The multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)

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To Ad Leerintveld. A Scholar and a Gentleman

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List of Abbreviations

CH 88	Huygens, Christiaan (1888-1950). *Oeuvres complètes*, 22 vols. The Hague: Nijhoff.
CH Jr. 76	Huygens, Constantijn, Jr. (1876-1888). *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon: van 21 October 1688 tot 2 September 1696*, 3 pts (part 3: *Journalen van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon*). Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon.
KB	*Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, The Hague.
LH 05	Huygens, Lodewijck (2005). *Spaans journaal: Reis naar het hof van de Koning van Spanje, 1660-1661*, trans. and ed. by M. Ebben. Zutphen: Walburg.
LH 82	Huygens, Lodewijck (1982). *The English Journal, 1651-1652*, trans. and ed. by A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer. Leiden: Brill.
LUL	Leiden University Library
MD	*Momenta Desultoria*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (of the Bible)
N.S.	New Style (of dating)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
O.S.	Old Style (of dating)

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Prologue

The aim of this book is to provide a comprehensive account of the multilingualism of the Dutch statesman and man of letters, Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). He used eight languages – Dutch, French, Latin, Greek, Italian, English, Spanish, and (High) German – in the majority of his correspondence and poetry, although he also engaged with other languages, including Hebrew and Portuguese, to a lesser extent. During his long life he wrote and received a vast number of letters in these languages both in a private capacity and in the various functions he carried out for the House of Orange, including that of secretary to two stadholders from 1625-1650. He also wrote many thousands of poems on a whole range of subjects. In his letters and poems he sometimes used only one of these languages, whilst at other times he used more than one, engaging in bilingual and indeed multilingual code switching.[1] Furthermore, Huygens studied and wrote on a wide range of subjects, notably architecture, music, and natural science. His skills as a multilingual are again much in evidence in his engagement with these subjects.

Thankfully, we have much source material evincing Huygens's multilingualism. Many of his letters and poems are preserved in manuscripts, above all, in the archives of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, and many of his poems were published during his lifetime. Furthermore, a significant amount of secondary literature has been produced which contains transcriptions of and commentaries on these primary sources. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries J.A. Worp published extensive multivolume editions of Huygens's verse and correspondence. The scale of each undertaking has not subsequently been surpassed. However, Worp's editions have a number of errors and limitations. More recent editions of Huygens's work have attempted to address these issues. In regard to his poetry, the most significant publication is Ad Leerintveld's edition of Huygens's early Dutch poetry up to and including the year 1625. To this can be added Tineke ter Meer's edition of his early Latin verse, and a number of editions devoted to some of Huygens's longer poems, such as Frans Blom's 2003 edition of Huygens's autobiographical Latin poem *De Vita Propria* and Ton van Strien's 2008 edition of the Dutch poem *Hofwijck*. The most significant recent edition in relation to Huygens's correspondence

1 Sometimes the term 'code switching' is written in the literature as two separate words, sometimes with a hyphen, sometimes as one word.

is that published by Rudolph Rasch in 2007. Rasch is a musicologist, and his edition provides complete transcriptions from manuscript, containing three hundred letters to and from Huygens on the subject of music, together with Dutch translations and commentaries. This wealth of primary and secondary material is one reason why Huygens makes a good subject for a study such as this. He was by no means the only multilingual in the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, and so the central question that I shall work towards answering in this book is: What is the particularity of Huygens's multilingualism? The chapters of the book are arranged in such a way as to answer this question.

Chapter 1, 'Multilingualism: An Introduction', considers what multilingualism means when it is applied to an individual, such as Huygens, and then examines what I call the 'multilingual landscape' of the United Provinces in the early modern period. By this I mean what factors contributed to multilingualism in the United Provinces at this time, which languages were used, in which social domains or communities these languages were written and spoken, and how their fortunes changed during the course of the early modern period. This will provide the necessary background for the rest of this book.

Chapter 2, 'Huygens's Language Acquisition', begins by discussing why Huygens learnt the eight languages that formed the core of his multilingualism and then considers in chronological order how he learnt and developed his knowledge of each language in his early years. In truth, his choice of languages is not in itself remarkable: to a certain extent, it was pre-determined, as he was destined for a career in administration for the House of Orange. Rather, it is the variety of ways in which Huygens applied his knowledge of these languages that is striking and demands our attention.

Chapter 3, 'The "Multidimensionality" of Huygens's Multilingualism', picks up this theme and looks in detail at what makes Huygens's multilingualism distinctive. After providing an account of how he used each of his core languages in his poetry and correspondence, I consider other languages with which he engaged; his use of Dutch dialects, often for comic effect; his coinage of neologisms in a number of languages; evidence for his spoken use of languages; and the multilingualism of his vast library. What becomes apparent is how his use of language was shaped by his great learning, his sense of humour, and by his manifold interests beyond the relatively narrow confines of serving the House of Orange.

Chapter 4, 'Huygens's Multilingualism in Music, Science, and Architecture', examines how Huygens used his linguistic knowledge in these three areas of extra-curricular activity. It was above all his knowledge of

vernacular languages, notably, French, Italian, and English, which allowed him to read and write about each of these subjects and to establish networks for the exchange of ideas and information about them. Furthermore, his linguistic knowledge allowed him to open doors, both for himself and others, which might otherwise have remained closed.

Chapter 5, 'Huygens and Translation', discusses what Huygens himself had to say on the subject of translation, how he developed as a translator, and what material he translated into which language. He translated primarily into Dutch, most notably, nineteen poems by John Donne in the early 1630s. However, he also translated into other languages, in particular Latin and French, once more demonstrating his great versatility and dexterity as a linguist. One distinctive feature of Huygens's translation is the extent to which he produced translations of his own poetry or 'self-translated'. In two cases he produced poems in his eight core languages on the same theme. Here, the question arises as to whether he was translating or code switching.

Chapter 6, 'Code Switching in Huygens's Work', considers why Huygens practised code switching. Two principal influences on him seem to be at work in this regard; one is the notion of *imitatio* of classical models, such as the work of Cicero. It is striking how often the reasons for Huygens's code switching mirror those of Roman authors who code switched into Greek. The other influence on Huygens's code switching is 'macaronics', the playful mixing of languages that emerged with the rise of vernaculars on the cusp of the late medieval and early modern periods. In 1625 Huygens produced a fine macaronic poem, entitled *Olla Podrida*, in which he changes language in each line whilst maintaining rhyming couplets. In some sense code switching provided a perfect linguistic storm for Huygens, as it allowed him to marry his vast knowledge of languages and literary sources with his innate sense of humour and love of word play.

Chapter 7, 'The Multilingualism of Huygens's Children', is something of a coda for this study, but also a return to Huygens's own linguistic beginnings, as it considers how he passed his love of languages and recognition of their usefulness onto his children. Whilst the opportunity for language acquisition given to his daughter, Susanna, was limited, no expense was spared in educating his sons in the languages that Huygens considered important for them: Christiaan became one of the leading scientists of his day; Constantijn Jr. became secretary to William, prince of Orange, later King William III; and Lodewijck took part in diplomatic missions for the Dutch Republic. In each case, the sons were able to put their knowledge of languages to good use.

Here is perhaps the best place to comment on a couple of decisions I have made regarding the layout of my book. Rather than including citations in footnotes, I have chosen to use in-text parenthetical citations, following the practice of other recent works in this field, such as Roland Willemyns's history of the Dutch language, published in 2013. Where there is only one entry for an author or combination of authors in the bibliography I only give the author's name together with the page number(s) in the in-text citation, for example '(Willemyns: 23)'. Where there is more than one entry for an author/authors in the bibliography, I give the relevant year as well, for example '(Leerintveld 2008: 20)'. In both cases, where the reference is to a work in general rather than to a specific page number, the in-text citation contains both the author's name and year of publication, for example '(Willemyns 2013)'. As I note in Chapter 1, in-text parenthetical citations in the form (1, 20) refer to the volume (1) and letter (20) of the edition of Huygens's correspondence published by J.A. Worp (Huygens 1911-17). In-text parenthetical citations in the form (VI, 30) refer to the volume (VI) and page (30) of the edition of Huygens's verse published by Worp (Huygens 1892-9). My use of capitalization in foreign language titles reflects that used in the original works. For the translations of these titles, I follow English language rules for capitalization. Finally, in relation to block quotations, all such quotations are given in italics. For my translations of block quotations, I use standard font in square brackets.

After a short epilogue, I conclude with an appendix containing my translations of some of Huygens's poems referred to elsewhere in the book. Indeed, I have endeavoured throughout this book to provide translations into English of Huygens's work in different languages. This has sometimes proved challenging where a play on words is at work (in one or two instances in three languages), and I have found some of his Latin verse to be very terse (no rhyme intended) and difficult to render into English, and am grateful in particular to Ton Harmsen for his assistance in this regard. Nevertheless, what I hope I have managed to do is to bring to life something of the richly varied and distinctive manner in which Constantijn Huygens applied his knowledge of languages and to capture something of the inexhaustible creativity (one might even say, magic) which flowed from his pen when he put his multilingualism to work.

1. Multilingualism: An Introduction

In this introductory chapter I want to set the scene for the rest of this book. The principal subject of this volume is the multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens, so, in order to provide the necessary background for this study, consideration will be given to what multilingualism is. I shall begin by exploring how the term can be applied to an individual, such as Huygens, and then discuss how it can be applied to the nation or society. In regard to the latter, an account will be provided of various aspects of multilingualism in Huygens's native country, the United Provinces, in the early modern period.[1] He operated in a number of social domains, and so consideration will be given to which languages were used in each of these contexts. I shall also introduce other multilinguals in the United Provinces at this time, with some of whom Huygens was in close contact, in order to give a sense of the particularity or otherwise of his own multilingualism. Furthermore, a brief account will be given of the multilingual landscape of another country with which Huygens had dealings, England, in order to place his own multilingualism and that of the United Provinces in a broader context. In short, this chapter provides the framework within which to place the specific material concerning the multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens, which will be presented in the remainder of this book.

What Is Multilingualism?

I make a start by asking what multilingualism is. In his response to this question, Michael Clyne begins by stating that the term 'multilingualism' can refer either to the language use of an individual or to that of an entire nation or society.[2] I take this two-fold definition and consider first how the term is applied to an individual, such as Constantijn Huygens, and thereafter how it applies to a nation, primarily the United Provinces but also its maritime neighbour, England.

1 For a recent concise introduction in English to the United Provinces in the early modern period, see Prak (2005). This does, though, only include a couple of references to Constantijn Huygens.

2 In a section on terminology, Aronin and Singleton (7) note that some recent commentators in sociolinguistics apply the term 'multilinguality' (and 'bilinguality') to an individual and 'multilingualism' (and 'bilingualism') to a group or society. In this discussion I use the term 'multilingualism' for both the individual and group. See also Grosjean (2010).

Individual Multilingualism

In relation to how the term 'multilingualism' is applied to the individual, Clyne notes that 'normative' definitions, which attempt to prescribe closely what is and what is not multilingualism, have proved unrealistic. This has led to more general definitions, such as 'the use of or competence in more than one language' (Clyne 1997: 301). We find another similarly general definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). This is twofold: the ability to speak several or many languages and the use of several or many languages. As Clyne notes, such general definitions allow for further refinement, as the particular case under consideration requires. Here, the definition given by the *OED* will be taken as a starting point, and an analysis of its constituent parts will be provided in a manner which allows us to understand better how the term may be applied to the specific case of Constantijn Huygens.

The former element of the *OED* definition, that is, 'the ability to speak', places an emphasis on speaking a language, which is only one of the four skills generally associated with the acquisition of a language. In the context of this study on the historical use of language, speaking will only play a minor role, as the vast majority of source material provides evidence of writing and reading. Nevertheless, where evidence does exist concerning Huygens's speaking of languages, this will be adduced as appropriate (see Chapter 3).

The *OED* definition also does not tell us precisely what 'an ability' is in relation to the knowledge of a particular language. Competence in a language may range from the ability to speak a few words, to the ability to hold an everyday conversation, to the ability to write a book about a particular branch of human knowledge in that language. Furthermore, it can prove difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty precisely what an individual's ability in a language is. This is particularly so when considering the case of a historical figure, such as Constantijn Huygens, as our record of his use of languages, although extensive, is by no means complete. In relation to Hebrew, we know that he could write the alphabet and owned a number of Hebrew lexicons and grammars and two Hebrew Bibles. However, we have no evidence of him composing Hebrew, such as in a letter or a poem. This contrasts with his contemporary and correspondent, Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678), who both corresponded and wrote poetry in Hebrew (Van Beek 2004a: 33-40).

The second element of the *OED* definition of multilingualism is 'the use of several or many languages'. If someone uses a number of languages, we need to ask questions such as: How often does he or she use these languages and

in what context(s)? For example, can one be said to be a multilingual user of language if one's primary use is to read and translate it? From the evidence we have, Huygens's primary application of his knowledge of German was to translate a large number of apothegms from German into Dutch (see Chapter 5) and to read correspondence addressed to him in German (see Chapter 3). There is no record of Huygens having spoken German, although given the closeness of Dutch and German, he may not have felt the need to record any such instances (cf. Smits-Veldt and Abrahamse: 238). Neither do we have any record of him having composed a full letter in German. That said, the few verses of German poetry that we have indicate that he could use the language actively and not merely passively. Of course, even though Huygens preserved much of what he wrote and recorded notable events in his life, there may well have been other evidence concerning his use of German that has not survived. William Labov summed up this problem well when he wrote that 'the fragments of the literary record that remain are the result of historical accidents beyond the control of the investigator' (Labov: 20).

As well as considering what we mean by the terms 'ability' and 'use', we also need to examine a number of other questions in order to be able to give a comprehensive account of how the term 'multilingualism' can be applied to the individual. The first of these is what constitutes a language. On one level it is appropriate to state that Huygens had an ability in and used eight languages: Dutch, French, Latin, Greek, Italian, English, Spanish, and German; although, as we have just seen, the evidence that we have concerning his ability in and use of German is somewhat limited. If we go to the other end of the spectrum and examine what it meant for Huygens to know and use Dutch, which he himself referred to as his *vernaculus*, usually translated as *moedertaal* ('mother tongue'), then we see that he in fact used a number of Dutch dialects in given situations, and that some of these dialects are quite different and almost mutually unintelligible.[3] The most pertinent example of this is his exploitation of the near mutual unintelligibility of the *Hollands* and *Antwerps* dialects of Dutch for comic

3 For the use of *vernaculus*, see Huygens (1897: passim). This is typically translated as *moedertaal* ('mother tongue') by Dutch scholars. See Huygens (1987: 38) and Huygens (2003b: I, 66-7, line 55; 68-9, line 80). The term 'mother tongue' is, though, problematic. One study on the subject of 'mother tongue' argues that it can have any of six possible definitions (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (pp. 23-8) (henceforth '23-8'), quoted in Kecskes and Papp (1); see also Aronin and Singleton (3) and Pattanayak (passim)). I avoid using the term in this study as far as possible.

effect in his play, *Trijntje Cornelis*, written in 1653 (see Chapter 6).[4] There is a saying that a language is simply a dialect with a navy (or with a flag). Although this is somewhat humorous, it does contain a grain of truth, as it points to the fact that the distinction we may wish to draw between a language and a dialect is by no means a clear-cut one. Social and political factors, and not merely linguistic ones, often play a role in defining whether we are dealing with a language or dialect. So, when we discuss someone's multilingualism, we need to consider not only his or her knowledge and use of what are generally considered to be languages, but also the knowledge and use of dialects. In Huygens's case, he could clearly discern dialects of other languages.[5] However, in the work we have he only made use of dialectal difference in Dutch, often for the purpose of humour, and reference will be made to such cases at appropriate points in this book.[6] I should also note here that there is a marked difference between the Dutch Huygens used in his poetry and that which he used in his correspondence. The former is much closer to the everyday, spoken language than the latter, which is typically more formal (see Chapter 3).

There is inevitably a temporal dimension to multilingualism, in terms of both someone's knowledge and use of languages. In Huygens's case, the first record we have of him learning Spanish formally is in 1624, when he was in his late twenties. The first piece of evidence we have of him using the language actively is a multilingual poem that he wrote in 1625 (II, 111).[7] During his visit to Venice in 1620, he notes that the Doge (no less) praised his spoken Italian. Although it is likely that Huygens subsequently sang Italian, we have no further record of him speaking the language, and his written use of it in his later years was quite limited. At the core of Huygens's multilingualism were three languages: Dutch, French, and Latin. We can even

4 *Antwerps* is a variant or subdialect of *Brabants*. In a letter to his friend, Jacob Westerbaen, concerning *Trijntje Cornelis*, Huygens himself refers to the dialect he uses in the play as *Brabants* (*Idioma Brabanticum*) (5, 5316), although in the literature, and in the present volume, it is referred to as *Antwerps*.

5 In the journal he wrote of his diplomatic visit to Venice in 1620, Huygens comments that in the region around Chur, he heard *Venetien* ('Venetian') spoken. His ear may have been attuned to Venetian when learning Italian, for one of his tutors, Giovanni Francesco Biondi, came from Venice (see Chapter 2).

6 Huygens's knowledge and use of (Dutch) dialects is part of a wider pattern of interest in nonstandard forms of languages in early modern Europe, which, according to Peter Burke (2004: 36), may be linked to the rediscovery of ancient Greece and the range of dialects spoken there.

7 Huygens 1892-9: II, 111. As in this case, henceforth I shall give the volume number in Roman numerals and the page number in Arabic numerals in the body of the text for references to Worp's edition of Huygens's poems. See the bibliography for websites containing Huygens's poems.

talk in terms of 'triglossia', that is, where three languages are used by the same person in different 'linguistic domains'.[8] In very broad terms, Huygens used Latin for intellectual and cultural purposes, French for communicating with those at court and diplomats, and Dutch for everyday conversation and communication with people in the Dutch Republic.[9] However, there were many exceptions to this, and, furthermore, his use of each language changed over time. Although, as noted above, Dutch was his mother or native tongue, Huygens later recorded in the verse autobiography he completed in 1678 that in the process of acquiring a knowledge of French, he learnt it so well that it had nearly become his first language. Likewise, in the prose autobiography he wrote in his early thirties he notes that when he was learning Latin, he was required to use the language on a daily basis, which almost led him to lose the habit of using Dutch (Huygens 1987: 44) (see Chapter 2). Much of Huygens's early poetry was written in Latin. However, after the publication of his collection of Latin poetry, *Momenta Desultoria*, in 1644 and again in 1655, his production gradually diminished, and, in the last five years of his life, he only wrote nine per cent of his verse in Latin (see Chapter 3). This does not mean that his knowledge of the language diminished but merely that his use of it did.

One other aspect of Huygens's multilingualism, which helps to shed light on the question of what the multilingualism of the individual is, concerns code switching. This is such an important part of Huygens's multilingualism that I devote a whole chapter to it (Chapter 6). In his Latin letters Huygens often inserts Greek quotations from authors such as Euripides, Aeschylus, and the Gospel writers. This was common practice in the early modern period, and we find it in letters addressed to Huygens by correspondents such as Caspar Barlaeus and Anna Maria van Schurman, mentioned above. The practice obviously demonstrates a certain knowledge and use of Greek. However, this is quite different from the production of one's own texts in Greek. In relation to such cases, it is reasonable to ask whether the writer is evincing multilingualism or merely parroting the words of the Greek authors without demonstrating an active ability to use the language. Walter Berschin describes the case of Nicholas of Cusa. He inserted Greek quotations, which were translations of Latin originals to which he had access,

8 A term used in sociolinguistics to mean 'situations of linguistic use', e.g., working environment, friends, family, church, etc. See Fishman (1965). Cf. De Smet (266) and Burke (2004: 71-5).

9 Clyne (1997: 309) refers to the use of a given language in a given context in a multilingual environment as 'functional distribution'. Although he applies the term to societies rather than individuals, it could be used to apply to the way in which individuals use language.

so he did not demonstrate that he was *utriusque linguae peritus* (Berschin: 279). By contrast, Huygens frequently demonstrated that he was not simply lifting Greek quotations for which he had the Latin original, as he often adapted the quotations he inserted to fit the grammar and context of the (usually) Latin text.[10] Thereby to my mind he evinced multilingualism.[11] For a further example which poses the question of whether Huygens was practising multilingualism or not, see the discussion in Chapter 6 on a letter that he wrote to Robert Hooke in 1673 (6, 6909).

This, then, provides us with an introduction to the question of what multilingualism is when applied to an individual, and illustrates that when applied to Constantijn Huygens, it is by no means an easy question to answer. In the rest of the book, many other examples will be provided in order to illustrate further the complexity and particularity of Huygens's multilingualism. For the remainder of this chapter, consideration is given to what the term 'multilingualism' means when applied to a nation, specifically the United Provinces, during Huygens's lifetime in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A nation, of course, comprises a number of social groups, and at this time the languages used within social groups in the United Provinces varied, and the relationship between the languages changed over time. In the course of this discussion, examples of other multilinguals living in the United Provinces will be provided and a brief account given of the multilingualism of a nation with whose inhabitants Huygens regularly engaged: England.

Multilingualism in the United Provinces in the Early Modern Period

Although sections of society within the United Provinces were monolingual in the early modern period, it is reasonable to describe the country as a whole as multilingual at this time. This being so, a couple of questions arise. The first of these is why the United Provinces was a multilingual environment during the early modern period. Having considered some of the reasons for this, I examine whether the relationship between the languages, which constituted this multilingual environment, changed over time. This discussion will naturally illustrate which languages constituted

10 For more on the use of Latin in the late medieval and early modern periods, see Burke (2004: 43-60).

11 Although some recent commentators make much of the distinction between multilingualism and bilingualism (e.g. Aronin and Singleton 2012), this is not a distinction I wish to draw in this context.

the multilingual environment in the early modern United Provinces. As a footnote to this discussion, I consider briefly whether the United Provinces was unique in this regard or whether it was part of a more general pattern of multilingualism in Europe. I take the example of England, a country that Huygens visited seven times and with which he had many dealings in both a private and professional capacity. The second question is whether particular languages were used in certain social domains which can be identified in Dutch society at this time. The primary focus here is on those domains in which Huygens participated. In providing answers to each of these questions, a picture will emerge of the richness and complexity of the multilingualism in the United Provinces in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Frequent reference will be made to studies on multilingualism in the Dutch Republic during this period, such as one by Willem Frijhoff (2010).

So, let us begin by considering what the reasons were for the United Provinces being a multilingual environment at this time. The use of Latin, in particular the finely crafted Latin influenced by classical writers, such as Cicero, was an intrinsic part of the Renaissance humanist project.[12] However, by the beginning of the seventeenth century the primacy of Latin as the language of communication between learned people in Europe was being challenged. Jozef IJsewijn suggests that this was in part a consequence of the evolution of humanism which, having conquered what he calls 'the secrets of perfect classical Latin', went in search of new challenges, such as discovering the charms of languages other than Latin (IJsewijn 1990: 49).[13]

Aldo Scaglione approaches the matter from a slightly different perspective and sees the emergence of vernacular languages as a product of the Renaissance humanist interest in philology. He ascribes the emergence of vernacular languages to the realization that it was possible, after all, to codify these languages in grammars, affording them a status equal to that of Latin, which was much easier to codify given that it was no longer, in some sense, a living language (Scaglione 1984).[14] One example of this is the

12 Although Cicero's writings provided a model for earlier humanists, these were gradually replaced by 'silver age' writers, such as Tacitus. Cf. Burke (2004: 57).

13 See also Burke (2004: 43-60). For further reading on the relationship between Latin and vernaculars in the Renaissance, see Guthmüller (ed.) (1998). One idea, which was a response to the language shift away from Latin, was to develop a universal language. This was an idea in which one of Huygens's later correspondents, Robert Hooke, showed a great interest (Jardine 2003: 286).

14 The first printed grammar of a vernacular was Antonio Nebrija's *Gramática Castellana*, printed in 1492. The advent of printing in Europe in around 1450, and the consequent increase

codification of the Italian language (essentially Tuscan) in the sixteenth century by Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). The fact that Huygens owned a copy of Bembo's works is an indication of his own interest in this subject.[15]

Another feature of life in the United Provinces that resulted in multilingualism was the significant movements in population that occurred for a number of reasons (Betteridge (ed.) 2007). Many people went to the United Provinces to escape religious persecution. Some of the Calvinists who fled from their Spanish persecutors in the Southern Netherlands spoke French, collectively often referred to as Walloons, and indeed today in the Netherlands, there are over a dozen French-speaking Calvinist churches, *Eglises Wallonnes*, which provide a reminder of the debt, which Dutch Calvinism owes to French-speaking immigrants from the Southern Netherlands.[16]

Many of those who fled the Southern Netherlands, as well as early converts to Calvinism in the North, moved to England, establishing themselves in over a dozen towns and cities such as London, Colchester, Norwich, and Sandwich.[17] When Calvinism became dominant in the North, some of them moved back there and brought with them the knowledge of English they had acquired in exile. One example of this is the poet and scholar Janus Gruterus. He was born in Antwerp in 1560. As a result of religious persecution, he and his family left Antwerp and settled in Norwich in 1567. There he received tuition from a number of individuals, including a Yorkshireman, Richard Swayle, with whom he went up to Cambridge when he was sixteen.

in the availability of such grammars which printing afforded, was also a factor in the rise of vernaculars. The production of a grammar for a given language also increased its prestige over against those languages or dialects, which were not codified in this way (Burke 2004: 89). See also Law (210-57) for a good overview of the changing relationships between classical and vernacular languages in early modern Europe, and Padley (1976) for more on theory and practice in the production of grammars in the early modern period. Finally, the desire to codify vernaculars also led to an increase in the production of dictionaries in these languages. Huygens himself owned a number of monolingual and multilingual dictionaries of vernacular languages. See Chapter 3 for examples of these.

15 A catalogue of Huygens's library made shortly after his death can be consulted online at <http://www.xs4all.nl/~adcs/Huygens/varia/catal.html>. Accessed 5 May 2014. The copy of Bembo's works is inventory item *Libri Miscellanei in Octavo*, 540. For an excellent recent article on Huygens's library, see Leerintveld (2009b). See also Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of Huygens's library.

16 There are Walloon Church communities in Amsterdam, Arnhem/Nijmegen, Breda, Delft, Dordrecht, Groningen, Haarlem, The Hague, Leiden, Maastricht, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Zutphen, and Zwolle.

17 Geoffrey Parker (1977: 119) notes that in 1572, there were seventeen Dutch Calvinist communities in England. He does not list them, and the number may be a little high. I put the number at closer to twelve or thirteen.

He studied there for seven years at Gonville and Caius College before moving to Leiden and eventually on to Heidelberg, where he became professor of history.[18] Gruterus knew Greek, wrote many Dutch sonnets and Latin poems, and heard and spoke Latin at Leiden as well as the other academic institutions at which he studied and taught (Forster 1967).

Another multilingual who was born in the Low Countries, grew up in England, and then moved to the Northern Netherlands was Willem Baudaert or Baudartius (1565-1640). He was born in Deinze in Flanders: but before he was two years old, his parents fled for religious reasons to Sandwich in Kent, where he grew up. He later recorded that he spoke Dutch at home, and indeed French, as this was his mother's first tongue, and that he learnt English playing with local children on the street (Backhouse: 67). He attended the French school in Canterbury, where there was a large Walloon exile community, and subsequently the Latin school, first in Sandwich and then in Ghent, to which his family returned after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. As a student of theology in the Northern Netherlands, he studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, knowledge that he would later put to good use as one of the translators of the *Statenbijbel* ('States Bible'). Willem Frijhoff argues that although he does not make direct reference to it, Baudartius also would have learnt (High) German, having worked as a pastor for over forty years in Zutphen, close to the German border. In relation to English, Baudartius recorded that whilst in Zutphen he had conversations with English captains and officers in the garrison there and, in the late 1610s, preached to them every Sunday in English. Interestingly, in describing the languages he thought a Dutchman should know, Baudartius makes a distinction between English and Scots English. Scotland of course had a Reformed Church similar to that of the United Provinces (and was still an independent political unit at this time). The extent to which Baudartius himself was able to make this distinction is not clear, and the distinction he made may have had as much to do with religion as with language. And lest the reader think I am guilty of (Southern) English bias, Glanville Price writes about deciding whether to devote a separate chapter to Scots in his history of the languages of Britain (Price: 186):

> *In planning and writing this book, I have changed my mind four times, and, in the end, I devote a separate chapter to Scots not because I necessarily*

18 Visit <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa__001biog08_01/aa__001biog08_01_0931.php#g0931> for a short biography of Gruterus [consulted 9 May 2014]. Huygens himself met Gruterus in Heidelberg on his way to Venice in 1620 (Huygens 2003a: 68).

> *accept that it is a 'language' rather than a 'dialect' but because it has proved to be more convenient to handle it thus.*

Two languages that Baudartius specifically avoided were Spanish and Italian. The reason he gave was that they were both spoken in Catholic countries. Huygens, despite being a lifelong Calvinist, ignored such advice, seeing both languages as important for political and cultural reasons. Finally, although Baudartius did not reject the learning of Latin, he argued that one should only learn the language in order to reject the arguments of one's Catholic opponents (Frijhoff: 13-14)!

Others who moved to the United Provinces for religious reasons came from further afield, from areas such as the Italian peninsula. These included members of the Calandrini family, originally from Lucca in Tuscany, with whom Constantijn Huygens had a good deal of contact. One member of this family was Cesare Calandrini, who became a good friend of Huygens. He was born in Stade in Germany and studied at the Geneva Academy before matriculating in 1616 at Leiden University, where he met Huygens.[19] Whilst Huygens studied law, Cesare studied theology, and so would have attended lectures given in Latin, and studied Hebrew and Greek as part of his degree at Leiden. He exchanged letters with Huygens in Italian and French, the first of which date from 1617. In one of his letters Huygens asks Calandrini if his cousin could lend him an English dictionary (1, 34).[20] It is not clear whether Calandrini himself knew English at this point, but he would soon move to England, where he would use the language extensively. We return to Calandrini below.

Many soldiers, such as those to whom Baudartius preached in Zutphen, came from other countries to the United Provinces during this period, as it attempted to gain independence from Spain. In addition to those to whom

19 Cesare was the brother of Jean-Louis Calandrini, who also corresponded with Huygens and for whom Huygens wrote a Latin poem in 1613 (I, 49), which begins *Calandrine, decus iuvenum, laus summa virorum* ('O Calandrini, splendour of young men, most praiseworthy of men'). Huygens mentions their father (Jean/Giovanni) in the autobiography of his youth as the host of musical evenings led by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. So, it is likely that Huygens already knew Cesare before his time in Leiden, but clearly this time at university allowed him to get to know Cesare better and ultimately to correspond with him as discussed above.

20 This letter is reproduced in Huygens 1911-17: 1, letter 83. Henceforth, I shall give the volume and letter numbers in Arabic numerals in the body of the text (i.e., 1, 83). Where mention is made of individuals with whom Huygens exchanged more than one letter, the reference to the first letter in the correspondence is given. Huygens's correspondence is also available online at <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens> and <http://www.dbnl.org/titels/titel.php?%20id=huyg001jaw002> [consulted 13 March 2014].

he preached and other officers and soldiers from England, such as Ben Jonson, whom Huygens probably met in London (Bachrach 1951), and his fellow poets, George Gascoigne and Sir Philip Sidney, many soldiers came from Scotland and what is now Germany. Huygens corresponded with a number of the English officers and often did so in English. One officer to mention here is Sir William Swann. He was an English-born officer in the service of the States General, who in 1645 married Huygens's close friend and musical companion, Utricia Ogle, herself a multilingual, who will be discussed frequently in this book. Huygens received a number of letters from Sir William from Utrecht and Breda written in English, although he also received some written in French.

Scottish soldiers were amongst the first foreign troops to go to the United Provinces to support the fight for independence from Spain. By 1603 there were about 3000 Scots soldiers in Dutch service in the Netherlands. In 1629 there were four Scots regiments in Dutch service, and this represented between 4 to 7 per cent of the total fighting force of the United Provinces (Dunthorne: 106-7). As has already been noted, the question of whether Scots should be treated as a separate language from English is not easy, or perhaps even possible, to answer categorically. However, various forms of English could be heard spoken in garrison towns in the United Provinces and in the command structures of the army of the States General.

It is unlikely that many of the Germans who came to fight for the United Provinces would have felt the need to become proficient in Dutch. In part, this was because some of them came from areas where Low German dialects were spoken, and thus their dialect and Dutch would have been mutually intelligible (Frijhoff: 34). For others who used High German, Dutch would have seemed too close to the Low German dialects, which they considered inferior to High German and thus not worthy of being learnt (Frijhoff: 56-7).

People from German-speaking lands in fact formed the largest group of immigrants into the United Provinces at this time. Other speakers of either High German or one of the German dialects came to the United Provinces for seasonal work, especially in the east of the country, or for commercial purposes, as its dominant position in world trade grew. The centre of this trade, Amsterdam, had a significant German-speaking community. It also had sizable communities of Huguenots, Scandinavians, and Iberian Jews, which gave it a richly multilingual character (Burke 2004: 118). It was to the Jewish community in Amsterdam that Huygens turned when he wanted to develop his reading knowledge of Spanish in 1629 (see Chapter 2). As a country that depended on trading for its wealth, a variety of languages could be heard in other ports in the United Provinces. One to mention here

is Veere in Zeeland, which, apart from a short interlude when it transferred to Dordrecht, was home to the Scottish staple in the Low Countries from 1578 to 1799 (Damsté: 32-47).

As the United Provinces sought to win its independence from Spain, it gradually established diplomatic ties with other countries, including England and Venice, both of which were sympathetic to the struggle for independence of the United Provinces. In his early career Huygens visited both England and Venice on diplomatic missions and used his knowledge of English and Italian on these missions to good effect. In the other direction, diplomats such as Huygens's good acquaintance, the Englishman Sir Henry Wotton, spent time in The Hague (Joby 2011b: 220). How many of these diplomats learnt Dutch is beyond the scope of the current study, but whether it was because of his own multilingual abilities, or their lack of knowledge of Dutch, Huygens communicated with them either in their own native tongue or in a third language, typically French.

Other aspects of Dutch society which contributed to a greater or lesser degree to its multilingualism were educational establishments and what, for this period, was a relatively free (and extensive) printing industry. French and Latin schools provided an education in these languages, and, for those whose parents could afford it (or adults who wanted to learn languages), private tuition in these and other languages was also available (Frijhoff: 30). In Chapter 2 details of the role of private tutors in Huygens's acquisition of languages are provided. This points not only to the learning of languages, which added to the multilingualism of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, but also to the presence of multilingual tutors who often provided lessons in more than one language. Nathanael Duez (1609-after 1679?) was one such tutor. He was born in Lorraine and had wandered through Europe giving language lessons before settling in Leiden in about 1639. There he gave lessons in French, German, and Italian and published a number of multilingual books, including a quadrilingual lexicon, *Nova nomenclatura quatuor linguarum, gallicae, germanicae, italicae et latinae* (Leiden, 1640), and a trilingual dictionary, *Dictionnaire français-allemand-latin et allemand-français-latin* (Leiden, 1642) (Frijhoff: 43).

In relation to further education, I have already mentioned two multilinguals, Cesare Calandrini and Janus Gruterus, who studied at Leiden University after its foundation in 1575. Baudartius also studied at Leiden as well as Franeker. The medium of tuition was Latin, a fact that contributed to the continued use of this language in certain social domains in the United Provinces during the early modern period. Between 1590 and 1642, a total of 491 students from England matriculated at Leiden, amongst them 162

in medicine and 72 in theology. Of those who matriculated in theology, over half came from the Dutch and Walloon immigrant communities in England (Grell: 234-5). Many Scottish students read law at Leiden. One of them, John Burnett, who matriculated in 1682, reported hearing 'much broad Scots spoken' as he walked down the Bredestraat (now Breestraat) in Leiden (Feenstra: 36, n. 43). A well-known English student at Leiden was Thomas Browne, the author of *Religio Medici*, who was awarded a degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university in 1633.[21] We do not know whether he used any Dutch during his time in Leiden, as he could probably have got by with Latin and English, and possibly French. Leiden also promoted the study of more exotic languages. Alongside Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, lectures began in Chaldean and Syriac in 1577, and in Arabic and Slavonic languages in 1599 (Frijhoff: 17).

In relation to having a relatively free press, this meant that books which could not be printed in other countries could, in the right circumstances, be printed in the United Provinces.[22] To give but one example here, the great Italian scientist Galileo had been unable to obtain an ecclesiastical licence to print his book, *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche, intorno à due nuove scienze attenenti alla mecanica & i movimenti locali* ('Discourses and Mathematical Demonstrations Concerning Two New Sciences Involving Mechanics and Localized Movements'), in Venice. A friend of Galileo, Elias Diodati,[23] did, however, manage to get the book published on his behalf in Leiden in 1638, by the Elzeviers,[24] a copy of which, incidentally, Huygens

21 Brent Nelson (2008: 83) notes that relatively little is known about Browne's time at Leiden University. Reid Barbour (15) states that Browne may have stayed in Leiden for as little as one month, at the end of 1633, although he also suggests it is possible that Browne resided and studied there for most of 1633.

22 Peter Burke (2004: 118) notes that French, Spanish, German, Yiddish, Russian, Hungarian, and Georgian were amongst the languages in which books were published in Amsterdam at this time. Although this is not merely due to the relative freedom of the printing press in the Northern Netherlands at this time, it does indicate how printing assisted in the spread of vernacular languages. The catalogues of booksellers provide another further valuable source of information about multilingualism in the United Provinces. For example, we learn from the catalogues of Cornelis Claesz., an Amsterdam bookseller who dealt in particular in schoolbooks, that he stocked books in Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch (Van Selm: 247). We also know that Cornelis Claesz. had a catalogue of Chinese books, though this has not survived (Van Selm: 320).

23 As with Cesare Calandrini, Diodati's family came originally from Lucca in Tuscany, but had been forced to leave because of their Protestant faith. Elias was born in Geneva in 1576 (Diels: 145).

24 There is a copy of the first edition of this work in Leiden University Library. Most of the book is in Italian and the rest in Latin.

owned.[25] Furthermore, the fact that there were many printing presses in the United Provinces at this time allowed for the printing of a large number of both monolingual and multilingual books in a number of towns. Huygens himself owned many multilingual books (examples of which are given in Chapter 3). Finally, the coincidence of the rise of the vernacular and the printing press meant that there was an increase in the number of works being translated in the early modern period. Johannes Grindal (1616-1696), whose family had left England for religious reasons, translated some 26 works from English to Dutch (Schoneveld: 134-40). Another notable translator was Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1619-1682), who translated nearly seventy different works into Dutch (Burke 2005/6: 11).[26] These included translations from German, the translation of Descartes' works from French, and some of Hobbes's *Objectiones* to Descartes' work from Latin (Schoneveld: passim).[27] Huygens himself did much translation, though more as an 'amateur' than as a professional, such as Glazemaker or Grindal. He published several of his translations into Dutch including extracts of the Italian play, *Il Pastor fido*, a large number of Spanish proverbs, and versified translations of English and German apothegms (see Chapter 5).

By any measure, the three dominant languages in the early modern United Provinces were Dutch, French, and Latin. However, the fortunes of these languages changed over the course of this period and, furthermore, the fortunes of other vernacular languages were also transformed.

In relation to Dutch, although there was no official body such as the Académie Française, established by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635, there were a number of individual initiatives, which began to take shape in the middle of the sixteenth century, aimed at promoting the use of the language and at 'purifying' it.[28] A Dutch dictionary entitled *Naembouck* was published

25 Inventory item, *Libri Miscellanei in Quarto*, 356. Constantijn's son Christiaan also owned a copy of this work by Galileo. The inventory of his library can be consulted online at <http://www.xs4all.nl/~adcs/Huygens/22/cat2.html#14> [accessed 23 April 2014]. The work by Galileo is inventory item *Libri Mathematici in Quarto*, 60. Although there is no direct evidence for it, Huygens may have played a part in making it possible for Galileo's book to be printed in Leiden.

26 For a checklist of Glazemaker's translations, see Thijssen-Schoute (1967: ch. 11).

27 In relation to Glazemaker's translation from Latin, Schoneveld (36) notes that he avoided loan-words and added key Latin words from the original in parentheses. This was part of a programme to retain the 'purity' of Dutch (cf. the work of Stevin) and to promote the vernacular as a suitable vehicle for scientific communication (see Chapter 4, where I observe that most of Huygens's communication on scientific matters was in vernacular languages).

28 The Académie Française was established not only to promote but also to purify the French language, particularly that spoken in Paris. Part of its remit was ('to purge the language of the excrement that it had picked up either in the mouth of the people or in the crowd at the Palace')

in 1551 by the Ghent printer Joos Lambrecht and can be seen as 'one of the very first corpus planning instruments' of the Dutch language. Lambrecht was also a purifier of the language, as was Jan van der Werve, the author of *Tresoor der Duytscher talen* ('Treasure of the Dutch Language') (1553), who likened the language to gold which lies in the ground (Willemyns: 80-1). The Bruges-born polymath Simon Stevin (1548/9-1620) was a keen advocate of the Dutch language. Prince Maurits asked Stevin to establish a technical academy in Leiden, where the language of instruction would not be Latin, as at the town's university, but 'good Dutch' (Devreese and Vanden Berghe: 38).[29]

In his early prose autobiography, Huygens refers to Stevin's affirmation of the power of the Dutch language to generate new words as a result of the fact that it contains a large number of monosyllabic roots. Stevin reckoned that Dutch had 742 such roots, whilst he could only find five in Latin and none in Greek (Huygens 1987: 48-9).[30] According to Stevin this allowed Dutch to form a vast number of compound words. So one could take monosyllabic roots such as *hond* ('dog') and *jacht* ('hunt') and produce the words *hondjacht* ('a hunt with dogs') and *jachthond* ('hunting dog') (the same also applies of course to polysyllabic words: *put* ('well') and *water* ('water') give *putwater* ('well-water') and *waterput* ('water-well')) (Devreese and Vanden Berghe: 208-9). Like Lambrecht and Van der Werve, Stevin worked at trying to 'purify' Dutch. Historically, Dutch has been receptive to imported words from other languages, and at this time there were many words of French and Latin origin in its lexis (cf. Frijhoff: 66-7).[31] In his attempt to purify

nettoyer la langue des ordures qu'elle avoit contractées ou dans la bouche du peuple ou dans la foule du Palais (quoted in Lodge 2004: 151). The lack of what one might call a centralized 'language policy' in the United Provinces, such as that which we see in France in the seventeenth century, may also be to do with the fact that political power was more diffuse in the United Provinces than in monarchies such as France and Spain.

29 Roland Willemyns (80-1) writes that Stevin was the first professor to teach in Dutch at Leiden University. It does seem, however, that the institution Stevin established was not a part of the university (Devreese and Vanden Berghe: 38).

30 Stevin listed these roots in *Uytspraek van de Weerdigheyt der Duytsche Tael* ('Pronouncement on the Worthiness of the Dutch Language'), which was the preface to *De Beghinselen der Weeghconst* ('Principles of Statics') published in 1586 (those beginning with A-K are listed in Devreese and Vanden Berghe (202)). For a further brief summary of Stevin's assertions concerning Dutch, see Burke (2004: 65-6), where Burke also mentions contemporary works which praised other vernaculars in Western Europe; and Van Berkel (20). For a more detailed account of Stevin's affirmation of the Dutch language, see Van den Branden (188-209). Finally, see also Burke (2004: ch. 6) for an account of movements to purify languages across Europe in the early modern period.

31 Historically, including during the early modern period, Dutch has been what sociolinguists refer to as a 'diffuse language', i.e., one whose boundaries in relation to other languages are weak.

Dutch, Stevin introduced a number of scientific terms into the language based on Dutch roots, rather than those of Latin or Greek. One of these was a term for mathematics, *wiskunst* ('the art of what is certain'), a cognate of which, *wiskunde*, is the standard Dutch word for the discipline to this day.[32] Other words, which Stevin invented or applied for the first time to mathematical concepts, were *aftrekken* ('to subtract'), *driehoek* ('triangle'), *evenwijdig* ('parallel'), *evenaar* ('equator'), *evenredigheid* ('proportion'), *kegel* ('cone'), *middellijn* ('diameter'), and *wortel* ('root') (Willemyns: 81; Struik: 53; Mooijaart and Van der Wal: 118; Icke: 46). Finally, Stevin wrote some of his early works in French and Latin. After publishing his work on decimals, *De Thiende* ('The Tenth'), he moved towards writing solely in Dutch. Although this promoted the use of the Dutch language, it also meant that his work became less accessible internationally, and so did not receive the attention that it perhaps deserved (Devreese and Vanden Berghe: 211-2).

To Stevin's name, we can add those of Henrik Laurensz. Spiegel (1549-1612) and Samuel Coster (1579-1665). In his work, *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* ('Conversation about Dutch Grammer'), published by the Amsterdam Rhetoricians' Chamber (*Rederijkerskamer*), *De Eglantier*, in 1584, Spiegel promotes the merits of the Dutch language and suggests that it is 'richer' than other languages, a good example of the 'topos of pride' (cf. Burke 2004: 18, 66-7).[33] *Twe-spraack* can also be seen as the beginning of the tradition of prescriptive grammars in Dutch (Willemyns: 83).[34] In 1617 Coster, supported by others, including P.C. Hooft, established the Nederduytsche Academy in Amsterdam. Here, the language of instruction was not Latin but Dutch, as was the case with Stevin's technical academy in Leiden.[35] The Amsterdam academy was also active in the promotion of the use of Dutch in literature.[36] One example of this is the play *Warenar*, written jointly by

32 The *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* gives instances of Stevin using the term *wiskunst*, (*wiskonst*) from 1586 onwards. It is still listed in lexicons, though it is little used. The cognate, *wiskunde*, began to be used at the start of the eighteenth century and is now far more common than *wiskunst*.

33 Burke also makes the point (2004: 39) that Spiegel's intention to promote in particular the Brabant dialect of Dutch became the object of ridicule in Bredero's 1617 play, *Spaanschen Brabander* ('Spanish Brabanter'). See also Burke (2004: 101 and 148).

34 *Twe-spraack* was not the first Dutch grammar. That accolade belongs to Johannes Radermacher's 1568 grammar, most probably written in London (Bostoen 1985). But Spiegel's grammar was the first to have a lasting influence.

35 For the use of the vernacular in higher education elsewhere in early modern Europe at this time, see Burke (2004: 77-8).

36 Frijhoff (7) notes that the process of standardization and, indeed, purification of Dutch went hand in hand with the United Provinces asserting its independence. He argues that this

Coster and Hooft in Dutch and performed for the first time on the day after the opening of the Nederduytsche Academy in 1617. The play was based on Plautus's *Aulularia*, itself inspired by a Greek play now lost. The action, though, had been moved to Amsterdam, and one of the objectives of the authors was to demonstrate that a play written in Dutch set in Amsterdam was the equal of a play set in ancient Athens written in Latin (or Greek) (Hooft and Coster: 9-12, 91).

Part of the standardization process that took place in Dutch and other European languages at this time was an increased interest in orthography, which was given impetus by the publication of dictionaries of vernacular languages and a number of treatises on the need for the regularization of spelling. In the United Provinces there was much debate in the early modern period concerning this need, as indeed there was in other European countries (Burke 2004: 95-7). Huygens demonstrated an interest in orthography and clearly took a good deal of trouble over his spelling and, indeed, his grammar. This can be seen from the corrections he made to printer's copies of his publications, and from his corrections to draft manuscripts (Hermkens 2011: 149).[37]

Another enterprise aimed at promoting the Dutch language was the publication of a collection of Dutch language poems in 1616 by the poet and scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655). The collection, entitled *Nederduytsche Poemata*, was to be a source of inspiration for Huygens in his writing of Dutch poetry.[38] That said, in his early prose autobiography Huygens was somewhat critical of Heinsius's Dutch verse, although he recognized the importance of the collection for the development of poetry in his native

process involved in particular doing away with French influence, as mentioned above. This has something in common with Michel de Certeau's 'politics of language' (Burke 2004: 5). In response to Frijhoff's assertions, it should be remembered that French did continue to be used by certain groups in Dutch society, including the court. For a sociolinguistic approach to linguistic purism, see Thomas (1991).

37 Huygens also discussed spelling along with other questions concerning language in his correspondence with his fellow poet, P.C. Hooft (Hermkens 2011: 150).

38 It is interesting to note that Heinsius used the word *poemata*, instead of *gedichten*, in the title of this collection. On the one hand, this is not surprising, given that he was a professor in classical languages; but, on the other hand, given that part of his intention was to demonstrate that Dutch was a suitable language in which to write poetry, he might have been expected to use the word *gedichten*, which is not appropriated from classical sources. Finally, Heinsius's collection also provided the inspiration for *Teutsche Poemata*, written by the German poet Martin Opitz, published in 1624. Cf. Burke (2004: 83), although Burke is wrong to say that the author of *Nederduytsche Poemata* was Nicholaas Heinsius. It was his father, Daniel.