the influence of one writer or literature on another.¹³

Comparative studies in other countries and Dutch pioneers

Kalff would later produce an instructive survey of the rise of comparative literature in neighbouring language areas, which also gives an impression of what aspects of them had resonated in the Netherlands.¹⁴ He thought most highly of the English, highlighting the work of Henry Hallam (1837-1839), William Paton Ker (1908), Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett (1886), and George Saintsbury (1911), among others. When it came to France, he referred to researchers like Fernand Baldensperger (1907-1939) and Joseph Texte (1898), who had written a programmatic paper on '*l'histoire comparée des littératures*' which was frequently cited in the Netherlands. Kalff had the least affinity with German comparatism, which arrived on a tidal wave of publications, because he found it much too concerned with detail. However, he did mention Johannes Scherr (1851), the author of a well-known analytical work. In a separate paper, Kalff (1916/17) would also add the name of the Italian Arturo Farinelli. The work of the Dane Georg Brandes (1872 onwards) and German Moriz Carrière (1884), though not mentioned by Kalff, was also well known in the Netherlands. The same applied to the German Medievalist Ferdinand von Hellwald, who had an intensive correspondence with De Vries and also published in Dutch journals like *Taal- en Letterbode* and *Noord en Zuid*.¹⁵ Another scholar who was in close personal contact with Dutch philologists was French Romanist and Medievalist Gaston Paris,

omstandigheden te ontdekken waaronder deze feiten plegen voor te komen en de voorwaarden waarvan zij afhangen; zoo mogelijk ook wetten te vinden [...]. Met hulp van physiologie en psychologie tracht men den groei der taal te bespieden, haar leven te leeren kennen, zelfs het geheim van haar oorsprong te ontsluiëren. De literatuurstudie moet, wil zij niet blijven staan waar zij is, dienzelfden weg volgen, slechts langs dien weg kan zij verder komen'.

13 Cf. Muller, 'L'étude scientifique de la littérature comparée', p. 269.

14 Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', pp. 454-461.

15 Von Hellwald's works include *Die holländische und die französische Phädra*. His letters to De Vries are now in Leiden University library. He also discovered the 'Second Part' of Maerlant's *Speghel historiael*, which he published with De Vries and Elco Verwijs.

who visited Leiden in 1875 to present a comparative study of the character Thumbelina at the university, which was celebrating its tricentenary.¹⁶

In international terms, the first attempts at the comparative study of literature are still regarded as having occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The Netherlands was no exception. In 1824, Willem de Clercq published his study of the influence of foreign literatures on Dutch literature since the fifteenth century.¹⁸ This study, which two years earlier had been awarded a gold prize by the Second Class of the Royal Institute, was quickly reprinted and would come to be regarded as the very first example of a comparative literature study from the Netherlands. The fact that the Netherlands had more or less led the development was forgotten. Back in 1807, Nicolaas Godfried van Kampen had won a gold medal at Teyler's Second Society for a weighty tome exploring the poetry of the most familiar 'civilized peoples'. In 1829, in his inaugural lecture as professor of Dutch language and literature and national history, he would again present a comparative review. For some unknown reason, however, he would continue to be overlooked. The way Ten Brink gives De Clercq all the credit is typical.¹⁹ It was he who 'for the first time' pointed to the link between foreign literature and Dutch literature, and it was regrettable 'that his [De Clercq's] excellent method did not immediately receive more support'.²⁰ Later historiographers accepted this version of events. De Clercq had progressed the study of the influence of Spanish literature on Dutch literature 'by a large measure', according to Kalff, 'but then things began to shuffle along'.²¹

Kalff not only sold Van Kampen short, he also overlooked the contribution of other scholars, if only because another branch of study closely related to comparative literature – comparative mythology – was by now flourishing. After a time, the two would in fact more or less become identified with each

16 Paris, *Le Petit Poucet et la Grande Ourse*. See also Van Hamel, 'Gaston Paris en zijne leerlingen', pp. 489-490 (on the study presented to the university) and pp. 512-513 (on a study by Paris on the global tradition of a story about a wise little bird).

17 See for more recent historical reviews of comparative literature: Pichois & Rousseau, *La littérature comparée*, pp. 12-25, Weisstein, *Einführung in die vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, pp. 22-87, and D'haen, *The Routledge Concise History*, pp. 47-73.

18 See on this book: Brandt Corstius, 'Willem de Clercq als literatuurhistoricus', pp. 481-504, and Schenkeveld, *Willem de Clercq en de literatuur*, pp. 75-122.

19 Ten Brink, *De geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, pp. 8-9.

20 Ibidem: 'dat zijn [De Clercqs] uitmuntende methode niet terstond meer steun vond'.

21 Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', p. 118: 'een flinke scheut' – 'doch dan begint het gedroep'.

other.²² With the publication of his standard work *Deutsche Mythologie* Jakob Grimm helped prepare the way for comparative mythology, which was later firmly placed on the map by Max Müller's 1856 work *Comparative Mythology*. In the Netherlands, it was above all archivist, MP and Indologist Petrus Abraham Samuel van Limburg Brouwer who in the 1860s and early 1870s would emerge as a champion of comparative mythology, publishing a series of articles in *De Gids*, which he also helped edit.²³

Comparative mythology and anthropology

The starting point of comparative mythology, Brouwer's studies suggested, lay in the assumption that man continually attained ever higher levels of civilization, building on earlier stages, and that in the earliest phase of development he was already equipped with the qualities that would continue to characterize him in later stages. For instance, from the very start the prefiguration of Western man, identified as Indo-German or Aryan, was as a 'bright, clever child'.²⁴ Another premise was that mythology was a reflection of the human mind in its original state. If modern man wanted to gain insight into himself and understand his place in the modern world, he could turn to myths and legends to learn what he was, did and thought in the past. Language studies remained an important tool. Language brought to light parallel myths existing among related peoples, myths that were said to have germinated from names and words, the concrete manifestations of thought and speech. This would not only give man an insight into his current state, it could also predict: 'Knowing the present, but above all the past is, in the field of the mind, the true secret of prophesy'.²⁵

'Let us imagine ourselves,' Brouwer invited his readers, 'in the childhood of the human race'.²⁶ For a long time, this childhood had been sought, in vain, in classical antiquity, and thus many mythical representations remained unexplained. Fantasies and speculation had had to be used to fill

22 See for example Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Literature*, pp. 10-11: 'comparative literature, which is more or less another name for comparative mythology'.

23 The outline of comparative mythology that follows is based largely on Van Limburg Brouwer's, 'Nitisastra', 'Vuurdienst' and 'Vergelijkende mythologie'. See on this series of articles also: Aerts, *De letterheren*, pp. 248-249, who underlines the religious dimension.

24 Van Limburg Brouwer, 'Vuurdienst', p. 490: 'knap en schrander kind'.

25 Van Limburg Brouwer, 'Nitisastra', p. 241: 'Het weten van het heden, maar vooral ook van het voorleden, is, op het gebied van den geest, het ware geheim der profetie'.

26 *Ibidem*, p. 29: 'Verplaatsen wij ons in den kinderlijken leeftijd van het menschelijk geslacht'.

the gaps in the knowledge of the original state of humankind. But thanks to comparative linguistics there was now a scientific method that could explain myths on the basis of facts rather than random guesswork. Comparative linguistics had managed to locate the very earliest stage of human civilization, in 'the grey prehistory of ancient India'.²⁷ It had discovered Sanskrit, and its similarities to the classical and Germanic languages, which had sprung from the 'Indo-European root'. Alongside this ancient Indian language, a whole spectrum of songs, proverbs, fables, fairy tales and other narratives had come to light, 'a treasure of inestimable value for anyone interested in the development of mankind'.²⁸

According to Brouwer, mutual comparison of the myths of various Aryan peoples had revealed that the original Indo-Europeans had taken their language and myths with them when they spread out across the world. Mongolian, Persian, Arabic, Bohemian, Russian, Spanish, and Italian versions of Indian stories showed how they had been transported to all parts of Europe, eventually reaching America.²⁹ Aryans, as they developed to adulthood, thus carried with them the impressions and narratives of their childhood wherever they went. Although they had sometimes forgotten the origin and meaning of these memories, they nevertheless remained in their consciousness.

Brouwer was firmly convinced that comparative mythology had now provided incontrovertible scientific proof in support of this theory. It had shown how stories had been handed down 'from mouth to mouth, text to text, nation to nation'.³⁰ It had spread across the Earth, always in a slightly altered form, depending on the qualities of the nations and individuals who had adapted them. And it did not stop at the discovery of this circulation of literature. The new discipline also showed how different peoples at different times had all felt a pressing need to communicate and hear something that was clearly a fiction. In 1871, Brouwer furthermore concluded that comparative mythology had brought man in the modern age to the realization that he was part of a bond of global proportions: humanity.³¹ There was therefore every reason to have high expectations of the new discipline. Brouwer predicted that an equally promising study of comparative religions would emerge, that could use the same methods

27 Ibidem, p. 23: 'den grijzen voortijd van het aloude Indië'.

28 Ibidem, p. 23-24: 'een onwaardeerbare schat voor wie belang stelt in de ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis der menschheid'.

29 Ibidem, p. 32.

30 Ibidem: 'van mond tot mond, van schrift tot schrift, van natie tot natie'.

31 Van Limburg Brouwer, 'Vergelijkende mythologie', pp. 29-30.

as its sister disciplines concerned with language and literature to study the ideas 'that man has formed for himself down the various ages concerning the eternal and absolute, concerning the essence of things'.³²

Comparative mythology in the Netherlands was to suffer a tragic loss in 1873, with the death of Brouwer at the age of only 44. In addition, around 1880 objections were raised to the new discipline, summarized by theologian Pierre Daniël Chantepie de la Saussaye, again in *De Gids*.³³ One such objection was that it too readily placed myths from very different eras in the same category by associating them with each other: 'It would be more or less the same if one were to explain the Netherlands of the nineteenth century on the basis of a psychological analysis of the Batavians'.³⁴ At the same time, the study of comparative mythology was said to be too limited – another demerit. It relied heavily on the etymology of names, which in fact often turned out to be chosen at random. Furthermore, it wrongly focused on the myths of related, and therefore civilized, peoples: 'One can no longer deny,' said Chantepie, 'that the most arresting similarities in terms of depiction and custom, myth and cult practices exist between peoples of the most divergent races, indeed between civilized and wild peoples'.³⁵

Chantepie and others contrasted this with anthropology, also a new but nevertheless more tried and tested discipline, which was also known as ethnology at the time. Anthropology also studied fairy tales, folk tales, folk songs and the like, but within the broader context of folklore. Anthropologists focused on original stories and customs, without worrying about what later, cultivated peoples had made of them. They preferred to listen to the 'wild peoples', or if necessary to members of the lower classes of modern societies, who were also regarded as primitive, thus explaining myths not so much on the basis of their distribution and development as of the state of mind of those who had originated them. A primitive literature could however help explain features of a more developed literature, because modern man was still to some extent a rough wild creature, with one foot still standing in a more uncivilized age. Such new anthropological insights did not however prevent comparative mythology from persisting for a time,

32 Van Limburg Brouwer, 'Nitisastra', pp. 39-40: 'welke zich de mensch in de verschillende tijden omtrent het oneindige en absolute, omtrent het wezen der dingen heeft gevormd'.

33 Chantepie de la Saussaye, 'Mythologie en folklore'.

34 Ibidem, pp. 226-227: 'Het zou ongeveer hetzelfde zijn, als wanneer men het Nederland der 19e eeuw wilde verklaren uit een psychologische analyse van de Batavieren'.

35 Ibidem, p. 229: 'Men kan niet meer loochenen, dat de treffendste overeenkomsten in voorstellingen en gebruiken, mythen en cultuspraktijken bestaan tusschen volken van de meest verschillende rassen, ja tusschen beschaafden en wilden'.

at least until the First World War.³⁶ It was probably for this reason that it was able to continue to inspire, and eventually become part of, comparative literature.

Comparative literature as a science

Brouwer had highlighted the scientific nature of the comparative method with reference to the similarities between mythologists and natural scientists: 'Just as natural scientists discovered the existence of the gulf stream which, through the middle of the Ocean, carries the products of South Africa to the American coasts, so the science of philology is currently rediscovering the path by which over the centuries tales have been carried by the great flow of peoples'.³⁷ This similarity gave Brouwer confidence that those practising comparative mythology and comparative history of religion would not shrink from the overwhelming quantity of unprocessed material from all Western and non-Western peoples in all ages: 'if we recall what scientific researchers have already sought and found, and what remains for them to seek, then historians surely have no reason to complain about the onerous task placed upon their shoulders'.³⁸

Like every other scientist, the literary comparatist should explain literary phenomena solely on the basis of hard, empirical facts that he had carefully collected, observed and assessed as impartially as possible. 'The mists which in the past were apparently dispelled by clever hypotheses lift forever when we know the facts', said Ten Brink during his inaugural lecture as professor of Dutch literature.³⁹ Observation and assessment also implied comparison, his colleague Kalff would later explain. He took this to mean 'the juxtaposing of two or more literary works, characters, phenomena,

36 See for example Speijer, 'De maan in nood', Schrijnen, *Essays en studiën*, and the anonymous review of Petrovitch's *Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians*.

37 Van Limburg Brouwer, 'Nitisastra', p. 237: 'Gelijk de natuuronderzoekers het bestaan van den golfstroom ontdekten, die midden door de wateren van den Oceaan de voortbrengselen van Zuid-Afrika naar de Amerikaansche kusten voert en de gewassen der tropische gewesten naar het werelddeel dat wij bewonen, zoo werd thans ook door de philologische wetenschap de weg teruggevonden, langs welken gedurende den loop der eeuwen het verdichtsel in de groote stroombeweging der volken is voortgetrokken'.

38 Ibidem, pp. 239-240: 'wanneer wij ons herinneren wat niet al door den natuurvorschcr werd gezocht en gevonden, en wat hem nog te zoeken overblijft, dan voorzeker heeft de historicus geen reden tot klagt over het bezwarende van de taak, die hem op de schouders wordt gelegd'.

39 Ten Brink, *De geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, p. 45: 'De nevelen, vroeger door vernuftige hypothesen schijnbaar verdreven, trekken voorgoed op bij de kennis der feiten'.

or of entire bodies of literature – for those who dare – in order, through careful consideration of difference and similarity, more sharply to define, better to know, more deeply to explore, more purely to feel, more correctly to assess, that which is compared'.⁴⁰ Previously Kalff had argued that the study of comparative literature had hitherto 'restricted itself too much to the summarizing of related material incorporated into separate bodies of literature and to the juxtaposition of the various versions'.⁴¹

Excessive attention to detail could be avoided in various ways in a positivist approach, by drawing together the results of comparative analyses into a historical synthesis. Causal relationships would provide the necessary context. Literary historians should explain a literary work on the basis of the life of its author, which in turn would be explained by the period, location and other circumstances in which the work was written. The literary historian should also explore how various literatures had influenced Dutch literature – Italian literature largely in the seventeenth century, for example, French in the seventeenth and eighteenth, German in the eighteenth and nineteenth.⁴² Finally, comparative analysis – and here mythology and anthropology come into play – should also extend to the literature of 'uncivilized' peoples, in order to learn more about 'the nature of literary sensibility', about the emergence and development of literature.⁴³

Such a generalized approach to literature also afforded the opportunity to define laws which it obeyed. Successive professors of Dutch literature, on taking up their chair, highlighted the fact that the field of literature and aesthetics was subject to laws that could be identified and understood by empirical research and impartial analysis. The new generation of scholars, Henri Ernest Moltzer argued, could no longer make do with observing and recording literary phenomena, they must 'also attempt to trace the laws that govern them'.⁴⁴ His tutor Willem Jonckbloet had said the same

40 Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', p. 469: 'het naast elkander plaatsen van twee of meer letterkundige werken, persoonlijkheden, verschijnselen, of van gansche literaturen – voor wie dat aandurft –, om, door nauwlettende beschouwing van verschil en overeenkomst, het onderling vergelekenen scherper te begrenzen, beter te leeren kennen, dieper te peilen, zuiverder te gevoelen, juister te waardeeren'.

41 Kalff, *Taalstudie en literatuurstudie*, p. 24: 'te zeer [had] beperkt tot het opsommen van verwante stoffen die in onderscheiden literaturen verwerkt zijn en tot het naast elkander plaatsen dier bewerkingen'.

42 See for example De Beer, 'De studie van de geschiedenis der letterkunde', p. 334.

43 Kalff, *Taalstudie en literatuurstudie*, pp. 24-25: 'de aard der dichterlijke aandoening'. A similar view can be found in Muller, 'L'étude scientifique de la littérature comparée', pp. 269-270.

44 Moltzer, *De historische beoefening der Nederlandsche letteren*, p. 26: 'tevens de wetten trachten op te sporen, die hen beheerschen'.

thing: 'There can be no arbitrary, conventional rules; there must be rules discovered through research and experience, identified by comparison and assessment of results'.⁴⁵ Jonckbloet's successor Ten Brink reiterated this in 1884, citing his own tutor Cornelis Willem Opzoomer:

beauty encompasses something universally human [...]. Our imagination, like our senses, is subject to fixed, immutable laws, and those laws apply not just to some, but to all.⁴⁶

What precisely these laws of imagination were, Ten Brink did not specify. But comparatism did reveal specific examples. An anonymous contributor to *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, for example, referred to the 'general law of development' ('Algemeene ontwikkelings-wet'), that identified three stages of development applying to folk poetry all over the world.⁴⁷ And the comparative study of fairy tales and legends, according to Professor Jacob Wijbrand Muller, had taught us that folk poetry as a whole was not 'composed by the people', that there was no such thing as collective authorship, as was often thought: 'a story is always composed by a single person, albeit almost always unknown, even if the "people" – unknown storytellers, that is – have subsequently altered the motif of the story or associated it with another motif'.⁴⁸ In expressing such ideas, comparative literature was also an important tool for other separate philological disciplines, such as Dutch studies.

Value and necessity

According to the law of causality, Dutch literature simply could not have come about by itself. The idea that it could not be understood properly

45 Jonckbloet, *Het professoraat in de Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, pp. 18-19: 'Er kan geen sprake zijn van willekeurige, conventionele regelen; maar van wetten, door onderzoek en ervaring ontdekt, door vergelijking en toetsing van verkregen uitkomsten vastgesteld'.

46 Opzoomer, *De waarheid en hare kenbronnen*, p. 151: 'bij het schoone is er iets algemeen menschelijks [...]. Onze verbeelding wordt, even goed als onze zintuigen, naar vaste en onveranderlijke wetten aangedaan, en die wetten gelden niet slechts voor sommigen, maar voor allen'. (Quoted by Ten Brink, *De geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, pp. 26-27).

47 Anonymous, 'Iets over Homerus en diens zangen', p. 675.

48 Muller, 'De oorsprong van den Roman de Renart', p. 143: 'door het volk gedicht' – 'een verhaal is altijd door één, hoezeer bijna altijd onbekend persoon verdicht, al is het motief daarvan later ook door "het volk", d.i. door verschillende onbekende vertellers gewijzigd of met een ander motief verbonden'.

without any knowledge of foreign literature was widely held. In his history of nineteenth-century literature, Ten Brink therefore discussed the influence of Britain, Germany, and France on Dutch Romanticism, before turning his attention to the work of Dutch Romantics.⁴⁹ A Dutch-studies scholar must be acquainted with work written elsewhere, at least with the West European literature that had had an influence in the Netherlands. One particularly pleasing example was Bilderdijk, as explained in *De Nieuwe Taalgids* in 1907:

His mind had not locked itself within the confines of the only-Dutch. Da Costa compared him to Goethe. With his ballads he extended his hand to Schiller, with his religious poetry to Klopstock, in his rich language and verse to Rückert, who would follow. Looking further afielde he reminds us of the oriental singers and the prophets; had he completed 'De Ondergang der Eerste Wereld' the similarity with Dante and Milton would have been more pronounced. Bilderdijk has now made us familiar with scores of great and lesser foreign minds. Yet he was curiously blind to the best of his poetic contemporaries, like Schiller, Byron and Shelley. [...] he also found it difficult to associate with another's train of thought. Nevertheless, in this respect, with his many translations, he parallels Goethe and Herder. As such he rises far above his contemporary Voltaire. He was also an unsurpassable scholar of the Classics. [...] His free translations of Horace, Ossian, and others are poetic jewels of the purest kind.⁵⁰

Tracing influences and the sources Dutch authors had drawn on was one of the essential methods in Dutch studies, Kalff argued.⁵¹ Comparative linguistics became a permanent part of his teaching programme and it

49 Ten Brink, *Kleine geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letteren* also explicitly highlights instances of foreign influence.

50 Koopmans, 'Bilderdijk-litteratuur', pp. 184-185: 'Zijn geest had zich niet opgesloten binnen de grenzen van het alleen-Nederlandse. Da Costa reeds vergeleek hem met Goethe. Door z'n balladen reikt hij de hand aan Schiller, in z'n godsdienstige poëzie aan Klopstock, wegens z'n taal- en verzenrijkdom aan de na hem komende Rückert. In de verte herinnert hij aan de oosterse zangers en de profeten; bij een voltooiing van 'De Ondergang der Eerste Wereld' zou de overeenkomst met Dante en Milton treffender zijn geweest. Met tal van buitenlandse grote en kleine geesten heeft Bilderdijk ons inmiddels bekend gemaakt. Merkwaardig blind echter was hij voor de besten van z'n dichterlike tijdgenoten, als Schiller, Byron en Shelley. [...] verder geldt van hem, dat hij zich moeielijk in de gedachten gang van anderen kon verplaatsen. Evenwel is hij door z'n vele vertalingen in dit opzicht op één lijn te stellen met Goethe en Herder. Ver staat hij in dezen boven z'n tijdgenoot Voltaire. Ook van de Klassieken was hij een onovertreffelijk navolger. [...] Z'n vrije bewerkingen van Horatius, van Ossian en anderen zijn dichtjuwelen van de zuiverste soort'.

51 Kalff, *Taalstudie en literatuurstudie*, p. 11.

taught him to look beyond his own language area, as testified by Schepers.⁵² Equally, the ideal Dutch-studies scholar should practise comparative literature, said Professor of Dutch Language and Literature Moltzer, in order to 'indicate to the Netherlands its place in the realm of world literature'.⁵³ Kalff agreed, and in 1916 bemoaned the fact that the discipline was still not a permanent feature of the university's teaching programme, if only because of its character-forming effects. It was said to rid students of prejudice, enhance their literary insight and prevent them from overestimating their own country's literature.⁵⁴

Comparative literature was used surprisingly rarely to play on nationalist feelings by favourably comparing the literature of one's own country to that of others. Almost by definition, it catered to a supranational way of thinking which, as was common in the nineteenth century, assumed that the literary output of a nation was a reflection of its spiritual life. Humankind had selected the canon of 'world literature' from the collected literatures of all peoples. The foremost works in that canon were those of champions like Shakespeare and Goethe. This reflected the human mind's level of development. 'The history of literature is also the history of human civilization', publisher and writer Pieter Boele van Hensbroek wrote in his manual.⁵⁵

The works of the best among every people, the poets – whether in verse or prose – are the most enduring monuments to times long gone. The writings of the peoples of the past, much more than the great ruins of antiquity, are the custodians of the legends, of the religion of the earliest ages, the earliest ages [...] whose memories have been preserved. [...] And later, in those times when myths made way for more positive ideas, literature has always been a wax plate on which the best of the tribe impressed their own thoughts and being, their view of life and the sensibilities of their entire age.⁵⁶

52 Schepers, 'Het nieuwe taalonderwijs', p. 338, idem, 'Het Nederlandsch aan gymnasia', p. 266-268.

53 Moltzer, *De historische beoefening der Nederlandsche letteren*, p. 34: 'aan Nederland zijne plaats aan te wijzen in het rijk der wereldliteratuur'.

54 Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', pp. 471-472. De Vooy, *Uit de tijdschriften*, pp. 156-157 supported Kalff's view.

55 Boele van Hensbroek, *Der wereld letterkunde*, pp. V-VI: 'De geschiedenis der letterkunde is tegelijkertijd de beschavingsgeschiedenis der menschheid'.

56 Ibidem: 'De uitingen toch van de besten, die onder elk volk leefden, de dichters – hetzij in dicht of on dicht – zijn de duurzaamste monumenten van vervlogen tijden. De geschriften der voorbijgegangene volken zijn voor ons, veel meer dan de grootsche ruïnes der oudheid, de bewaarders van de legenden, van het godgeloof der oudste eeuwen, der oudste eeuwen, [...]

In other words, such world-class literature embodied the very best of the human mind. This prompted some to ponder the quality of Dutch literature, which had barely made a mark on the world heritage.⁵⁷ But they could console themselves with the thought that the national was making way for the international, as the internationalist movement – on the rise since the start of the nineteenth century – also observed. All kinds of new technology had lifted the barriers between peoples in the previous century, pointing the way to cosmopolitanism that one day must certainly take the place of nationalist sensibilities. Or at least this was what Amsterdam literature scholar and language teacher Taco H. de Beer, for example, expected.⁵⁸ Just as the same diseases prevailed all over Europe, requiring the same cure,

so that unique national character of literature, whereby one nation believes it has found the artistic ideal in one direction, and the other in another, now ceases to exist. From now on art itself may have reached greater heights in one country than in another, but the differences between the prevailing national concept of art will no longer exist. Thus, striving together, one country and then another may urge the art movement forward, while generally only the choice of subject will betray the nationality of the artist.⁵⁹

Three approaches

How did comparative literature actually shine a spotlight on the literature of the entire world? Kalfff roughly distinguished three approaches.⁶⁰ The

waarvan ons heugenis is bewaard. [...] En later, in de tijden, toen de mythen voor meer positieve ideeën weken, is de literatuur steeds geweest een waschplaat, waarin de besten van hun stam eigen denken en eigen zijn, hun levensopvatting en de gevoelens van heel hun tijd afdrukten'.

57 For example Muller, *Nederlandsche letterkunde*, pp. 12-15, who concurs with Hallam's view that the Dutch language area is too small for it to influence foreign literature.

58 De Beer, 'De studie van de geschiedenis der letterkunde', p. 339.

59 Ibidem, pp. 340-341: 'zoo houdt ook grootendeels dat eigenaardig nationaal karakter der literatuur op te bestaan, waarbij het eene volk in deze, het andere in geene richting het ideaal der kunst meent te vinden. Van nu afaan heeft *de* kunst in een land een grootere hoogte bereikt dan in een ander, maar houdt het verschil tusschen de heerschende nationale begrippen over kunst op. Zoo gezamenlijk voortstrevende, geeft nu eens het eene, dan weder het andere land den stoot aan de kunstbeweging, terwijl dikwijls alleen de keus der stof de nationaliteit des kunstenaars verraadt'.

60 The following is based on: Kalfff, *Inleiding tot de studie der literatuurgeschiedenis*, pp. 454-459 and idem, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', pp. 458-461.

first simply juxtaposed individual national bodies of literature, as separate branches of literature, which were not therefore discussed as a single whole. The various literatures were sometimes discussed period by period. Comparatists in other countries like Brandes, Hallam, and Saintsbury, for example, employed such a synchronistic approach. In a few cases they might indirectly compare something or highlight a case of appropriation. The second approach in fact emphasized this procedure. It started from a national perspective, but systematically identified relationships between the literature of a certain nation and that of other peoples, as De Clercq had done in his time. Studies of the influence of and on writers or national literatures also formed part of this approach, as did the circulation of specific narrative elements among diverse peoples. The third approach was the only one genuinely to rise above the national perspective. According to Kalff, it was all about ‘actual comparative literature, based on general literary material, forms, phenomena and movements, in order to learn the essence of literature in general by the comparison of separate literatures’.⁶¹

One example of this was Posnett’s *Comparative Literature*, published in 1886. Kalff held Posnett – an Irishman who had settled in New Zealand – in great esteem, as one of the few who had attempted to clarify the emergence of poetry and the link between literature and society with a comparative study of primitive ‘clan literature’. Kalff believed that the goal of Posnett and those of a similar mind was

to show that the emergence, rise, flourishing, and decline of literary movements are manifestations of a universal law; they attempted to identify a constant principle of social development, around which the phenomena of the growth and decline of a literature could be grouped.⁶²

The fact that the comprehensive literary historiography Posnett had envisaged barely got off the ground did not diminish Kalff’s admiration for his fellow academic. Comparative literature – particularly German

61 ‘de eigenlijke vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis, die uitgaat van algemeene letterkundige stoffen, vormen, verschijnselen en stroomingen, om door onderlinge vergelijking van onderscheiden literaturen het wezen der literatuur in het algemeen te leeren kennen’.

62 ‘aantoonen dat het ontstaan, de opkomst, de bloei en het verval van letterkundige bewegingen openbaringen zijn van een algemeene wet; zij streefden ernaar een bestendig beginsel van maatschappelijke ontwikkeling aan te wijzen, waaromheen de verschijnselen van groei en verval eener letterkunde gegroepeerd kunnen worden’. Kalff, *Inleiding tot de studie der literatuurgeschiedenis*, p. 58.

Stoffgeschichte, with its flood of detailed studies on individual motifs – remained stranded in preparatory exercises, he believed.

This was a problem that Van Limburg Brouwer, too, had recognized. But in 1860, he had still been confident that it would be possible to work in a purposeful way towards the synthesis that was the ultimate goal of comparative literature. Comparatists, he said, must simply soldier on indefatigably, anonymously, without wishing to shine, satisfied with the mere idea that they were performing a useful service both to their contemporaries and to their descendants. However, they might be derided by ‘practical men’ who did not realize how much passion, courage, and perseverance it took to make such a sacrifice to knowledge and society, they would receive their reward in the end. Eventually someone would emerge who could assemble a ‘great and beautiful whole’ from the building blocks they had collected, ‘then the shrugging, disdainful world will cheer and raise a song of praise in honour of that study which they once regarded as nothing’.⁶³

Results from the Netherlands

As I have said, several initiatives had been undertaken in an effort to achieve such a ‘great and beautiful whole’. The Netherlands also produced several wide-ranging reviews in the second half of the century. One standard work was the *Handleiding tot de geschiedenis der letterkunde* (Manual to the history of literature) which the Amsterdam grammar school master Willem Doorenbos published in 1869-1873. According to the preface, it was his aim to ‘familiarize the reader with the content of the leading literary works of the best known and most developed peoples’.⁶⁴ When it was reprinted, Doorenbos added that he wanted to open readers’ eyes ‘to the wealth of ideas and ideals concealed in artworks of the greatest genius that humankind has produced’, now that, in the modern age, ‘such an expansive material world is being revealed to us’.⁶⁵ The *Handleiding* included Indian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Persian, Medieval Christian, Castilian, and Germanic

63 Van Limburg Brouwer ‘Vuurdienst’, p. 492: ‘grootsch en schoon geheel’ – ‘dan zal de nu nog schouderophalende en minachtende wereld wel gaan toejuichen en een loflied aanheffen ter eere van dat eenmaal nietig geachte onderzoek’.

64 ‘den lezer met de inhoud der voornaamste litteraire werken, bij de meest bekende en ontwikkelde natiën, bekend te maken’.

65 Doorenbos, *Handleiding*, p. VI: ‘voor den rijkdom van ideeën en idealen, verscholen in de kunstwerken der fijnste vernuften, die de mensheid opleverde’ – ‘ons zulk een ruime materiële wereld geopenbaard wordt’.

literature and, period by period from the Middle Ages onwards, Italian, French, Spanish, English, High German, and Dutch literature. Doorenbos had originally planned to adapt Scherr's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur* (General history of literature), but decided to write an original work 'to the extent that it is possible in such matters'.⁶⁶ He targeted a wide audience, planning through translation to meet the needs of 'his compatriots, no matter how learned or ignorant'.⁶⁷

In 1874-1875, a competing manual was published by Johannes van Vloten, entitled *Beknopte geschiedenis der nieuwe letteren* (Concise history of new literature). Twenty years later, it was also reprinted. As the title suggests, this was a concise history, so the scope was narrower. For the purposes of the book, 'the new literature' began with the emergence of the Roman, Germanic, and 'Slavonic' peoples after Antiquity. Van Vloten's was a rather inaccessible book. In over five hundred pages, he examined the 'Age of Genesis' (chapter I), the period 'From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century' (II), the period 'From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century' (III) and 'The nineteenth century' (IV).⁶⁸ There was no table of contents, nor were there any sub-headings for the sections; there was only an index of names. Referring to the production of the book, Van Vloten explained – perhaps apologetically – that the project had been initiated by publishers Van Kampen & Zoon and that he had constantly battled against a shortage of time whilst writing it.⁶⁹

A third manual appeared in 1909-1910: *Der wereld letterkunde, voor Nederlanders bewerkt* (World literature adapted for the Dutch) by Boele van Hensbroek. It aimed 'to spread awareness of the literatures of the world; to rank their products and to elucidate them with reference to the lives of poets and authors; sometimes to partially recount them'.⁷⁰ The book explores the literature of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, China, and Japan; it looks

66 Ibidem: 'in zooverre bij dergelijke onderwerpen daarvan sprake kan zijn'.

67 Ibidem: 'zijne min of meer ongeletterde landgenooten'. In 1886 his reviewer Hoffman (p. 64) recommended the book for 'all those wishing to prepare themselves for the Dutch Language and Literature examination or for the B certificate in one of the foreign languages' ('allen, die zich voor het examen in de Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde of ook voor de acte B. in eene der vreemde talen wenschen te bekwamen').

68 'Wordingstijd' – 'Van de veertiende tot de zestiende eeuw' – 'Van de zestiende tot de achttiende eeuw' – 'De negentiende eeuw'.

69 Van Vloten, *Beknopte geschiedenis der nieuwe letteren*, pp. 1-2.

70 Boele van Hensbroek, *Der wereld letterkunde*, p. VI: 'de literaturen der wereld te doen kennen; hare voortbrengselen te rangschikken en toe te lichten in verband met het leven der dichters en schrijvers; soms ze gedeeltelijk weer te geven'. See on this book: Van Kalmthout, 'De duurzaamste monumenten van vervolg tijden'.

at the literature of the Hebrews, the Arabs, and the Persians, of India and the Dutch East Indies archipelago, as well as Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Italian, Spanish, English, German, Scandinavian, Slavonic, and other literatures. Boele did not, however, discuss Dutch authors because, he said, detailed works were already available on them. But at least as important was the fact that *Der wereld letterkunde* was an adaptation of a German book, Otto von Leixner's *Illustrierte Geschichte der fremden Literaturen* (Illustrated history of foreign literatures) of 1882.⁷¹ In adapting this work Boele removed Leixner's chauvinistic German nuances, and added a large number of illustrations from Dutch collections.

In the meantime, smaller studies were also published. One typical example was an article that Sanskrit expert Hendrik Kern submitted to *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* (Journal for Dutch linguistic and literary studies) in 1893, on 'The saga of Karel and Elegast among the Mongols', followed up in 1913 by bookseller and librarian Rimmer van der Meulen, with an article on 'The saga of Karel and Elegast among the Lithuanians'.⁷² In 1881, Te Winkel wrote an article on the influence of Spanish literature and Ten Brink produced some pioneering work in 1889 with a book on the comparative study of epistolary novels, entitled *De roman in brieven. Eene proeve van vergelijkende letterkundige geschiedenis* (The epistolary novel. A sample of comparative literary history), a collection of essays highlighting scores of parallels and cases of influence and imitation in Dutch and other European epistolary novels. Some ten years later Ten Brink's *Romans in proza* (Prose novels) which he referred to in the introduction as a 'study of comparative literary history',⁷³ was published in instalments. Though this list is by no means exhaustive, it does at any rate show that comparative literature had clearly taken root in the Netherlands.

The professional infrastructure

This is also evidenced by the calls for comparative literature to be taught. De Beer, for example, saw potential for such a subject in secondary schools, provided it was limited to 'the main phenomena' and 'the events of recent

71 The book constituted parts 3 and 4 of Von Leixner's *Illustrierte Literaturgeschichte der vornehmsten Kulturvölker* (1880-1883), reprinted as Von Leixner, *Geschichte der Literaturen aller Völker* (1898-1899).

72 Kern, 'De sage van Karel ende Elegast bij de Mongolen'; Van der Meulen, 'De sage van Karel en Elegast bij de Litauers'.

73 'studie van vergelijkende letterkundige geschiedenis'.

times'.⁷⁴ Others also wanted to establish a special chair in the subject, as other countries had done, or were planning on doing so.⁷⁵ In 1885, for example, a plea by A.W. Kroon-Star Numan for a general doctorate in modern literature taught by professors of modern philology had been published in *De Gids*. Eight years later, Kalff again called for such a study programme to be established.⁷⁶ He believed it should be taught in Amsterdam, preferably by the professors of modern languages who were still teaching up north in Groningen. One of them, Germanic studies expert Barend Symons, rekindled the debate on a supra-disciplinary study programme in 1898, at the first Dutch Philology Conference.⁷⁷ But for the time being it would not progress any further than debate at this and subsequent conferences.⁷⁸

Symons' colleague in Groningen, Van Hamel, rallied to the cause, again in *De Gids*, with a call for a 'faculty' of modern philology and literature for the comparative historical study of modern languages. Van Hamel dearly wanted the faculty to be dedicated to the memory of Allard Pierson, who had died in 1896. He depicted the former professor of aesthetics and modern languages at the University of Amsterdam as the John the Baptist of comparative literature. Van Hamel dreamed of what it would be like if Pierson were still alive:

74 De Beer, 'De studie van de geschiedenis der letterkunde', p. 325: 'de voornaamste verschijnselen' – 'de gebeurtenissen van den laatsten tijd'. A list of books he provided on pp. 328-329 to familiarize readers with the Middle Ages and the Reformation included: *Gesta Romanorum*, Erasmus' *Lof der zotheid*, the *Reinaert*, Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* by William Langland and the prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. – On comparative literature in secondary schools, see also Van Kalmthout 2006.

75 E.g. in Lyon (1896), at Columbia University (1899), at Harvard (1904), at Dartmouth College (1908) and at the Sorbonne (1910). Chairs were also established in Switzerland and Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Pichois & Rousseau, *La littérature comparée*, pp. 18-22; Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', p. 475 calls the Netherlands 'backward' compared to other countries, where professors and *privaatdocenten* (another university post) of comparative literature, West European literature etc. had already been appointed. According to Cooper ('Vergelijkende literatuur en philologie'), the study of comparative literature in America did not amount to much around 1900, though he did highlight some preparatory initiatives. But Van Hamel, 'Vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis' had already drawn the attention to the courses taught at the Department of Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York as an example for courses on comparative literary history in the Netherlands.

76 Kalff, *Het onderwijs in de moedertaal*, p. 125.

77 According to a review by Talen, written in 1898, the issue of the doctorate was a quintessentially topical issue.

78 See Spruyt, 'Het algemeen candidaatsexamen' and Speyer & Woltjer, 'De wenschelijkheid van één algemeen doctoraat in de letteren', and for the debate also Baints, *De opleiding der leeraren in de moderne talen* and Schepers, 'Een paar gedachten over het Tweede Philologen Congres te Leiden'.

A flourishing centre of literary studies established at the University of Amsterdam; / Pierson predominating at the centre with the might of his talent and knowledge, with his artistic nature and his lofty ideals; / alongside him, and beneath him, fellow professors and young lecturers, devoted to different aspects of study, teaching the literature of modern peoples, as servants of knowledge, obeying a calling to initiate their students in the academic practice of their beloved subject; / among those representatives of distinct literatures one – why not Pierson himself? – more uniquely talented and equipped to learn about their connections, the mutual influence of one upon the other, attending to chapters of ‘comparative literature’; / the literary centre forging close ties to a circle of historical studies of modern languages – chairs in the Romance, Germanic, Slavonic language groups; / this ‘faculty’ of modern philology and literature taking deep root in university life, though not anxiously shutting off the path to the world outside, educating philologists by the scholarly nature of its methods, whilst also according ‘non-students’ their share of the civilizing influence of its labours.⁷⁹

This was not such a strange fantasy, as Pierson had created a kind of comparative art studies, with lectures on Greek art and literature, mythology, and rhetoric, on French, German, and English literature, as well as Dutch and Italian literature.⁸⁰ But he was no longer around, and the new chair would take some time to materialize.

79 Van Hamel, ‘Wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne letterkunde, 252-253: ‘Een bloeiend centrum van letterkundige studiën, gevestigd aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam; / Pierson dat centrum beheerschend door de macht van zijn talent en zijn kennis, door zijn artistieke natuur en door de hoogheid van zijn ideaal; / naast hem, en onder hem, ambtgenooten en jonge docenten, zich aan verschillende onderdeelen van die studie wijdend, doceerend de letterkunde der moderne volken, zich voelend dienaren der wetenschap, geroepen om hun leerlingen in te wijden in de wetenschappelijke beoefening van het vak hunner liefde; / onder die vertegenwoordigers der bijzondere litteraturen één, – waarom niet Pierson zelf? – meer bijzonder begaafd en toegerust om te leeren hun onderling verband, het wederkeerig inwerken van de eene op de andere, hoofdstukken behandelend uit de “vergelijkende letterkunde”; / de litteraire centrum nauw zich aansluitend aan een kring van historische studiën der moderne talen, – leerstoelen voor de Romaansche, de Germaansche, de Slavische taalgroep; / deze “faculteit” van moderne philologie en letterkunde haar wortelen diep slaande in het universitaire leven, maar toch niet angstvallig afsluitend den weg naar de wereld daarbuiten, philologen vormend door de wetenschappelijkheid van haar methoden, maar ook aan “niet-studenten” hun aandeel gunnend aan den beschavenden invloed van haar arbeid’.

80 Schelling-van der Laan, ‘Kunst als geneesmiddel’. On the other hand, however, Pierson had little interest in tracing influences in literature. See Pierson’s quotations in Kalf, *Taalstudie en literatuurstudie*, pp. 9-10.

This undoubtedly disappointed Classicist and essayist Hendrik Clemens Muller, who around 1900 took on the role of pioneer of comparative literature, repeatedly calling for a special university degree course on the subject.⁸¹ It seems he wished to put himself forward as a candidate for the professorship, with various lectures and papers.⁸² In 1904, for instance, he published his *Lectures on the Science of Literature* discussing comparative literature in general, the 'literature of different tribes and nations', and the 'literature of the different races of mankind', and ending with comparisons between the literature of the (in his view superior) 'Aryan race' and the 'Semitic race'. Just like Kalff, Muller drew his inspiration for these lectures from Posnett, whom he referred to as his 'forerunner'. Of course it is by no means certain whether others regarded 'Dr. H.C. Muller, glowing with passion and with a thirst for books' as suitable professor material.⁸³ In *De Gids*, the authoritative critic Willem Gerard van Nouhuys had at any rate made mincemeat of his book on *Nederlandsche letterkunde*.⁸⁴

Dutch practitioners of comparative literature were therefore still reliant on individual study. A number of bibliographies were available to them.⁸⁵ They described a plethora of publications; in 1904, the second edition of Betz' bibliography listed some six thousand titles. The Dutch publications accounted for only a small proportion, however. As late as 1923, Kalff expressed the view that Dutch libraries were poorly equipped for comparative studies, though the same could be said of those in other countries.⁸⁶ Nor was there any professional association; anyone who wanted to consult their fellow comparatists was able to do so only occasionally at a literary conference. A first, less than heavily attended, Congrès d'Histoire Comparée des Littératures was for example held as part of the Congrès International d'Histoire Comparée during the Paris World's Fair in 1900. Van Hamel, who attended the meetings of literary scholars, would later describe them as follows:

81 See Muller, 'L'étude scientifique' and idem, *Lectures on the Science of Literature*, pp. 10-11, 123 and 138-139. The title of the latter publication, referred to the work of renowned comparatist Max Müller: *Lectures on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain*.

82 Besides those already mentioned: Muller, 'Vergelijkende letterkunde', idem, *Nederlandsche letterkunde*, idem, 'Nogmaals: de vergelijkende letterkunde' and idem, *Studiën op het gebied van letterkunde en geschiedenis*.

83 Van Hamel, 'Wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne letterkunde', p. 126: 'de van ijver en leesdorst gloeiende Dr. H.C. Muller'.

84 Van Nouhuys, 'Driemaandelijksch letterkundig overzicht', pp. 490-500.

85 Betz, *La littérature comparée*; Jellinek, *Bibliographie*.

86 Kalff, *Westeuropesche letterkunde*, vol. I, pp. V-VI.

A picture of the field appeared to us with all its unique traits: the word 'European literature' was uttered and expanded upon; the literature of the Middle Ages was positioned within the field; the Renaissance was identified as the broad, common field where modern literature began and from which it branched off into national literatures; besides the study of major movements, detailed studies were also presented: the study of the influence of a single author, of imitation and of poetic translation; Shakespeare's name was mentioned, he above all, the most; and also those of Petrarch, Voltaire, Lessing, Herder, Goethe; drama also played its part; the lyric was touched upon, and even one particular genre of lyrical poetry, the song of sorrow, the elegy; tribute was also paid to the honourable calling of the study, to its meaning for civilization, particularly for the bringing together of modern cultural nations.⁸⁷

Apart from an occasional conference such as this, researchers had to rely on specialist comparative literature or other journals to exchange new ideas.⁸⁸ The Berlin-based *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* (Journal for comparative literary history) (1886-1910) was for example fairly well known in the Netherlands.⁸⁹ In 1897, an anonymous reviewer bemoaned the fact that the Netherlands did not have such a journal.

87 Van Hamel, 'Wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne letterkunde', p. 125: 'In al zijn bijzondere trekken is het beeld dier studie daar voor ons opgetreden: het woord "europeesche letterkunde" is er uitgesproken en toegelicht; de litteratuur der middeleeuwen is binnen het gebied dier studie geplaatst; de Renaissance is aangewezen als het groote, gemeenschappelijke gebied waar de moderne letterkunde een aanvang neemt en vanwaar zij zich in nationale letterkenden vertakt; naast de studie der groote stroomingen heeft zich de détail-studie laten zien: de studie van den invloed van één enkelen auteur, van de imitatie en de poëtische vertaling; Shakespeare's naam is genoemd, deze bovenal, deze het meest; maar ook die van Petrarca, van Voltaire, van Lessing, Herder, Goethe; het drama heeft zijn deel gehad; maar ook de lyriek is aangeroerd, en zelfs één bijzonder genre van lyrische poëzie, het lied der smart, de elegie; ook aan de zedelijke roeping dier studie is hulde gebracht, aan haar beteekenis voor de beschaving, met name voor eene onderlinge toenadering van de moderne cultuurvolken'. The conference proceedings were published in the *Annales internationales d'histoire* 1901-1902, 6th Section: 'Histoire comparée des Littératures'.

88 Pichois & Rousseau, *La littérature comparée*, pp. 21-23 discuss various specialist journals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

89 On this leading *Zeitschrift*: Schulz, 'Max Koch and Germany's First Journals of Comparative Literature'.

Concluding remarks

Shortly after the First World War, in his inaugural lecture, Dutch-studies expert Jacob Prinsen would give some thought to comparative literature. Despite some valuable work, the Netherlands was 'not among the leaders' in the field, he felt.⁹⁰ This would indeed appear to be the case. Of course Dutch comparatists encountered the same difficulties as their fellow comparatists in other countries, not least the expanse and complexity of their field of research. This demanded an exceptional level of erudition and made it impossible to obtain an overall view of the entire field. Secondly, the scientific mission of generalizing and identifying laws not only entailed a certain superficiality, but also a temptation to speculate, and thus to lose sight of the characteristics of individual peoples and literatures.

Furthermore, the professional infrastructure for the practice of comparative literature was still largely absent, more so than in neighbouring countries. The fact that the new discipline managed to get off the ground at all was despite, rather than because of, the academic climate of the time, which was rather bleak. It is a telling fact that the impressive reviews produced by Doorenbos, Van Vloten, and Boele van Hensbroek all came from outside the university world. Limited resources were available because higher education legislation did not provide for comparative literature, and included only the 'history of Dutch literature' among the list of mandatory subjects. Comparative literature therefore remained an auxiliary branch of Dutch studies, where it would eventually break through. If we are to believe Kalff, students of Dutch were happy to abuse the non-mandatory status of this auxiliary subject:

He is free to ignore Classical literature, as well as the literature of other Germanic peoples and West European literature in general. Many make use of this freedom, to the detriment of their own development, later to the detriment of grammar or secondary school education, and ultimately to the detriment of the literary civilization of our people.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Prinsen, *De geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, p. 22: 'niet mee vooraan'.

⁹¹ Kalff, 'Algemeene en vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', pp. 465-466: 'Hij heeft vrijheid om de klassieke literatuur, mitsgaders de letterkunde van andere Germaansche volken en de West-europeesche letterkunde in het algemeen aan zijn laars te lappen. Van die vrijheid maakt menigeen gebruik, tot schade van zijn eigen ontwikkeling, straks ook van zijn onderwijs aan gymnasium of hoogere burgerschool, tot schade eindelijk der letterkundige beschaving van ons volk'.

Some also believed a greater focus on comparative literature at university would be a blessing in the sense that it would to some extent counterbalance the 'specialism frenzy' that increasingly seemed to have the academic world in its grip.⁹²

The constant reviving of nationalism also helped keep the new discipline in the shadow of the history of the national literature.⁹³ Thinking in national terms was taken for granted to such an extent that it also continued to determine the structure of most manuals of comparative literature. It was not until the First World War had tempered nationalist ideas that society became more receptive to supranational ideas. Nevertheless, comparative literature had raised quietly opposing views prior to that time, helping to give Dutch philology a more international bent, and prompting it to become more professional, adopting a positivistic and deterministic methodology.

Prinsen and Kalff were not incidentally discouraged by the limited results achieved by comparative literature studies. After the war, Prinsen was to be dubbed 'the most talented pioneer of such comparative literature studies in the land'.⁹⁴ Kalff began publishing his *Westeuropesche letterkunde* (Western European literature) in 1923, still inspired by Posnett and acting on what he himself had written in 1914: 'A small nation such as ours, whose ancestors were known as the captains of Europe for their expansive merchandising, and which plays an important role in international intellectual life, is appointed for such work'.⁹⁵

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92 See for example Muller, 'L'étude scientifique de la littérature comparée', p. 283, and idem, *Lectures on the Science of Literature*, pp. 14 and 139.

93 See, inter alia, Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*, pp. 551-566 and 577-591.

94 De Vooy, review of Prinsen, *Handboek*, p. 264: 'hier te lande de meest talentvolle baanbreker van zulke vergelijkende litteratuur-studie'.

95 Kalff, *Inleiding tot de studie der literatuurgeschiedenis*, p. 59: 'Juist een klein volk als het onze, welks voorouders om hun uitgebreiden transito-handel de schippers van Europa heetten en dat nog een belangrijke rol vervult in het internationaal geestelijk verkeer, is voor zulk een werk als aangewezen'.

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10. Trifles for ‘Unflemings’

Teaching Dutch literary history in nineteenth-century Wallonia

*Kris Steyaert**

Abstract

This article focuses on three nineteenth-century literary histories written for francophone students of Dutch. The histories illustrate a concern on the part of the authors (J.-F.-X. Würth, F.A. Snellaert and J. Stecher) not only with the teaching of Dutch literature and the construction of a solid Dutch literary tradition but also with the presentation of their material in keeping with an underlying ideological framework. In each case their presentation was designed to reinforce a particular view of country and culture and of the respective roles of the Dutch, Flemish, and Walloon peoples in the creation of a one-nation state. The differences between them reflect a change in the meaning of Dutch literature as a result of political developments, leading in turn to a paradigm shift in the teaching of the subject at university. An analysis of the didactic aims and principles underlying the literary histories written by Würth, Snellaert, and Stecher reveals the extent to which political allegiances and nationalist considerations determined their selection criteria and organization of subject matter. Not surprisingly, the contemporary critical response to these study books shows a similar ideological bias.

Introduction

In the course of the nineteenth century, the teaching of Dutch literature at university level was subjected to a number of radical changes in Wallonia, the southern, French-speaking half of modern-day Belgium. Initially, Dutch literary courses were conceived as an essential component within the language acquisition process. In his report on the Belgian education system for the period 1830-1842, Minister of the Interior Jean Baptiste Nothomb stated on 1 March 1843: ‘In classical and modern language courses, great

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care should be taken to exercise the memory of young students and to have them learn by heart a selection of passages taken from the most esteemed authors'.¹ The minister referred to what is known today as secondary education but his statement held equally true for courses at university level. As the literary manuals of the period make plain, Dutch literature was not only perceived as an excellent means of training students' memory but also of inculcating them with an appreciation of different writing styles, and familiarizing them with the grammatical principles of the language. This broader application, however, is somewhat obscured by the official terminology of those days. Though the course programmes at the University of Liège consistently used the designation *Littérature flamande* ('Flemish Literature') between 1830 and the second half of the 1880s, an important part of the course was in fact devoted to a linguistic approach to the subject.

Apart from memory training, exercises in style and applied grammar, the literary manuals had to fulfil yet another function. This additional function was entirely ideological in nature and had to do with the overall narrative into which the textual material was incorporated. Together with the epigrams, fables, romances, sermons, exercises in epistolary style, perorations, riddles in verse and fragments from plays, students were presented with a carefully constructed image of 'Dutch' history and culture. This implicit *Landeskunde* is special in the sense that Walloon students were supposed to adopt this history and culture as their own. During their Dutch lectures, they were actually learning about themselves; at least that was the starting point of a number of literary historiographies which, to all intents and purposes, were designed as tools in a complex nation-building process.

Dutch studies as an academic discipline in Wallonia started in 1817, with the foundation of the University of Liège and the installation of the very first extramural chair *literatura Hollandica, eloquentia et poesis*. After these pioneering years, which coincided with the creation of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1830), it was not until the end of the nineteenth century, when the whole field was thoroughly professionalized, that the academic study of Dutch in Belgium entered a new phase. A milestone was the creation of the Department of Germanic Philology within the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Liège in April 1890. In what follows, I will concentrate on the development of Dutch literary studies during the preceding decades, paying particular attention to the didactic principles

1 Maréchal, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, p. 69: 'Dans les cours de langues anciennes et vivantes, on aura soin d'exercer la mémoire des jeunes gens, en leur faisant apprendre par cœur des passages choisis dans les auteurs les plus estimés.'

and the language and cultural policies evident in three literary manuals, spanning most of the nineteenth century. While the discussion of each handbook will reveal particular sensitivities linked to a specific moment in time, taken together, these learning materials constitute a representative picture of the evolution of Dutch literary studies in Wallonia. This overview, therefore, can be read as an addition to previous research, notably by Gert-Jan Johannes, on the teaching of Dutch literature in further education in the Netherlands during the period 1800-1900.²

The University of Liège occupies a special position within the academic landscape of the Low Countries in that it was the only university in nineteenth-century Wallonia. For a considerable amount of time it was also the only place in Belgium where students could obtain the certificate required for teaching modern and classical languages at (higher) secondary school level.³ The capital Brussels, which from a geographical point of view does not belong to Wallonia, got its university in 1834. More than forty years later, a Dutch literature course was finally added to the curriculum but none of the academics in charge produced the kind of literary history that can stand comparison with the learning materials discussed below.⁴

J.-F.-X. Würth: Batavians and Belgians

The Luxembourger Jean-François-Xavier Würth (1800-1874) was first a student, later an assistant and eventually the successor of the first ever extramural Professor of Dutch, Johannes Kinker. One of the more striking aspects of Kinker's career in Liège is that he failed to publish a single academic manual, though he had authored a number of learned philological publications, including a *Proeve eener Hollandsche prosodia* ('Essay of Dutch Prosody, 1810') before his university appointment. Owing to its complexity and to the fact that it was written in Dutch, this award-winning study on metre and rhythm was unsuitable to be used as teaching material for francophone students. Even if he left the production of academic handbooks to others, Kinker's own handwritten lecture notes, as well as the notes made

2 Johannes, *Dit moet u niet onverschillig wezen!*

3 This was at the 'École normale', which was officially linked to the university. In Liège the 'École normale' was established in 1852 and ceased to exist in 1890. Students wishing to become science teachers had to enrol at the 'École normale' in Ghent.

4 The Dutch literature course at the University of Brussels started in 1876 and was taught by (in chronological order) Eugène van Bommel, Alphonse Willems and J.-C. Vollgraff. Vanderkindere, *L'Université de Bruxelles 1834-1884*.

by student Jean-François Tielemans of Kinker's phonetics course, are clear proof that the Dutch lectures at Liège were well prepared, methodical, and well thought out.⁵ It was Kinker's favourite student Würth who was entrusted with the compilation of a literary history-cum-anthology, a task he finished successfully in 1823. The fruit of Würth's labours was a rather voluminous and hybrid work, entitled *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise*. Its historical significance is unmistakable for it is the first literary history of Dutch geared specifically towards French-speaking students in Wallonia.

In the preface to his book, Würth elaborates on his didactic aims and the general purport of the work, falling back on a style and discourse typical of its time: 'The simultaneous study of the principles of a language and of a number of selected specimen of different literary genres is without doubt the surest way of making rapid progress as well as the most agreeable one'.⁶ As we have already seen, a similar idea had been voiced in the ministerial report from 1843 quoted above. Würth adhered to the guiding principle that the teaching of literature and the teaching of grammar should go hand in hand. The next statement from his preface is also characteristic: 'the study [...] of the great writers in Holland [...] is one of the most powerful means to unite the hearts'.⁷ These and similar pronouncements show how Würth subscribed wholeheartedly to King Willem I's pursuits of national unity. Of course, the hearts that needed to be united were those of the people in the northern and southern parts of the realm. By studying Dutch and by reading Dutch authors Walloons (and Luxembourgers) would become fully fledged compatriots within a kingdom that recognized one national language only, Dutch.

Würth prefixed a poem to his programmatic preface in which he dedicated his manual to Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, Minister of State and the spiritual father of the Constitution of 1814, and to Johannes Kinker, the begetter of the work.⁸ The opening lines are pregnant with meaning:

5 For Kinker's lecture notes, see De Lamotte, 't *Fier gemijterd Luik* and for Tielemans's notes taken during Kinker's lectures on the pronunciation of Dutch, see Janssens, 'De uitspraakcolleges'.

6 Würth, *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise*, p. vii: 'L'étude simultanée des principes d'une langue, et de quelques morceaux choisis de littérature de différens genres, est certainement la méthode la plus sûre de faire des progrès rapides, en même tems qu'elle est la plus agréable'.

7 Ibidem, p. vii: 'l'étude [...] des grands écrivains de la Hollande [...] est un des moyens les plus puissans pour unir les cœurs'.

8 These verses were a radical reworking of Würth's poem 'De Zuidnederlandsche jongeling' which had been published, at Kinker's intercession, in *De recensent, ook der recensenten* in 1821.

Batavian and Belgian, for a long time torn asunder
 In the throes of danger, are now since a few years
 United once more, together through fair and foul:
 Gone is the age that caused the heart to bleed!
 Let a patriotic glow warm everyone's heart
 And let each one embrace his countryman with brotherly love.⁹

The youthful poet-assistant continues with the exhortation:

O let our national language,
 This language through which the spirit of our revered forefathers is
 vigorously flowing,
 Unite the hearts.¹⁰

Once again, reference is made to a necessary union of hearts. In Würth's view, the study of Dutch is nothing less than a moral obligation. Kinker encouraged such sentiments during the weekly meetings of Tandem, a student society he had founded himself in the early 1820s and whose members met at the professor's private home on a weekly basis. During the Tandem meetings, students debated in Dutch on literary, political and historical matters, or they sang national hymns and toasted to the House of Orange. It can be argued that the academic study of Dutch in Liège during the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands conformed itself entirely to the king's politics of unification. Some barbed critiques which appeared in the Liège press after the publication of Würth's manual bear out that some took exception at this state of affairs and accused Kinker of indoctrinating young, impressionable minds.¹¹

It is not just in the introductory framework of Würth's handbook that the fourth, i.e. ideological, aspect of Dutch Studies in Wallonia comes to the surface. Students at the University of Liège also received a coloured view of Dutch literature in the anthologized texts they read. For Würth, only the

9 Würth, *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise*, p. iii: 'Bataaf en Belg, zoo lang in 't barnen der gevaren / Van een gescheurd, zijn nu sinds weinig jaren, / Weêr één in voorspoed hoop en leed: / Zij is voorbij die eeuw, die 't harte bloeden deed! / Laat vaderlandsche gloed dan aller hart verwarmen / En elk zijn landgenoot met broederliefde omarmen' (English translation KS).

10 Ibidem, p. iii: 'O Laat de vaderlandsche taal, / Die taal waardoor de geest der aangebeden vaderen / Zo krachtig stroomt de harten zaam vergaderen' (English translation KS).

11 Janssens & Steyaert, *Het onderwijs van het Nederlands in de Waalse provincies*, pp. 360-363, Steyaert, 'Het "mysterie" Tandem'.

north, i.e. the present-day Netherlands, had contributed to the glory of the national literature. This can be deduced from the fact that he did not include a single Southern-Dutch (Flemish) author in his anthology. Würth, like his mentor Kinker, probably looked down on the literary production in the southern provinces. Moreover, the idea that medieval literature, dominated to a large extent by writers from the south (Flanders), was a subject worthy of study had not yet gained currency. Only from the 1830s onwards did philologists such as Jan Frans Willems begin to publish 'Flemish' texts that were to achieve world-class status, including *Van den vos Reynaerde*. Even if Würth had had knowledge of these medieval texts, they would have been useless in familiarizing francophone students with the basics of the Dutch language. Indeed, we should not lose sight of the fact that especially during the first few years of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, Dutch at university had to be taught *ab initio*.

Since Würth had been inspired for his textual choices by his colleagues from the north, his proffering of canonized authors in the *Cours préparatoire* differs little from what can be found in the manuals by academics such as Matthijs Siegenbeek, Nicolaas Godfried van Kampen and Jeronimo de Vries. An important selection criterion for Würth was the patriotic mettle of the textual material. In the accompanying introductions to the selected texts, authors are especially praised for the exemplary subject matter of their writings. Historical exploits, sometimes highlighted by a romantic touch, were deemed ideal. As we know from the minutes of the Tandem meetings, students in Liège were expected to emulate the patriotism of Dutch national heroes such as Michiel de Ruyter and William, Prince of Orange. Stories and poems about these illustrious forbearers feature prominently in the *Cours préparatoire*. In sum, preface, dedicatory poem, and text selection all make clear how Würth favoured a complete assimilation of the francophone Walloons. The result would be a close-knit nation inhabited by a united people. This goal, to which the study and promotion of the Dutch language was eminently suited, necessitated a look due north. To put matters somewhat reductively, if Würth in his dedicatory poem in the *Cours préparatoire* saw Batavians and Belgians united as one people, this meant in actual fact that all Belgians (Flemings, Walloons and Luxembourgers) had to aim to become Batavians.

Würth's implementation of what he saw as the prime objectives of teachers of Dutch was stimulated and endorsed financially by the authorities. In September 1823, the king granted him an annuity of 400 guilders and when Würth published a new two-volume Dutch anthology in 1825 entitled, *Leçons hollandaises de littérature et de morale*, he was able to include an admiring note of thanks signed by the Administrator for Education, Arts

and Sciences, Daniël Jacob van Ewijck: 'His Majesty wishes to express his satisfaction at this new token of your ceaseless diligence for the propagation of the Dutch language and Dutch literature', it read.¹² Propped up by the twin pillars of didactic usability and cultural-political orthodoxy, Würth's manuals were well regarded by the ruling establishment.

However, the eulogized Union between Batavians and Belgians came to an abrupt end with Belgium's unilateral declaration of independence in 1830. This had far-reaching implications for Dutch studies in the south. Dutch courses at Walloon colleges and athenaeums were abolished. The entire Faculty of Humanities at the University of Liège was dissolved (16 December 1830), forcing Kinker to return to Amsterdam. Five years later, in December 1835, the new State University of Liège was officially inaugurated. Würth was employed as a lecturer in *histoire ancienne*. Only in the summer of 1837-1838 is he referred to in the minutes of Faculty meetings as *professeur extraordinaire* for 'Flemish Literature, semester course, teaching days and hours to be announced'.¹³ Five years later, the wording in the official study programme was changed and 'Flemish Literature' was relegated to the status of optional course.¹⁴ This fall from grace is in stark contrast to the situation under King Willem I, when the majority of the humanities students in Liège were legally required to follow Dutch language and literature courses.

Naturally, the phrase *hollandaise* was painstakingly avoided in the official terminology after 1830. As we have already seen, Dutch literature was now referred to as *littérature flamande* ('Flemish literature'). The minutes from the Faculty meetings make clear that the course was not taught for years on end.¹⁵ As Dutch Studies was languishing in Liège, it will come as no surprise that Würth never updated his manuals after the Belgian Revolution. The five hundred copies of the *Cours préparatoire* had already been sold out in 1825 and no reprint was issued. This means that Würth in all probability kept using the *Leçons hollandaises de littérature et de morale*, an anthology proper without a literary-historical overview.¹⁶ One small but significant concession had to be made though. This we can deduce from

12 Würth, *Leçons hollandaises de littérature et de morale*, p. vi: 'ZIJNE MAJESTEIT doet U Hoogstdezelfs tevredenheid betuigen over deze nieuwe blijken van Uwen voortdurenden ijver tot uitbreiding van de kennis der Nederduitsche Taal en Letterkunde'.

13 Rutten, 'Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik', p. 556: 'Littérature flamande, cours semestriel, aux jours et heures à déterminer ultérieurement' There is some uncertainty about Würth's academic status in this period. Some sources refer to him as 'agrégé'.

14 Rutten, 'Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik', pp. 558-557.

15 Ibidem, p. 561.

16 Würth, *Leçons hollandaises de littérature et de morale*.

another work by Würth, his *Histoire abrégée des Liégeois*, a historical sketch of Liège from 1833 which was reprinted in 1851. This work concludes with a list of Würth's publications, including the *Cours préparatoire* (1823) – with 1820 as the mistaken date of publication – as well as the *Leçons hollandaises*. These lessons now appear in a new guise: *Leçons flamandes de littérature et de morale*.¹⁷ No editions with this modified title are known to have existed, so it may be assumed Würth continued to use the old 1825 imprints but referred to them in a way that would have been more opportune. Yet, in this instance the book was wearing false colours, since the anthology, just as had been the case with the *Cours préparatoire*, contains not a single Flemish author in the strict sense of the word.

F.A. Snellaert: Walloons and Unflemings

In the middle of the nineteenth century a new literary history saw the light outside a strictly academic context, even though it was to find its way to the classroom and lecture theatre. On 26 January 1846, the Brussels publisher Alexandre Jamar asked Ferdinand Augustijn Snellaert to prepare a Flemish literary history for a francophone readership. After some negotiations, Snellaert (1809-1872), a physician, philologist and one of the leading men of the nineteenth-century Flemish movement, accepted.¹⁸ However, the work required much more time than anticipated and Snellaert found himself struggling. Coincidentally, the same year of Jamar's commission witnessed the publication of a seminal work whose contents give some idea of the great pressure the study of Dutch had come under in the new (Belgian) kingdom. The work in question is the epoch-making *De drie zustersteden* ('The Three Sister Cities') by Karel Lodewijk Ledeganck (1805-1847). It is a poem in three cantos – Ledeganck subtitled it a national trilogy – meant to give the Flemish movement an extra boost. Ledeganck decries, among other things, how Dutch had been banished from the classroom, even in Flanders. In the first canto (addressed to the city of Ghent), the poet sneers:

It is said that thou
 Disowneth the melody
 Of thine own language, in order to parrot strangers;
 That thou alloweth wantonly thy golden mother tongue

17 Würth, *Histoire abrégée des Liégeois et de la civilization*, p. 358.

18 Deprez, *Kroniek van Snellaert*, p. 76.

To be banished from the seats of learning and courts of justice
As coarse and uncouth.¹⁹

It is in this context that Snellaert started work on his literary history. Towards the end of 1846, Snellaert turned to the minister of the interior and asked for a subsidy of four thousand Belgian francs. His expenses were considerable since he was forced to purchase many primary and secondary sources. Snellaert's request met with a positive response and he received part of the money, an indication that the authorities were well disposed towards Jamar's initiative.

Shortly afterwards, Snellaert dispatched a letter to his like-minded Amsterdam friend, Joseph Alberdingk Thijm, father of the later writer Lodewijk van Deyssel. On 23 January 1847, he wrote: 'I have agreed, for the sake of our cause, to finish a brief history (in French) of Dutch literature in Belgium by September'.²⁰ His choice of words evinces how Snellaert was aware of the ideological potential of the task at hand, for the 'cause' he referred to was obviously connected to the emancipation of the Flemish people, dominated by a French-speaking upper class. In another letter to Alberdingk Thijm, he was more outspoken about his intentions (27 July 1847):

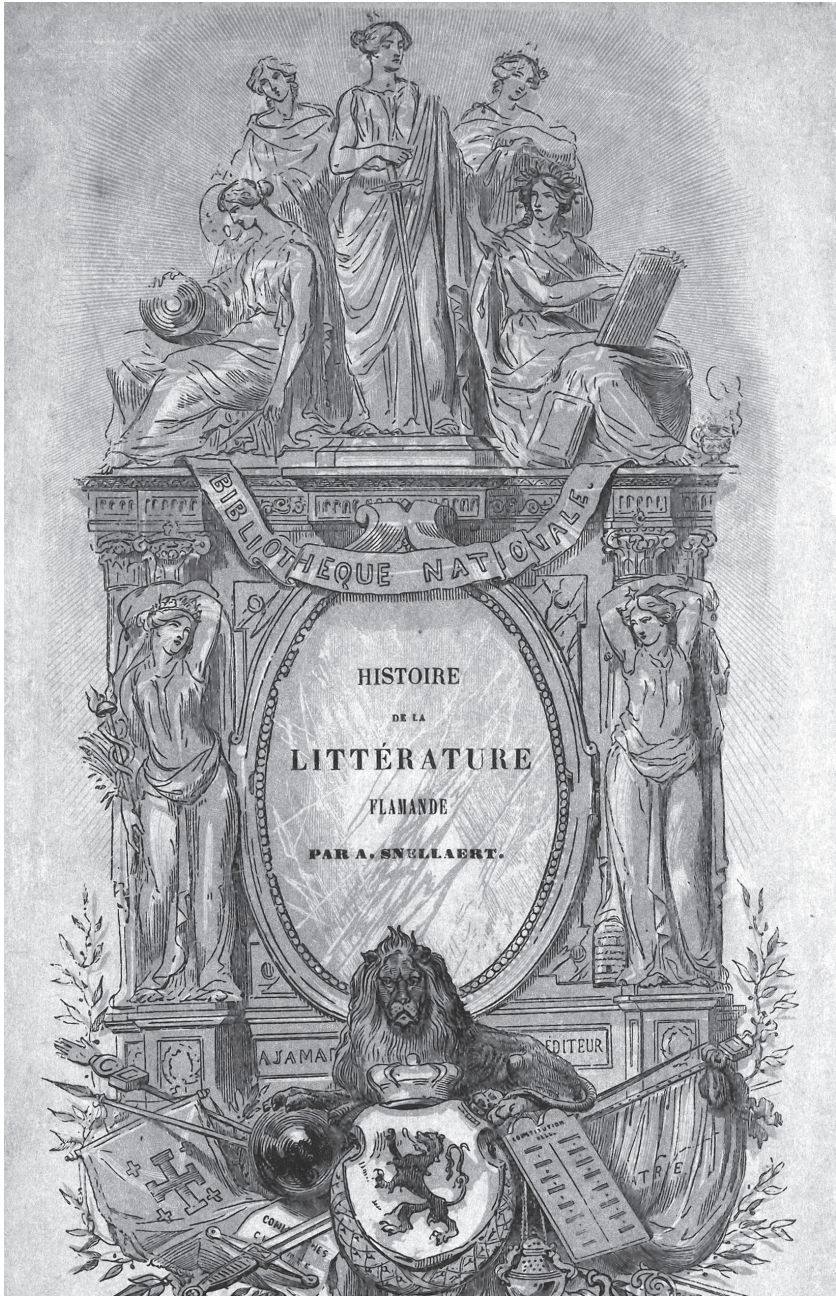
I am busy writing a small French trifle '*histoire de la littérature flamande*' that will be useful to acquaint Walloons and *Onvlamingen* ['Unflemings'] with our literature. Many are ill disposed towards *Hollandsche letterkunde* ['Dutch literature']: for them I will sugar the pill.²¹

The last sentence becomes less enigmatic if we cast a glance over Snellaert's little volume, *Histoire de la littérature flamande*, which appeared on 28 November 1848. The title and the book's appearance look innocent enough. As the cover shows, this literary survey is presented as part of the national, i.e. Belgian, heritage.

19 Ledeganck, *De drie zustersteden*, p. 13: 'Men zegt, dat gy / De melody / Van eigen spraek miskent, om vreemden na te zingen; / Dat gy uw gouden moedertael, / Uit leeraerstoel en regterzael, / Als ruw en onbeschofd, misdadig laet verdringen'. (English translation KS).

20 Deprez (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, p. 42: 'ik heb, in 't belang onzer zaek, aengenomen tegen September gereed te zyn met eene korte geschiedenis (in 't fransch) der Nederlandsche Letterkunde in België'.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 45: 'Ik schryf ook aen een kleine bugt van fransche '*histoire de la litterature flamande*' dat ook al zyn nut zal hebben met Walen en Onvlamingen met onze letterkunde meer bekend te maken. Velen zyn tegen de hollandsche letterkunde ingenomen; ik zal hun de pil vergulden'. The word 'Onvlamingen', translated here as 'Unflemings', is a playful neologism. The Flemish poet and priest Guido Gezelle used the same word (in the singular) in his poem 'Geheel!' from 1860.



Cover of Snellaert's *Histoire de la littérature flamande* (1848), issued as part of the series 'Bibliothèque nationale'.



Title page of Snellaert's *Histoire de la littérature flamande* (1848) with the portraits of 'Jean Premier', 'P.C. Hoofs' (sic) and 'Kats' (sic).

The publisher Jamar did not hesitate to put it under the banner of his series *Bibliothèque nationale*.²² In the right-hand bottom of the cover, we distinguish two stone tablets with the words *Constitution belge* just visible. The work also bears the government's official stamp of approval: the back cover is adorned with a medallion bearing the Belgian lion and the words *Publiée sous le patronage du gouvernement*.

Alberdingk Thijm was charmed by the result and wrote from Amsterdam on 2 February 1849: 'I am in love with your reliable and elegant booklet. Thanks and praise to you, my friend! Its contents are sound; its appearance is very charming; you enthral by both'.²³ The small volume, printed in the so-called *format anglais* (*octodecimo*), contains a number of attractive engravings (Thijm would use one of them in his own collection of poetry *Palet en harp*). The title page, too, is visually appealing

The three portraits at the top are especially relevant. They show from left to right 'Jean Premier' (Duke John I of Brabant, the author of some medieval love songs), 'P.C. Hoofts' and 'Kats'. With a dry sense of humour Snellaert wrote to Thijm that the printer had used a less classical spelling of the names. At any rate, how can the portraits of writers from the north (P.C. Hooft and Jacob Cats) be reconciled with the notion of *littérature flamande* as mentioned in the title of this literary history? Once more the answer is to be found in Snellaert's correspondence with Thijm (29 November 1848): 'The reason I called our literature Flemish is so as not to scare some people off to bed with the title'.²⁴ While Snellaert had originally intended to write a literary survey 'of Dutch literature in Belgium', as he set out in his letter to Thijm quoted above, he apparently had a change of heart. Not only did he broaden the scope of his overview but he also put the emphasis on the cultural unity of the Dutch-speaking areas, i.e. the Netherlands and Flanders. Snellaert claimed not entirely without foundation: 'Perhaps my work has the merit of giving the first overview of Dutch literature in general and not of the literature of Holland or Belgium'.²⁵

Contrary to Würth a quarter of a century before him, Snellaert included many Flemish authors, but as representatives of a Great-Dutch literature.

22 Other titles in the same series included *Les musiciens belges* (Eduard Fétis), *Ruines et paysages en Belgique* (Eugène Gens) and *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique* (A.G.B. Schayes).

23 Deprez (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, p. 60: 'Ik ben verliefd op Uw solide en bevallig boekjen. Dank en hulde, vriend! De inhoud is degelijk; het uiterlijk allerjents: gij betoovert door beiden'.

24 Deprez (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, p. 59: 'Waerom ik onze letterkunde *littérature FLAMANDE* heb geheten is alleen om niet dadelyk met den tytel sommige menschen naer bed te jagen'.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 59: 'Myn stuk bezit misschien de verdienste het eerst een overzicht te geven der algemeene Nederlandsche letterkunde en niet der hollandsche of belgische'.

This did not conform to what publisher Jamar had had in mind. He had asked for a literary history in which Flemish literature would have been treated as a sovereign, Belgian-national phenomenon. After some effort Jamar just about managed to have Snellaert omit a number of critical pronouncements on the country's French-speaking population.²⁶ Despite the publisher's interferences, the reader will look in vain for any gestures in the text where the unity between Flemings and Walloons is unambiguously promoted. In contrast, the nefarious influence of the French language on the development of Flemish cultural life in general and its literature in particular receives ample attention: 'The third period, which corresponds to the Burgundian dominion, encompasses the literature of the rhetoricians, characterized [...] by an antinational spirit which worked against the language itself.'²⁷ The antinational temperament of this period can be seen in the rhetoricians' proclivity for French loan words, so the argument goes. Such remarks tie Snellaert's work to Würth's literary history of 1823, where similar phrases can be found.²⁸ Having pointed repeatedly to the necessarily combative nature of 'Flemish' literature, Snellaert concludes with the following thought:

I would only say that Flemish literature, being held in continuous contempt, has had to use its resources rather to fight its enemies than to raise its own edifice. [...] But its merit, which cannot be disputed, is its nationalism *par excellence*.²⁹

Compared to Würth's literary history, Snellaert's *Histoire de la littérature flamande* is much more inclusive. There are extensive discussions of Flemish authors next to authors from the north. This picture of a Dutch-Flemish unity, however, implies a rupture with the French-speaking south and, as such, touches on the foundations of the state. Evidently, Snellaert's work favoured a supranational historiography and this at a time when Belgium still needed to prove and legitimize its status as an independent and viable

26 Deprez, *Kroniek van Snellaert*, p. 94.

27 Snellaert, *Histoire de la littérature flamande*, p. 15: 'La troisième époque, qui correspond à la domination bourguignonne, embrasse la littérature des rhétoriciens, caractérisée [...] par un génie antinational qui réagit sur la langue même'.

28 Würth, *Cours préparatoire à l'étude de la littérature hollandaise*, p. xiv.

29 Snellaert, *Histoire de la littérature flamande*, p. 230: 'Je dirais seulement que la littérature flamande, continuellement méconnue, a dû employer ses moyens plutôt à combattre ses ennemis, qu'à élever son propre édifice [...]. Mais son mérite, auquel il n'y a rien à contester, c'est d'être nationale par excellence'.

nation. Francophone students read in the *Histoire de la littérature flamande* that Flemish literary achievements were at least equal to French works and that the literary heritage of the Flemings was part of a rich tradition. The snag was that this tradition transgressed the closely watched boundaries of the state and that Snellaert formulated his ideas in the tumultuous year 1848, when a revolutionary spirit swept through Europe. Moreover, not everyone was convinced of the intrinsic or even utilitarian value of the Dutch language and literature within a Belgian context. It is symptomatic of the spirit of the age that Walloon newspapers openly asked the question why students in the southern provinces of the realm ought to study Dutch: 'teaching Flemish to our children', so *La Meuse* wrote with wonderment in the 1850s, 'we readily ask ourselves whatever could be the point'.³⁰ A different sound could be heard in the Flemish francophone press. The *Messenger des sciences historiques et archives des arts de Belgique*, a periodical edited by several professors working at the University of Ghent, came to the following assessment of Snellaert's literary history: this book 'will prove to our Walloon brothers that if our literary past is not to be derided, a new area has begun for our Flemish writers of today'.³¹ Yet, the derision in some quarters was not easy to overcome.

Interestingly, Snellaert's literary history engendered another, related work in the Netherlands. In 1854, the aforementioned Alberdingk Thijm published his *De la littérature néerlandaise à ses différentes époques*, which had been serialized three years earlier in the periodical *Astrea*. The first lines of his introductory poem (*Dédicace*) in the book publication spell out the intended reading public: 'To you, my good friends from France and Germany, / These modest leaves!'.³² As a staunch defender of Catholicism, Thijm had been inspired by Snellaert's fairly detailed discussion of Dutch literature in the Middle Ages. This period is treated with even more enthusiasm by Thijm.³³ In the process, he castigates previous literary historians of Dutch, including Jean-François-Xavier Würth, for their negligence, partisan attitude, or downright condescension with regard to the medieval period. There is one honourable exception, Thijm asserts: Snellaert's *Histoire de la*

30 Gubin, 'Revendications flamandes et réactions wallonnes vers 1855-60', p. 258: 'apprendre le flamand à nos enfants, nous nous demanderions volontiers à quoi cela peut-il jamais servir'.

31 See review of Snellaert's *histoire de la littérature flamande*, p. 525: 'prouvera à nos frères les Wallons, que si notre passé littéraire n'est pas à dédaigner, une ère nouvelle s'est ouverte aussi pour les écrivains flamands de nos jours'.

32 Alberdingk Thijm, *De la littérature néerlandaise*, p. i: 'A vous, mes bons amis de France et d'Allemagne, / Ces modestes feuilletts!'.

33 Brachin, 'Alberdingk Thijm als literair-historicus'.

littérature flamande.³⁴ By that time, Snellaert's survey had also appeared in Dutch as *Kort begrip eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche letterkunde*. This Dutch edition crossed the border and was used in several schools in the north (the athenaeum in Leeuwarden, the gymnasium in Leiden), not a mean feat for a Belgian writer, the *Messenger des sciences historiques et archives des arts* remarked in its review.³⁵ The author himself mentioned the book's usefulness as learning material in the fourth Dutch-language edition of his work, which appeared in the spring of 1866.³⁶

The reception of Snellaert's literary history in Wallonia and its use as learning material still needs to be examined in more detail. What is certain is that in his *Esquisse des littératures de langue néerlandaise* from 1941, the Liège Professor François Closset still referred the interested student to Snellaert's *Histoire de la littérature flamande*.³⁷ One of Closset's nineteenth-century predecessors, however, took great umbrage at the essentially anti-French tenor of Snellaert's work.

J. Stecher: Germanic Walloons

The critical voice belonged to an academic who was born and raised in Snellaert's hometown of Ghent, (Auguste) Jean Stecher (1820-1909).³⁸ Stecher could already boast a varied teaching career when he was appointed lecturer in classical languages at the University of Liège in 1850.

This was followed, on 15 June 1869, by a professorship in Dutch literary history, still dubbed *histoire de la littérature flamande*. Incidentally, it

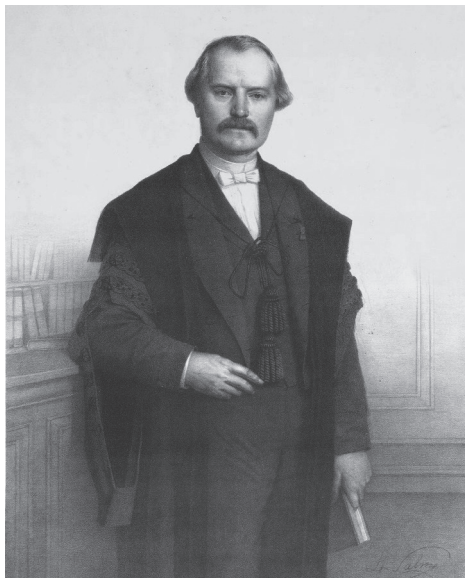
34 Alberdingk Thijm, *De la littérature néerlandaise*, p. 9.

35 See review of Snellaert's 'Kort begrip eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche letterkunde', p. 497.

36 Snellaert, *Histoire de la littérature flamande*, pp. v-vi: The first Dutch edition appeared in May 1849 as *Kort begrip eener geschiedenis der Nederduitsche letterkunde*. A second, revised edition followed in 1850 with the new title *Schets eener geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*. A third edition was published in December 1855. In the preface to the fourth edition from 1866, Snellaert wrote: 'The bibliographical notes have been expanded considerably, in view of the use made of my little book in schools'. ('De bibliographische aantekeningen zijn mede merkelyk vergroot, in aanzien vooral van het gebruik, dat van mijn werksken gemaakt wordt bij het onderwijs'). For its use by L.A. te Winkel at the gymnasium in Leiden, see Johannes, *Dit moet u niet onverschillig wezen!*, p. 100. A second imprint of the French edition was issued shortly after the first.

37 Closset, *Esquisse des littératures de langue néerlandaise*, p. 121.

38 See Deprez (ed.), *Snellaert en Alberdingk Thijm*, p. 86 and Deprez, Gobbers & Wauters, *Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse letterkunde*, p. 111. Jean Stecher had already attacked, in *La Flandre libérale*, the anti-French leanings of Snellaert's *Kunst- en letterblad*.



Jean Stecher (1820-1909), author of *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique* (1886). Image Database University of Ghent.

was not until February 1958 that a Belgian Royal Decree came into force, replacing the appellation *flamande* by *néerlandaise* in reference to the language spoken in Flanders. Rutten, who devoted an informative article to Stecher, called him ‘the true founding father [...] of the scientific study of the history of Dutch literature at the State University of Liège’.³⁹ His appointment as Professor of *histoire de la littérature flamande* had nearly fallen through. Stecher’s teaching duties were already considerable and it was only after a meeting with the academic authorities that he accepted the extra workload. He explained his eventual acceptance in a letter in the following terms:

What has totally convinced me is the hope of helping to forge with this new course a brotherhood between Walloons and Flemings, so nobly pursued by the Belgian government. [...] I promise (I could not do otherwise) to bring to it the most ardent sentiments of duty kindled by patriotism. It has always seemed to me that national unity cannot but

39 Rutten, ‘Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik’, p. 38: ‘de werkelijke grondlegger [...] van de wetenschappelijke beoefening van de geschiedenis der Nederlandse literatuur aan de Luikse rijksuniversiteit’.

grow stronger by the most complete propagation of the history of our two constitutive races.⁴⁰

Here we can discern a radically different message compared to what we have read so far. What is at stake, once again, is the tightening of fraternal bonds, but not between Batavians and Belgians, as had been the case with Würth, or between the different peoples of the Dutch-speaking areas along the North Sea, as proposed by Snellaert, but between Walloons and Flemings, the two 'races' that make up the Belgian nation. This was the ideological conviction that drove Stecher to teach Dutch literature to university students in Liège.

His ideas on the teaching of literature crystallized in his *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique* from 1886, a critically acclaimed work that was used in lectures at the University of Liège well into the twentieth century. The title is significant and shows that the sensibilities had changed since the publication of Snellaert's survey. Stecher preferred the term 'néerlandais' for two main reasons, he explains in his foreword. First, it is a more accurate translation of the Dutch word 'Nederlands'. Secondly, it makes clear that Flanders and the Netherlands share the same language.⁴¹ Stecher took great pains to assure his students that this linguistic unity between the Dutch and the Flemings did not take away from the fact that the Flemish and Walloon peoples, and Flemish and Walloon culture, made up one indivisible entity. After all, Dutch literature in Flanders has its own character, making it fundamentally different from the literature in the north. This was one of the claims that met with much approval in the francophone press, but

40 Rutten, 'Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik', p. 41: 'Ce qui m'a tout-à-fait décidé, c'est l'espoir de contribuer par ce Cours nouveau à l'œuvre de fraternité entre Wallons et Flamands, si noblement poursuivie par le Gouvernement Belge. [...] je promets d'y (je ne puis que promettre d'y) apporter le plus vif sentiment du devoir stimulé par le patriotisme. Il m'a toujours paru que l'union nationale ne pouvait que se fortifier par la divulgation la plus complète du passé de nos deux races constitutives'.

41 Snellaert, *Histoire de la littérature flamande*, p. 6. See also Snellaert's remark in his literary history: 'The partisan spirit often uses the words *Flemish* and *Dutch* ['hollandais' in the original] to indicate an opposition between the countries that make up the Low Countries. I believe the time of small-minded sensitivities has passed and that the phrase *Dutch* ['néerlandais'] will no longer cause offence either in the north or in the south'. The English language does not make a distinction between 'hollandais' and 'néerlandais' and refers to both as 'Dutch'. 'L'esprit de parti se sert communément des mots *flamand* et *hollandais* pour indiquer une opposition entre les contrées qui constituent les Pays-Bas. Je crois que le temps des mesquines susceptibilités est passé et que l'épithète *néerlandais* ne fera plus ombrage ni au nord ni au midi'.

which was contested in Flanders.⁴² Though Walloons and Flemings used a different language, they were tied to each other by a shared bond and were permeated by the same national genius. The teaching of Dutch in Wallonia was, according to Stecher, necessary to deepen and reinforce this sense of unity between both 'races'.

Stecher was a man of principle. When one year after the publication of his literary history, the 'Société liégeoise de littérature wallonne' had the temerity to proclaim in the Belgian Senate that 'Flemish is but the language of a neighbouring people', he promptly resigned his membership.⁴³ Such a claim went against anything for which he had worked so hard, not least during his professorial activities in Liège. In his letter of resignation he referred explicitly to the *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique* which had been devised to get rid of such erroneous preconceptions and to spur on the Walloon population to learn the language of their Belgian brothers in the Flemish provinces. It was this commitment that had brought Stecher in 1858 to turn to Minister of Education Rogier with the request of organizing a course of (comparative) Germanic Language and Literature. This he wanted to do *au point de vue belge* ('from a Belgian perspective'). In his letter to the minister, Stecher pointed out how this new course, with the Dutch language as its starting point, would offer 'new arguments to support the eminently national idea of the Germanic affinities between Walloons and Flemings'.⁴⁴ If Walloons belonged in part to the Germanic cultural sphere, the Flemings in turn were something of a mixed race: 'After all, this Flemish spirit is not exclusively Germanic, as I will try to demonstrate in these lectures, since it was modified early on by Gallic, or rather Romance, influences'.⁴⁵ It was exactly this hybridity that formed the common substrate of the Walloon-Flemish nation by which it could be differentiated from neighbouring countries. This unitarian thesis would constitute the core of the new course Stecher proposed.⁴⁶

42 Chuquet, Review of Stecher's *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise*, p. 377; Rooses, 'De Nederlandsche letterkunde in België', pp. 521-522.

43 Fredericq, 'Notice sur Jean Stecher', p. 533: 'le flamand n'est que la langue d'un peuple voisin'.

44 Ibidem, p. 501: 'de nouveaux arguments à l'appui de la thèse éminemment nationale des affinités germaniques des Wallons et des Flamands'.

45 Rutten, 'Neerlandica aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Luik', p. 44: 'Or, cet esprit flamand n'est pas exclusivement germanique, comme j'essayerai de le faire voir dans ces leçons ; modifié de bonne heure par des influences gauloises ou plutôt romanes'.

46 Stecher's request was not granted. Only in 1890, with the foundation of a Department of Germanic Philology, would the comparative approach as envisaged by Stecher be put into practice.

It is rather ironic that Stecher's literary history appeared when he had already passed on the course *Littérature flamande* to Paul Fredericq, one of his alumni and nephew of the Flemish writer Cyriel Buysse. This happened in 1879, when not a single student in Liège had enrolled for the course. Even so, it can be safely assumed that Stecher introduced his ideas to his students well before they appeared in print.⁴⁷ In any case, Stecher never concealed to his students the main goals he wanted to achieve. He explained to them in 1888: 'I have not made political propaganda in my lectures but I have made patriotic propaganda with a view of strengthening the union between Flemings and Walloons'.⁴⁸ One year earlier, he had published an anthology of Flemish poets in French translation, *Nos poètes flamands* ('Our Flemish Poets, 1887'), where the inclusive pronoun 'nos' in the title speaks volumes. The anthology featured, among other works, Karel Lodewijk Ledeganck's *De drie zustersteden*.

As had been the case with his predecessors, Stecher's literary history was published with official endorsement by the state. The cover is adorned with the Belgian coat of arms and the nation's official motto in monolingual French: *L'Union fait la force* ('Unity makes strength'). The spine shows the monogram of King Leopold II, a perplexing choice perhaps, until we read the book's final paragraph: 'One can finally respond truthfully and decisively to the words spoken in the Senate on 11 March 1855 by the duke of Brabant (at present King Leopold II): 'literary glory is the crown of every national edifice'.⁴⁹ The university lectures on Dutch literary history were one way of adding lustre to this glorious fane.

Conclusion

In this succinct overview, which can only scratch the surface, I argued to what extent learning materials for the teaching of Dutch may mirror cultural-political aspirations. Students did not only learn about Dutch

47 The manuscript of *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique* was already finished in 1875, when a shortened version was incorporated in the third volume of *Patria Belgica* by Eugène van Bommel, Professor of French literature in Brussels.

48 Fredericq, 'Notice sur Jean Stecher', p. 536: 'Dans mon enseignement, je n'ai pas fait de propagande politique, mais j'ai fait une propagande patriotique pour resserrer l'union des Flamands et des Wallons'.

49 Stecher, *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique*, p. 353: '[O]n peut enfin répondre fidèlement, décisivemement aux paroles prononcées au Sénat, le 11 mars 1855, par le duc de Brabant (aujourd'hui Léopold II): "[...] la gloire littéraire est le couronnement de tout édifice national".

authors but were also taught to develop their nationalist feelings and steer them in a particular direction. The ideological potential of these handbooks is hinted at in the titles of the works in question. The shift from *hollandais* to *flamand* and finally to *néerlandais en Belgique* is proof on a micro-level of the maelstrom concerning the politics of language which affected nineteenth-century Dutch studies.

With the inauguration of a Dutch chair at the University of Liège in 1817, the subject matter was immediately presented in a strongly coloured ideological framework whereby language and fatherland stood in a special relationship with one another. After Belgium had declared its independence, the original framework lay in tatters. A fault line, which led to a fundamental paradigmatic shift in the study of Dutch in the south, can also be traced in the literary histories and anthologies used for educational purposes. Since literature was seen as an expression of the national genius, the redrawing of the map in 1830 had problematic consequences for the demarcation of Dutch literature as an academic discipline. The emergence of a new nation state required a modified and updated vision on its literary heritage which needed to conform to a new political reality. The literary histories written by Würth (1823), Snellaert (1848), and Stecher (1886) were all 'national' in their own right, with the proviso that each time this national character was interpreted differently, depending on the political situation and the author's personal temperament and loyalties. When studying the production of Dutch learning materials for francophone students, therefore, one should always bear in mind that contents and didactic approach cannot be viewed independently from political and ideological preoccupations.

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11. The Relations of Jacob Grimm with the ‘Koninklijk-Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten’

Old and new documents for the history of the humanities

*Rita M. Schlusemann**

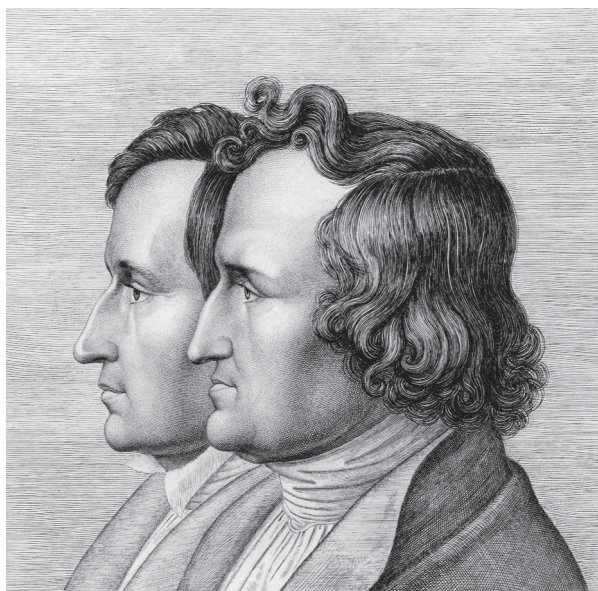
Abstract

The relationship between Dutch and German philology as well as between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and the scientific institutions in the Low Countries have scarcely been a subject of research during the last few decades. However, the correspondence – known and recently found letters – between Jacob Grimm and the Royal Dutch Institute of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts (the predecessor of the present Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) shows that they regarded each other quite highly. Especially the correspondence between Willem Bilderdijk, the former secretary of the Institute, and Jacob Grimm was very friendly. Additionally, Jacob Grimm was the first foreign scholar the Institute appointed as an associate member in 1816, in recognition of his efforts relating to Dutch literature and language. This article is intended as an initial step toward expanding the research on the relationship between these two neighbouring philologies during the nineteenth century.

Introduction

In the history of the humanities, the relationship between German and Dutch philology has not always been easy, especially during the period following the Second World War. This difficult relationship is also, in an anachronistic way, projected onto the relationship of these philologies during the nineteenth century. As a consequence of this view, the relationship

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The brothers Jacob (right) and Wilhelm Grimm (left). Drawing, 1843. (Historisches Museum Hanau Schloss Philippsruhe).

between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and their Dutch and Belgian colleagues – as well as between Dutch and German philology in the first decades of the nineteenth century – has hardly been investigated. Some researchers argue – even if they acknowledge the importance of Jacob Grimm for Dutch philology – that Jacob Grimm regarded Dutch as part of the German language, and therefore did not view it as an independent branch of the Germanic languages.¹ They stress that he had a Pan-Germanic view and that he thought High German was the superior language.² Other researchers have followed the line of arguments for so-called Pan-Germanism without taking into account documents, or without differentiating Grimm's opinions in different phases. According to Ter Haar, Grimm's use of the word *Niederdeutsch* ('Low German') for Dutch characterizes Grimm's ideology, because in this way Dutch becomes one of the branches of the German language area. On the other hand, the word *Nederduitsch* is the normal term

1 Kloos, *Niederlandebild und deutsche Germanistik*, pp. 26-28; Ter Haar, 'Nicht nur ein Appendix'.

2 *Ibidem*, p. 27.

used in the nineteenth century for Dutch.³ In a book on the history of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Van Berkel only mentions Grimm's refusal to accept the membership in 1855.⁴ However, in the several decades prior, Jacob Grimm had been a member of the predecessor of the academy, the Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten ('Royal Dutch Institute of Science, Literature and Fine Arts'), up to the moment that the institute was closed in 1851.⁵ There is a discrepancy between this postwar depiction of Grimm and the recognition he received from his contemporary Dutch (and also Belgian) colleagues and authorities.

In order to gain more adequate insight into the relationship between Dutch and German scientific relations in the early nineteenth century, new interdisciplinary research is needed which takes into account known as well as recently found documents. For a better understanding of these relationships, the correspondence between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and Dutch and Belgian colleagues is very important.⁶ During the 50 years between 1813 until 1863, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm corresponded with more than 35 colleagues in the Netherlands and Belgium. In my paper, these documents, especially the letters, will be presented and analysed.

It is the aim of this paper to show that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, at the beginning of the institutionalization of Dutch philology, Jacob Grimm's contribution to Dutch philology was highly esteemed, and that during these years there was intensive exchange of information. The correspondence between Jacob Grimm and the Royal Dutch Institute of Science during the years 1812 until 1819 consists of 28 letters, and will serve as an example for these intensive contacts. The 28 letters were written on the following dates and by the following people:⁷

3 In this article 'Nederduitsch', the word used very often in the nineteenth century for the Dutch language, is translated as 'Low Germanic' when intended as a synonym for 'continental West Germanic'. Cf. Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland*, pp. 47-48.; Schlusemann, 'Jacob Grimm: pionier van de Neerlandistiek'.

4 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, p. 201.

5 Krul, 'De Koninklijke Academie en de geesteswetenschappen'.

6 In a project financed by the German Science Foundation, I am preparing an edition of the correspondence between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and their Dutch and Belgian colleagues. At present, about 290 letters have been found. For a preliminary survey see Schlusemann, 'Der frühe Briefwechsel Jacob Grimms'. p. 245. See also van de Zijpe, 'Noord- en Zuidnederlandse korrespondenten van Jacob Grimm' and 'Jacob Grimm en de Nederlanden'.

7 The letters were written by the different secretaries of the second class of the Institute Willem Bilderdijk (B), Samuel Wiselius (W) and Abraham des Amoré van der Hoeven (H); and by Jacob Grimm (JG); in parentheses the number of pages.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. B: 1812-02-06 (4 p.) | 16. JG: 1813-07-31 (4 p.) |
| 2. B: 1812-03-01 (1 p.) | 17. B: 1814-03-04 (2 p.) |
| 3. JG: 1812-04-15 (4 p.) | 18. JG: 1815-05-05 (4 p.) |
| 4. JG: 1812-05-25 (9 p.) | 19. B: 1815-11-28 (4 p.) |
| 5. B: 1812-05-27 (4 p.) | 20. B: 1816-09-01 (2 p.) |
| 6. B: 1812-06-10 (8 p.) | 21. JG: 1816_09_19 (3 p.) |
| 7. B: 1812-06-22 (1 p.) | 22. W: 1816-12-17 (1 p.) |
| 8. JG: 1812-08-22 (3 p.) | 23. JG: 1817-10-21 (6 p.) |
| 9. JG: 1812-09-03 (7 p.) | 24. JG: 1817-10-31 (5 p.) |
| 10. B: 1812-09-27 (7 p.) | 25. W: 1817-11-09 (1 p.) |
| 11. JG: 1812-12-06 (16 p.) | 26. W: 1818-10-10 (4 p.) |
| 12. B: 1813-02-25 (8 p.) | 27. JG: 1819-03-12 (2 p.) |
| 13. B: 1813-03-31 (6 p.) | 28. W: 1819-04-09 (1 p.) |
| 14. B: 1813-06-12 (2 p.) | 29. H: 1855-04-20 (1 p.) |
| 15. JG: 1813-06-16 (6 p.) | 30. JG: 1855-05-03 (1 p.) |

In fact, the correspondence reveals that the Institute appreciates both Grimm's knowledge of the Germanic languages and his concern for Dutch literary monuments. Grimm did not study Dutch as a variant of German; rather, he acknowledged the status of the Dutch language and of Dutch literature next to German language and literature, regarding both as autonomous branches of the same tree. Furthermore, he encouraged his Dutch and German colleagues to prepare editions and studies of their own language and literature.⁸ In this respect, the exchange of knowledge during the nineteenth century can still be seen as an example of fruitful international collaboration beyond national boundaries.

The contacts between Jacob Grimm and the Institute can be divided into three phases. The first phase lasts from 1812 until 1816, when Jacob Grimm was elected as a *membre correspondant*. This phase can be characterized as years of very active correspondence between Willem Bilderdijk and Jacob Grimm. The second phase begins in 1816, when Jacob Grimm was elected *membre associé*. This phase lasts until 1851.⁹ The last phase – of non-membership – starts in 1851, the already-mentioned year when the Institute was dissolved. In 1855, Jacob Grimm was offered a new membership by the successor of the institute, the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen ('Royal Academy of Sciences'), but he – as well as other

8 Schlusemann, 'Der frühe Briefwechsel Jacob Grimms'. See for similar observations also Schlusemann, 'A Tribute to his Exceptional Merits'.

9 Until now, no letters have been found which were written between 1819 and 1851.

famous scholars – refused to accept it.¹⁰ In the research on the relationship between Jacob Grimm and the Institute, this refusal has, to my mind, been overestimated. Accordingly, the relationship between Jacob Grimm and the Low Countries has not been judged adequately. For a more adequate view on Jacob Grimm and the Netherlands and on the two philologies, the first two phases are even more important. In this context, the correspondence in the nineteenth century plays a dominant role for the exchange and for the relationship between Dutch and German philology.

In order to characterize the importance of the correspondence in a broader context, I will begin with two introductory remarks about the start of correspondence between Jacob Grimm and the Low Countries, and second, with the Institute and its different kinds of membership. In the main section, the characteristics of the correspondence between Jacob Grimm and the Institute will be analysed, especially emphasizing its importance for the development of Dutch philology. It is my aim to show that the letters not only show mutual estimation, but that they can be regarded as an important scientific Dutch-German exchange, as a predecessor of scientific exchange which later took place and still takes place in scientific journals.

Introductory remarks: development of the correspondence between Jacob Grimm and Dutch scholars

In 1810, Jacob Grimm wrote to Hendrik van Wijn, the archivist of the Royal Library in The Hague, with the goal of obtaining some books which were very important for his study on so-called chapbooks.¹¹ After Van Wijn had not responded to Grimm's letter, Jacob Grimm tried to contact Dutch colleagues via his professor of law at the University of Göttingen, Carl von Savigny. In April 1811, he sent a letter to Savigny intended for Hendrik Willem Tydeman. He was also a professor of law, and Savigny had been corresponding with him for some time.¹² In his answer, Tydeman emphasized that, being a member of the Institute, he had already done much work for Dutch

10 One of them was Jacob Geel (1789-1862), a librarian at the university library of Leiden and honorary professor. See in detail Krul, 'De Koninklijke Academie en de geesteswetenschappen', p. 101-104.

11 Schlusemann, 'Der frühe Briefwechsel Jacob Grimms'.

12 Soeteman, 'Jacob Grimm und L.P.C. van den Bergh', and 'Jacob Grimm im Briefwechsel mit niederländischen Philologen'; Jansen, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen H.W. Tydeman und F.C. von Savigny'.

literature, and that his father worked as a librarian at the University of Leiden.¹³

On 12 August 1811, Tydeman sent 22 chapbooks to Grimm, and he proposed that Grimm should publish a request in the periodical *Algemene Konst- en Letterbode* ('General Messenger for Arts and Literature'). Tydeman also offered to translate this announcement. In the same month, Grimm sent a draft of the request to Tydeman who translated it, and it was published on 22 November 1811. Grimm especially emphasized the close relationship between the 'Flemish', 'Hollandish' and other 'Germanic' languages:

The Dutch language, as well as the Flemish and Hollandish, is, the older it is, more closely related to the other Germanic languages, and the same is valid for the literature and poetry; everything helps, supports and explains each other mutually. This has been done by Huydecoper, Lelyveld, van Wyn and others, whose main beloved subjects of their learned diligence were the rescue and elucidation of the old Hollandish literature; their ambition earns esteem and praise, but it deserves to be succeeded and continued and extended.¹⁴

13 This letter is not preserved, but Wilhelm Grimm cited some sentences in a letter to his brother (see Rölleke, *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 223). Tydeman wrote that he was very interested in chapbooks and that he was inclined to search in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in order to buy some of them for Grimm. But he also admitted that it could take two or three months before he might have got hold of the books. Martin, 'H.W. Tydemann und J. Grimm'; see also Soeteman, 'Jacob Grimm im Briefwechsel mit niederländischen Jansen, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen H.W. Tydeman und F.C. von Savigny'.

14 Grimm, 'Aan kenners en Liefhebbers der oude Nederlandsche Letterkunde en Dichtkunst', p. 327. Grimm asked Tydeman to translate his German into Dutch in his letter on 29 August 1811: 'Die niederländische Sprache, worunter wir auf gleicher Weise die flam- und holländische begreifen, ist, je höher wir hinaufsteigen, desto näher mit der übrigen deutschen verwandt, ebenso hat es sich in jener älteren Zeit mit Literatur u. Dichtkunst verhalten, die Bearbeiter derselben lassen gerade da fühlbare Mängel und Lücken spüren, wo ihnen die Bekantschaft der einen oder der anderen dieser Quellen abging, oder wo sie es unterließen, beide zusammenzunehmen und zu vergleichen! Die Bemühungen eines Huydecoper, Lelyveld, van Wyn and anderer, welche die Rettung und Erläuterung der altholländ. Literatur zu einem der liebsten Gegenstände ihres gelehrten Fleisses gemacht, verdienen höchlich geschätzt zu werden, nur scheint es, dass diese Arbeiten eifriger Fortsetzung u. Nachahmung würdig sind und ihnen nur noch mehr Ausdehnung gegeben werden müste.' Together with Nicolaas Hinlopen, Frans van Lelyveld edited Balthazar Huydecoper's book on Dutch literature in four volumes: Balthazar Huydecoper, *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde, in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius* (eds. Frans van Lelyveld & Nicolaas Hinlopen). Hendrik van Wijn had published his history of Dutch literature in 1800: Van Wijn, *Historische en letterkundige avondstonden*.

Grimm encouraged his colleagues to increase their efforts to preserve Dutch literary monuments, because otherwise, in his opinion, a lot of documents of the literary past would be lost within ten years. He asked the readers of the journal to inform him about Dutch literary manuscripts, Dutch songs, and especially about manuscripts of a rhymed version of *Reynard the Fox*. Nothing is known about any reactions to this request. Tydeman, however, sent it directly to the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ('Society for Dutch Literature') in Leiden and the Second Class of the 'Royal Institute of Science, Literature and Fine Arts' in Amsterdam.

Royal Dutch Institute of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts

On 18 May 1808, the 'Royal Dutch Institute of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts' was founded, as a result of an initiative by King Louis Napoleon.¹⁵ For the first time, an Institute with the aim to promote and study Dutch science, literature, and fine arts, financed by the government, was established. The Institute primarily consisted of 49 members and was divided into four classes: the First Class for mathematics and physics (medicine and technique) and the Second Class with the aforementioned sciences (Dutch) language, literature and history. The Third Class studied old and Eastern languages as well as general history, and the Fourth Class dealt with the fine arts.¹⁶

Three different kinds of membership can be distinguished: the highest membership, called '*membre*', was for normal members with all rights and duties. The middle membership, called *membre associé* ('associate member'), was intended for renowned scholars and artisans in foreign countries. An associate member had the right to participate in meetings and to make decisions concerning scientific questions. This second form of membership did not exist in the Second Class. The third form of membership was the so-called *membre correspondant* ('corresponding member'). These correspondents were scholars who can be described as 'just a bit less-renowned scholars in the Netherlands and abroad'.¹⁷ This kind of membership was offered to foreign scholars who had earned notable merit in the study of Dutch language and culture.

15 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, pp. 47-59; see also Hooykaas, 'Thorbecke, het Instituut en de Akademie'.

16 Van den Berg, 'De Tweede Klasse'; Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*.

17 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, p. 60.

As a consequence of the French incorporation of the Dutch kingdom in July 1810, the Institute was renamed as 'Dutch Institute'.¹⁸ After the defeat of Napoleon, and after Frederik Willem had become the new sovereign in 1813, the Institute was renamed: 'Royal Dutch Institute for Science, Literature and Fine Arts', and already in March 1814, the new sovereign visited the Institute.¹⁹ After some decades of peace in 1849, the home secretary of the Netherlands, Johan Rudolph Thorbecke, expressed his favour for the First Class of the Institute (Mathematics and Physics) and even stated that, to his mind, the other Classes had nothing special. On 26 October 1851, the king decided to dissolve the Institute. Instead, in the same year, a Royal Academy of Sciences was established in order to promote Mathematics and Physics.²⁰ Nearly four years later, in February 1855, a new department was added to the Academy: the department for literature.

Exchange and mutual estimation: origin and intensification of the contact between Jacob Grimm and the Institute – first phase (1812-1816)

The first phase of the correspondence between the Institute and Jacob Grimm (1812-1816) can be characterized as very intense.²¹ It developed because of Grimm's contact with Hendrik van Wijn and Hendrik Willem Tydeman, which had started in 1810. In these letters, Grimm emphasized the close relationship between the 'Dutch' and 'German' cultural space in the Middle Ages, as well as the linguistic and literary connections.²² At the same time, he encouraged his Dutch – and later also his Belgian – colleagues to increase their efforts for older Dutch literature, especially to trace medieval manuscripts and early prints of Dutch literature. For Grimm, other tasks were equally important: editions of medieval literary works and studies on medieval language and literature.

18 Ibidem, p. 85.

19 Ibidem, p. 95-96.

20 Hooykaas, 'Thorbecke, het Instituut en de Akademie', p. 20-21.

21 In 1837, six of the letters were published by Messerschert (see dbnl.nl), and in 1883, two letters written by Grimm and addressed to Bilderdijk were published by Reifferscheid, *Briefe von Jakob Grimm an Hendrik Willem Tydeman*. In my article, the transcription of citations is diplomatic. Errors such as the omission of accents in French – e.g. in the word 'derniere' – are not corrected and are normally not marked, as we don't know if the writer made an error or if it was a personal way of writing.

22 Gaedertz, *Briefwechsel von Jacob Grimm und Hoffmann-Fallersleben*; Reifferscheid, *Briefe von Jacob Grimm an Hendrik Willem Tydeman*.

Shortly after these early contacts, on 9 December 1811, Grimm informed Tydeman about the discovery of a Dutch manuscript in Comburg (near Stuttgart in Württemberg).²³ This manuscript is still one of the two most important manuscripts of medieval Dutch literature.²⁴ On 346 leaves, very important texts of medieval Dutch literature have been written down, and some of them are only preserved in this manuscript, e.g. *Rijmkroniek van Vlaanderen* ('rhymed chronicle of Flanders') on fol. 282r-346r. Only one month later, in the *Algemene Konst- en Letterbode* ('General Messenger') on 17 January 1812, Tydeman informed the Dutch public about the sensation of this discovery.

The Dutch Institute now reacted very quickly, as it acknowledged Grimm and his interest for Dutch literature. In a flattering letter of four pages, written on 6 February 1812, Willem Bilderdijk, the secretary of the Second Class of the Institute, praised Grimm's knowledge of Dutch literature. He further expressed his pleasure in communicating with a scholar whose 'knowledge and hobby involve old Dutch literature in the broadest sense'.²⁵ Bilderdijk asked Grimm for a copy or an extract of this manuscript. To Bilderdijk's mind, the importance of the discovery and the manuscript itself could not be overestimated.

Bilderdijk's request was not only important for the literary history of the Dutch Middle Ages. There were political implications as well, as the Netherlands were annexed by France on 10 July 1810. As a consequence of this annexation, from then on French was the official language in the Netherlands. This in turn threatened the existence of the Second Class of the Institute, the class for 'Dutch' language, literature, and history. On 20 September 1810, Bilderdijk petitioned the general-lieutenant of the Dutch Departments, Charles François Lebrun, to save the Second Class. This request for the continuation of the existence of the Institute, including the Second Class, was presented by Lebrun and the chairman of the Institute, Jan Hendrik van Swinden, most notably during a meeting with the French emperor Napoleon, on 13 October 1811. A week later, on 21 October 1811, the emperor decreed that the institute could proceed as 'Institute of Amsterdam'.²⁶

23 Reifferscheid, *Briefe von Jacob Grimm an Hendrik Willem Tydeman*, pp. 19-20.

24 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et. philol. fol. 22; See Brinkman & Schenkel, *Het Comburgse handschrift*.

25 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz [= SBB-PK], Nachlass Grimm 807, pp. 1-2; see for a picture of the letter, Schlusemann, 'Der frühe Briefwechsel Jacob Grimms,' p. 242.

26 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap* p. 85-88.

Therefore, the discovery of the manuscript and the information provided by Grimm also had implications for the role of the Institute itself. Only four months after the assembly of the 'new' Institute on 12 February 1812, Jacob Grimm was chosen *Membre Correspondant* of the Second Class. In a letter dated 1 March 1812, Bilderdijk informed Grimm about this promotion:

It is my honour to inform you that in the assembly of 27 February, the Second Class of the Dutch institute chose you as a corresponding member. That's an honour, Sir, by which the Class believes to honour itself by associating a savant for your merits; and especially the attention you pay to the study of our language makes us hope that you will regard it as a special distinction.²⁷

On 15 April 1812, Jacob Grimm sent a reply that was mentioned in a register on 'incoming letters to the Second Class by foreign correspondents'.²⁸ Number 21 of the letters was written by Grimm on 15 April 1812, and was described in the register as follows:

By Mister Grimm, a letter of thanks for his appointment as correspondent, and notice of several news items, among which the old Dutch and other manuscripts in Germany in general, and the recently discovered in Swabia.

The letter, an answer to the letters written by Bilderdijk on 6 February and 1 March 1812, is not only mentioned in the register, but is actually present in the archive. In his letter in French, Grimm excused himself for having waited such a long time, because he had tried to get hold of the Comburg manuscript. Following Bilderdijk's request, Grimm had written twice to General Girard, the Westphalian minister at the court of the king of Württemberg, but he hadn't received an answer yet. Furthermore, Grimm wrote about publications that might be interesting for the Institute, e.g.

27 Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 807, p. 3: 'J'ai l'honneur de Vous annoncer que dans la séance du 27 dernier, la seconde classe de l'Institut Hollandais Vous a élu Membre Correspondant. C'est un hommage, Monsieur, par lequel Elle a cru s'honorer en s'associant un savant de Vos merites; et l'intérêt particulier que Vous mettez dans l'étude de notre langue nous fait espérer, que Vous l'agréez comme une distinction de sa part'.

28 This register can be found in a folder with the letters itself (Haarlem, Rijksarchief van Noordholland [= RANH], Archive KNAW, 175/75). For a better understanding of the contacts between Jacob Grimm and the Institute this folder is very important.

Weckherlin's *Beyträge zur Geschichte altteutscher Sprache und Dichtkunst*. In this book, Weckherlin described the Comburg manuscript in detail.²⁹

A few weeks later, on 25 May 1812, Grimm wrote another letter to Bilderdijk and now, he could also send him Girard's answer (9 May 1812).³⁰ Girard had responded to Grimm with the words: 'il m'a été refusé!', which meant that the authorities in Stuttgart had refused to give him the manuscript.³¹ Grimm thought that Friedrich David Gräter, who had found the manuscript, and Ferdinand Weckherlin, the Minister of Economics of the kingdom of Württemberg, didn't want to provide information about it. Both had published about the manuscript.³² In a second attachment, Grimm informed Bilderdijk about the manuscript according to the information he had found in Weckherlin. Grimm also cited from different texts, e.g. the dream allegory *Roman van de Roos* and *Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden* (the Dutch translation of the mirror for princes *Secretum Secretorum*).

In his following letter Grimm had to admit that he did not succeed in getting hold of the Comburg manuscript.³³ As proof of his efforts he also sent the letters he had received from the Secretary of State Von Vellnagel, as well as Mr. Moustier's reply (the French official at the court of Württemberg).³⁴ Only three months later, in December of the same year, Grimm sent a package to the Institute.³⁵ This parcel included the journal *Odina und*

29 Weckherlin, *Beyträge zur Geschichte altteutscher Sprache und Dichtkunst*, pp. 105-133.

30 Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/76, no. 24.

31 Attachment to Grimm's letter to the Institute on 25 May 1812; Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/76, no. 24; in the archive no. 27.

32 Gräter, *Über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Comburger Bibliothek*; Weckherlin, *Beyträge zur Geschichte altteutscher Sprache und Dichtkunst*

33 3 September 1812; Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/76, no. 27.

34 Grimm meant Christian Ludwig August Freiherr von Vellnagel (1764-1853) and Clément-Edouard Comte de Moustier (1751-1817).

35 Grimm wrote in this letter (9 to 12 December 1812): '1.) A volume of Old German poems, which has been under way since March 1812 and which has come back all the time. 2.) a volume of *Odina und Teutona* 3.) and 4.) two volumes of the *Hildebrandslied*, one of which Mr. Tydeman is friendly asked to send to Mr. van Wijn in The Hague 5.) an announcement of the 'Altdeutsche Wälder' 6.) a review of a grammar of Old Islandic 7.) an announcement of the *Bibliotheca vaticana* by Görres'. (Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/76, letters by foreign correspondents, no. 30); in German Grimm wrote: '1.) einen Band der Samml. altdeutscher Gedichte, der schon seit März d. J. verschiedentlich unterwegs war und immer wieder zurückgelaufen ist. 2.) ein Ex. von *Odina und Teutona* 3.) u. 4.) noch zwei Exempl. des *Hildebrandliedes*, deren eines Hr. Tydeman so gut seyn will, an Hr. v. Wijn im Haag zu besorgen. 5.) eine Ankündigung unserer altdeutschen Wälder. 6.) eine Recension von einer isländ. Grammatik. 7.) eine Anzeige von Görres *Bibliotheca vaticana*'.

Teutona with an edition of the *Reinaert* by Gräter (1812),³⁶ three samples of *Hildebrandslied* and *Wessobrunner Gebet*, edited by him and his brother Wilhelm,³⁷ a review on a grammar of Icelandic and a survey of ten pages on the words for the male and female chicken and their names (e.g. Coppe, Cantecler) in different languages (see figure 1).³⁸

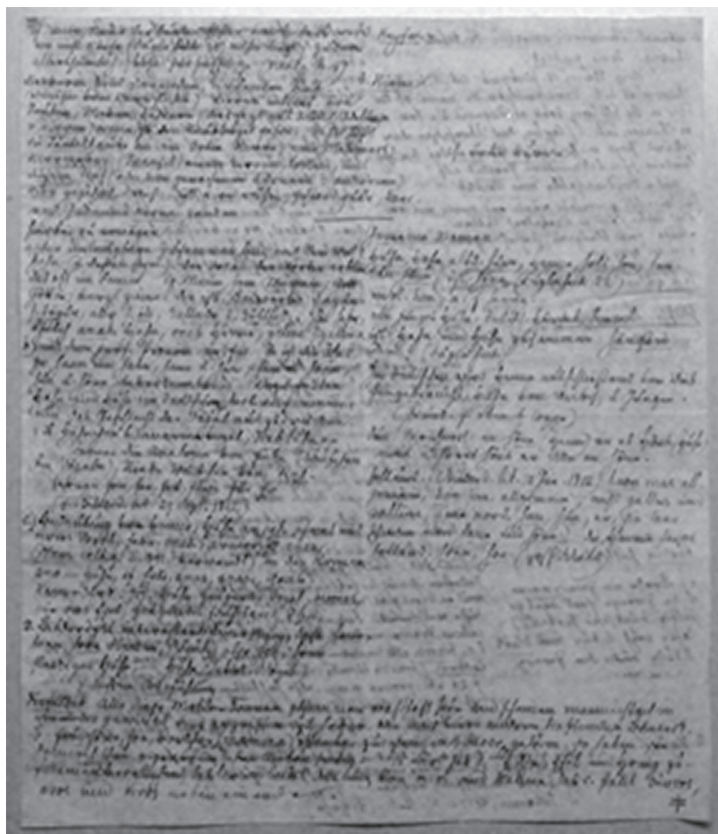


Fig. 1: Part of an appendix (page eight of ten pages) to the letter written by Jacob Grimm to the institute on 9 to 12 December 1812.³⁹ Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, Inv.no. 176/75, no. 30.

36 Published in: *Odina und Teutonia; ein neues litterarisches Magazin der teutschen und nordischen Vorzeit*, vol. 1 (Breslau, 1812).

37 Grimm, *Die beiden ältesten deutschen Gedichte* (1812). One sample was intended for the Institute, one for Tydeman and the third for Van Wijn.

38 Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, Inv. no. 175/76, no. 30.

39 Because of the condition of the very thin paper it is very difficult to read and /or to reproduce the appendix.

In February 1813, Bilderdijk wrote a letter to Grimm to thank him for his package. This letter was accompanied by an elaborate reaction concerning the history of language. Between 1812 and 1816, the correspondence between Bilderdijk as secretary of the Institute and Jacob Grimm consists of 21 letters. The contacts between the Institute and Grimm in these years show Grimm's endeavours to provide the Institute with new and current information about the studies on German and Dutch language and literature in Germany. The Institute regarded Grimm's efforts with the following words: 'We thank you for the steps you have taken'.⁴⁰ At the same time, the Institute expressed its gratitude with a new nomination.

Grimm membre associé – second phase

The second phase of the correspondence started with Jacob Grimm's election as *membre associé* ('associated member') in 1816. After Willem I had been chosen King of the Netherlands on 16 March 1815, the articles of the Second Class were changed. Now it was possible to choose important scientists as associate members. Four of these new members came from abroad. Grimm was the first foreigner to be elected as an associate member of the Second Class on the assembly of 8 August 1816.⁴¹ Now he had the right to take part in meetings and to discuss and decide about scientific questions. This honourable promotion, which, up to now, has been neglected in research, can be seen as an indication of the growth of Grimm's reputation, despite the failure of his efforts regarding the Comburg manuscript.

On 16 September 1816, Bilderdijk informed him about the honourable promotion in French:

announcing to you the choice by which our Class believes to honour itself, by providing to you the title and the quality of one of its four associated members, which are suitable for foreigners. Until now, Monsieur, it has only had correspondents; but the goodness of the King, our sovereign, allowed us to have a small number of associates, to choose the most distinguished among the foreign savants, the Class

40 Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 807, letter of 22 June 1813: 'Vous remerciant des démarches que Vous avez faites'.

41 The others were: Heinrich Storch (1766-1835), German-Russian economist and resident of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Petersburg; Charles Pougens (1755-1833), printer and librarian in Paris; and Robert Southey (1774-1843) in London. In the manuscript the last name is spelt 'Soulthy' which must be a mistake.

didn't hesitate to nominate you as the first, and the approbation of the monarch who has confirmed our choice, directly asked us to present to you this expression of estimation and distinction. With this title, Monsieur, you enjoy the right of sessions and [the right] to vote in all our scientific counsels.⁴²

Grimm also expressed his gratitude to Bilderdijk in French: 'express in my name the respectful sentiments because I have entered this illustrious corps'.⁴³ He also informed Bilderdijk about his new job at the museum in Kassel. In his correspondence with Bilderdijk, Grimm wrote about different matters, and he even built up a kind of personal relationship with him.

Because of conflicts with other members of the Second Class, Willem Bilderdijk resigned as secretary on 27 November 1816, one day before the first public meeting of the Class.⁴⁴ The correspondence between Grimm and the Second Class continued despite Bilderdijk's resignation. Samuel Wiselius (1769-1845), lawyer and poet, director of the Amsterdam police from 1814, was appointed as secretary of the Second Class in 1816.⁴⁵ He continued the correspondence with Jacob Grimm and sent him invitations. The character of the correspondence changed, and can be described as business-like.

On 11 December 1816, Wiselius sent him several samples of a promotional contest the Second Class announced: 'Promotional contest proposed for the contest of the second class of the royal Dutch institute of science,

42 Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 807, p. 29: 'Vous annonçant le choix par lequel notre Classe s'a crû honorer en Vous revêtant du titre et de la qualité de l'un des ses quatre membres associés, qu'elle vient de s'approprier dans l'étranger. Jusqu'ici, Monsieur, elle n'a eû que des Correspondans; mais la bonté du Roi notre Souveraine, nous ayant permis d'avoir un petit nombre d'Associés, à choisir parmi les savans étrangers des plus distingués, la Classe n'a pas tardé de Vous nommer le premier, et l'approbation du Monarque qui a confirmé notre choix, nous a mis à même de Vous présenter cette marque d'estime et de distinction. A ce titre, Monsieur, Vous jouerez du droit de séance et de celui de Voter dans toutes nos deliberations scientifiques'.

43 Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/86, no. 1: '[...] exprimer en mon nom les sentimens respectueux, dont je suis penetré envers ce corps illustre [...]']

44 Scholarship on this topic gives different reasons for Bilderdijk's resignation: some assume that Bilderdijk lost his trust in the Second Class because not he, but Capelle was appointed as a professor of Dutch language and literature at the 'Athenaeum' (high school) of Amsterdam. Bilderdijk also thought that an essay written by Matthijs Siegenbeek, the professor for Dutch at the University of Leiden, was not fit to be published. The other members of the Second Class, however, permitted the publication (Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, p. 111).

45 Samuel Wiselius was the former lawyer at the court of Holland, who was dismissed after he had acted against the French government. After that he wrote poems and plays.

literature and the fine arts in the Low Countries, in its public session in 1816.⁴⁶ Wiselius asked Grimm to send the announcement to different German journals, such as *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeige* [sic], *Jenaer, Hallische, and Leipziger Litteratur Zeitung*, and to distribute the others to 'those who seem convenient to you'.⁴⁷

In the following years, Wiselius continued this policy (e.g. on 9 November 1817 and on 10 October 1818), and Jacob Grimm informed the Institute about important discoveries, e.g. the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulphilas, found by Angelo Mai, librarian of the Ambrosian library in Milano.⁴⁸ As Grimm had been asked to write a review about this manuscript, his letter was accompanied by a review of four pages. Only a few days later, on 30 October 1817, Grimm sent a new letter with information about a manuscript from Flanders, which he had found in Paris (see figure 2).⁴⁹ This Latin manuscript with the *Ysengrimus* was written in Ghent in the 12th century.⁵⁰ In this letter, Grimm also sent an announcement of his work *Reinhart Fuchs*.⁵¹

Again and again the Institute expressed its gratitude for Grimm's work and for the information he delivered to the Institute. On 9 November 1817, Wiselius writes: 'I hope I don't have to tell you to what extent our Institute, which has the honour to rank you among its associates, considers itself obliged to you for the very interesting messages'.⁵²

On 12 March 1819, Grimm sent a volume of his grammar which he had just published: 'It is my honour to address to you a copy of my German grammar, which you can offer in my name to the second class of the Institute'.⁵³ In this

46 Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 572,7: 'Programme des prix proposés au concours par la deuxième classe de l'institut royal des sciences, de littérature et des beaux arts dans les pays-bas, dans sa séance publique de 1816'.

47 'Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeige [sic], Jenaer, Hallische, et Leipziger Litteratur Zeitung, et de distribuer les autres à ceux que Vous jugerez convenir'.

48 Letter of 21 October 1817; Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/86, no. 3. The letter has been transcribed by De Jong 2005, pp. 68–71.

49 Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/86, no. 4.

50 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 8494. This discovery was a sensation as he was the first to discover an *Ysengrimus*-manuscript. The *Ysengrimus*, about 6500 verses long, is very important for the development of the animal epic as it is the oldest version with names for the fox and the wolf and their presentation as antagonists (see, for more information, Mann, *Ysengrimus*, p. 10).

51 In the end, the book was published in 1834 (see Grimm, *Reinhart Fuchs*)

52 Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 572, 2: 'Je n'aurai pas besoin, j'espere, de Vous dire, en quel point la deuxième Classe de notre Institut, qui s'honore de vous compter, Monsieur, parmi ses Associés, se trouve obligée à Vous, pour des communications aussi intéressantes'.

53 Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, 175/86, no. 8: 'J'ai lhonneur [sic] de vous adresser un exemplaire de ma grammaire allemande, que vous voudrez bien remettre en mon nom à la

Not. 5. 11.
 Notice d'un poëme latin du douzième siècle
 traitant la fable de renard et d'Isengrin.

Ayant travaillé sur les anciennes poésies extraites de la fable
 du loup et du renard tant en allemand qu'en français, je
 fus conforme de plus en plus dans mon opinion, qu'il
 devoit y avoir eu des ouvrages latins antérieurs à l'époque
 du treizième siècle et qui auroient servi en quelque
 manière de base aux poëmes composés sur le même sujet
 en langue vulgaire. Aucun littérateur cependant ne
 connoissoit un tel ouvrage et tous les auteurs, qui ont
 tâché d'éclaircir les origines de cette célèbre fable, en
 honorent tout à fait l'existence. Néanmoins plusieurs
 citations, que je rencontrai dans un petit volume de
 Florius, intitulé: *Horilogus sive flores poetarum de virtutibus
 et vitiis*. Coloniae ~~1505~~ 1505. in 12^{mo} durent me
 persuader, que cet écrivain avoit eu entre ses mains
 et extrait un poëme latin, nommé par lui *Isengrinus*,
 en vers de dogriques. On peut consulter là-dessus Sa-
 bocius *bibl. lat. Tom. 3. p. 226-230*, qui rapporte quatre
 de ces citations. Mais rien ne me présageoit, que cet ouvrage
 pourroit encore exister de sa part et notre littérature
 se voit privée d'une source, qui selon toutes les appa-
 rences auroit dû fournir des résultats importants pour

Fig. 2: Beginning of an appendix to a letter written by Jacob Grimm to the Institute on 30 October 1817. Haarlem, RANH, Archive KNAW, Inv.no. 175/86, no. 4.

letter he also mentioned that he didn't have any contact with journals to which he could send the programme of the Institute, except for the journal in Göttingen. In the following letter, Wiselius expressed his gratitude for Grimm's efforts and informed him that his package for Tydeman had already been sent.

Conclusion

In their period of correspondence, the Institute and Jacob Grimm respect each other as very important partners in the exchange of scientific information. Grimm informs the Institute about discoveries which could be interesting for the sciences studied by the Institute. Additionally, he sent several of his own publications and book announcements. He also sent his own publications and announcements intended for colleagues like Hendrik Willem Tydeman and Hendrik van Wijn. After Bilderdijk's resignation, the character of the correspondence changed because Wiselius acted as a 'normal' secretary, and did not discuss matters of linguistic history as Bilderdijk had done before. This does not imply that the correspondence became less friendly. The esteem between the two parties endured.

Jacob Grimm's esteem in the Netherlands and in Belgium started in 1812, expanded to more and more Dutch (and Belgian) correspondents, stabilized in the following years and, in the end, became self-evident. The correspondence can be regarded as an international exchange of important scientific information, and therefore as a predecessor to the development of scientific journals.

This illustration of scientific contacts between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and their Dutch and Belgian colleagues opens up a number of avenues for future research. First, this correspondence with the Institute can be compared to other institutions in the Netherlands and in Belgium. For example, the correspondence between Jacob Grimm and the *Maatschapij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* ('Society for Dutch Literature') in Leiden is also very important. In a recent article I have pointed out that Jacob Grimm was chosen as a member of the 'Society' on 13 July 1813 already.⁵⁴

deuxième classe de l'Institut'. Grimms means the first part of his grammar which he wrote per quire. He printed every quire which was ready, separately (Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*).
54 See in more detail Schlusemann, 'Uit hoofde van Uwe kunde en verdiensten'.

He was elected because of his 'knowledge and merit'.⁵⁵ In a letter several decades later, Bodel Nijenhuis is reminiscent of Grimm's membership and emphasized his great efforts for linguistics as well as his close relationship with Dutch science. The last letter of the correspondence between the 'Society' and Grimm has been discovered recently as well. On 18 June 1863, Jacob Grimm was elected as an honourable member after completing his 50 years of membership. On this date, shortly before his death, Jacob Grimm expressed his gratitude for this rare honour: 'I ask you to express my gratitude to the Society of Dutch Literature. [...] It makes me happy to belong to a society which honoured me with a membership such a long time ago [...] I feel refreshed with this renewed honour'.⁵⁶

Secondly, the edition of the correspondence with all the partners in the Netherlands and in Belgium can provide the basis for a deeper investigation of the scientific relations during the emergence of the Dutch and German academic 'national' philologies in the nineteenth century. Grimm also corresponded with other important Dutch and Belgian scientists such as Willem Jonckbloet,⁵⁷ Matthias de Vries,⁵⁸ Jan Frans Willems⁵⁹, and Joast Hiddes Halbertsma.⁶⁰

In the future, it would be very valuable to analyse the development of the contacts and how the growing network was established. In a more general European perspective, the character of the relationship between Dutch and German philologies could be compared to the meta-national relations of other sciences such as history or theology, or to the relations between other philologies such as German and English as well as Dutch and French.

55 'Uit hoofde van uwe kunde en verdiensten' (Berlin, SBB-PK, Nachlass Grimm 1230). See the transcription of the letter in Schlusemann, 'Jacob Grimm: pionier van de Neerlandistiek', p. 154-155. Grimm's election can also be found in the minutes of the meeting on 7 July 1813 (see *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij* 1813, no. X; dbnl.nl).

56 The letter (now: Leiden, UB, Archief van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, map 93) has been published in Schlusemann, 'Der frühe Briefwechsel Grimms', p. 244.

57 Soeteman, 'Ein bei de Vreese fehlender Brief von Grimm'; Soeteman, 'Vijf brieven van Jonckbloet aan Grimm'.

58 Karsten, de Vries en Halbertsma op het eerste Germanistencongres; Soeteman, 'Ein bei de Vreese fehlender Brief von Grimm'.

59 De Vreese, 'Briefwisseling van Willems en Grimm'; Deprez & De Smedt, 'Drie nieuwe brieven van Willems aan Grimm'.

60 Sijmons, 'Briefwechsel zwischen Grimm und Halbertsma'; Feitsma, 'Halbertsma und Grimm' and idem, 'Halbertsma und Grimm II'; Zutt, 'Halbertsma en de taalkundige opvattingen van Bilderdijk en Grimm'; De Jong, 'Halbertsma, Grimm and Castiglioni' and idem, *Knooppunt Halbertsma*.

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