

Father of the Dutch Literary Language

A posture analysis of P.C. Hooft

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Chapter I Introduction

In honour of the three-hundred-and-fiftieth death day of seventeenth-century author Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647), a collection of essays called *Omnibus idem* was published. In that volume, nine authors shed some light on the different aspect of the life of Hooft, the person and writer, in his time and place. Jeroen Jansen's foreword in this edition commences with a train of thought, printed in a smaller letter than the main body of the text:

Who was Hooft? The more we read from him and about him, the more he becomes alive, the more we think we can fathom his thoughts, comprehend his feelings and ideas, sense his actions and statements. However, this does not and will never make him into a person of flesh and blood. And as much as we believe we know him, the actual image often remains blurry, covered by the past, by veils of another time, of another culture, of another world.¹

To a student of the Early Modern period, and of the letters by P.C. Hooft in particular, these thoughts may sound familiar. An object of study which lies in a past as far away as the seventeenth century will inevitably hold unsolvable secrets.

This thesis is not an attempt at soul-searching Hooft, to discover 'who' he was. But why do we, more than 360 years after his death, still discuss and teach his oeuvre?² Hooft is part of the literary canon from the seventeenth century, a period in which the Dutch literature was developing while being influenced by material from the Renaissance. First the Dutch Rederijkers, and later Hooft and his literary counterparts Vondel and Huygens, transferred the Renaissance ideas and form to the Dutch literary field. Over the course of time, particularly the works of Hooft and Vondel have been considered to be exemplary for later writers, and their efforts have been greatly appreciated by both critics and other authors. Their involvement could be interpreted as standing at the basis of the development of the Dutch literary language, making them as it were progenitors, creators, or *fathers* of literary Dutch.

¹ Jansen 11. My translation.

² *Warenar* and the *Nederlandsche Historiën* can be 'read for the list' by Dutch high school students. 'Lezenvoordelijst.nl' contains a list of books that are categorised based on the time period in which they were published and their difficulty. The aim of the website is to contribute to the development of the literary competence of students on every reading level. See the options for works from the seventeenth century: <https://www.lezenvoordelijst.nl/zoek-een-boek/nederlands-15-tm-19-jaar/?&theming=17e%20eeuw> (consulted on 17 September 2018).

This image of Hooft as father is perhaps expressed most explicitly by literary critic and historian Conrad Busken Huet, who remarks that P.C. Hooft wished to become *the father of the Dutch Renaissance in the Dutch language*.³ And Busken Huet is not alone, we will see: even the most recent literary history of the Dutch literature emphasise Hooft's important involvement in the early development of the literary Dutch language.⁴ This thesis attempts to uncover to what extent the image of Hooft as father of the Dutch literary language has been maintained throughout the literary reception, and even where it may have originated. In order to do so, this thesis focuses on two types of representation that may have contributed to this image: like I mentioned before, I will look at the literary reception, in particular literary histories, and in addition I focus on the letters written by Hooft, to see if he himself contributes to his image. An analysis of this type, when one studies the posture of an author by looking at how an author fashions him- or herself, *and* how he or she is represented by others, is called a *posture analysis*.

In other words, the image-building process works twofold: reading Hooft right now, we have an idea about him, we ascribe him a certain posture. One of these postures is 'the father of the Dutch literary language'. This posture stems from the idea that Hooft (and Vondel and Huygens with him) developed the Dutch literary language according to the example that was provided by the Italian and French Renaissance authors. Their application of the Renaissance principles was new, exemplary and inspirational, and thus stood at the basis of what the Dutch literary language would become. To paraphrase Conrad Busken Huet once more: Hooft and Vondel made the Dutch language utter sounds that had until then not been heard from her mouth.⁵ In fact, Hooft's fatherhood is not just a metaphor, he really did stand at the basis of the literary Dutch language, as one of its progenitors.

It is my hypothesis that the roots of this image of Hooft can be traced back to his own literary production, in particular his letters. In a letter, an author can present him- or herself as he or she pleases, highlighting certain aspects of his or her life, while leaving out others, all the while having the time to contemplate, polish and perfect his or her style of writing. They are therefore excellent material to build up a certain posture.

3 Busken Huet 400. Original quotation: 'Ook te dezen aanzien [het schrijven over vaderlandse geschiedenis] is het zijn eerezucht geweest *de vader der nederlandse Renaissance in het nederlands* te worden' (400). My emphasis.

4 The most recent contribution is *Een nieuw vaderland van de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560-1700*. Bert Bakker, 2008. Porteman and Smits-Veldt point out for instance how the poetry of Vondel, Hooft and Huygens explored all the possibilities in which the mother tongue could be expressed (352). See for the complete analysis of *Een nieuw vaderland* chapter V.

5 Busken Huet 410.

Because I am interested in the relation between the letters and Hooft's posture, my main question for this thesis is:

How have P.C. Hooft's letters contributed to his current posture of 'father of the Dutch literary language'?

I will answer this question by dividing it into two sub-questions, which are the following:

- 1. How does Hooft express this posture in his letters (auto-representation)?*
- 2. To what extent is this image continued in later reception (hetero-representation)?*

This thesis is built up to provide an answer to these queries. Chapter II will give an overview of the relevant theoretical field, as well as focus on the genre of the Early Modern letter, and on the ways in which an author was able to present him- or herself. Contextual chapter III then sketches the general development of the Dutch language in the Early Modern period. Chapter IV contains the first part of the posture analysis: here, I look at the ways in which Hooft expresses his auto-representation. I start this chapter with clarifying which letters are included in my corpus: I focus on letters that discuss one of his literary productions, and on letters in which he specifically discusses matters of language. After this, I will explain that during my reading of the letters, I discerned three roles that Hooft appears to have taken on to build up his fatherly posture, which I have identified as (1) language *purist*, (2) *teacher* of language, and (3) *artist* in literary Dutch. Having explained this, I will give a brief overview of Hooft's physical and literary fatherhood, after which I focus on each of the three roles in more detail, providing textual examples for each of them. Chapter V then focuses on the ways in which these roles, and therefore Hooft's posture as father of the Dutch literary language, are represented in the hetero-reception of Hooft. Here, I discuss nine literary histories published between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, as well as Geeraardt Brandt's autobiography of Hooft, *Het leven van P.C. Hooft*. We will see that mainly Hooft's roles as language purist and artist in literary Dutch have been picked up by the literary critics and historians. Lastly in chapter IV, I conclude my study and make a few suggestions for further research.

But now, let us start with getting to know the literary theory that I will be applying throughout this thesis, by beginning with chapter II, in which I focus on the theories that were introduced by Jérôme Meizoz and Stephen Greenblatt in the second half of the twentieth century: the posture theory and the concept of *self-fashioning*.

Chapter II Theoretical field

II.1 Authorial representation

Introduction

A man sits behind his desk in his scarcely lit room. Before him lie his pen and paper, and an old copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Staring at the white sheet, he recalls how his perception of plants, trees, men, and women transformed when he was in school, and encountered these stories for the first time. Always struggling with the Latin, he had had his best friend read them out to him during the communal breakfast. Hence, after all those years, the stories were still with him: Actaeon and his dogs, Arachne and her weaving skills, the fate of poor Io... He rubs his eyes and puts his pen to paper. Last week he had been introduced to the daughter of the local physician, a very nice woman whom he promised to write. But what? He must not make the wrong impression. He begins:

“Dear Mary, as unknowing as Actaeon did I enter the holy wood, sharing the wonder and disbelief he felt when he chanced a glance at the divine bath and her inhabitants. Always fearing my hounds' disloyalty I lingered, incapable of averting my eyes. A maid would have stayed Arachne, had Minerva depicted your beauty on her web. So would have stayed Io, had you been her sister...”

No, too much! He curses, and starts over.

In the short and fictive anecdote above, we meet an individual who wishes to express a certain message, while showing himself in the best possible light. Certain aspects (such as knowledge of the classics) of the writer can be enhanced, while others (like his difficulty with reading the original Latin) are not mentioned. In this way, the author tries to create an attractive image of himself, or a fictional self-representation. The author in the anecdote above appears to present himself as a classical scholar, and perhaps as a literary writer, constructing attractive sentences and images to impress his reader.

The anecdote serves as a way to exemplify how a letter-writer can choose to present him- or herself. In this thesis, I will take a look at the letters by P.C. Hooft, to see how he constructs his posture as father of the Dutch literature. The scholarly frame against which I will set out this thesis, is built up by two scholarly theories: the *posture theory* that was developed

by Swiss literary critic Jérôme Meizoz and the concept of *self-fashioning* that was introduced by the American literary historian Stephen Greenblatt. I will introduce both theories in the next paragraph.

This thesis will contain a *posture analysis* of P.C. Hooft, as I will explain in the next paragraph. With this analysis, I aim to answer my main question *How have P.C. Hooft's letters contributed to his current posture of 'father of the Dutch literary language'?* I will start by setting out the theoretical path along which this thesis will develop itself, starting with Meizoz' posture theory and its application in Dutch scholarship (particularly the contribution by Laurens Ham), and following that, with Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning and its influence in the Dutch scholarly tradition.

Meizoz: auto- and hetero-representation

One way into the study of authorial representation is through the posture theory. This theory, that has been developed by Jérôme Meizoz, studies the self-representations that authors use to position themselves in the literary field (this is called *auto-representation*), and the representations of these authors that are given by others, for instance critics, essayists, and scholars (this is called *hetero-representation*). Meizoz' theory has been applied and fine-tuned in the doctoral thesis of Laurens Ham, *Captivated by Prometheus*.⁶ In this thesis, Ham studies the authorial representations of five modern Dutch authors. Ham presents five case studies in which he sketches the institutional and political background against which the authors were publishing, he then concentrates on the authors' own representation in this context (Ham argues that the author forms the context, but is also formed by the context), and lastly he gives an overview of contemporary and later hetero-representation that influenced the authors' postures.⁷

Captivated by Prometheus contains a very useful model⁸, in which Ham illustrates the different aspects of an author's auto- and hetero-representation:

⁶ Ham, Laurens. *Captivated by Prometheus. The Autonomy and Authority of the Modern Dutch Author*. Verloren, 2015.

⁷ Ham 44.

⁸ Figure 1 is a translation of Ham's model in *Captivated by Prometheus* (Ham 37).

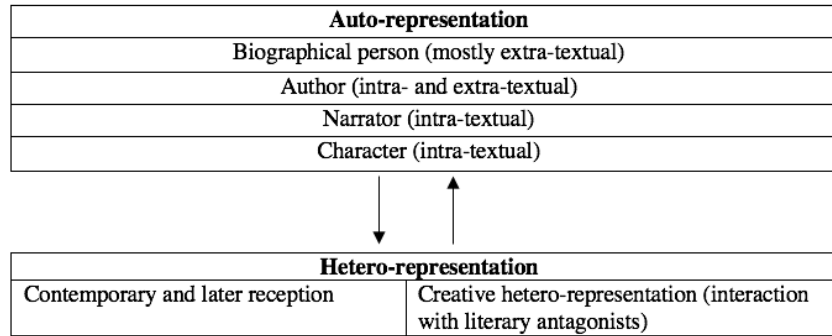


Figure 1: the posture model

In Ham’s model above, we can see that the ways in which an author can represent him- or herself are via 1. the biographical person (extra-textual), 2. the author (intra- and extra-textual), 3. the narrator (intra-textual), and 4. the fictional character (intra-textual).⁹ Concurrently, Ham identifies the foundations that make up an author’s hetero-representation as 1. contemporary and later reception, and 2. creative hetero-representation (interaction with literary antagonists).¹⁰ The arrows in the model signify the interplay between the auto- and hetero-representation. Ham explains: ‘auto-representations on all levels can reflect on the reception or antagonists ... and without question hetero-representation reacts on the auto-representation’.¹¹

Ham emphasises that an author can have more than one posture, and that several strategies can be used by an author to construct these.¹² To uncover these strategies, *Captivated by Prometheus* studies a wide range of material: ‘literary and critical texts, letters, periodicals, interviews, pictorial material, etc’.¹³ Ham based his selection of material partly on the selected authors’ canonical position in the Dutch “linear autonomisation narrative”.¹⁴ The five studied authors created a complex and ambiguous oeuvre in which they created authorial and autonomous postures, but only four of them have gained a lasting position in the Dutch literary canon. Ham emphasises that ‘an author can very well *claim* autonomy in a posture, but autonomy and authority have to be *assigned* as well’, a process in which ‘critics and academics play an important role’.¹⁵ An author’s final position in the literary field, therefore, is also dependent on his or her contemporary and later reception. As I am interested in the creation of Hooft’s posture as father of the Dutch literary language, which is an image that still lives on

⁹ Ham 37.

¹⁰ Ham 37.

¹¹ Ham 37.

¹² Ham 38.

¹³ Ham 338.

¹⁴ Ham explains this narrative as follows: ‘at first there was supposedly no autonomy, but later there was, and in an ever-increasing degree’ (337).

¹⁵ Ham 296-297.

today, an analysis of the contemporary and later reception of Hooft's posture is essential. Indeed, it is my hypothesis that the image that has been maintained throughout literary criticism originates in the constructed image that was created by Hooft *himself*.

In the concluding chapter of *Captivated by Prometheus*, Ham suggests a few other applications of the posture theory in literary studies. Having studied mainly fictional and non-fictional works himself, Ham suggests to extend the research on posture to the genre of written correspondence, arguing that 'even the author who means to write down his or her deepest feelings completely authentically, is performing a performance, *constructs* him- or herself'.¹⁶ I agree with this supposition and would like to venture into the letters of Hooft, to discover the posture(s) he constructs. I mentioned before that from my reading it has become clear that Hooft takes on three roles, to construct his overall posture of 'father of the Dutch literary language'. A study of auto-representation in letters would have to concentrate on the first two categories of Ham's model, for this thesis specifically (1) the biographical person P.C. Hooft, and (2) the author P.C. Hooft. After we have identified the postures that are presented in the letters, we can examine to what extent these have then been presented in the hetero-reception (both contemporary and later).

The construction of a posture or an image is a creative process. As we have seen in the fictional anecdote at the beginning of this paragraph, an author can choose to obscure or highlight certain aspects of his or her written 'self-portrait'. This process of creative self-representation has been studied in scholarship on Early Modern authorial representation that has its roots in Stephen Greenblatt's 'self-fashioning' theory. In the next paragraph, I will concentrate more on this tradition, and position this thesis in the scholarly field. The paragraph after that focuses on Early Modern letter-writing in particular, to exemplify in which ways authors fashioned themselves.

Greenblatt: self-fashioning

American literary historian Stephen Greenblatt is one of the founders of the scholarly tradition New Historicism. Instead of picking apart a text in isolation, which until then was the practiced method, this movement studied literature against its historical (political, social, and economical) backdrop. In his 1980 publication *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Greenblatt focuses in particular on Early Modern authors and their so-called 'self-fashioning'. He argues that 'in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the

¹⁶ Ham 304.

fashioning of the human identity as a manipulable, artful process'.¹⁷ Influenced by 'the larger networks of meaning'¹⁸, i.e. their social, political and economic environment or literary field, authors actively chose the way in which they fashioned their literary representation, or their *persona*, as Greenblatt states.¹⁹ Earlier, we saw that Ham, following Meizoz, argued for a similar position. In the second part of this chapter, I will sketch the relevant political, social, and economical backdrop against which Hooft wrote his letters.

In the Dutch scholarly field, Greenblatt's method has been applied by various scholars.²⁰ The earliest example is the work by M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, who, in "Personage of persoonlijkheid. Het ik in de Nederlandse lyriek van de zeventiende eeuw", analysed the literary *personae* of Early Modern authors Joost van den Vondel and G.A. Bredero.²¹ Schenkeveld-van der Dussen discerned two ways in which an author can choose to present himself through his literary works: he can create a persona (personage) or stay closer to his own personality (persoonlijkheid). Schenkeveld-van der Dussen realises that between the two dichotomies there is a vast grey area in which an author can move between the concepts of persona and personality.²² Still, she provides examples for both extremities, illustrating the authorial persona with Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, in whom she recognises 'the character of the poet'.²³ An example of an author that seems to express a more personal version in his works, would be G.A. Bredero, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen argues.²⁴ She summarises as follows:

[w]e are dealing with two poetics, one of a more universal nature, in which the poet takes on the role as educator of the people, and one that is more empiric, in which the poet discusses his own limited experiences, that cannot immediately be translated into commonplace knowledge.²⁵

Schenkeveld-van der Dussen distinguishes these different 'constructed selves' without difficulty, but she recognises that it is very difficult to 'explain' them.²⁶ In my analysis of Hooft's

17 Greenblatt 2.

18 Greenblatt 4.

19 Greenblatt 7.

20 I have based this overview of the Dutch scholarly tradition on the very helpful article by Jürgen Pieters and Julie Rogiest in *Frame*. Pieters, Jürgen and Julie Rogiest. "Self-fashioning in de vroegmoderne literatuur- en cultuurgeschiedenis: genese en ontwikkeling van een concept." *Frame*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2009, pp. 43-59.

21 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, M.A. "Personage of persoonlijkheid. Het ik in de Nederlandse lyriek van de zeventiende eeuw." In: *In de boeken, met de geest*. Ed. Arie-Jan Gelderblom e.a. Amsterdam University Press, 2002. 175-191.

22 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 180.

23 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 180.

24 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 183.

25 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 183-4.

26 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 175.

letters, we will see that Hooft takes on the role as educator as well. Assuming the role of *teacher* of the Dutch literary language, is one way in which Hooft contributes to his overall posture of ‘father of the Dutch literary language’. In other words: Hooft *fashions himself* as a teacher (and as a language purist and literary artist), which helps him in the construction of his larger posture. Hooft’s self-fashioning therefore serves a higher purpose. It has a *function*.

In a more recent contribution to the self-fashioning scholarship, literary scholar Frans Blom explores these functions of an author’s self-fashioning. In his article “Solliciteren met poëzie. Zelfpresentatie in Constantijn Huygens’ debuutbundel *Otia* (1625)”²⁷, Blom tries to ‘explain’ the representation of Constantijn Huygens. Blom summarises the scholarship on ‘self-presentations, modelling, or self-fashioning’ as the endeavour towards answering the questions ‘how did an artist mount the stage and why *thus*’.²⁸ He focuses on Huygens’ ‘artistic self-portrait’²⁹, identifying the ways in which the author exhibits himself through *Otia*, a ‘code of conduct for courtiers’.³⁰ Blom stresses that the publication of *Otia* was part of a well-planned strategy, designed to construct a representation of Huygens that would help his governmental career.³¹

Another fairly recent contribution to Early Modern self-fashioning scholarship is Nina Geerdink’s lecture for the Cross Over Conference of 2007, in which she discusses the life and work of Jan Vos.³² Geerdink describes the Renaissance as a time of social changes, in which authors were specifically searching for ways to express their own identity, and to find their ‘self’.³³ Geerdink extends this argument in her doctoral dissertation of 2009, *Dichters en verdiensten*.³⁴ Here, she explores the social functions of Early Modern literature. She focuses on the *personae* that are created in the literary works and the contemporary context of Jan Vos. In her introduction, Geerdink emphasises that she sees ‘the historical author as the individual who provided the impulse to produce the text’, and as ‘an active subject within a guiding literary, social, political, and religious context’.³⁵ Hence, Geerdink positions herself alongside Greenblatt, who argued that the author actively creates his or her *personae*, and also alongside

27 Blom, Frans R.E. “Solliciteren met poëzie. Zelfrepresentatie in Constantijn Huygens’ debuutbundel *Otia* (1625).” *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2007, 230-244.

28 Blom 230.

29 Blom 230.

30 Blom 243.

31 Early Modernist Eddy Grootes refers to Blom’s article in his lecture on Huygens’ poem on his married life (*Dagh-werk*). Like Blom, Grootes traces how Huygens presents himself in his work. The concept of self-presentation and Greenblatt’s concept of self-fashioning are inextricably linked, Grootes remarks (18).

32 Geerdink, Nina. “‘Self-fashioning’ of zelfrepresentatie? Een analyse van gelegenheidspoëzie van Jan Vos. Neerlandistiek.nl, oktober 2007, p. 1-7. [Geerdink b]

33 Geerdink [b] 2.

34 Geerdink, Nina. *Dichters en verdiensten. De sociale verankering van het dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610-1667)*. Verloren, 2012. [Geerdink a].

35 Geerdink [a] 18.

Meizoz and Ham. Both Geerdink and Blom emphasise the strategic nature of their respective poets' literary productions: how can they make their literature work for them? This thesis only partly follows this route: I study how Hooft uses his written work to construct an image of himself, but instead of looking at his poetry or plays, I focus on the more personal source material of his letters. The image that comes to the fore is very present, but not as strong as the images of Vos (who wanted to climb the social ladder as well as receive the favour of one or more *maecenas*), or Huygens (who used his work to support his political career).

It is not my wish to argue that Hooft presented himself as 'the father of the Dutch literary language' to gain a profit, or to advance his career, in the way Vos and Huygens appeared to. What I *do* argue, is that it becomes clear in his letters that Hooft often presents himself as one of the three pillars that build up his overall fatherhood image, and that later reception has picked up on this in their representation of P.C. Hooft. Indeed, I will not limit my research to solely an analysis of Hooft's own auto-representation, or his own authorial intention. What Meizoz and Ham have shown is that the contemporary and later hetero-reception of an author are of the utmost importance in the construction of an author's overall posture. Therefore, I dedicate the second part of my research to an analysis of how the posture that was created by Hooft, has been maintained by critics and academics.

But first, let me finish this chapter by shedding some light on the genre of the Early Modern letter and on letter-writing in the Early Modern period in general. What is important to take into consideration when studying these personal documents?

II.2 The Early Modern Letter

Introduction

From 1609 until his death, Hooft held the ‘almost identical’ offices of steward of Muiden, reeve of Gooiland and chief magistrate of Weesp and Weesperkarspel.³⁶ His main place of residence became the Castle of Muiden (Muiderslot), located about fifteen kilometres to the east of Amsterdam, on the southern shore of the former Zuiderzee. During the summer, Hooft and his family would reside in the Castle, only to move back to their town house in Amsterdam during wintertime, as the weather conditions, particularly the low temperature inside the Castle, would make it virtually inhabitable.³⁷

As most of Hooft’s literary and political contacts lived elsewhere, his main means of communication was letter-writing. Hooft sent and received numerous letters during his life, both before and after his time in Muiden. A selection of these was saved and edited by Hooft’s son Arnout and his biographer Geeraardt Brandt, after Hooft’s death.³⁸ Later, these have been extended and edited by Gerard van Papenbroek, Balthasar Huydecoper, and Johannes van Vloten. The most recent edition, from 1976-1979, is the tripartite publication *De Briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (I, II, and III)* by H.W. van Tricht e.a. In the introduction to *De Briefwisselingen*, Van Tricht explains the ways in which Hooft’s letters have been conserved and edited: Brandt and Hooft Jr. chose to publish only 208 letters, which they edited according to the contemporary conventions, leaving out or altering the text where it was too homely, intimate, common, or outspoken.³⁹ Even Hooft’s spelling was adapted to the late 17th-century standard, Van Tricht explains. What is more, he argues, Brandt and Hooft Jr. were not making an attempt at an accurate historical documentation, but they were *creating a monument*.⁴⁰ In chapter IV.2, I discuss another one of Brandt’s contributions towards creating this monument: his account of Hooft’s life and works, *Het leeven van P.C. Hooft*. Van Tricht continues with tracing the letters and their several editions and whereabouts. Over the years, Hooft’s letters have disappeared and resurfaced again. In *De Briefwisselingen*, Van Tricht also included letters from Hooft’s correspondents *to* Hooft, and even *about* Hooft, and he did some meticulous research in order to dig up letters and information that had been considered lost.⁴¹ Even so, the

36 Van Tricht I, 57.

37 Koppenol 110.

38 Van Tricht I, 16.

39 Van Tricht I, 17.

40 Van Tricht I, 17.

41 See Van Tricht’s paragraphs ‘Lotgevallen van de handschriften’ (16-28) and ‘Dislocatie van de handschriften’ (28-46).

early editing that has been done by Brandt and Hooft Jr. – despite our knowledge of this – requires that today’s reader of the letters always remain considerate of the content and form.

Reflections

Research on the genre of the letter and its relationship with reality, or the extent to which it is a truthful representation of the author, or its cultural-historical context, knows a long scholarly tradition. In *Geletterde levens* – a study of the diaries of four Early Modern authors – Jeroen Blaak gives a brief summary of the theoretical developments in the scholarly field of authorial representation and reader interpretation. In traditional literary criticism, the meaning of a text was dependent on what the author had meant for it to mean (authorial intention), Blaak explains.⁴² In the aforementioned *Dichters en verdiensten*, Nina Geerdink clarifies why one needs to be careful with this type of reading: one risks to fall into the trap of *hineininterpretieren* and psychologising a text.⁴³

An article written by Geerdink, in collaboration with Laurens Ham and Gerard Bouwmeester, ‘warns’ against a reading that is too ‘psychologising’. In this article (“Een veelstemmig verhaal”⁴⁴), Bouwmeester, Geerdink and Ham criticise the deployment of ‘authorship’ and ‘authorial intention’ in literary history *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur (GNL)*.⁴⁵ They are not discussing what the *GNL* offers on letter-writing in particular. Rather, they focus on the autonomisation and professionalisation of the literary author, and how this is addressed throughout the series. They conclude that these concepts are not used consistently by the different authors of the series, which is caused by their inconsistent understanding of authorial self-representation, they argue.⁴⁶ The authors of the *GNL*, according to Bouwmeester, Geerdink, and Ham, deploy a way of reading that is too ‘psychologising’. Such an approach is not easy to combine with a critical analysis of self-representation, they argue, because an author’s statements too easily become evidence of his or her professional and personal situation.⁴⁷

Geerdink did not wish to fall into the trap of ‘psychologising’ an author’s work. In *Dichters en verdiensten*, she refers to *The Author* by Andrew Bennett, who gives an overview

42 Blaak 14.

43 Geerdink [a] 30.

44 Bouwmeester, Gerard, Nina Geerdink, and Laurens Ham. “Een veelstemmig verhaal. Auteurschap in de *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur*.” *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2015. 215-235.

45 This series of literary histories was published between 1997 and 2017, and encompasses nine chronologically ordered volumes. The in chapter II mentioned *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen* is the fourth book in this series.

46 Bouwmeester, Geerdink, Ham 227.

47 Bouwmeester, Geerdink, Ham 228.

of the concept of ‘The Intentional Fallacy’, authorial intention and literary analysis. Bennett discusses the 1946 essay by W.K. Wimsatt and M.C. Beardsley (‘The Intentional Fallacy’), about which he says the following: ‘Wimsatt and Beardsley are not denying that authors have intentions: in fact, they suggest that authorial intention is precisely what gets expressed in and as the words of the text’.⁴⁸ In other words, the *text*, rather than just the author is worthy of our attention.

This realisation is of importance for this thesis, because one of the differences between personal letters and a literary publication is the fact that the authorial ‘I’ in letters usually has a closer connection to the biographical author, than a first-person narrator in for instance a novel. It is not surprising therefore, that part of the authorial intention theory was the idea that a text was a one-on-one reflection of an author’s meaning and mind. We see this for instance in the 1808 publication *Redevoering over de brieven van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*, by Jacob Scheltema, who argues that:

Letters are excellent material to study the human mind and personality, for in letters, the inner soul of an author can be discerned, much clearer than in any other piece of his writing.⁴⁹

Scheltema was of the opinion that letters functioned like a clear mirror of the soul, in which the writer showed himself ‘in his daily habit’, while writing down his ‘unadorned thoughts’.⁵⁰ In this thesis, however, I argue that a text, and a letter in particular, can be deployed to display a *constructed* representation of the author. This point of view falls in line with what is argued in the collection of essays *Self-presentation and social identification* (ed. Toon van Houdt and Jan Papy). In this work, Van Houdt and Papy discuss letters that were written by humanist authors in the Early Modern period. In the introduction, they argue that Early Modern humanist letters ‘were used as a means of self-presentation and social identification’.⁵¹ By writing letters, Van Houdt and Papy emphasise, ‘many humanists and other intellectuals ... define[d] themselves as literators, scholars, or scientists’.⁵² What is more, by polishing and sometimes actually

48 Bennett 76-77.

49 Scheltema 1. Original quotation: ‘[brieven] heeft men ... verders vooral aangeprezen, als eene leerrijke School voor menschen karakterkunde, vermits men aldaar het innerlijk gemoed des Schrijvers veel klaarder ontdekt, dan in een ander soort van geschriften’.

50 Scheltema 1-2.

51 Van Houdt and Papy 3.

52 Van Houdt and Papy 3.

publishing them, the (scholarly) letters contributed to a carefully constructed self-portrait and reputation, they argue.

In the same volume, Judith Rice Henderson explains what these letters would look like: ‘the humanist might write as if he were engaged in a private conversation, but that conversation was often intentionally, or at least potentially, a public discussion of professional or philosophical issues, or a form of political lobbying’.⁵³ Rice Henderson concludes that for the humanist letter ‘the Classical *topos* that the letter is the mirror of the soul should be read as describing self-presentation or self-fashioning rather than self-revelation or self-analysis’.⁵⁴

Providing an example of this is K.A.E. Enenkel in his chapter in *Self-presentation and social identification*: he explains how Petrarch needlessly explains that Arezzo is a city in Italy, and makes long digressions on some events that took place during his youth. His recipient however, does not need to know the first, and already knows the latter! For Enenkel, this is proof that Petrarch wrote while keeping his other audience in mind.⁵⁵

It was common practice to publish an author’s personal correspondence after his death, explains Henk Nellen. He emphasises that these publications served first and foremost as a way of honouring the deceased, therefore his relatives would ‘sift ... and select...’ the most flattering correspondence, and if necessary ‘edit [these] selected parts’.⁵⁶ Nellen warns the scholar of Early Modern letters, emphasising that ‘Grotius and his fellow-humanists used the letter as a way of self-representation ... in fact, [they were] putting on a mask’.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, Nellen explains that Grotius collected important letters, because they ‘were ... of great value to [him]’, not only because of the possible emotional value, but also because they helped Grotius build up ‘a whole arsenal of testimonies to justify and support his actions as a scholar and political pamphleteer’.⁵⁸ And so a whole series of actions around letter-writing and corresponding added up to the building up of one’s image or posture.

It is not the aim of this thesis to argue that Hooft wrote his letters with another audience than the recipient in mind. What *did* happen, as we saw in the previous paragraph, was that his letters were published by his son Arnout and his biographer Brandt. *They* certainly doctored Hooft’s letters to build up a certain image of Hooft, obscuring what they considered to be blemishes, and enhancing what they deemed fit.

53 Rice Henderson 17-18.

54 Rice Henderson 23. My emphasis.

55 Enenkel 371.

56 Nellen (2002) 244.

57 Nellen (2008) 192.

58 Nellen (1988) 88.

Indeed, the aim of this thesis is to show that Hooft himself constructed a certain image as well, maybe not as much for an external audience, but certainly one that he presents to his recipients. Perhaps the reader of this thesis recalls the anecdote about the writer at the beginning of this chapter: the fictional author emphasised certain aspects of his character, whilst leaving out others. Indeed, he can adapt different roles when addressing different recipients. The recipients of the correspondence in *Briefwisselingen* range from family friends to fellow authors to political colleagues in another province with whom Hooft discusses a wide spectrum of subjects, ranging from daily political affairs to the weather and from family developments to the process of writing and publishing his poetry and prose.⁵⁹ The sender addresses the receiver, and adjusts the content of the letter accordingly. We will see in chapter IV that the roles that Hooft takes on actually appear to be dependent on whom he is writing to.

Constructions

Examples of previous research on Early Modern letter-writing and the relation between the sender and the receiver can be found in the contributed volume *Epistolary Selves* edited by Rebecca Earle. In her introduction, Earle points out that ‘personal correspondence may allow the writer to construct “fictions of the self”’.⁶⁰ Furthermore, she remarks, these constructions of the self are found in professional correspondence as well. An example of this can be found in the fourth chapter of *Epistolary Selves*. Here, Toby Ditz shows how letters between merchants and their customers were very much stylised conversations, or ‘narratives’.⁶¹ Ditz argues that ‘the letters were not the spontaneous emanations of individuals guided solely by pre-existing intentions, much less faithful mirrors of the social contexts that were the occasion for their production’.⁶² Here again, the metaphor of the letter as mirror is utilised.

Ditz argues that the letters are *not* a mirror of society because their content is an artful construction. This concept of the letter as mirror is also discussed by P.G. Hoftijzer, O.S. Lankhorst and Henk Nellen in ‘Bij wijze van inleiding: de brief in de Vroegmoderne tijd’.⁶³ Here, they argue that ‘the letter [is] a product of society and the time in which it is written, and

59 In recent socio-linguistic research by Schraagen, Dietz, and Van Koppen, Hooft’s correspondences have been categorised according to their goal and topic: Hooft could ‘prompt for action, honour, help, inform, keep [in] contact, [and] ask for reply’, in letters that concerned his ‘political work, literary work, current events, [and his] social circle’. Schraagen, M.P., F.M. Dietz and J.M. van Koppen. “Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Annotation of 17th Century Dutch Letters.” In: *Proceedings of LREC 2018*. Table 5.

60 Earle 2.

61 Ditz, Toby L. “Formative ventures: eighteenth-century commercial letters and the articulation of experience.” In: *Epistolary Selves. Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*. Ed. Rebecca Earle. Aldershot, 1999. Routledge, 2016. pp. 58-73.

62 Ditz 62-63.

63 Hoftijzer, P.G., O.S. Lankhorst en H.J.M. Nellen. “Bij wijze van Inleiding. De Brief in de Vroegmoderne Tijd.” *Papieren betrekkingen. Zevenentwintig brieven uit de vroegmoderne tijd*. Vantilt, 2005. pp. 9-20.

[therefore] mirror of both', because the letter 'stand[s] on the crossroads of the personal and social life, of the individual and the masses'.⁶⁴ In the view of Hoftijzer, Lankhorst and Nellen, letters contain 'all aspects of human experience'.⁶⁵ Do they then argue that a letter is *not* a construct, and merely plainly reflects its historical context? Indeed, they do not: the authors emphasise the artificiality of the genre, and point out the existence of letter-writing manuals, style conventions, and the careful editing and correcting by the letter-writer.⁶⁶ Having considered all of this, we can conclude that according to Hoftijzer, Lankhorst and Nellen, the artificiality of a letter does not exclude its ability to provide some reflection on their historical context.

I would agree with this statement: a letter, in all its artificiality and artfulness, still refers to events in the past, which can tell us something about the context in which they were written. In fact, any reader of historical documents would do well to study the historical backdrop against which they were created. Therefore, in chapter III, I will set out the historical context in which P.C. Hooft was writing his literature and his letters. I will explain how the Dutch language in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was 'under construction', and that the written vernacular was developing to slowly take over the place of Latin.

Letter-writer Hooft

To conclude this chapter, I will give a short example of what Van Tricht calls Hooft's fashioned and artificial epistolary style.⁶⁷ In the introduction of *Briefwisselingen I*, Van Tricht explains that Hooft took a lot of care to ensure that his letters appear flawless, first writing them in draft, before penning them down in a finer hand. Concretely, Hooft likes to use metaphors and references to the classics, which I discussed in my bachelor's thesis *Variatie in Negatie*.⁶⁸ Here, I analysed letter 586 to Joost Baek, who Hooft invited to visit the Castle of Muiden, even though Baek's wife had just given birth to a son. In this letter, Hooft deploys the art of rhetoric to try to convince Baek to come over. He really gives it his all: using the trinity *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* of the classical style of persuasion, as well as abundant metaphors, parables and complex linguistical sentence constructions. A letter of this kind cannot but be the result of careful thought and construction. Hooft's deployment of these themes and methods are a reflection of his own classical knowledge, and perhaps of Baek's, who, in order to understand the message

64 Hoftijzer, Lankhorst and Nellen 10.

65 Hoftijzer, Lankhorst and Nellen 10.

66 Hoftijzer, Lankhorst and Nellen 16-17.

67 Van Tricht I, 15. Original quotation: "'Gemaniëreerd", gekunsteld werd de epistolaire stijl onvermijdelijk'.

68 Kramer, I. *Variatie in Negatie*. Utrecht University, 2016. For the analysis of this letter, see pp. 21-24.

of Hooft's letter, would have had to know the content of these stories as well. Again: the receiver partly determines the content of the letter.

At the same time, this letter offers the modern reader to catch a small glimpse of Hooft's daily life, for Hooft reflects upon events that took place in his time. He *had* invited friends – specifically Tesselschade Visschers and Francisca Duarte with their husbands, plus two other gentlemen – over to the Castle of Muiden. Concurrently, he refers to the birth of Baek's son (whose name is also Arnout), and to the efforts that Leonora Hellemans had put in to accommodate for all these guests.

A bit more contextual information offers the next short chapter, in which I focus on the development of the Dutch language and its literary deployment by Hooft and his fellow authors in that period. I will give a short overview of the political, economic and social context in which Hooft wrote his letters. I will argue that this context influenced the ways in which Hooft presented himself, which may explain why I was able to discern the three roles of *teacher*, *purist*, and *artist* in his letters.

Chapter III Early Modern Dutch as a literary language

Introduction

In this paragraph, I describe the development of the Early Modern Dutch language and its position in the contemporary political, social, and academic situation of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Following Laurens Ham's example in *Captivated by Prometheus*, this paragraph will sketch the institutional and political background, after which I will determine how Hooft represented himself in this context. Indeed, as Ham argued, an author forms but is also formed by this context. For researchers, knowledge of an author's context will help in understanding certain choices the author made while writing – perhaps he or she had a certain political or social position, or reflected on certain events. As we will see, the political developments that resulted in the Dutch Revolt and the reevaluation of the vernacular, affected Hooft and his fellow authors.

The period of the Dutch Revolt has been studied copiously in Dutch literary studies, as well as in historiography. For this thesis, the scholarly debate about notions of 'national identity' and 'patriotism' in the Early Modern period is of relevance, in particular the relation between the Dutch language and development of the Dutch Republic (in all its aspects). We will see that in contemporary research on concepts like 'national identity' and 'patriotism', it is very difficult to make a one-on-one comparison between the modern situation and the Early Modern time – a period in which 'the state' or 'the nation' or indeed 'the fatherland' were very ambiguous entities. Still, as I will explain based on the researches done by Robert Stein, Alistair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, traces of some sort of community and sense of coherence can be discerned in Early Modern literary expressions.

We will see that Smits-Veldt connects these feelings of coherence with a renewed interest in the development of the Dutch language in the second half of the sixteenth century. In this period, the chambers of rhetoric produced literature in the vernacular, thus contributing to the development of literary Dutch, she explains. Patriotic subjects and themes become important in literature from this place and period, with a strong emphasis on the revival of the mother tongue. Concurrently, in this period attempts are made at codifying and standardising the Dutch language.⁶⁹ Hooft, member of Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *D'Eglentier*, joined in these trends by writing literature in Dutch in general, and specifically by corresponding about

⁶⁹ In *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600-1900*, Tanja Simons and Gijsbert Rutten describe the seventeenth century as 'a period of incipient standardization ... selection and codification' (49). In the same collection of essays, Judith Nobels and Gijsbert Rutten refer to 'the normative tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as grammars, spelling guides and schoolbooks' (23).

it in his letters. In short: the Dutch language was a ‘hot topic’ in the Early Modern period. I focus more on this in the two last paragraphs of this chapter.

The context of revolt and war: a careful sense of Dutch identity?

During the lifetime of Hooft, the northern Dutch provinces were at war with the catholic Spanish kingdom, which was ruled by king Philip II. Only the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609-1621) was a short pause in this Dutch Revolt, that was raging for a total of eighty years (1568-1648).⁷⁰ This period of conflict included ‘urban revolt, provincial revolt, civil war, struggle for national independence, international power struggles and economic warfare’, explains historian Marjolein ’t Hart in *The Dutch Wars of Independence*.⁷¹

In literary historical scholarship, much research has been done on whether in this period there can be discerned shared feelings or a communal ideology. This scholarship focuses on the concepts of ‘patriotism’ and ‘national identity’⁷² in the Early Modern period. As I mentioned before, it is important to note that in this scholarship great care is taken with ascribing feelings of ‘nationalism’ or ‘patriotism’ to the Early Modern inhabitants of the Low Countries. What is more, scholars need to specifically position themselves in the debate about using the nineteenth-century conception of the ‘nation’ in Early Modern research. To find references in Early Modern sources to one particular ‘nation’ or ‘fatherland’ proves to be difficult, shows S. Groenveld in *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*. Groenveld finds that ‘fatherland’ in the Early Modern Low Countries could be used to refer to one’s city, region, province, or ‘country’, but very rarely to something similar to a nineteenth century ‘state’.⁷³ More often than not, concludes Groenveld, ‘the fatherland’ was an abbreviation for ‘the heavenly fatherland’. Furthermore, Groenveld emphasises, in the sixteenth century one cannot unquestioningly discover the existence of an all-encompassing ‘language community’.⁷⁴

Looking for some sense of cohesion despite these difficulties is Alistair Duke in *Networks, Regions and Nations Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650*. Here, Duke argues that ‘despite all the differences between them, by the mid-sixteenth century the

70 For a useful recap of the events during the Eighty Years’ War, I would like to refer to Marjolein ’t Hart’s timeline in *The Dutch Wars of Independence*, p. xii-xiii.

71 ’t Hart, Marjolein. *The Dutch Wars of Independence. Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570-1680*. Routledge, 2014. p.3. For an overview of the different names of the period of conflict (Eighty Years’ War, Dutch Revolt, Dutch War of Independence), see here as well.

72 For an intriguing analysis of the existence of a Dutch national identity in the Early Modern period (post Eighty Years’ War), see: Jensen, Lotte. *Celebrating Peace. The Emergence of Dutch Identity, 1648-1815*. Vantilt Publishers, 2017.

73 Groenveld 59-60.

74 Groenveld criticises earlier research done by Geyl and Van der Essen, who argued that in the sixteenth century feelings of collectiveness and national coherence could already be determined: according to Groenveld, this conclusion was too one-sided, and strongly influenced by Geyl’s own nineteenth-century scholarly background (Groenveld 79).

Seventeen Provinces had also adopted a common culture, that was perhaps best characterised by their shared commitment to notions of liberty'.⁷⁵ Judith Pollman's contribution in the same volume addresses 'the survival of the ideal of the Seventeen Low Countries'.⁷⁶ Pollmann studies pamphlets, maps, songs and sermons, in which the reunification of the Netherlands was expressed, but she also shows that these feelings were not the norm in daily practice: there was a 'growing mutual distrust between the two new warring Netherlands camps [the northern and southern provinces]'.⁷⁷ In anti-Spanish northern writings, the southern provinces were oftentimes accused of being 'asleep', Pollmann explains, as they seemed to accept 'the Spanish mantle' without any resistance, which was incomprehensible from a northern point of view.⁷⁸ In both Duke's and Pollmann's chapters, the 'importance of the efforts by William of Orange and his circle to mobilise public opinion for their cause by defining a common enemy for a common *patria*' are emphasised.⁷⁹

In *Vaderland*, Mieke B. Smits-Veldt gives an example of expressions of a northern 'identity'. She finds these in the content from texts by the Dutch chambers of rhetoric, who honoured their province and country in rhymes and hymns.⁸⁰ Particularly, the province of Holland received much praise. Smits-Veldt continues this line of argument in the literary history she published in collaboration with Karel Porteman, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*.⁸¹ The title of their work implies the formation of a new 'fatherland' in this period. Indeed, once again Porteman and Smits-Veldt clearly identify the province of Holland as 'the new fatherland for the muses'.⁸² Still, an idea of a fatherland that refers to 'the Republic' or 'all provinces' cannot be discerned in this period, not in the least because the boundaries of what could be called 'the Republic' were constantly shifting, at times including certain cities or regions, at times excluding these.⁸³

75 Stein 12. The summaries of Duke's and Pollman's chapters, I based on the introduction of *Networks, Regions, and Nations* by Robert Stein.

76 Stein 12.

77 Stein 13.

78 Pollmann 256.

79 Stein 17.

80 Smits-Veldt 87.

81 Porteman, Karel and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt. *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560-1700*. Bert Bakker, 2008.

82 In an unpublished article, Carmen Verhoeven and I traced the notion of 'the fatherland' in *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*. We concluded that Porteman and Smits-Veldt identify the literary fatherland in the northern provinces of the Low Countries. At times, Porteman and Smits-Veldt appear to extend this northern patriotism to the entire 'Republic' or Low Countries, at times including the southern provinces, at times positioning them explicitly as 'not a part of the Republic'. The inconsistent use of 'fatherland', and the identification of the southern provinces (at times these are part of the Republic, but not identified as such, at times all provinces are included in 'the Republic') illustrate beautifully how complex any discussion of patriotism in this period is. Kramer, Irene and Carmen Verhoeven. "Geen ruimte voor het Zuiden in Noordelijk vaderland. Semantische analyse van de term 'vaderland' in *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*." Unpublished, 2017.

83 Such as Breda and Den Bosch (Kramer and Verhoeven 5).

However, Smits-Veldt argues in *Vaderland* that the rebellious character of the Dutch Revolt called upon feelings of coherence and loyalty, that surpassed the small daily community to which people belonged'.⁸⁴ Although Smits-Veldt stresses that the notion of 'the fatherland' cannot be unambiguously identified, she does argue that the members of the Dutch chambers of rhetoric (Rederijkers) gave a voice to shared feelings of coherence and solidarity for 'the fatherland'.⁸⁵ They did this by discussing typical subject matters (content), but also by utilising the Dutch language in their poetry (form). Referring to Roemer Visscher and Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, both members of the Amsterdam-based chamber *D'Eglentier*, Smits-Veldt describes the chambers' vigorous labour to give not only the province of Holland, but also the Dutch language 'the status that [became] her, as medium for texts for the community', i.e. a text that 'ha[d] been purified of foreign (mainly French and German) words'.⁸⁶ Complementing form and content, the Early Modern Rederijkers published works in the vernacular that described a shared history of the Dutch 'nation', such as the Batavian myth.⁸⁷

Smits-Veldt describes this period as one in which an 'explosion' of works in the mother tongue takes place, fuelled by authors like G.A. Bredero, Hooft, and Samuel Coster, who were also members of *D'Eglentier*.⁸⁸ 'A new Parnassus rises from the marshes of Amsterdam', Smits-Veldt states, 'with Hooft as its leader'.⁸⁹ From this Parnassus emanated literature about patriotic subjects and themes, written in the mother tongue. In the next paragraph, I will focus more on the role of the chambers of rhetoric, and Hooft's involvement in the development of Dutch as a literary language.

The development of Dutch as an independent literary language

As Groenveld pointed out, in the sixteenth century one cannot unquestioningly discover the existence of an all-encompassing Dutch 'language community'. Like in the rest of the European academic and literary world, authors in the Early Modern Low Countries mainly had been using Latin in their publications. However, throughout the sixteenth century, attempts were made at

84 Smits-Veldt, Mieke B. "'Het vaderland' bij Hollandse rederijkers, circa 1580-1625: grondgebied en identiteit." In: *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*. Ed. N.C.F. van Sas. Amsterdam University Press, 1999. p. 85.

85 Smits-Veldt 97.

86 Smits-Veldt 104.

87 Marijke Meijer Drees explains in *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* that already in 1508, Erasmus had referred to the Bataves as the ancestors of the Dutch people, emphasising their character as straight-forward, friendly and serious. He presented them as brave, but also cultured warriors. This early characterisation, explains Meijer Drees, was the beginning of what in the sixteenth-century literary historiography became an inextricable tangle of fact and fiction, which today is known as the Batavian myth (246-247).

Meijer Drees, Marijke. "Betekenis van de vaderlandse geschiedenis voor de literatuur." In: *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*. 1993. Ed. M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen e.a. Contact, 1998. 243-248.

88 Smits-Veldt 105.

89 Smits-Veldt 105.

standardising and systematising the Dutch language, to make it fit for education and literary use.⁹⁰ One of the environments in which this happened, were the aforementioned chambers of rhetoric. In what follows, I will set out the ways in which the members of the Amsterdam chamber *D'Eglentier* busied themselves with the development of the Dutch language. I will specifically discuss Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert and Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, who were *D'Eglentier* members one generation before Hooft, Bredero, and Coster.

Porteman and Smits-Veldt discuss the rise of the Dutch literary language throughout *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*. In their chapter 'Literature from circa 1585 until circa 1600', Porteman and Smits-Veldt discuss Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, who was 'the first author from a northern province that had become a part of the purist movement that originated in the South'.⁹¹ While Coornhert was not, as Porteman and Smits-Veldt call it, an 'extreme purist', he did emphasise the importance of a Dutch language with as little foreign idiom in it as possible. Coornhert contended that the mother tongue was an instrument as adequate as the elegant and classical Latin if one wished to express oneself clearly and effectively.⁹² In 1586, Coornhert published his *Zedekunst, dat is wellevenskunste*, which was the first work of ethics in the Dutch vernacular. Coornhert dedicated this work to Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, who in 1584 had also made an attempt at the standardisation and systematisation of the Dutch language.

This project had been the *Twe-spraak van de Nederduitsche letterkunst*, which was published by *D'Eglentier*. *Twe-spraak* contained a grammatical overview of the Dutch language, including rules for spelling, pronunciation, and conjugation. The book was set up as a dialogue between *D'Eglentier* members Roemer Visscher and Gedeon Fallet. Sequels to *Twe-spraak* were two manuals for the art of *dialectica* and *retorica*, which were aimed at 'a smaller target group ... that had already been schooled in these subjects in Latin, and had to become familiar with the Dutch terminology'.⁹³ Spiegel and Fallet were of the opinion that the Dutch language was very well fit for the formation of conjugations, because of its short 'basic words'. In his literary work, Spiegel would use a lot of these combinations, adding to the existing idiom.

What is more, these convictions did not stay limited to the chambers of rhetoric. Dutch scholar and mathematician Simon Stevin (1548-1620), took after Spiegel and Fallet. Loath to impregnate the Dutch language with foreign seed, Stevin preferred to *invent* Dutch words for scientific and mathematical terms⁹⁴, thus replacing the Latin and Greek terminology with Dutch

90 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 138.

91 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 98.

92 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 98.

93 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 139.

94 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 140.

equivalents.⁹⁵ Like Spiegel and Fallet, Stevin was very fond of the Dutch short words and easy conjunctions. He even was of the opinion that because of its basic form, Dutch could have very well been the *Ur-language* that Adam and Eve had spoken in Paradise.

This practice of inventing new words and refusing to use those from another language, is what is generally described as *language purism*. In an atmosphere that Porteman and Smits-Veldt describe as a ‘politics of culture’, that was specifically built upon language and literature, the members of the chambers set out to produce literature and literary genres in the newly ‘purified’ language.⁹⁶ I already mentioned the two sequels to *Twe-Spraack*, that contributed to the use of Dutch in the art of rhetoric. Porteman and Smits-Veldt describe the chambers’ (in particular Spiegel’s) efforts to utilise the Dutch language in other genres, like drama and poetry, as well: ‘Spiegel determined that the people in Holland had obtained the same abilities to compose verse as their classical predecessors’, they explain.⁹⁷ Again referring to the metaphor of the Dutch Parnassus, Porteman and Smits-Veldt describe the chamber’s wish to ‘let Amsterdam restore poetry in the mother tongue’.⁹⁸ Hence, members of the chambers of rhetoric chanced an attempt at constructing Dutch poetry⁹⁹, that more often than not contributed to a feeling of pride towards the Dutch history, culture, and language, remark Porteman and Smits-Veldt¹⁰⁰, and at drama¹⁰¹ in the vernacular, both using old genres (like the tragic) and new (like realistic narratives).¹⁰²

The period from circa 1600-1620 is next in Porteman and Smits-Veldt’s literary history. In this period, apart from Van Hout, Van Mander, and Duym, poets like Heinsius, Grotius, Vondel, and Hooft start producing their literature. On the ‘Leidse Helicon’, poets from the Low Countries created lyricism, hymns, and *emblemata* with poems after the fashion of Petrarch, Porteman and Smits-Veldt describe.¹⁰³ Still, they emphasise, the literary centre was not located in Leiden, but rather in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁴ Here, the production of books – *emblemata*, song books, and lyricism – as well as plays, increased greatly in this period.¹⁰⁵ *D’Eglentier*, based in Amsterdam, was an enthusiastic contributor to this increase, Porteman and Smits-Veldt

95 For instance *evenaar* [equator], *loodrecht* [perpendicular], and *scheikunde* [chemistry].

96 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 137.

97 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 144.

98 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 144.

99 For example Jan Dousa, Jan van Hout, and Karel van Mander.

100 In particular, the ‘Batavian myth’ provided content for many poems, plays, and discussions (Porteman and Smits-Veldt 153).

101 For example Jacob Duym

102 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 159.

103 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 172-185.

104 Again, the methapor of the Amsterdam Parnassus is deployed (Porteman and Smits-Veldt 189).

105 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 189-202.

remark.¹⁰⁶ In 1600, the chamber was still governed by the renowned H.L. Spiegel, who had taken the then still young P.C. Hooft under his wings. To all the genres that had been explored by the earlier *D'Eglentier* members, Hooft provided a worthy contribution: Petrarchist lyricism in *Emblemata amatorial* (1611), tragic drama in *Geeraerd van Velzen* (1613), and the deployment of the Batavian myth in *Baeto* (1617). With *Hendrik de Grote*, Hooft even published a historical biography of the French king Henry IV, in this way extending the use of the Dutch vernacular to the genre of historiography, which he continued with his enormous project the *Nederlandsche Historiën*.

Now that I have sketched the political, literary and academic backdrop against which Hooft lived, learned and wrote, I will in the next paragraph concentrate more on his roles as politician and author.

Hooft's three roles: a short introduction

In *D'Eglentier*, and especially under the careful guidance of Spiegel, who, in *Twe-spraak*, argued that 'a people like the Dutch, so crafty and dapper, surely should be able to wield its own mother tongue as well as the Romans, the Italians, and the French'¹⁰⁷, P.C. Hooft had from the beginning been involved in the 'politics of culture' as was described by Porteman and Smits-Veldt. Such was Hooft's involvement with the Dutch vernacular, that the influence of his reflections on and his use of the Dutch language can be traced well into eighteenth-century linguistical authors and their readers, argues linguist Marijke van der Wal.¹⁰⁸ In a lecture given in honour of Hooft's 350th death day, Van der Wal begins by referring to 'a few facts about Hooft's language that are most likely self-evident'.¹⁰⁹ She summarises these as: 'the *purisms* that can be found in many of his works, and which are sometimes object of discussion in his correspondence; [and] his meticulous use of grammatical cases and Latin-based syntactical constructions in his prose'.¹¹⁰ Van der Wal explains how Hooft during his lifetime busied himself with linguistical matters, and that he worked on *Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael*, a posthumously published manual for the Dutch language.

Van der Wal specifically refers to Hooft's reputation as a language purist. I have shown before that the Dutch language was still a language under development, which meant that for

106 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 202.

107 Smits-Veldt 103.

108 Wal, M.J. van der. "Richtlijnen voor het nageslacht? Hoofts taal en taalreflectie na 1647." In: *Zeven maal Hooft. Lezingen ter gelegenheid van de 350ste sterfdag van P.C. Hooft, uitgesproken op het herdenkingscongres in de Amsterdamse Agnietenkapel op 21 mei 1997*. Ed. Jeroen Jansen. AD&L Uitgevers, 1997.

109 Van der Wal 123.

110 Van der Wal 123.

many foreign words, Dutch equivalents did not yet exist. Always striving to use as little foreign idiom as possible, Hooft dedicated himself to finding and inventing Dutch equivalents in his work. This sometimes resulted in some discontent, both within the reader and Hooft himself, who often describes the new idiom as ‘misshapen creatures’. He does so in for instance letter 615 to Huygens, admitting to the baseness of the written vernacular, but emphasising that he would ‘rather use strangling words than insert non-Dutch’.¹¹¹ The paragraph ‘purist’ (chapter IV.3) will give more examples of instances in which Hooft expresses thoughts like the one in letter 615.

The last two paragraphs of chapter IV focus on two other roles that I discerned in Hooft’s letters: the roles of *teacher* and *artist*. I will show that on several occasions, Hooft tutors some of his correspondents (like Joost Baek, Tesselschade Visschers, and his son Arnout) and that at times, he is even asked for advice concerning the Dutch language (by the same Joost Baek, but also by political and literary counterparts such as Jacob Wytz and Caspar Barlaeus). Additionally, I will show that Hooft sometimes uses his own letters as a canvas on which he paints a literary work of art, by using crafty word play or intricate metaphors.

¹¹¹ Letter 615 (30-31).

Chapter IV Auto-representation

IV.1 Hooft's offspring

Now that we have established the theoretical frame for the analyses it is time to delve deeper into the material and its author. In paragraph 2 of this chapter, I will explain which letters have been included in the corpus for this thesis, as well as give some examples of the relevant letters, and give a graphic overview of the appearances of the roles of *purist*, *teacher*, and *artist*. After this, paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 contain my analysis of Hooft's auto-representation. But before commencing with any of this, let us pause for a moment here and focus on Hooft's fatherhood and get to know the Hooft family.

P.C. Hooft fathered six children. His first wife, Christina van Erp, gave him three sons and one daughter: Cornelis, Geertruid, Arnout I and Arnout II. None of these children would live a long life: Geertruid died an infant, Arnout I at two years old, and Arnout II did not live longer than three years. Only Cornelis lived long enough to be able to learn how to read, but he as well passed away when he was only twelve years of age. Them having lost four children, one would hope that fate would have mercy on the Hooft family. The opposite is the case, for in 1624, not only did Hooft lose his last living son Arnout II, but also the mother of his children, Christina. In an emotional letter to his friend Tesselschade Visschers, Hooft describes his unhealable heart that has been shredded to pieces, for what had been attached to it with 'pins and nails', had violently been ripped off.¹¹² However, Hooft does not remain unmarried. After three years of healing, it appears that Hooft's heart has recovered, for he describes it as being 'incited with affection, and thus filled up with hope' in a letter to Leonora Hellemans, his second spouse.¹¹³ They wed in 1627, and Hooft took Leonora's two daughters from her previous marriage, Susanna and Constantia, on as his own. The couple had two more children, Arnout and Christina.

But these children of flesh and blood are not Hooft's only offspring: to him, his works were like children as well. Indeed, in a letter to Huygens, Hooft describes his *Historiën* as a daughter, who – he hopes – will be born already full of knowledge and wisdom: 'it would be my greatest pleasure, that when that daughter comes into the world, she will have learned some

112 Letter 207 (5-7). Original quotation: 'Die nojt anders dan spelden en spijkers opzocht om, 't geen hij beminde, naghelvast in zijn harte te maeken, hoe kan 't hem daer afgescheurt worden zonder ongeneeslijke reeten te laeten?'

113 Letter 264 (64-65). Original quotation: 'Met een hart dus opgestoekt met minne, dus opgevult met hoope, keer ick 's andren daeghs wederom ...'.

manners from gentlemen, and will have better knowledge of worldly matters than her own father', he writes.¹¹⁴ Hooft saw it as his task to 'raise' his literature, to nurture it, and to develop it to its full potential: nothing is put to paper without careful consideration, because as a parent, a father is responsible for raising his offspring. He will show them the beauties of this world, and warn them against its dangers. He will set out guidelines to help his children choose between right and wrong, between good and evil, and explain that sometimes there is something in between as well. A father rewards and reprimands. A father protects and trusts his children.¹¹⁵ Hooft's parenthood included the children with Christina and Leonora, as well as the ones of ink and paper, I argue in this chapter. Hooft extended his fatherly role to becoming father of the Dutch literary language. I will set out how Hooft takes on three roles that build up this overall image. First of all, Hooft presents himself as a language *purist*, in other words someone who refuses to tarnish the Dutch written and spoken word with foreign vocabulary. Like a father protecting his children from maleficent influences, Hooft combats anything that would threaten to harm his innocent offspring. Secondly, Hooft takes on the role of *teacher*. Like a father teaching his children how to solve a puzzle, Hooft guides his friends and family through the grammatical, syntactical and lexical challenges of the Dutch language. And finally, Hooft sets the right example by using the Dutch language to its full potential: in his poetry, prose, and plays, Hooft practices what he preaches, and shows that the Dutch literary language is fit to be used by *artists*. Naturally, Hooft displays his artistry by producing literature. But what we will see here, is that Hooft also presents himself as an artist in his *letters*, when he artfully uses the Dutch language in, for instance, metaphors and wordplay.

We will see that his letters are the inheritance he left all to his heirs: his children, his literature, and the Dutch literary language. In fact, Hooft makes his intentions with regard to the developing Dutch literary language very clear in letter 588, in which he begs for Rochus van den Hoonart's patience regarding a new book of the *Nederlandsche Historiën*: it is taking longer than expected, because it is still being edited. Unhappy as Hooft may be about this, he acknowledges that one should be patient with the editors' tardiness, because:

they are people who serve out of love, and [because], *when laying out the tracks for a language*, one would err when contracting hirelings, who lack the consideration and diligence required to be able to use the

114 Letter 610 (18-21). Original quotation: Zeker 't waer mij groote gunste, eer die dochter begint de werelt te hanteeren, dat zij wat geschiktheits leerde van heeren bet afericht op wereldsche zaeken, dan haer eighen Vaeder is'.

115 Please note that I do *not* wish to suggest that only fathers have these responsibilities. I would not have come this far without the unconditional love and support of my mother. *Matris vere infinitus amor in filiam*.

right expressions, and follow the footsteps of their predecessors,
punctually and correctly ...¹¹⁶

In this quotation, Hooft explicitly mentions his intention to lay out the tracks for the language. Van Tricht argues that this remark proves to which extent Hooft was aware of his role as guide and example regarding the language.¹¹⁷ This chapter will extend this argument by showing that Hooft positions himself as a father figure, maintaining and nurturing the language he teaches to his students, all the while exhibiting the possibilities of the literary Dutch language in his letters. The next paragraph will explain which letters have been included in my corpus: they are the ones in which Hooft discusses one of his paper children (i.e. a publication) or when he discusses the development and specifics of his other offspring, the Dutch language.

116 Letter 588 (7-11). Original quotation: 'Maer alzoô 't lujden zijn, die ujt liefde dienen, ende dat men, *in 't spoorleggen eener taele*, quaelijk huirlingen te werven weet, dien 't aen geen' aendacht en ijver mangle, om de naeuwluisterende stellingen gaê te slaan, en de voetstappen des voorgangers, stips en juistelijc nae te kuijeren, hebbe moeten met hunne traegheit het gedult neemen'. My emphasis.

117 Van Tricht II, 442. Footnote 8.

Corpus selection

Until this point, I have referred to Hooft's letters several times. However, even though I have read all the letters that were available to me via *Briefwisselingen*, I had to make a selection, to create a comprehensive and cohesive corpus for this thesis.¹¹⁸ Because the main question of this thesis concerns Hooft's fathership of the Dutch as a literary language, it seemed only logical to include letters that discussed Hooft's work in one way or another. Did the father posture become apparent in letters about his literature? Secondly, I looked at letters that discussed (an aspect of) the Dutch language, such as grammar, spelling, or idiom. The *language* in particular seems to make up for such a great part of Hooft's fatherhood of the Dutch literary language, as I argued in the previous paragraph.

The selection based on these criteria has resulted in a corpus that consists of 91 letters, all written between 1616 and 1647. I will illustrate what these letters looked like with two examples below. In the first example, Hooft discusses his *Nederlandsche Historiën* in a letter to Jacob Wytz; the second citation is from a letter to Joost Baek, in which Hooft explains the correct use of two similar-looking Dutch words:

1. In a letter to Jacob Wytz, Hooft contemplates using Latin for his *Nederlandsche Historiën*, rather than Dutch, as the latter still contains so many 'hard' words. Hooft decides against it, arguing that 'the account of a genus, methinks, can in another tongue not be expressed as essentially'.¹¹⁹
2. In a letter to Joost Baek, Hooft points out the difference between 'voorneemst' and 'vernaemst': 'The difference between *voorneemst* and *vernaemst* can be discerned when one conjugates them back into their natural state, for they are currently both superlatives. Thus, they become for example *een voorneemen* and *vernaemt man* [a devout and distinguished man].¹²⁰

118 The main part of the correspondence in *Briefwisselingen* is written in Dutch, even though Hooft was able to converse in foreign languages as well – *Briefwisselingen* contains letters in French, Italian, and Latin. I have included letters in other languages than Dutch in my selection, if they were relevant based on their content (e.g. letter 1296, see paragraph IV.4).

119 Letter 640. Original quotation: '... het bedrijf eens geslachts van andre tonge, mijns bedunkens, niet even eighentlijk ujt te drukken waer' (52-54).

120 Letter 324. Original quotation: 't Verschil dat UE zoekt te weeten tussen *voorneemst* en *vernaemst*, kont bezeffen, wanneer UE de woorden, dewelke nu staen in de hoogsten stant, stelt in de laeghsten ende zegt: *een voorneemen* en *vernaemt man*, bij gelijkenis' (11-16).

The selection process occurred manually, which means that it was my estimation which determined whether a letter should be taken into account. I based this estimation not only on my own observations, but I also consulted Van Tricht's indices in the back of the *Briefwisselingen* series. Table 1 and 2 below show which letters were included in the corpus selection: table 1 contains a list of letters about Hooft's works, table 2 contains a list with letters about the Dutch language. Important to notice is that inclusion in one category does not mean exclusion from another. However, during the selection process, I focused first of all on letters that discussed a work: these were automatically included. Then, for letters that did not discuss a work, I would look if Hooft made a remark about (an aspect of) the Dutch language. Therefore, a letter that discusses one of Hooft's works, can very well also be one in which he discusses language, but it will be listed as belonging to the first category.

Letters about Hooft's work (65)					
98	244	350	610	772	1072
107	267	384	611	776	1074
127	290	448	615	843	1086
222	313	563	621	846	1091
223	320	564	634	854	1107
225	331	576	638	859	1112
226	343	577	640	909	1137
227	344	579	641	910	1250
235	345	583	749	915	1285
236	346	588	756	986	1327
243	347	604	768	1014	

Table 1

Letters discussing (an aspect of) the Dutch language (26)			
176	356	574	1159
251	359	631	1265
308	370	733	1296
324	374	953	1319
326	379	1065	1326
354	497	1093	
355	555	1100	

Table 2

These 91 letters are the object of my auto-representation analysis. In these letters, I discovered that Hooft often appears to present himself in a certain way, taking on the role of a language purist, a teacher of language, or an artist of literary Dutch. What this can look like, I will explain briefly in what follows, and extend further in the last three paragraphs of this chapter.

In his letters, Hooft oftentimes reflects on his use of the Dutch language, preferring to use the Dutch rather than one of the classical languages. We see this for instance in example 1 above: even though the Dutch words sound harsh, Hooft refuses to replace them with Latin counterparts, in order to keep his text *pure*. Furthermore, Hooft's expertise is well-known amongst his contemporaries, who sometimes ask for his help in linguistic matters, which we see in example 2. Here, Hooft takes on the role as *teacher* of language. Lastly, Hooft's works have been lauded greatly for being excellent examples of what the Dutch language could accomplish in literary expression, and Hooft himself for being a true *artist*. This last role is not only explicitly mentioned by Hooft, but also expressed implicitly, when Hooft applies a crafty metaphor or nifty word play, for instance in a letter to Constantijn Huygens, in which Hooft expresses his gratitude. Huygens had sent him a long historical account, on which Hooft could base parts of his *Nederlandsche Historiën*. He uses Huygens' name (here spelled as Huighens) as an anagram when he writes: 'Should you, who pleased with doing, and did to everyone's pleasure, be called HUIGHENS or rather HEUGHNIS?'¹²¹

This chapter contains analyses of these three roles that I found throughout Hooft's correspondence. I introduce and illustrate each role, and explain to what extent they contribute to the construction of Hooft's overall posture of father of the Dutch literary language. Rather than discussing all letters and the roles they express, I will illustrate the larger trends with quotations and passages from a few exemplary letters.

The following charts then illustrate the distribution of the categories per role (figure 1) and the distribution of the roles per the letters about a work and those about the Dutch language (figure 2). What can be seen from these, is that in 33 of the 65 letters about a work, no specific role became apparent. This can have several reasons: most often the letter mostly discusses something else, and Hooft only briefly mentions (one of) his works¹²²; in others, Hooft discusses mostly the writing *process* (i.e. neatly copying, or the gathering of information for the

121 Letter 859. Original quotation: 'Ghij die met doen verheughd' en 't ijder heughen deedt, is HUIGHENS, aen uw name, oft HEUGHNIS best besteedt?' (26-28). Translator's note: 'heughnis' or 'verheugenis' means 'joy'. Link to WNT (verheugen): <http://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M075977.re.3&lemma=verheugenis&domein=0&conc=true> Consulted on 6 September 2018.

122 Letters 244, 313, 320, 384, 604, 576, 577, 579, 768, 843, 910, 915, 1107, 1285.

content)¹²³; or the letter is only a short memo that accompanies the sent work¹²⁴; twice Hooft is thanking his recipient for honouring his work¹²⁵; and in two other letters, Hooft mentions his work when he is asking Huygens for a favour¹²⁶. Concurrently, in letter 588, we can see Hooft taking on two roles (both *teacher* and *purist*). Lastly, tables 3 and 4 provide an overview of which letters contain which roles (per category).

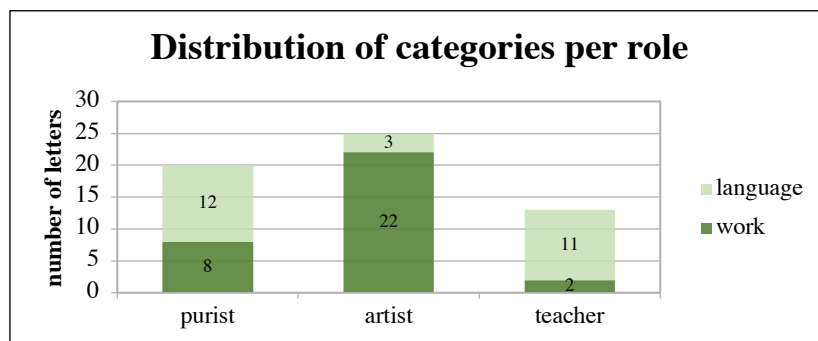


Figure 2

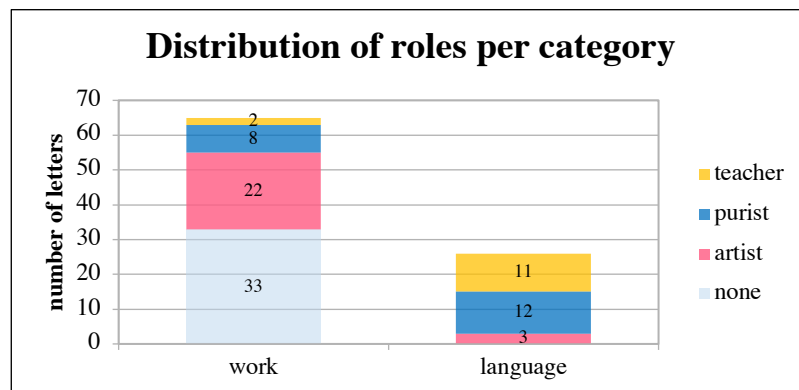


Figure 3

123 Letters 634, 749, 772, 986, 1072, 1074, 1086. Hooft has friends and fellow writers help him with the copying of his publications. At times, Hooft wishes his copiers to work faster, but overall he expresses his gratefulness for their efforts. In letter 986 for instance, he thanks Baek for the copying of *Rampsaligheden der Verheffinge van den Huize van Medicis*.

124 Letters 223, 235, 236, 267, 611, 756, 909, 1137. In these notes, Hooft often presents himself in accordance with the politeness conventions of his time: the reader has to excuse the incompetent Hooft for sending them this small and meaningless collection of scraps (see for instance letter 235, in which Hooft calls himself a 'schrabbelaer' [scratcher] and 'kladschilder' [dauber]).

125 Letters 563 and 638.

126 Letters 364 and 1091.

Distribution of roles in letters about a work						
223	576	772	1107	331	854	
235	577	843	1137	343	859	
236	579	909	1285	345	1014	
244	604	910	98	346	1112	
267	611	915	107	347	1250	
313	634	986	222	350	127	448
320	638	1072	226	583	225	588
384	749	1074	227	610	588	640
563	756	1086	243	776	615	641
564	768	1091	290	846	621	1327

Table 3

Distribution of roles in letters about (an aspect of) the Dutch language			
308	497	324	1319
355	631	326	1326
356	733	354	574
359	1093	555	1065
370	1265	953	1100
374	176	1159	
379	251	1296	

Table 4

In the last paragraph of chapter III, I gave a few examples of instances in which Hooft takes on one of the three roles in his letters. We saw that in 20 letters Hooft takes on the role of *purist*, in 13 that of *teacher*, and in 25 the role of the *artist*. In the next paragraphs, I will not discuss all these letters, but rather pick out the ones that are exemplary for the general trend. The paragraph ‘purist’ refers to two letters in which Hooft explicitly mentions his preference for a text completely in Dutch. In the next paragraph, ‘teacher’, I discuss three of Hooft’s ‘students’. The first is Hooft’s good friend Tesselschade Visschers. She was a gifted poet in the vernacular, but required Hooft’s help when she wanted to write down what she had created in her mind. Hooft helped Visschers with her spelling and punctuation. The second pupil is Hooft’s brother-in-law Joost Baek, who did not master the classical languages and was learning Latin via Hooft’s translations of Tacitus. He asks for Hooft’s help concerning the Dutch language as well, as we will see. Thirdly, Hooft educates his son of flesh-and-blood, Arnout Hooft, both in his written Dutch and his written Latin. Finally, the last paragraph ‘artist’, discusses three metaphors that Hooft uses often. I trace these metaphors throughout the letters I have selected for my corpus. Let us begin by taking a look at Hooft’s explicitly expressed purism.

A Dutch bud

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as we saw in chapter II, were periods of transition: the Dutch Republic slowly began to take shape, and rather than the Latin, the vernacular became the language of preference. The need for a standardised written language increased, to which publications of grammatical manuals like the *Twe-spraack* were a reaction. Concurrently, authors like Simon Stevin and Hendrik Spiegel introduced new words into the Dutch language to replace foreign ones.

In this period, Hooft published *Hendrik de Grote* (1626), his historical and biographical account of the life and office of the French king Henry IV. At least nine of Hooft's correspondents received a copy of this work: their letters of appreciation have been included in *Briefwisselingen*. Among these fortunate few is Willem de Groot, who calls *Hendrik de Grote* 'the grandest masterpiece in our language'.¹²⁷ Hooft deserves to be praised beyond all recognition, De Groot emphasises, not because *Hendrik de Grote* contains wonderful expressions, carefully considered words, witty reasoning and is penned down without unnecessary lengthiness¹²⁸, but above all because it appears to have been written 'in order to elevate [their] motherly tongue, in service of [the] fellow countrymen'.¹²⁹ From this, it appears that for De Groot, the fact that this work was published in Dutch, was more important than all its other characteristics. And even though this may sound as an underappreciation of Hooft's work, De Groot actually compliments Hooft on having overcome a great challenge: to utilise untarnished vernacular.

Indeed, eight years before this publication, Hooft had already turned to Hugo de Groot, Willem's brother, asking (in a letter in Latin) for his opinion regarding the use of foreign words in *Hendrik de Grote*. Hooft describes his project specifically as 'a writing in the vernacular'¹³⁰ and expresses the difficulty he has with thinking up Dutch equivalents for loanwords that had been fully incorporated into the Dutch language. Hooft explicitly expresses his parenthood concerning this piece of writing, calling it a 'foetus'¹³¹ that he hopes will be an honourable gift to the country. At that point, *Hendrik de Grote* is still in the metaphorical womb, slowly

127 Letter 229 (25-26). Original quotation: 'het grootste meesterstuk in onse tale gelooft ende opgenomen'.

128 In fact, De Groot points out that there had been 'many that were better' because of this.

129 Letter 229 (28-38). Original quotation: 'Maer nijemant isser die UE voor desen sijnen arbeit ten dijenste van onse landsluijden, ende tot verheffinge van onse moederlijcke tael aangewent ... hoochlijcker is' (36-40).

130 Letter 127 (10). Original quotation: 'scripto ... vernaculo'.

131 Letter 127 (4-5). Original quotation: 'ipse mei periculum facere statui, enintendo foetum'. Translation: I decided to make an attempt of my own, bringing to light a foetus.

developing into its nascent. Hooft is doing his utmost to provide this growing bud with the right nutrients: the correct Dutch words. I would argue that at the same time, *Hendrik de Grote*, like Hooft's other paper children (which, until that time, had mainly been plays¹³²) was the vessel via which Hooft developed the Dutch literary language, for it is via written work that the possibilities of the vernacular can be explored and extended. This way, the two children – the written work on the one hand, and the Dutch literary language on the other – also help *each other* to reach adulthood.

Hendrik de Grote was Hooft's first historical work of prose in the mother tongue. Perhaps it was a first step towards the gigantic project of the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, which had challenged Hooft in many ways. In what follows, I will shed some light on these challenges. We will take a look at two letters in which Hooft expresses his worries about his use of the Dutch language. These letters – letter 640 to Jacob Wytz, and letter 641 to Constantijn Huygens – are exemplary for Hooft's explicit language *purism*, which we can discern in eight letters about one of Hooft's works, and in twelve that discuss (an aspect of) the Dutch language.

Royal commentary

In letter 640, Hooft is horrified to tell Wytz that a version of the *Nederlandsche Historiën* has been read by Prince Frederik Hendrik, who commented on 'the harshness¹³³ of the words in pure Dutch'.¹³⁴ About this, Hooft writes:

This fastidious close-mindedness is slightly bothering me at times, and has made me wonder if I should perhaps be less rigorous in my use of courtly Dutch? However, once that door has been opened, it becomes impossible to say where one should draw the line, which makes me wonder if it would be better to write the entire piece in Latin.¹³⁵

132 Such as *Geeraerd van Velzen* (1613), *Granida* (1615), and *Baeto* (1617).

133 Original: 'hardigheid'. Here translated into 'harshness'. I based this translation on the WNT, who assigns 'hard' predominantly with the meaning of something 'solid', 'unpleasant', or 'stiff'. Another possibility would be for 'hard' to mean 'difficult to understand', however in my opinion Hooft means to say that the made-up Dutch words do not yet look as smooth as the foreign loanwords (see also the explanation by Van Tricht).

134 Letter 640 (46). Original quotation: 'de hardigheid der pujrduitsche woorden'. Van Tricht notes: 'The purisms, which had an unnatural appearance because of their unusualness, especially because they were intellectual constructs, gave the language something hard, especially when compared to the official Dutch [at the time], which contained many French words' (535, footnote 46).

135 Letter 640 (47-52). Original quotation: 'De vieze naeuwheit van gewisse in dezen mishaeht mij zelve eenighszins, ende hebbe somtijds in beraedt gestaen, oft niet beter waer den schoot te vieren, met spreken van hoofsch Duitsch. Maer, zoo men die deure open zet, ik en zie niet waer 't eindighen wil met het verloop der taele; ende 't zoude misschien nutter zijn in zujver Latijn te schrijven'.

Hooft is asking a fair question here. Because if the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, like *Hendrik de Grote* had been before it, was to be a tribute and contribution to the Dutch language, then why would he succumb to these types of objections? Indeed, who can decide whether the Dutch words are too ‘harsh’ and should be replaced with foreign counterparts? Hooft answers his own question by emphasising that he is of the opinion that ‘the history of a nation and its people cannot be expressed by a foreign tongue’.¹³⁶ This means that Dutch will have to serve, even if that means that Hooft’s work will contain words that no one has ever heard of or seen before. To Hooft this makes no matter, in fact he remarks that the *Nederlandsche Historiën* will contribute to the Dutch language the same way the work of mathematician Simon Stevin had: ‘when Stevin was still among us, I had already expressed my appreciation of him’, he writes.¹³⁷ I noted in chapter II that Simon Stevin contributed to the development of the Dutch vernacular by introducing Dutch versions of the Latin and Greek mathematical terminology, that no one had ever heard of before either. Moreover, I explained that Hooft was a member of the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *D’Eglentier*, and a pupil of H.L. Spiegel, who had argued that the Dutch language was to become as great as the Roman, Italian, and French languages had been. In this letter, Hooft reminds Wytz of these academic roots, thus placing himself in this tradition of Dutch language purism. Here, his role of language *purist* becomes very clear.

Fatherly footsteps

Hooft was evidently rather concerned about the Prince’s remarks, as we will see in the second example. In letter 641, Hooft ventilates his thoughts to Constantijn Huygens. Using a similar argument as in the letter to Wytz, Hooft explains to Huygens the necessity of purism: once the foreign language has been allowed into the Dutch, where will we then have to draw the line? Huygens, who (together with Wytz) is described by Van Tricht as ‘a strict purist’,¹³⁸ would probably have nodded his head in agreement. This time not referring to Stevin, but to a classical example, Hooft reminds his friend of Cicero: did ‘the father of the Roman rhetoric’¹³⁹ fall back on the Greek, when a Latin word was lacking? Indeed he would not. Rather, Cicero would toil and not rest until he had found a worthy counterpart in Latin.

With these excellent examples to guide him, Hooft argues, he cannot but follow in their footsteps, consciously dismissing any extraneous idiom, on behalf of the growth of the Dutch

136 Letter 640 (52-54). Original quotation: ‘in ’t welk nochtans het bedrijf eens geslachts van andre tonge, mijn bedunkens, niet even eighentlijk ujt te drukken waer’.

137 Letter 640 (61-62). Original quotation: ‘Waer Stevin noch in ’t leven, ik beloofde mij al ijetwes voorstandts van hem’.

138 Van Tricht 537 (footnote 33).

139 Letter 640 (23-24). Original quotation: ‘De vaeder der Roomsche welsprektheit’.

language. Indeed, Hooft describes Cicero as the *father* of the Roman rhetoric, and in these fatherly footsteps he follows. Like Cicero stood at the origin of the development of literary Latin, Hooft stands at the origin of the literary Dutch vernacular. And father Hooft would not want to see his child – the literary Dutch language – make a false start, by being mixed with foreign words. Worrying like a father about his adolescent child, Hooft exclaims: ‘where would our language end up?’¹⁴⁰

To make sure that the future of the Dutch literary language would be safe, Hooft took great care to set the right example in his works, and to teach his ways to his friends and admirers. In the next paragraph, I will set out some instances in which Hooft takes on the role as *teacher* of the Dutch language.

140 Letter 641 (22). Original quotation: ‘Waer onze tael belanden?’

Introduction

‘For overseeing, correcting, and pointing out the mistakes I made in the *Veltslagen* ... I thank you very much’, writes Jacob Wytz to Hooft in 1626.¹⁴¹ Wytz had sent Hooft his *Veltslaegen*, to be checked and corrected. *De Veltslagen* was a collection of battle accounts, translated into Dutch. Who better to ask for advice in this matter than ‘such a valiant head’¹⁴², that Wytz is very happy to have met! Indeed, Wytz emphasises that his own shoulders are too weak to bear these translator’s responsibilities and that he needs Hooft’s counsel. Wytz addresses Hooft’s expertise regarding the Dutch language specifically, calling him ‘the advocate of our language’¹⁴³, which correlates with the image of language purist I set out in the previous paragraph.

Wytz’ request for Hooft’s critical eye is one of many. In letters of Hooft’s own hand, we can discern the second role that he takes on: that of a *teacher* of language. I will give examples of two instances in which Hooft is called upon, and one in which he decides to take out his red pen unasked. The discussed ‘students’ of Hooft are Tesselschade Visschers, Joost Baek, and his son Arnout Hooft. From the thirteen letters in which I discern a teacher role, I refer to these in particular, because Hooft’s role as teacher becomes the most clear in them.

Tesselschade Visschers

Tesselschade Roemersdochter Visschers was a dear pen friend of P.C. Hooft. She was a welcome guest at the Castle of Muiden, not only for her pleasant company, but also because she had a beautiful voice. Hooft sometimes even used her presence to convince other people to come and visit the castle.¹⁴⁴ The letters between Visschers and Hooft are often witty and light of tone, although they also discuss very serious subjects, such as the deaths of their respective partners.¹⁴⁵ Both Hooft and Visschers construct nifty metaphors and oftentimes refer to the philosophy of the Stoics.

141 Letter 252 (2-5). Original quotation: ‘Voor het oversien, verbeteren, ende aenwijzen vande misstellingen in de Veltslaegen begaen ... bedancke ick grootelix’.

142 Letter 252. ‘so een kloek Hooft’. Here, Wytz alludes to the meaning of Hooft’s last name, which cannot be translated into English. The Dutch word ‘hooft’ means ‘head’.

143 Letter 252 (42-43). Original quotation: ‘voorstander [van onse tael]’.

144 Or so argues Louis Peter Grijp in “De muzikale activiteiten van Tesselschade Roemers” (16).

Grijp, Louis Peter. “De muzikale activiteiten van Tesselschade Roemers.” In: Sneller, A. Agnes en Olga van Marion. *De Gedichten van Tesselschade Roemers*. Verloren, 1994, 15-18.

145 For an analysis of Hooft’s letter to Visschers, in which he tries to console her after the loss of her husband, see *Variatie in Negatie* (25-28).

Every now and again Visschers calls upon Hooft's knowledge of the Dutch grammar and spelling.¹⁴⁶ Hooft is happy to oblige: he helps her with her grammar and spelling in Dutch, but also in Italian.¹⁴⁷ According to Van Tricht, Visschers was 'unskilled in using proper spelling and interpunction etc'¹⁴⁸, and hence Hooft took it upon himself to school her in these matters. A letter that exemplifies to what extent Hooft teaches his bosom friend the tricks of the trade is letter 354. During one of the gatherings at the Castle of Muiden, Visschers had read out a poem. However, it would seem that when she put the words to paper, she was having difficulty with the technicalities and needed Hooft's help.¹⁴⁹ Via her sister Anna, Hooft returns the poem with his 'betuttelingen'¹⁵⁰ in the margins. He advises Visschers to incorporate these and make a neat transcript, so she can enter it into a competition that had been organised by the Academy.¹⁵¹

It is clear that Hooft did not shy away from correcting and tutoring those who asked for it, but unfortunately no historical copies of his edits exist. The next example, however, explicitly shows how Hooft takes the time to explain his brother-in-law Joost Baek some Dutch etymology.

Joost Baek

Even after the death of Christina van Erp, Hooft had remained in contact with his family from that side, particularly with his former brother-in-law Joost Baek, who was married to Christina's sister. Baek, who lived in Amsterdam, was a merchant and trader. Therefore, Hooft oftentimes called upon his expertise when he was about to make a large purchase.¹⁵² The correspondence between the two includes exchanging news items and discussing current affairs, but we see that their relationship sometimes takes on the form of master-pupil. Baek is a willing language student of his literate brother-in-law. We see this in Baek's attempts at studying Latin: never having been schooled in the classical language, Baek studies it via Hooft's literal translations of Tacitus' *Historiae*.

But not only Hooft's knowledge of the classics is relevant. Like Visschers, Baek turns to Hooft for grammatical and lexical questions in the Dutch vernacular. What is the difference

146 She does so in for instance letters 184 and 354.

147 See for instance letters 176 and 1159.

148 Van Tricht I, 431.

149 Again, Van Tricht notes Hooft's habit of correcting Visschers' work, for 'she was very careless with spelling, interpunction, and dating etc' (Van Tricht I, 794).

150 Hooft writes 'betuttelt' (17), from 'betuttelen' or 'betittelen'. Meaning: *to dot the i's, and cross the t's*. Nowadays the meaning leans more towards 'patronising'. The WNT gives for 'betuttelaar' the meaning 'someone who like a school master interferes with other peoples' business'. Link: <http://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M008049>.

151 For the assignment, written by Joost van den Vondel, and Visschers' poem, see Van Tricht I, 889-891.

152 For instance in letter 652, when Hooft is planning to buy a piece of land.

in meaning between ‘voorneemst’ and ‘vernaemst’, both so similar in writing, Baek wonders. Hooft, ever the teacher, answers:

The difference between *voorneemst* and *vernaemst* can be discerned when one conjugates them back into their natural state, for they are currently both superlatives. Thus, they become for example *een voorneemen and vernaemt man* [a devout and distinguished man]. Hence we can tell the difference: because even though who is devout is usually distinguished, the first, which in Latin is called *principael*, can exist without the latter, for which *fameus* or *celebris* is the Latin.¹⁵³

Hooft does more than just answer Baek’s query: he takes this opportunity to lay out the method for solving these types of questions in the future. Like a schoolmaster teaching his pupils, Hooft shows Baek the finesses of the Dutch language. This advice is of a different nature than the advised corrections he sent Visschers. Where she had only needed for her text to be edited in terms of spelling and punctuation, Baek needs lessons that are of another level: that of grammar and idiom. Hooft shows that he masters the full spectrum of the Dutch literary language.

Like Visschers, Baek wrote Hooft to ask for his advice. What we will see in the last examples of this paragraph, is that Hooft takes out his red pen even if his recipient did not ask for this specifically. Here I am referring to two letters that Hooft wrote to his son Arnout.

Arnout Hooft

Arnout Helleman Hooft studied at Leiden University. When he wrote to his parents, it was usually to ask for money, and to give them an update about his university life. Father and son Hooft corresponded in both Latin and Dutch. Letter 1296 is an example of an exchange in Latin, in which Hooft points out a few grammatical errors that Arnout made:

I have, you say, spoken Blaauw. Words, certainly, you will have spoken, not ‘Blaauw’ [Blaauwium, accusative], but rather ‘to Blaauw’ [Blaauwio, dative]. If you would have committed such an error during

153 Letter 324 (11-20). The original quote reads: ‘’T verschil dat UE zoekt te weeten tussen *voorneemst* en *vernaemst*, kont bezeffen, wanneer UE die woorden, dewelke nu staen in de hooghsten stant, stelt in den laeghtsten ende zegt: *een voorneemen ende vernaemt man*, bij gelijkenis. Want alhoewel gemeenlijk, ’t geen voorneemen is ook vernaemt is; nochtans kan ’t eerste dat in Latijn *principael* heet, bestaen zonder ’t laeste, dat in die tael genoemt wort *fameus* oft *celebris*’.

your last exam, more than a little of your reputation would have gone to waste!¹⁵⁴

Hooft emphasises that it is only because of the love he bears his son that he points out these errors. He cautions Arnout, so that he will not make the same mistakes in the future. Indeed, Arnout should not just concentrate on the gathering of factual knowledge, Hooft argues, and adds that '[he would like for him] to be focused on acquiring purity of the Latin idiom, based on tried authors'.¹⁵⁵ We shall see that Hooft will give this advice in another letter as well, but in this case not referring to the classical authors, but to himself!

Four months later, father and son continue their correspondence in Dutch. Even if this language is Arnout's mother tongue, it appears that he still makes plenty of mistakes in his writing! After answering Arnout's request for book money, Hooft spends the last half of his letter on schooling his son in the Dutch grammatical cases. 'You err often in the Dutch spelling,' Hooft reprimands Arnout, after which he adds 'pay attention to mine, and follow it'.¹⁵⁶ In every way a teacher, Hooft refers to himself as a textbook example, before he gets out his red pen to point out all the spelling mistakes his pupil made. 'The Latin *nunc* in our language is *nu*, not *nuij* like you spelled it', 'you write *ick*, but *ik* does not need an extra *c*', and 'the Latin *esse* is *zijn* in Dutch, with a *z*, and not an *s*', Hooft explains.¹⁵⁷

From what follows, it becomes clear that Arnout is still struggling with the declensions, for his father has to remind him again what the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and ablative of '*uw onderdaanighste zoon*' [your most obedient son] look like.¹⁵⁸ Hooft ends his lecture with yet another reference to his own exemplary writing, advising his son to 'take a look at the *Nederlandsche Historiën* every now and again, for this might help to improve the writing and speaking of [his] mother tongue'.¹⁵⁹ Lastly, Hooft – ever the purist – urges his son to sign his letters with his Dutch name, which is Arnout, not 'Arnuldus'. He takes on a dual father role:

154 Letter 1296 (3-6). Original quotation: 'Sum, ais, locutus Blaauwium. Verba, sané, locutus fueris, non Blaauwium, sed Blaauwio. Si quid tale comississet in themate postremi examinis scolastici, haud parum decessisset existimationi tuae'.

155 Letter 1296 (9-10). Original quotation: 'hauriendae etiam puritati sermonis Latini ex probatis authoribus, intentum [eum velit]'.

156 Letter 1319 (26-27). Original quotation: 'Ghij doolt dikwijls in 't spellen van uw Neederduitsch. Let op het mijne; en volgt het'.

157 Letter 1319 (27-29). Original quotation: 't Latijnsche *nunc* is in onze taale *nu*, niet *nuij* gelijk ghij spelt. *Ik*, daarbij behoeft geen *c*; nochtans spelt ghij *ick*. *Esse* schrijft ghij in Duitsch *sijn*: 't moet *zijn* door een *z* wezen'.

158 Letter 1319 (30-35). Original quotation: 'Als ghij onderteekent in de Nominativo, gelijk *ik blijf UE zoon*, zoo moet het zijn *Onderdaanighste zoon*, niet *Onderdaanighsten*. Want men declineert dus, als volght: Nominativo *Uw onderdaanighste zoon*: Genitivo, *Uws onderdaanighsten zoons*: Dativo, *Uwen onderdaanighsten zoone*: Accusativo, *Uwen onderdaanighsten zoon*: Ablativo, *van uwen onderdaanighsten zoone*'.

159 Letter 1319 (36-38). Original quotation: 'Dit vermaan ik op dat ghij ook beneersticht uwe moederlijke taal wel te schrijven en te spreken: waar toe u dienstigh zijn zal, bij wijlen, wat in mijne Historien te leezen'.

on the one hand warning his child of flesh and blood to not make the same mistakes in the future, on the other hand protecting his linguistical child from being mistreated.

Introduction

We ended the last paragraph with Hooft telling Arnout that he needed to watch his Dutch grammar. ‘Take a look in my *Historiën*,’ Hooft recommends his son. Because there, Hooft feels, he has set a useful example. He has practised what he preached. Theory is one thing, practice another. And Hooft is nothing but a great practitioner of correct Dutch grammar, invigorating metaphors¹⁶⁰, and well-constructed Dutch sentences.

Therefore, in this paragraph, I would like to discuss Hooft’s role as *artist*. Naturally, being an author, poet, and dramatist, Hooft actually *is* an artist. His prose, poetry and plays are ‘living’ proof of his artistry. However, as we will see in this paragraph, Hooft ensures that his correspondents encounter this artistic persona not only in his work, but also in his letters. In 25 letters, Hooft appears to take on the role of *artist* in the Dutch language. To illustrate what that looks like in this paragraph I will discuss three metaphors that Hooft is fond of using in different letters to different people, as well as some crafty word play. I will start off by introducing a letter addressed to Jacob Bakker, in which Hooft uses the three metaphors that he employs in later letters as well.

Shoe of shame

In the year 1626, Hooft sends around his new play *Baeto*. Whenever he has published a new book or play, Hooft sends copies to his friends and family. They are usually accompanied by a letter, in which Hooft presents as modestly as possible what he has created. One of the recipients of *Baeto* is Jacob Bakker. Hooft writes:

Finally has the shoe of shame been cast aside, and this book appeared:
may the significance of the fabric outweigh the bluntness of the cut.
Additionally, curiosity, even that of the greatest, is entertained as much
by gnomes and similar misshapen creatures as by stunning beauty.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ I would like to refer to Tineke ter Meer’s contribution to *Zeven maal Hooft*, in which she discusses the *obscuritas* in the letters between Hooft, Huygens, and Barlaeus. In her lecture, Ter Meer briefly summarises a few ways in which these three authors ‘lardered’ their letters: in particular metaphors concerning food and drink, and a few classical referrals (Juvenalis, Tacitus).

Meer, Tineke ter. “Stijlmiddelen in de brieven van Hooft aan Huygens en Barlaeus.” In: *Zeven maal Hooft. Lezingen ter gelegenheid van de 350ste sterfdag van P.C. Hooft, uitgesproken op het herdenkingscongres in de Amsterdamse Agnietenkapel op 21 mei 1997*. Ed. Jeroen Jansen. AD&L Uitgevers, 1997. 35-44.

¹⁶¹ Letter 222 (2-7). Original quotation: ‘Entlijk is de schaemschoe uijt geraect, ende dit boek voor den dagh: op hoope dat de wichtigheit der stoffe de lompeit van ‘t maxel ten deele zal opweghen. Ook is de nieuwschierigheit, zelve der gróóten,

‘Entlijk is de schaemschoe uijt geraekt, ende dit boek voor den dagh’, writes Hooft to Jacob Bakker in January 1626. ‘De schaemschoenen uittrekken’ is an expression in Early Modern Dutch which means that any feeling of shame has been cast aside (the shoe of shame has been taken off).¹⁶² Hooft writes that he has finally gathered the courage to send his *Baeto* to Bakker. This first sentence of letter 222 is only the beginning of what Van Tricht calls ‘a nifty web of modesty formulas’.¹⁶³ So craftily Hooft has woven this web, that Van Tricht gives a complete ‘translation’ of the original letter with all its metaphors and wordplays. To analyse the entire letter goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but two expressions stand out in particular. These are the aforementioned ‘shoes of shame’ and the sentence after it: ‘Additionally, curiosity, even that of the greatest, is entertained as much by gnomes and similar misshapen creatures as by stunning beauty’.¹⁶⁴ They stand out, because this is not the only time that Hooft pens them down.

In the letter to Bakker, Hooft uses the ‘schaemschoe’ metaphor without further ado. In fact, it is an existing expression, that was used by other authors in that period as well.¹⁶⁵ Four years later, in 1630, Hooft uses the same expression in a letter to Anna Roemersdochter Visscher, when he sends her his *Hollandschen Groet*.¹⁶⁶ He writes: ‘However, I do not consider it to be irrational to take off the shoe of shame, to show its lacunas, and to ask for counsel’.¹⁶⁷ A shoe that is not covering a foot, is an empty shoe: therefore if one has taken it off, its emptiness, or that which is lacking, can be shown. In a similar way, one can present his or her piece of writing, to show what is there, but certainly also what is lacking. Hooft is explicitly asking Anna to ‘look for weaknesses’ in his text, trusting she will give an honest judgment.¹⁶⁸ This time, Hooft played with the expression of the *schaemschoe*, referring to its physicality.

Ambiguously awesome

In the second sentence of letter 222, Hooft refers to the attraction of freak shows. In a freak show, the audience comes to behold awesome creatures that stand out because of their ‘alleged

meenighmael zoo zeer vermaekt met gezicht van dwergghen ende gelijke wanschepsels, als met het zeldsaemste van bekoorlijke schoonheid’.

162 WNT ‘schaemschoen’. Link: <http://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?wdb=WNT&actie=article&uitvoer=HTML&id=M062104> (consulted on 27 June 2018).

163 Van Tricht I, 525.

164 Letter 222 (4-7). Original quotation: ‘Ook is de nieuwsgierigheit, zelve der gróóten, meenighmael zoo zeer vermaekt met gezicht van dwergghen ende gelijke wanschepsels, als met het zeldsaemste van bekoorlijke schoonheid’.

165 Used by not only Hooft, but also by Erasmus, Jeronimus De Decker, Anna Bijns, and G. Ogier (see references on GTB, link in footnote 2).

166 Letter 347.

167 Letter 347 (7-9). Original quotation: ‘Evenwel is het dunkt mij niet al van ’t mal datmen de schaemschoe ujttek om zijn leemten te toonen ende raedt daer tegens te vewerven’.

168 Letter 347 (11). Original quotation: ‘... die hun gelieve vrij op hun zeer te tasten...’.

and real physical, mental, or behavioural anomalies'.¹⁶⁹ It is their curiosity that draws the audience to these expositions, as if it were a wonder of beauty on display. Even the great minds are fascinated by this, Hooft states. Concretely, Hooft calls his own work a freak show, but he adds that he is not ashamed of exhibiting it, for he hopes it may caution aspiring authors against making the same ugly mistakes he has.

Twice more, Hooft utilises this expression. Firstly in letter 347: here, Hooft sent a part of the *Nederlandsche Historiën* to Huygens, apologising for the crudeness of his work: '[you too are one of the great men that] is oftentimes entertained as much by gnomes and similar misshapen creatures, as by the face of a stunning beauty', he tells Huygens. What Hooft meant with this expression, is that it would be impossible for these great minds to appreciate Hooft's work because of its beauty, therefore it must be because of its ugliness. Just like in letter 222, Hooft explains that this makes sense, because ugly creatures are often as awesome as the beautiful. Secondly in letter 640, the message to Jacob Wytz we looked at in the 'purist' paragraph. Even though Hooft was expressing his discontent with the prince's criticism regarding the 'harsh pure Dutch words', he still calls his own work 'wanschepsels' once more.¹⁷⁰

In the last instance, Hooft uses 'wanschepsels' independently, instead of the whole expression. Perhaps by this time, his recipient Wytz is so familiar with Hooft's use of this saying, that a one-word reference suffices. In the next section, we will look at another expression that Hooft is fond of using: his literary work being a piece of clothing that can be tailored, sewn, and dyed.

A tailored piece of art

In letter 222, Hooft hopes that *Baeto* will please Bakker: if the form of the piece will not do so, then he hopes that at least the significant material will. 'Material' (the Dutch word 'stoffe') can refer to 'the content of the work', but also to physical material that is used to make a piece of clothing. Hooft plays with both meanings of 'stoffe' in the sentence 'may the significance of the fabric outweigh the bluntness of the cut', styling himself as a tailor fabricating a coat or shirt. We see Hooft apply this metaphor more often, for instance in a letter to Baek, where Hooft compares his translations of the classical originals to an ill-fitting frock coat. As I explained in the previous section, Baek was not schooled in Latin, and needed Hooft's help to understand Tacitus' *Historiae*. Time and again, Hooft emphasises his discontent with his own translations:

169 For a description of the history of the freak show, see Robert Bogdan's *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit*. University of Chicago Press, 1988. For his definition of 'freak show', see Bogdan 10.

170 Letter 640 (43).

the Dutch frock coat he has sewn does not suit the Latin originals.¹⁷¹ This is largely due to the fact that Hooft sends his brother-in-law literal translations to help him understand Tacitus' ideas, as Van Tricht explains in his notes to letter 370.¹⁷² In this letter, Hooft sends Baek yet another translation, once again referring to the text as if it were wearing a suit. The text would look better if Hooft was allowed to alter the fitting of the suit, rather than to simply dye it another colour, he argues.¹⁷³

So even if the Dutch words may sound harsh and may look ill-fitted, this is due only to the fact that they are made to resemble another language: naturally they will not look their best. So horrible is this construction to Hooft's eyes, that he urges Baek to keep the translation to himself. Interestingly, Hooft emphasises that this text is not to be seen by anyone if not absolutely necessary, and if this *is* the case then Baek is to erase Hooft's name from them.¹⁷⁴ To be associated with these crude creations would very likely not have been good for Hooft's image as a literary writer and artist. The great care with which he pens down his letters is not to be nullified by anyone finding out about the existence of this sewn-together text.

Heart versus head

Lastly, I would like to take a look at letter 183 to Adriaan van Blijenburg. Throughout the letter, Hooft larders the Dutch text with lines in Latin, both in the main body of the text and in two separate quotations. He closes off the letter with a post-scriptum completely in Latin. It does not appear as if the Latin is overshadowing the Dutch, rather, Hooft seems to explore what the Dutch language can do to match the classical language. For instance, Hooft compliments Van Blijenburg's ability to persuade people's minds, by comparing him to the classical Sirens who tried to seduce Odysseus: there was no need to sing as heartily as the Sirens, Hooft remarks, because Van Blijenburg's character is enough to sway people his way. To describe this character, Hooft uses a chiasmus: he refers to Van Blijenburg's 'sly amiability and amiable slyness'.¹⁷⁵ On word-level, Hooft entertains his readers halfway through the letter with the sentence 'Des gaet men 'er meê door: eerst hoonen; nae, oft niet, hooren' [this way, one continues: by mocking, and hardly if at all listening]. 'Hoonen' and 'hooren' are only different in one letter. Even here, if we leave out 'oft', the h-n-n-h construction of hoonen-nae-niet-hooren appears to be a chiasmus.

171 Letter 308 (7-13).

172 Van Tricht II (21).

173 Letter 370 (16-18).

174 Letter 370 (20-22).

175 Letter 183. Original quotation: 'UE behendighe aenminnigheit ende aenminnighe behendigheit' (2).

In addition, this text seems to call attention to two body parts: the head and the heart. In the main text, both 'hooft' (head) and 'hart' (heart) are used thrice. This thesis is not the place for an in-depth analysis of this letter, but suffice to say that they catch the eye of the reader immediately – although Van Tricht makes no comment on this in his notes. Perhaps Hooft, who in this letter alludes to his tolerant treatment of the Catholic people in his community¹⁷⁶, was making a point of choosing between matters of the heart and matters of the head. Since he signs his letter with his own name 'Hooft', we could imagine that in the end, to Hooft matters of the head are victorious or perhaps of more importance.

176 Which is probably why he bids Van Blijenburg in the post-scriptum to burn the letter after reading it.

IV.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen the ways in which Hooft presents himself in his letters about one of his works, and in letters that discuss the Dutch (literary) language. I have not done a close-reading of a few letters, but exemplified my findings with passages from different letters in which Hooft's artistry becomes clear, to illustrate the larger trend. I explained that the three roles of purist, teacher, and artist contribute to Hooft's overall posture of 'father' of the Dutch literary language. We have seen that Hooft appears as a father of his own literature – his children of ink and paper – and also as father of the literary language. Most often, Hooft takes on the role of the artist: Hooft shows his artistry in 25 letters. His role as language purist we can discern in 20 letters, and lastly the role of teacher is visible in 13 instances.

Perhaps we would have expected Hooft to portray himself *at least* as an artist in all the letters about a work: because his publications are also an outlet of his artistry, it would not have been unlogical for Hooft to display his artistry when he is corresponding about his literary offspring. Indeed, this is the case for a third of the letters about a work (22). But if we look at figure 3 again, the number of letters about a work that do not contain *any* role, stands out. I have given a possible explanation why this is the case: these letters differed (they were for example very short, or discussed the work only sideways), which might have been why Hooft did not choose to represent himself explicitly as an artist in them.

The artist-role Hooft takes on in only 3 of the 26 letters that are about (an aspect of) the Dutch language. The subject of these letters seem to call more for Hooft representing himself as a purist or as a teacher of language. But the recipients may also have had something to do with this: the role of teacher Hooft takes on in letters to personal relations (his close friend, his brother-in-law and his son). Concurrently, Hooft speaks as one purist to another (for example Huygens and Wytz) about the Dutch language. His love for the Dutch language becomes very clear when he tries to make a strong case for its use in his literature, which we saw in the letters to Jacob Wytz and Constantijn Huygens. Literally refusing to use Latin, and placing himself in line with known purist Simon Stevin, there is no way around it: Hooft is a language purist *pur sang*.

In the next chapter, we will take a look at the hetero-reception about Hooft. Do the roles that I have discerned in Hooft's auto-representation resurface in the hetero-representation? The answer to some extent is positive, as we will see: Hooft is most often represented as an artist of the Dutch language and as a language purist, but his teacher-role is not emphasised in the

hetero-reception. We will start by looking at *Het leven van P.C. Hooft*, the biography about Hooft by Geeraardt Brandt, and then continue to trace Hooft's hetero-reception in a selection of literary histories published between 1882 and 2008.

Chapter V Hetero-representation

V.1 Introduction

In this second part of my analysis, I will set out how Hooft's posture has been maintained in contemporary, later, and fairly recent reception. A well-known example of contemporary representation is Geeraardt Brandt's account of Hooft's life and works, *Het leeven van P.C. Hooft*. Brandt published it in 1677, alongside his edition of Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historiën*.¹⁷⁷ In later literary criticism and historiography, Brandt's work is frequently referred to, not only because of its great historical value, but also to criticise Brandt's rather subjective selection of material and its representation.¹⁷⁸ I will discuss *Het leven van P.C. Hooft* in the next paragraph.

In the paragraphs after that, I examine a selection of literary histories. I based this selection on one of Arie Jan Gelderblom's chapters in his dissertation *Mannen en maagden in Hollands tuin* (1991). In this chapter, 'Constantijn Huygens, zoon van het volk van Nederland', Gelderblom studies the ways in which Constantijn Huygens has been represented throughout the Dutch literary historiography. Before commencing with setting out his observations, Gelderblom emphasises that the aim of his research is not to provide his reader with a complete overview of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Huygens reception, but rather to highlight what has been said about Huygens in the literary history, to dig up the roots of Huygens' image as 'son of the Dutch people'.¹⁷⁹ My reading of the literary histories will occur in a similar manner: I do not wish to give a complete overview of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century reception of Hooft, but rather to examine what has been said about Hooft's fatherhood in the literary history, to dig up the roots of Hooft's image as father of the Dutch literary language.¹⁸⁰ Some of the literary histories also discuss Hooft's letters explicitly. If this is the case, I will point this out in my discussion.

177 Leendertz xxiii.

178 In fact, in the preface to his edition of *Het leven van P.C. Hooft*, P. Leendertz remarks that Brandt, more than to give a complete and thorough historical account of Hooft's life, he mostly wanted to put the great merits of Hooft's work to the fore (ix). Concurrently, in *Een nieuw vaderland*, Porteman and Smits-Veldt call *Het leven van P.C. Hooft* 'idealising' (363). And in *Omnibus idem*, a series of lectures in honour of Hooft's 350th death day, Jeroen Jansen remarks that he catches Brandt on presenting an idealised image of Hooft (12).

179 Gelderblom 50-51.

180 Gelderblom explains that he is trying to dig up the roots of a Barthian myth: 'Constantijn Huygens as the son of the Dutch people'. A myth, as explained by Roland Barthes in his *Mythologies*, is a conception or opinion of something that appears to make absolute logical sense in the most natural way, but that after careful scrutinising by the analyst, can be debunked into the cultural construct that it surreptitiously always had been. In his article, Gelderblom refers to Marijke Spies' research *Van mythes en meningen*: here, she describes a 'myth' as a historically untenable but nevertheless solidified opinion. Gelderblom explains that both Barthes' and Spies' interpretations of 'myth' are applicable for his study of the image of 'Constantijn Huygens as the son of the Dutch people' (47).

Gelderblom traces the roots of Huygens' image in nine literary histories: the larger part of these are also studied here.¹⁸¹ Additionally, I looked at two more recent literary histories that were published after Gelderblom's *Mannen en maagden in Hollands tuin*. These are *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*, edited by M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, and *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen* by Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt. Including *Het leven van P.C. Hooft*, my selection consists of ten accounts. We will take a look at them in chronological order, scanning for the presence of (one of the) three roles in the text (purist, teacher, artist) wherever the work discusses (the work of) P.C. Hooft. Especially the older literary histories categorise their information chronologically as well, which made it less difficult to find all information on Hooft, because it is usually located in a chapter or paragraph. Some literary histories actually have separate chapters on Hooft – if they do, I will point this out in my discussions below. For my discussion of what has been said about Hooft, I preferred a chronological order over a thematical one, because it resulted in a clearer overview.

Let this overview then begin with a discussion of the aforementioned *Het leven van P.C. Hooft* by Geeraardt Brandt (1677). From this most contemporary account, we move on to Conrad Busken Huet's literary history *Het land van Rembrandt* (1888). The literary histories discussed after Busken Huet's are the contribution by G. Kalff (*Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* (1909)), J. Prinsen's *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche letterkundige geschiedenis* (1916), *Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der Nederlandsche letterkunde* by Frans Bastiaanse (1921), J. Karsemeijer's chapter in W.L.M.E. Van Leeuwen's *Dichterschap en werkelijkheid* (1938), G.S. Overdiep's contribution *De letterkunde van Renaissance en Barok in de zeventiende eeuw* in F. Baur's series *Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden* (1939), and *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde* by Gerard Knuvelder (1948). Lastly, I study the representation of Hooft in two more recent literary histories, namely the aforementioned M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen's *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* (1993), and *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen* by Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt (2008).

181 I studied Knuvelder, Busken Huet, Kalff, Bastiaanse, Prinsen, Baur, and Karsemeijer. These selected seven are representative of what is said in the nine that were studied by Gelderblom.

1 Brandt (1677)

Geeraardt Brandt published *Het leeven van P.C. Hooft* in 1677. Based on information Brandt received from Hooft's letters and personal accounts by people who had known him, Brandt paints a picture of Hooft as above all a brilliant author.¹⁸² Indeed, in the first sentence of *Het leeven*, Brandt immediately remarks that he would not need to say much about that noble writer and his writings, because Hooft's name had already become the greatest title and worthiest praise.¹⁸³ In what follows, I will analyse some instances in the text in which Brandt explicitly or implicitly refers to one of the three roles to Hooft. These passages are exemplary for the overall message that speaks from *Het leeven*, which admiringly focuses on Hooft's authorship.

It is not surprising then, that Brandt mainly discusses Hooft's use of the Dutch language and his role as language *purist*. Brandt emphasises that purifying the Dutch language had always been a part of Hooft's literary activity: already in the Chamber of Rhetoric *In liefde bloeiende*, Hooft and his fellow members were purifying the Dutch language of any foreign influences.¹⁸⁴ Hooft was better at this than anyone else, Brandt remarks, greatly outdistancing his contemporaries writing in Dutch,¹⁸⁵ using the language to its fullest extent, in many ways equal to the Italian or Latin examples.¹⁸⁶ Hence, Brandt's admiration is twofold: Hooft uses a beautiful literary form of Dutch, and he keeps his texts pure¹⁸⁷ as well, without having to fall back on foreign words or expressions. To support his arguments, from time to time Brandt cites other authors that discussed Hooft and his oeuvre. He refers for instance to a letter by Barlaeus, in which he compliments Hooft's *Hollandtsche groet*, stating that Hooft surpasses the heads and tops of the Dutch poets.¹⁸⁸ This way, Brandt shows that it is not just him who admired Hooft for his mastery of the Dutch language and his purism.

182 Leendertz xi-x.

183 Brandt 3. Original quotation: '[ik gaf] te kennen ... dat men ... niet veel behoefde te zeggen van dien eedelen Schryver en zyne schriften; om dat de naam van Hooft alreede de grootste tytel en waardigste lof was geworden'.

184 Brandt 8. Original quotation: 'Onder die leeden [van *In liefde bloeiende*] vindt men ook enige mannen van groote geleerdtheid, die alle de krachten hunner herssenen inspanden om de Hollandtsche taal van uitheemsch schuim te zuiveren, en de noodighste konsten in zuiver Duitsch te leeren'.

185 Brandt 8. Original quotation: 'Doch eerlangh vertoonde zich zyn poeëtische geest, geschaapen om al zyn tydgenooten in de Hollandsche taale voor by te streeven'.

186 Brandt 10. Original quotation: '... zijn toneelspel van *Granida* ... [d]aar kon men bespeuren dat de Hollandtsche taal in 't beschryven der vrijadien voor geen Italiaansche noch Latijnsche behoefte te wyken'.

187 When Brandt describes Hooft's first plays (*Achilles en Polyxena* and *Theseus en Ariadne*), he notes that the latter is of a purer language than the first (10). Original quotation: '... in beide ziet men d'uitwerksels van aardige gedachten, doch in 't leste meer zuiverheids van taale dan in 't eerste'.

188 Barlaeus qt. in Brandt 20. Original quotation: 'Gy treedt oover de hoofden en toppen der Neederlandsche Poëeten heene, en als een cypresboom in de lucht, versmaadt gy de laage tamarinden'.

To support his statement that Hooft had outwritten all previous historiographers from the Low Countries, and that he was therefore considered to be the Dutch Tacitus, Brandt refers to a letter from Goddaeus, in which he states that Hooft had provided future writers with a new writing norm, and would be an example in word, language, and purity for the future generation.¹⁸⁹ In this last remark the role of *teacher* becomes apparent. In this light, Brandt himself notes that Hooft's beautiful language and syntax would have his readers go over the text again and again, every time picking up something that they had not noticed before.¹⁹⁰ Thus Brandt shows that Hooft's texts taught its readers the tricks of the writer's trade. Indeed, later Brandt concludes *Het leeven* with his wish that Hooft's legacy may serve as an example for future writers,¹⁹¹ which I interpret as the wish that Hooft's work will *teach* a future generation the art of writing in Dutch.

Lastly, it becomes apparent throughout the text that Brandt saw Hooft as a great *artist*. When discussing the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, for instance, Brandt remarks that the historical text is adorned with poetical expressions.¹⁹² Indeed, twice is Hooft's writing described by Brandt as a 'cieraadt'¹⁹³ [piece of jewellery, or ornament]. We saw in the previous chapter that Hooft was worried about the harshness of the Dutch language: about this, Brandt remarks that if the Dutch words might at times appear a bit wry, Hooft's lively presentation of the facts still makes the text pleasant to read.

In conclusion, we have seen that in *Het leeven van P.C. Hooft*, Brandt's representation of Hooft follows Hooft's own example: we see him represented as a purist, teacher and artist. It is clear that Brandt sees Hooft as one of the pioneers of the Dutch language, as I have shown with citations from the text. From here onwards, we will see that Hooft's fatherhood, which is represented by the three roles, becomes apparent in later literary histories as well, that pick up on the same characteristics of Hooft's life and work. However, we will see a shift towards only two of the three roles: Hooft is most often represented as purist and artist, whereas his role as teacher of language gradually disappears.

189 Goddaus qt. in Brandt 28. Original quotation: 'Hy zal niet alleen den Historischryveren in 't tokoomende een reegel van schryven verstrekken, maar ook den laateren naakoomelingen tot een voorbeelding van taal en woorden: eeveneens gelyk ons de Schryvers van Augustus eeuwe tot voorbeelden dienen van de Latynsche zuiverheit'.

190 Brandt 31. Original quotation: 'Ook wist hy zyne eige vonden met zulk een uitneemend cieraadt van taale t'ontvouwten, en zyn overeedele gedachten zoo krachtigh ten toon te stellen, dat de schranderste Leezers zich oover zyne zinuïting niet genoegh konden verwonderen: jaa zoo dikwils als ze zyne schriften laazen vertoonde zich t'elkens iet nieuws en aardighs, dat ze te vooren niet hadden aangemerkt, en niet dan voor aarentsoogen zichtbaar was'.

191 Brandt 37. Original quotation: 'Laat dan nu voortaan ... zyne boeken den doorluchtigen mannen en Schryveren der volgende eeuwen tot een uitsteekend voorbeeldt dienen, om hunne raadt-slaagen, daaden, en styl van schryven naar te richten'.

192 Brandt 27. Original quotation: 'De beschryvingen der veldtslaagen, beroerten, oproeren, muiteryen en raadtslaagen, waaren hier als taafereelen vol levens, daar zich de geest der poëzye, op verscheide plaatzen, met veele schrandre slaagen liet zien en hooren'.

193 See Brandt 27 and 31.

2 *Busken Huet (1882)*

In 1882 Conrad Busken Huet published *Het land van Rembrandt*, his study on the Northern Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ The book is divided into two sections: the first section gives a summary of the literary production during this period until the seventeenth century, the second part focuses on the seventeenth century in particular. Busken Huet divides this part into five chapters on respectively (1) the faith, (2) the commerce, (3) the sciences and the literature, (4) morals and people, and (5) the arts. The paragraphs concerning Hooft and his life and work are mostly located in the third chapter, in which Busken Huet seems to emphasise mostly Hooft's *artistry* and his use of the Dutch literary language. He does this by dedicating the better part of these paragraphs on Hooft's historical contributions, emphasising that Hooft stands out above most literary historians, because his *Nederlandsche Historiën* are penned down particularly artfully and beautifully.¹⁹⁵ In fact, seldom has an author been as careful in his prose as Hooft, argues Busken Huet, especially in his letter-writing, doing in Dutch what all great Renaissance authors had done before him in Latin.¹⁹⁶ What is more, Busken Huet emphatically remarks that it cannot be said *without* exaggerating, that the entire Dutch literary field is entirely overshadowed by Hooft's letters, but that at least a part of this is true.¹⁹⁷

Furthermore, I would argue that Busken Huet picked up on Hooft's role as language *purist*, just like Brandt had before him. He does this for instance by stressing Hooft's contributions to the still young Dutch literary language, stating that (together with Joost van den Vondel) Hooft did what he could to elevate the Dutch into a world language, and even forced other populations to practice Dutch.¹⁹⁸ It would seem that Hooft and Vondel were the right men to do this, because, according to Busken Huet, they learned our language to produce sounds that before their time had not yet been heard from her mouth.¹⁹⁹ Earlier, we saw that Busken Huet emphasises that Hooft did in Dutch what others had done before him in Latin, which seems to be an important aspect of Hooft's authorship for Busken Huet. Indeed, in the paragraph before Hooft, in which he discusses the life and oeuvre of Daniel Heinsius, Busken

194 The subtitle of the book is 'Studiën over de Noordnederlandse beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw' [Studies on the Northern Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century].

195 Busken Huet 401.

196 Busken Huet 405. Original quotation: 'Wanneer men van Hoofts brieven zegt dat zij naar de lamp rieken, dan bedoelt men wezenlijk dat hij de eerste Nederlander geweest is die in het nederlands heeft gedaan hetgeen vóór hem alle grote auteurs der Renaissance ... vaak in het latijn deden: brieven schrijven die bestemd waren als stijlproeven te dienen ... Zelden dreef een Schrijver de zorg voor zijn eigen proza verder dan Hooft'.

197 Busken Huet 407. Original quotation: '*Zonder* overdrijving kan niet beweerd worden dat de gehele verdere nederlandse letterkunde van het tijdvak door Hoofts brieven in de schaduw gesteld wordt. Maar er is toch iets van aan'. My emphasis.

198 Busken Huet 409. Original quotation: 'Hooft en Vondel hebben gedaan wat zij konden om het aan de rederijkerij ontwassen hollands tot een wereldtaal te verheffen, en de voortreffelijkste geesten onder de andere volken zedelijk te dwingen voortaan ook het Nederlands te beoefenen'.

199 Busken Huet 410.

Huet remarks that it is a shame for himself and the literature of the fatherland that Heinsius did not once publish in the mother tongue.²⁰⁰ Heinsius' non-existent publications in Dutch make Hooft's contributions to the Dutch historiography and literature stand out even more.

Lastly, we need to address one other aspect of Busken Huet's literary history. Throughout the text, an appeal to a feeling of belonging and national coherence stands out. This is for instance visible in passages in which Busken Huet refers to the idea of a common past for the Dutch people, a past that is both tragic (foreign dominion from the Spanish) and blissful (ice skating, and visiting the yearly fairs).²⁰¹ Arie Jan Gelderblom also noticed this appeal of Busken Huet's. He explains in "Constantijn Huygens, zoon van het volk van Nederland", that with this literary history on the seventeenth century, Busken Huet had wished to put up a mirror of the magnificent Dutch past, to remind the Dutch reader of his rich history.²⁰² The authors of that period are exemplary, so it appears from Busken Huet's account: in the first chapter of section two, for instance, Busken Huet raises an admonishing finger, reminding his reader that Cats, Hooft, and Vondel – and all other distinguished authors of that period – express *such* a sense of alliance to their place of birth or residence, that it cannot but shame the indifference of the later generations.²⁰³ In other words, the great authors of that time represent a sense of being Dutch. About Hooft particularly, Busken Huet remarks that he wished to become *the father of the Dutch Renaissance in the Dutch language*,²⁰⁴ giving him a very explicit father role! As we will see, later literary histories refer to this particular passage and the idea of Hooft as the father of the Dutch Renaissance as well.

In conclusion then, Busken Huet mainly focuses on Hooft's role of the *artist* and on his particular Dutch oeuvre, which resembles the emphasis Brandt put on Hooft's *purism*. The image of Hooft as *teacher* does not come to the fore as much. Rather, Busken Huet emphasises an exemplary function of Hooft and his colleagues of the seventeenth century, especially concerning their expressed love for the fatherland.²⁰⁵ Perhaps in this way, Hooft still *teaches* his readers something, but not particularly the Dutch language.

200 Busken Huet 400. Original quotation: 'Voor hem en voor de vaderlandse letteren is het te betreuren dat hij geen enkele maal, bij het dichtelijk uitstorten van hetgeen in hem omging zich van zijn moedertaal bediend heeft'.

201 In section two, chapter one, Busken Huet discusses Huygens' love for his people and country even (or maybe especially) when it was ruled by a foreign hand (278-281). In chapter four of the same section, Busken Huet describes certain traditions and traits that can be traced back to the sixteenth century (411-413).

202 Gelderblom 51.

203 Busken Huet 278. Original quotation: 'Bij Cats, Hooft, Vondel, bij al de voornaamste nederlandsche dichters van dit tijdperk, wordt men telkens getroffen door een verkleefdheid aan de woonstede of de geboortegrond die de onverschilligheid van een later geslacht beschamen zou ...'.

204 Busken Huet 400. Original quotation: 'Ook te dezen aanzien [het schrijven over vaderlandse geschiedenis] is het zijn eerezucht geweest *de vader der nederlandsche Renaissance in het nederlands* te worden' (400). My emphasis.

205 In chapter II.2, I explained how sensitive ascribing modern feelings of 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' to the Early Modern period is, and that the concept of 'the fatherland' is very difficult to determine for that period as well. In *Het land van Rembrandt*, Busken Huet does not specify his concept of 'the fatherland' geographically, demographically or politically.

3 Kalff (1909)

In this paragraph I will show that in the fourth book of *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* by G. Kalff, the focus lies again on Hooft's artistry and linguistic proficiency in the Dutch language. Kalff highlights the connection between Hooft and his purist protégés Spieghel and Coornhert, and continues with noting that what Hooft did at the time, had never been seen before, both in his poetry and in his prose.²⁰⁶ Indeed, with the death of P.C. Hooft, Amsterdam and the Republic had lost a man of great importance, Kalff states.²⁰⁷

Kalff exemplifies Hooft's mastery over the Dutch language in poetry by referring to Hooft's translation of Tasso's poem *De Gewonde Venus*, and to the conversation between Venus, Pallas and Juno in Hooft's *Bruilofts-spel*, which had been written in a colloquial language that until that time had not been penned down so carefully.²⁰⁸ Hooft surpassed all his predecessors in the power of depiction, beauty, and grace of adaptation, Kalff states.²⁰⁹

Hooft's prose is of equal importance to Kalff. Referring to the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, he argues that Hooft – with a vivacious writing style, using demonstrative descriptions, and applying the richness and abilities of his mother tongue to the fullest – has created a *language monument*.²¹⁰ This monument, unrivalled in quality of both content and form, properly honours the Dutch people and her vernacular, emphasises Kalff.²¹¹ So it would seem that according to Kalff, Hooft's greatest merit is his ability to artfully wield a Dutch pen, and doing it better than anyone had ever done before.

This brings Kalff to Hooft's letter-writing. Like Busken Huet, Kalff greatly admires Hooft's letter-writing in the vernacular, stating that Hooft is the first person to have elevated it to an art.²¹² From passages about Hooft's letter-writing then, mainly Hooft's role as *artist* comes to the fore. We even catch an implicit glance of Hooft's role as teacher: I am referring to a passage in which (again, like Busken Huet) Kalff mentions that Hooft had an exemplary role,

206 Kalff 208. Original quotation: '... waardoor de jonge dichter zich een waardig leerling toonde van Spieghel en Coornhert; een zuiverheid en bevalligheid van taal, zooals zij tot dusver zelden of nooit gepaard waren voorgekomen'.

207 Kalff 241. Original quotation: '... dat Amsterdam en de Republiek in Hooft een man van groote beteekenis verloren, daarvan is ook het nageslacht overtuigd gebleven'.

208 Kalff 207. Original quotation: '... welk een levendigheid en geest toonen zich [...] in het gesprek tusschen Venus, Pallas en Juno; zoo fijn was in vroegeren tijd de omgangstaal niet weergegeven. Welk een heerschappij over de taal valt reeds te bewonderen in de vertaling van Tasso's bevalligste verzen die men in *De Gewonde Venus* aantreft'.

209 Kalff 203. Original quotation: 'Ook in dezen dichtvorm, die hem na het lied het meest aantrekt, had Hooft dus voorgangers; doch hoe overtreft hij hen in rijkdom van gevoel en gedachte, in verscheidenheid van stemmingen, in kracht van uitbeelding, schoonheid of bevalligheid van bewerking, in bewust meesterschap over den vorm'.

210 Kalff 225-234. In these pages, Kalff quotes from de *Nederlandsche Historiën* to illustrate how artfully Hooft utilises the Dutch vernacular.

211 Kalff 234. Original quotation: 'Doch dit mogen wij verklaren, dat de Nederlandsche proza-kunst hier een hoogte heeft bereikt als nimmer te voren; in onze vroegere letterkunde is geen prozawerk aan te wijzen, waarin zoo groote rijkdom van inhoud gepaard gaat met zooveel kunst van bouw en bewerking. Dit boek is het rechte *taalmonument* voor onzen vrijheids-oorlog, het rechte karakter – en levensbeeld van het Noordnederlandsch volk in wording, het rechte eerebeeld voor zijn schrijver'. My emphasis.

212 Kalff 234. Original quotation: 'hij is de eerste die het schrijven van brieven in de moedertaal tot een kunst heeft verheven'.

because he showed his fellow countrymen that letters can be a form of art as well.²¹³ However, this implicit representation of Hooft as a teacher of letter-writing, rather than a teacher of language, does not fully resemble Hooft's auto-representation of his teacher role.

On the other hand, Kalff calls very explicit attention to Hooft's *purism*, in particular to his inventiveness concerning new Dutch words. No other author was able to conjugate verbs or derive nouns quite like Hooft, states Kalff.²¹⁴ Interestingly enough, Kalff also remarks something that does not entirely collaborate with this image: in Hooft's professional letters written to business relations, 'bastard words' are littered throughout the sentences.²¹⁵ But Kalff assures his reader that Hooft remained a Dutchman through and through, in both demeanour and physical characteristics, despite southern influences and the Renaissance.²¹⁶

In general, Kalff focuses on Hooft's great contributions to the Dutch literature, emphasising Hooft's artistry and innovativeness. On more than one occasion, Kalff reminds his readers that Hooft was above all a Dutch author, thus placing him (not so much explicitly, but certainly implicitly) at the *origin* of the developing Dutch literature and literary language, laureating him as one of the greatest Dutch authors of his time.

4 Prinsen (1916)

In J. Prinsen's *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche letterkundige geschiedenis*, Hooft's name appears once more in a list of the great figures of the seventeenth century.²¹⁷ On Hooft, Prinsen dedicates a paragraph in the chapter 'Zoekers van schoonheid' [Pursuers of beauty], placing him alongside Bredero and Vondel. First, he gives a short overview of Hooft's life, beliefs, and work, citing from the latter to exemplify his arguments.

Like Busken Huet and Kalff, Prinsen classifies Hooft as our most typical Renaissance poet and philosopher. The following quote is a key passage in Prinsen's *Handboek*, because it sums up exactly what he mentions about Hooft in the paragraphs dedicated to his life and work:

Hooft is our most typical Renaissance poet and philosopher, because of his love for the beauty of form, but even more because he completely merges with the spirit of philosophical thinking and feeling of the

213 Kalff 240. Original quotation: '[Hooft's] landgenooten [zijn] voor het eerst door zijn voorbeeld ... getoond, dat ook door een brief in de moedertaal de literaire kunst kan worden gediend'.

214 Kalff 225-226. Original quotation: 'Worstelend met zijn stof, moet hij dikwijls lang zoeken naar een geschikt woord, ziet hij zich niet zelden verplicht door afleiding of samenstelling nieuwe woorden te maken. Gelukkig slaagt hij in zijn vertaling'.

215 Kalff 235. Kalff seems to have picked up on a correlation between the presence of bastard words and the recipient, which is a line of argument that may be pursued elsewhere.

216 Kalff 243.

217 Prinsen 219. Prinsen lists as great figures of the seventeenth century Hooft, Bredero, Vondel, Cats and Huygens.

Renaissance; he is our Petrarch and our Ronsard, the enthused lover of beauty in nature and art, who, by steadily searching and labouring, had come to a finesse in form and in the culturing of his intellect we do not see anywhere else in the seventeenth century among our authors, but [who] was above all guided by the gifts that Nature had given him, his own natural feeling for the rich sounds of his mother tongue.²¹⁸

We see that, just like Busken Huet and Kalff before him, Prinsen notes that Hooft far outranged his peers in his utilisation of the vernacular. Indeed, Prinsen literally calls Hooft an *artist*, especially in his letters, always looking for epistolary beauty.²¹⁹

However, unnatural prose and poetry do not please Prinsen, and for this reason he at times criticises Hooft's style of writing, which he finds forced and artificial.²²⁰ Did the invented words and constructions then not appeal to Prinsen? The careful reader of Prinsen's words will see that this does not appear to be so: rather, it is Hooft's considered and thought-out *overall* style of writing that Prinsen criticises, and which he in fact does not believe to have been a constructive addition to the Dutch art of prose in general.²²¹

In conclusion, Prinsen emphasises that Hooft's name rightfully belongs among the greatest of the Dutch literary history. Indeed his *artistry*, and his ability to create beautiful literature in the mother tongue stand out above all others. Prinsen does not stress Hooft's 'Dutchness' as much as his predecessors, neither does he discuss Hooft's purism. Neither did I find passages in Prinsen's *Handboek* in which he represents Hooft as a teacher.

218 Prinsen 266. Original quotation: Hooft is onze meest typische Renaissancist als dichter en als wijsgeer, door zijn liefde voor het vormschoon, maar meer nog door zijn volkomen opgaan in de geest van het wijsgerig denken en voelen der Renaissance; hij is onze Petrarca en onze Ronsard, de geestdriftige minnaar der schoonheid in de natuur en kunst, die door gestadig zoeken en werken is gekomen tot een fijnheid van vormen en geestesbeschaving, zoals we nergens in de 17de eeuw te onzent aantreffen, maar daarbij toch voor alles geleid is door de gaven, die de Natuur hem had geschonken, door zijn eigen natuurlijk gevoel voor de rijke klank zijner moedertaal (266).

219 Prinsen 279. Original quotation: 'Ook in zijn brieven ... is Hooft een kunstenaar ... overal zien we hem ... de epistolaire schoonheid najagen'.

220 Prinsen mentions, when discussing Hooft's poetry: 'onder dit alles [komt] ook wel eens iets onechts en gemaniëreerds [voor]' (269), and, when discussing his letters: 'ook hier zekere vormelijkheid, een puntigheid en hoofschheid van wendingen, die de gemaaktheid en gezochtheid soms naderen' (279).

221 Prinsen 278. Original quotation: 'Of het kunstmatige in zijn prozastijl in het algemeen aan onze prozakunst in de volgende eeuwen ten goede is gekomen, valt zeer te betwijfelen'. For a scholar used to more recent literary histories, these types of remarks (i.e. an historian's personal opinion) may come a bit unexpected, because in the scholarly climate of today, authors tend to remain more neutral when discussing form and style. But Prinsen is only the beginning: in what follows, I will discuss the contributions of J. Karsemeijer and G.S. Overdiep. In these works, we will see the reflections of their respective personal opinions as well.

5 Bastiaanse (1921)

Frans Bastiaanse's *Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, again highlights Hooft's connection to the Renaissance and his implementation of the Renaissance style and ideas into the Dutch literary field. Chapter VIII, titled 'De Renaissance in de Nederlanden' [the Renaissance in the Netherlands] is dedicated to Hooft's life and work. In this chapter, Bastiaanse explains how the works of Homer, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante taught Hooft to express his feelings in the style of the Renaissance.²²² Even if Bastiaanse does not explicitly call Hooft 'the father of the Dutch Renaissance in the Dutch language', the voice of Busken Huet certainly resounds here.

Entirely in line with his historiographical predecessors, Bastiaanse emphasises that what Hooft did had never been done before: his natural gifts enabled him to do what others had wanted to do and foretold that would be done²²³, and again Hooft is categorised as one of the great pioneers of literature in the Dutch language.²²⁴ The Dutch rhythm and language still being under construction, Hooft, together with his counterparts in *D'Eglentier*, contributed to the building of language and spelling, states Bastiaanse.²²⁵

Bastiaanse dedicates a paragraph to what he calls the works of 'rhythm' that influenced Hooft's writing, which he deems more important than the works that influenced Hooft linguistically and poetically.²²⁶ Nonetheless, he sets out a line along which Hooft's linguistic and poetical views can be traced. This line starts off with a remark by one Jan v.d. Werve, who declared that he would no longer use foreign words where Dutch words would suffice, and then leads to the *Twe-spraak*²²⁷ and its 'voorreden' by Coornhert, after which Bastiaanse explicitly mentions Hooft's *purism*.²²⁸

Contrary to the literary historians discussed in the previous paragraphs, Bastiaanse likes to dedicate a significant part of the chapters about Hooft to his personal life, especially his love

222 Bastiaanse 332-333. Original quotation: '[Homerus en Ovidius, Ronsard, Petrarca en Dante] leeren hem niet de inhoud zijner verzen ... maar zij leeren hem de eigen gevoelens voorstellen zóó als de Renaissance dat deed'.

223 Bastiaanse 331. Original quotation: '*Hij* is het, die gedaan heeft door de macht van zijn natuurlijke gaven, wat de anderen hebben voorspeld en gewild'. Emphasis in original.

224 Bastiaanse 331. Hooft's name appears amongst the members of *D'Eglentier* (Coornhert, Spiegel, Visscher, Fallet, and Hooft sr.), who Bastiaanse calls the great predecessors of the mother tongue.

225 Bastiaanse 333. Original quotation: 'Evenals de Rhythmus verkeert de Nederlandse Taal in Hoofts vroegste jaren in toestand van wording en snelle verandering. Dezelfde schrijvers, die boven genoemd zijn en een aantal anderen daarnevens, vinden wij werkzaam ten opzichte van taal en spelling'.

226 Bastiaanse 334.

227 The aforementioned grammatical overview of the Dutch language, published by H.L. Spiegel (see chapter II). Bastiaanse remarks that 'de schrijvers van dit boekje trachten de taal, die oorspronkelijk zuiver was, maar door 'vremde Heren ende vreemdtongige landvooghden bedorven,' weder zuiver te maken' [the writers of this booklet had attempted to purify the Dutch language, which had been pure before, but had been tarnished by other men and foreign governors] (335).

228 Bastiaanse 335. Original quotation: 'Dit in verband met Hoofts "Purisme"'. Later, Bastiaanse remarks that Hooft apparently effortlessly put his 'purism' aside when corresponding with high officials of the Dutch government, which reminds of what Kalf (235) had noticed earlier (Bastiaanse 373-374).

life. Referring to Hooft's courtship of several women, Bastiaanse emphasises the *artfulness* that is displayed in Hooft's lyricism and poetry.²²⁹ When Bastiaanse reaches the period immediately after the death of Christina van Erp, Hooft's activities as a constructor of the Dutch language and verse are briefly discussed again, in the form of the 'literary conventions' that were held by Hooft, Reael, De Hubert and Vondel.²³⁰ Bastiaanse does not digress too much on this subject, but instead quickly moves on to Hooft's courtship of Leonora Hellemans and the last twenty years of his life. In this last part, Bastiaanse discusses *Hendrik de Grote* and the *Nederlandsche Historiën*. He concludes with emphasising Hooft's importance for the Dutch literature, by stating that his figure stands tall at the entrance of the literary seventeenth century (which, according to Bastiaanse, would reach its apex in the work of Vondel).²³¹

In short, the roles that Bastiaanse seems to focus on most, are the language *purist* and the *artist* in the Dutch language, but only when one goes looking for them: Bastiaanse prefers to discuss Hooft's personal life and the (love) poetry that flows from it. Still, Bastiaanse's *Overzicht* expresses admiration for Hooft's literary production and positions him at the roots of the Dutch literary production. Although not stated specifically, it would seem that Hooft is considered a progenitor of poetry in the mother tongue, the Dutch language in general, and the Dutch Renaissance in Dutch. Again, nothing in Bastiaanse's literary history refers to Hooft's role as teacher of language.

6 Karsemeijer (1938)

In the previous literary histories, we picked up on some remarks that expressed the author's personal opinion. We can see the same in J. Karsemeijer's contribution to W.L.M.E. van Leeuwen's literary history *Dichterschap en werkelijkheid*. Here, contrary to his predecessors, Karsemeijer expresses a rather negative point of view towards the Renaissance, stating that it

229 Bastiaanse 348-353.

230 Bastiaanse 392. Original quotation: 'Tusschen de jaren 1623 en 1625 werden gehouden de z.g. Letterkundige vergaderingen, waar tegenwoordig waren Hooft, Reael, Anthonis de Hubert en Vondel ... Men hield er zich bezig met de taal en met de studie van den Hollandschen Versbouw'. These were not the meetings of the illustrious 'Muiderkring', which were held at the Castle of Muiden. Interestingly, about *these* meetings, Bastiaanse remarks the following: 'Wel werd er veel over literatuur en kunst gesproken, wel werd er gemusiceerd en was het een 'synode van deffige en geleerde lieden', die niet afkeerig waren evenwel van de materieele geneuchten van den drostelijken vruchtentuin en den drostelijken kelder, maar desniettemin is de beteekenis van dien kring voor de Hollandsche kunst, zeker voor onze letterkunde, overschat. Wij kunnen dan ook met de vermelding er van volstaan' [even though during these meetings, literature and art were discussed, the participants made music, and it was a 'convocation of genteel and learned people', that did not dislike the material pleasures of the steward's garden and cellar, the significance of this convocation for the Dutch art, in particular the literature, has been overrated. Only mentioning them, therefore, will suffice].

231 Bastiaanse 403. Original quotation: 'Zijne figuur staat groot aan den ingang der Zeventiende Eeuw, die in Vondel het hoogtepunt harer letterkunde zou vinden'.

interrupted the development of the national literature in the Netherlands.²³² The Rederijkers, argues Karsemeijer, had diminished the national poetry into a stiff and deathly doggerel patchwork, and had turned their previously pure language into an incoherent bric-à-brac, more French than Dutch.²³³ Remarkably enough, Karsemeijer then argues that it was ‘the Renaissance man’ that stood up and saved the vernacular: before anything else, this Renaissance man wanted to honour and beautify his mother tongue, so that she would become equal to the unsurpassed Latin, explains Karsemeijer.²³⁴ This opened the way for drama in the vernacular that honoured the national history, such as Van der Noot’s *Brabantiade* and Hooft’s *Baeto*, both national epics written in the style of the *Aeneid*.²³⁵

Hooft is a Renaissance man, alongside Spieghel, Visscher, and Bredero, whom Karsemeijer calls ‘the celebrities of renewal’.²³⁶ These great men laboured to rid the Dutch vernacular of foreign influences, and busied themselves with the codification of the grammar, Karsemeijer explains, indeed practicing language *purism*.²³⁷ In chapter “De Gouden Eeuw” [The Golden Age] Karsemeijer sketches the general outlines of the first half of the seventeenth century, focusing on the different genres of that time. What stands out is that Karsemeijer points out the influence that Hooft has had on almost all of these genres.²³⁸ Particularly the genres of letter-writing and prose are excellent examples of what Hooft was capable of, Karsemeijer explains, calling the *Nederlandsche Historiën* a powerful work, and alongside the State Bible the most exquisite work of prose that the seventeenth century has to offer.²³⁹

After this discussion of genres follows a paragraph called “De vijf hoofdpersonen uit de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw” [The five main characters of the first half of the seventeenth century]. These five main characters are Jacob Cats, P.C. Hooft, G.A. Bredero, Joost van den Vondel, and Constantijn Huygens.²⁴⁰ Hooft only comes second to Cats in this list because he was born 4 years later, explains Karsemeijer. Twice as many pages Karsemeijer dedicates to

232 Karsemeijer 59. Original quotation: ‘De Renaissance onderbreekt de natuurlijke ontwikkelingsgang der nationale letterkunde. Vreemde invloeden maken een gewelddadig eind aan het op eigen bodem groeiende’.

233 Karsemeijer 59. Original quotation: ‘immers de Rederijkers hadden door hun kunstmatig woordgeknutsel de nationale dichtkunst tot een stoeve en doodse rijmelarij verlaagd, daarenboven hadden ze ook hun taal allesbehalve zuiver gehouden. Franse woorden hadden zo zeer de overhand gekregen, dat vele gedichten van bastaardwoorden wemelden’.

234 Karsemeijer 60. Original quotation: ‘... de man der Renaissance wil vóór alles zijn moedertaal veredelen en verfraaien, opdat zij gelijkwaardig worde aan het onvolprezen Latijn en opdat de schoonste en edelste gedachten ook in de eigen taal vorm kunnen ontvangen’.

235 Karsemeijer 60. Even though Karsemeijer appreciates the attempts of both writers, he is not impressed with either of these plays.

236 Karsemeijer 60. Original quotation: ‘Spieghel, Roemer Visscher, straks Hooft en Bredero worden de corypheeën van de vernieuwing’.

237 Karsemeijer 60.

238 Karsemeijer 75-79. The genres Karsemeijer lists are: epic poetry, erotic lyricism, both classical and romantic drama, the comedy, the pastoral play, travel stories, pamphlets, letter-writing, and prose.

239 Karsemeijer 78. Original quotation: ‘... Hooft, die in zijn *Nederlandsche Historiën* het machtige prozawerk schiep, dat naast de *Statenbijbel* (1637) het voortreffelijkste is, dat we aan proza in de zeventiende eeuw vinden’.

240 Karsemeijer 79-108.

this most outstanding representative of the Renaissance poet in our entire literature,²⁴¹ starting with a short account of his personal and professional life, then discussing his work.²⁴² When discussing the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, Karsemeijer both praises and criticises Hooft, for exactly those traits he noticed in the Rederijkers and the Renaissance man:

In his *Historiën* Hooft exercises such an original style, that it deserves a place of honour in the history of our literature. He always strives to write pure Dutch, painstakingly avoiding using foreign words, inventing new words to express concepts that were before expressed in another tongue. At times, however, he went too far with this; neither did his Latin education always affect his [Dutch] syntax in the most favourable way: many imitations of the Latin example lead to non-Dutch constructions and make the text difficult to understand. Nevertheless, in the *Nederlandsche Historiën* he has created a work which will remain of great importance, both literary and historically, as long as there will be a Dutch culture.²⁴³

From the citation above speaks both Karsemeijer's admiration and criticism, which reminds us much about what Prinsen had noticed before: because of the (still praiseworthy) enterprise of purifying the Dutch language, the *Nederlandsche Historiën* at times becomes rather stiff and wry. But the enterprise in general is admirable, because of its importance to Dutch culture.

In conclusion, Karsemeijer presents Hooft once again as one of the greatest authors of his time. He focuses in particular on Hooft's language purism and his ability to apply the Dutch language in all genres of the Dutch literature. His remark 'inventing new words to express concept that were before expressed in another tongue' sounds similar to Busken Huet's remark that Hooft and Vondel learned our language to produce sounds that before their time had not yet been heard from her mouth. In other words, again Hooft is placed at the origin of the Dutch literary language, making him again as it were the progenitor of this literary offspring.

241 Karsemeijer 80. Original quotation: 'Hooft is de uitnemendste vertegenwoordiger van den Renaissance-dichter in onze hele literatuur'.

242 Karsemeijer 82-86.

243 Karsemeijer 85. Original quotation: 'In zijn *Historiën* bereikt Hooft een oorspronkelijkheid van stijl zo groot, dat men ze een ereplaats moet inruimen in de geschiedenis van onze literatuur. Hij streeft er naar zoveel mogelijk zuiver Nederlands te schrijven. Angstvallig vermijdt hij ieder vreemd woord, zelf tracht hij woorden te vinden voor begrippen die meestal met een vreemd woord werden aangeduid. Wel ging hij in dit opzicht soms wat te ver; ook heeft zijn Latijnse voorschool niet altijd gunstig gewerkt op zijn zinsbouw: veel navolgingen van de Latijnse syntaxis wekken een onnederlandse indruk en maken het verstaan vaak onnodig moeilijk. Maar daar staat tegenover, dat hij zowel literair als historisch met zijn *Nederlandsche Historiën* een werk geschapen heeft, dat van grote betekenis zal blijven, zolang er een Nederlandse cultuur zal bestaan'.

7 Overdiep (1939)

This brings us to F. Baur's *Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden*. In the fourth book of this series, G.S. Overdiep dedicates a chapter to Hooft, which is part of the larger section of 'De letterkunde te Amsterdam' [The literature in Amsterdam]. Aside from Hooft, this section contains chapters on Coster, Bredero, Starter, and Vondel.

The chapter commences with a short description of Hooft's personal life, and then quickly focuses on his connection to the Renaissance. In Overdiep's text, we can find traces of the previous literary histories, for instance his characterisation of Hooft as the greatest representative of our literary Renaissance²⁴⁴ (which sounds a lot like Karsemeijer), and elsewhere when he calls Hooft a Dutch Petrarch (which reminds us of Prinsen).²⁴⁵ Overdiep praises Hooft's contributions to the genres of lyricism and drama, but especially to that of prose, stylising Hooft as the progenitor of a new style of prose.²⁴⁶ This particular remark is placing Hooft at the beginning of a generation, indeed making him the *ancestor* of this new style.

Throughout the text, Overdiep mentions Hooft's love for and mastery over the Dutch vernacular.²⁴⁷ Much like Prinsen and Karsemeijer, Overdiep is not afraid to ventilate his personal opinion about Hooft's language *purism*. Unlike Prinsen and Karsemeijer, however, Overdiep predominantly approves of Hooft's linguistic boldness: in the *Nederlandsche Historiën*, Hooft has managed to not only sufficiently categorise and discuss the historical facts, he does this in a certain style – using images and words – that results in a synthesis and harmony of form and content, Overdiep contends.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, Overdiep repeatedly refers to Hooft's mastery²⁴⁹ of the literary genres and the Dutch vernacular, now and again quoting (and agreeing with) Brandt, who noticed that Hooft's Dutch, concerning the style of writing and the strength of the language, was hardly if at all inferior to Tacitus' Latin.²⁵⁰

Lastly, in light of this thesis, it may be interesting to mention Overdiep's discussion of Hooft's letters. He notices the different tones of writing in Hooft's correspondence, contending that his style of writing is most natural when writing to Baek, whereas to Huygens he writes more playfully, especially in the aristocratic and courtly style, the letters to Barlaeus are highly

244 Overdiep 332. Original quotation: 'den grootsten vertegenwoordiger onzer letterkundige Renaissance'.

245 Overdiep 339. Original quotation: 'Kracht en spanning zit in de sonnetten, wier vorm de dichter als een Nederlandse Petrarca beheerste'.

246 Overdiep 332. Original quotation: '... Hooft ... [gaf] den stoot ... tot nieuwe vormen van lyriek en drama beide, en [werd] tevens de voorganger ... in een nieuwen stijl van het proza'.

247 Eventually Overdiep even notes that it is no longer necessary to give more examples of Hooft's mastery (358). Original quotation: 'Het is niet noodig dit meesterschap over den dramatischen stijl ... aan nog meer voorbeelden te toetsen'.

248 Overdiep 394. Original quotation: 'Hooft [heeft] zoowel door de ordening van de feiten, als zijn beschouwing daarvan, evenzeer als door de stijl, het beeld en de woordenkeus, de synthese en harmonie van den vorm en de idee ... bereikt'.

249 Overdiep 363. Original quote: '... den meesterlijken stijl: de bijna volmaakte volkstaal in het vlotte vrij-rhythmische vers'.

250 Overdiep quotes Brandt on 378. He refers to Hooft's mastery on 358, 359, and 363.

polished, and only to Tesselschade, he writes according to the ‘marinism’ style.²⁵¹ In other words, Overdiep notices the different ways in which Hooft presents himself in his letters, however he does not mention a fatherly tone of writing anywhere.

In conclusion, Overdiep highlights Hooft’s mastery over the Dutch language, which like a true *artist* he uses to build an impressive oeuvre that stands at the basis of the Dutch Renaissance. Throughout the chapter it becomes clear that Overdiep deeply appreciates Hooft’s *purism*. Hooft is not so much represented as a *teacher*, although perhaps one could argue that this is somewhat apparent in the term ‘mastery’.

8 Knuvelder (1948)

Like *Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden*, Gerard Knuvelder’s *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde*, chronologically discusses the Dutch literary history in four different books. Part II is dedicated to the period between 1610 and 1778. In section ‘Hoog-Renaissance en Barok 1610-1647’ [High-Renaissance and Baroque 1610-1647], the chapter on Hooft is the fifth in the discussions on the six seventeenth-century authors that we have by now grown accustomed to seeing next to one another.²⁵² Indeed, like we have seen others do before, Knuvelder refers to Bredero, Hooft, and Vondel as the great men from the seventeenth century in part I of his series.²⁵³

Once again, Hooft is characterised as the typical representative of the seventeenth-century, classically schooled poets:²⁵⁴ indeed, to distinguish Hooft from his counterparts who wrote in Latin, Knuvelder cites Busken Huet’s remark that Hooft wished to become the *father* of the Dutch Renaissance in Dutch!²⁵⁵ Later, Knuvelder agrees with Busken Huet, who had called Hooft our greatest Renaissance artist.²⁵⁶

251 Overdiep 333-334. Original quotations: ‘meer speelsch, vooral in aristocratische en hoofsche stijlrichting’ in the letters to Huygens, ‘uiterst opgeschroefd’ to Barleaus, ‘het natuurlijkst’ to Baek, and ‘in de trant van het Marinisme’ to Tesselschade.

252 Once again, these authors are Bredero, Starter, Hooft, Cats, Huygens, and Vondel.

253 Knuvelder I, 351. Original quotation: ‘Dan komt [de in de Nederlandse taal geschreven letterkunde] tot haar hoogste bloei in de klassieke renaissancekunst van de grote zeventiende eeuwers, allereerst in de lyriek, het genre waarin een artistieke vernieuwing gewoonlijk het eerst en sprekendst tot uiting komt (lyriek schrijven zowel Bredero als Hooft en Vondel); vervolgens ook in de dramatiek ...’. We see the same in part II, where Knuvelder casually remarks that the Chambers of Rhetoric are worth studying only because the great men from that time – Bredero, Hooft, and Vondel – were members (II, 199), and later again referring to ‘the great’, meaning Starter, Coster, Bredero, Huygens, and Hooft (II, 505). Earlier, Hooft, Bredero, Vondel, and Huygens are implicitly called ‘gods’ (174).

254 Knuvelder II, 208. Original quotation: ‘Hooft is de typische representant van de zeventiende-eeuwse, klassiekgevormde dichters’.

255 Knuvelder II, 283. Original quotation: ‘Hoofts eerezucht was het ‘de vader der Nederlandsche Renaissance in het Nederlandsch te worden’.

256 Knuvelder II, 285. Original quotation: “... als dichtkunstenaar is Hooft door geen hunner [Cats, Huygens, Vondel] overtroffen”. Aldus Hoofts kundige en trouw paladijn in de negentiende eeuw [Busken Huet]. De hedendaagse lezer onderschrijft dit oordeel: Hooft is onze grootste renaissance-kunstenaar’.

Why does Hooft deserve all this praise, according to Knuvelder? First of all, because he uses the Dutch language: he is an excellent master of the mother tongue,²⁵⁷ and his language is *pure* Dutch.²⁵⁸ Secondly, for his *artistry* in this language: Knuvelder refers to Hooft's poetry as language music, and argues that Hooft's sonnets belong to the most beautiful of our literature.²⁵⁹ The natural rhythm, artful construction of stanzas, in combination with artistry on word-level, make Hooft's poetry a priceless treasure of the Dutch poetry.²⁶⁰ Lastly, like Brandt, Kalff, Prinsen and Overdiep before him, Knuvelder emphasises that Hooft is truly the greatest master of his time: no contemporary wrote as beautiful Dutch as he did, states Knuvelder.²⁶¹

In conclusion, in this literary history, again Hooft's roles as language *purist* and his role as *artist* of the Dutch language receive the most emphasis. On top of that, Hooft's role as father of the Dutch Renaissance has survived the test of time and surfaces here once again.

9 M.A. Schenkeveld – van der Dussen e.a. (1993)

Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis (NLG) describes the literature from the Dutch-speaking part of the world, states M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen in the foreword of that volume. The literary history is divided into a whopping 151 short chapters, that discuss the literary history from around 1100 until the 1990s. Every chapter consists of a date plus a subtitle describing that chapter's content. For example, chapter 33 by E.K. Grootes is called '8 juli 1600: P.C. Hooft schrijft uit Florence een rijmbrief aan de Amsterdamse rederijkers – P.C. Hooft in zuidelijk licht' [8 July 1600: In Florence, P.C. Hooft writes a rhyme letter to the rederijkers in Amsterdam – P.C. Hooft in a southern light].

Chapter 33 focuses predominantly on Hooft and his works, and does this more than any other chapter. In particular, Grootes means to trace the extent to which Hooft's travels to the south have influenced his oeuvre. Certainly not denying Hooft's literary brilliance, which he describes as an exceptional individual gift²⁶², Grootes *does* want to temper the suggestion that Hooft would be the herald of the Italian Renaissance literature in the Northern Netherlands that renewed the Dutch poetry, as developments in the Netherlands played a large part as well.²⁶³

257 Knuvelder II, 236. Original quotation: 'Hooft zèlf is reeds onvervangbaar aanwezig in [*Achilles en Polyxena*], dat dramatisch zeker niet bijzonder sterk is, maar reeds volop de lyricus en de voortreffelijke beheersers van de moedertaal verraadt'.

258 Knuvelder II, 160 and 245.

259 Knuvelder II, 247. Original quotation: '... inderdaad behoort zijn vijftigtal sonnetten tot de fraaiste van onze letterkunde'. Later, Knuvelder contends that Hooft can righteously be called the head of the Dutch poets (248).

260 Knuvelder II, 273-274.

261 Knuvelder II, 286. Original quotation: 'In zowel innerlijke als uiterlijke artistieke vormgeving was Hooft een meester, de grootste van zijn tijd... Geen zeventiende-eeuwer heeft zulk fraai Nederlands geschreven als hij'.

262 Grootes in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 184-185. Original quotation: 'een uitzonderlijke individuele begaafdheid'.

263 Grootes in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 183. Original quotation: 'Er wordt wel gesteld dat Hooft optrad als heraut van de Italiaanse renaissance-literatuur in Noord-Nederland en zo de stoot gegeven zou hebben tot een vernieuwing van de

Perhaps Grootes is referring to Busken Huet here: because even if ‘herald’ (of the Italian Renaissance literature in the Northern Netherlands) does not have exactly the same meaning as ‘father’ (of the Dutch Renaissance in the Dutch language), both indicate that something ‘new’ is about to arrive (‘a message’ and ‘offspring’ respectively). Indeed, Grootes acknowledges that Hooft did what had not been done before: the light tone of his love songs, his language virtuosity and his feeling for rhythm and musicality were inimitable, he emphasises.²⁶⁴ Hooft is simply a better poet than his fellows in the *D’Eglentier*.²⁶⁵

In his chapter, Grootes appears to represent Hooft mostly as an *artist* in the Dutch language. In the chapters hereafter, that image is repeated and confirmed: chapter 35, written by Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, reminds its readers once more that Hooft was considered to be the ‘head of the poets’ by his contemporaries²⁶⁶, and in chapter 36 Grootes states that the musical literature of the seventeenth century had predominantly been developed into maturity by P.C. Hooft.²⁶⁷ In chapter 53, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen describes how Hooft and Vondel were considered to be ‘the binary star’ of their period.²⁶⁸ She does this to trace the process of canon-formation, pointing out the influence that biographies have had on the images of Hooft and Vondel as the progenitors of the Dutch literary language. Ultimately, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen confirms the star-status of Hooft and Vondel, stating that high-level Dutch literature had only started with those two.²⁶⁹

The next chapter that lengthily discusses Hooft, is chapter 38 by A. van Strien. This chapter is called ‘6 augustus 1625: Vondel draagt *De Amsteldamsche Hecuba* op aan Antonis de Hubert – Taalopbouw door dichters’ [6 August 1625: Vondel dedicates *De Amsteldamsche Hecuba* to Antonis de Hubert – Language-building by poets]. In this chapter, Van Strien explains the want for codification of the vernacular in this period, as well as the influence of the language purism on this process. In fact, to support his argument that Hooft and Vondel stood at the basis of the language-building enterprise, Van Strien cites Brandt, who argued that

Nederlandse poëzie. Die voorstelling van zaken behoeft in elk geval correctie, doordat ze te weinig rekening houdt met de eigen Nederlandse ontwikkelingen’. Interestingly enough, Grootes then does not seem to exemplify these developments.

264 Grootes in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 185. Original quotation: ‘Hoofts onnavolgbare lichte toon in zijn liefdesliedjes, zijn taalvirtuositeit, zijn gevoel voor ritmiek en muzikaliteit ...’.

265 Grootes in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 185. Original quotation: ‘Hooft is eenvoudig een beter dichter dan zijn kamergenoten’.

266 Smits-Veldt in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 199. Original quotation: ‘Hooft, die na 1602 de leidende positie van Hendrick Laurensz. Spiegel overnam, werd al in zijn eigen tijd als ‘het hoofd der poëten’ bewonderd’.

267 Grootes in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 203. Original quotation: ‘In het tweede decennium van de zeventiende eeuw heeft het lied zich zo vooral door toedoen van P.C. Hooft ontwikkeld tot een volwaardige muzikaal-literaire kunstvorm’.

268 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen in Schenkeveld van der Dussen 299. Original quotation: ‘Hooft en Vondel werden als dubbelsterren gezien, flonkerend in dezelfde periode, zij het met een verschillende uitstraling’.

269 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen in Schenkeveld van der Dussen 299. Original quotation: ‘... met Hooft en Vondel is het eerst echt begonnen’.

this language systemisation had improved remarkably ever since the Reeve [Hooft] and Vondel had gotten involved, and that they had developed it into sufficient perfection.²⁷⁰

Van Strien stresses Hooft's purism throughout the chapter, even calling it 'radical', when referring to one of his letters to Huygens.²⁷¹ Later, Van Strien appears to take Hooft's love for correct grammar and his language fanaticism as a given, when he discusses another letter to Huygens: Vondel and Mostaert had read Huygens' *Dagh-werk*, and had made some grammatical remarks, which were utterly rejected by Huygens. Van Strien then remarks that Huygens' response, a refusal of any form of further standardisation, potentially could have disappointed Hooft, who on the contrary had continuously busied himself with standardising his language.²⁷² Furthermore, Van Strien points out how later writers referred to Hooft and Vondel with regards to their purism and their language-building, for example Petrus Francius, who had called Hooft the architect and finisher of the Dutch language.²⁷³

Above, we have seen that in *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* Hooft has been represented as an *artist* in the Dutch language and as a language *purist*. The role of teacher does not explicitly appear in any of the chapters in the *NLG*. Rather, I picked up on another image of Hooft that is presented throughout the pages of the *NLG*. At times, Hooft appears to be represented almost as some kind of a pioneer of early nationalism. In what follows, I will briefly explain what I mean by this.

In chapter 43, Marijke Meijer Drees describes Early Modern historiography, in which she finds clear propaganda that focuses on the rebellious past of the fatherland.²⁷⁴ The want for one's own identity indicated the urgency of one's own past, states Meijer Drees, and she implies this is one of the reasons why Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historiën* were admired and laureated so much.²⁷⁵ Hooft, who in 1617 had also published *Baeto*, his adaptation of the Batavian myth, therefore helped to construct a genre of patriotic literature, this chapter argues.

270 Van Strien in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 213. Original quotation: “Doch deese taalschikkinge”, zo besluit Brandt, “is sedert [sedertdien] merkelyk verbeterd, en door den Drossaardt [Hooft] en Vondel tot genoeghsaame [nagenoeg tot] volkoomenheit gebracht”. Brackets in original.

271 Van Strien cites from letter 641, adding that not everyone was as radical. Original quotation: ‘Zo radicaal was dus lang niet iedereen’ (214).

272 Van Strien in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 215. Original quotation: ‘Toch kan diens reactie – een afwijzing van elke nadere normering – hem ook wel wat teleurgesteld hebben. Zelf bleef hij er in elk geval intensief mee bezig’.

273 Van Strien in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 216. Original quotation: ‘Net als Vollenhove riep Francius de schrijvers en dichters van zijn tijd op om toch vooral de werken van Hooft, “den bouwer en voltoyer der Hollandsche taale”, en van Vondel, te “doorkruipen”, om daaruit regels voor zuiver taalgebruik af te leiden’.

274 Meijer Drees in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 244. Original quotation: ‘... in de zeventiende eeuw [bloei]de ook de populaire geschiedschrijving, waarin propaganda meestal de boventoon voerde’. I would like to remind the reader of what I mentioned in chapter III of this thesis about the problematic application of terms like ‘fatherland’ and ‘nation’ in historiography about the Early Modern period. Meijer Drees gives no definition of what she considers to be ‘the fatherland’ or ‘the Dutch nation’ in her chapter.

275 Meijer Drees in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 243-244. Original quotation: ‘Vanwaar die grote belangstelling voor de vaderlandse geschiedenis in de tijd van Hooft? Achteraf bezien lijken vooral politieke omstandigheden de oorzaak ... De behoefte aan een eigen identiteit impliceerde de noodzaak van een eigen verleden’.

This image is confirmed in the closing chapter of *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*. Here, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Ton Anbeek comment on the canonisation process as well. The canon is not based solely on esthetic estimations, they argue, but at least as much by nationalistic and ideological factors.²⁷⁶ Traditionally, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Anbeek explain, the point of view in literary criticism had been that the Dutch literature only started to flourish when the Dutch state was being born (i.e. in the seventeenth century). The desire to have a national history (and therefore a national literature) influenced the formation of the canon, and kept images like Vondel as ‘the prince of our poets’ alive.²⁷⁷

In conclusion, we have seen that Hooft is once more represented as an artist in the Dutch language and as a language purist. Additionally, rather than as a teacher of language, Hooft appears to be represented in *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* as a kind of pioneer of patriotic literature. The closing chapter of the volume appears to acknowledge the presence of this representation, but ultimately does not contradict it.

10 Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2008)

The last literary history we will be looking at in this chapter is the aforementioned *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt’s contribution to the series *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur*. This literary history differs from its predecessors mostly because instead of ordering their subjects chronologically, the authors maintain a thematical order throughout their book.²⁷⁸ Having said that, Porteman and Smits-Veldt do divide the overall period (1560-1700) into temporal sections, but throughout these chapters, one author can appear in several. One of the paragraphs that explicitly mentions Hooft, is ‘De erfenis van Spiegel: P.C. Hooft’ [The inheritance of Spiegel: P.C. Hooft].²⁷⁹ The next paragraph also mentions Hooft (discussing his and Bredero’s lyricism), and much later he appears again in the paragraph ‘Vondel in het milieu van Hooft’²⁸⁰ [Vondel in Hooft’s environment]. In other words,

276 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Anbeek in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 873. Original quotation: ‘De canon is bepaald niet uitsluitend ontstaan op basis van esthetische overwegingen, hoe men die ook wil definiëren. Tenminste zo belangrijk waren nationalistische en ideologische factoren ...’.

277 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Anbeek in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 874. Original quotation: ‘... het algemeen-vaderlands belang houdt de letterkunde in waarde ... de ‘prins onzer dichters’ heeft zijn reputatie door de eeuwen bewaard’.

278 What is more, Porteman and Smits-Veldt make a distinction between literature from the Northern region and the Southern region. I would like to refer again to ‘Geen ruimte voor het Zuiden in Noordelijk vaderland’, the unpublished article by Carmen Verhoeven and myself.

279 This was one of the sources I referred to in chapter II.2, when I was discussing the development of the Dutch vernacular in academia and literature.

280 As a matter of fact, Vondel’s name appears more often in the index (seven times). One of the paragraphs is actually titled ‘Vondels nalatenschap aan zijn “zonen”’ [Vondel’s inheritance to his ‘sons’] (P&SV 758). This thesis is not the place to discuss the extent to which the several ‘great’ authors of this period are discussed, but it may be an interesting approach in another study.

there is no specific chapter that indicates that it contains a description of Hooft's life and works, like we have seen in the literary histories before and including Knuvelder. Rather, like *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis, Een nieuw vaderland van de muzen* focuses on how literature (and its authors) functioned in its contemporary and later context. Therefore, an author is seldomly regarded as an isolated solo-practitioner, but rather as a point in a larger network.

The tone of voice in *Een nieuw vaderland* is less opinionated than the ones in the other literary histories. Rather than calling Hooft the greatest, or one of the greatest authors of the seventeenth century, Porteman and Smits-Veldt let the authors speak for themselves, for instance when they remark that Vondel, Hooft and Huygens acknowledged each other as poets who, with great artistic prowess, explored the unique expressions of the mother tongue.²⁸¹ Later, they indirectly mention the formation of a canon by referring to Jan Harmens Krul, at the time the leader of *D'Eglentier*.²⁸² Porteman and Smits-Veldt do 'list' Hooft alongside Bredero and Coster, carefully calling them the leading authors of drama in the Chamber.²⁸³ Porteman and Smits-Veldt recognise the idealising nature of Brandt's autobiography and the effects that this book, in combination with the publication of Hooft's letters, might have had on later perception of Hooft and his literary environment, turning him into a benchmark.²⁸⁴

Can we then not discover any trace of (one of) the roles that make up the overall posture of Hooft as the father of the Dutch literary language? At times we can, as we will see in the examples below. Despite Porteman and Smits-Veldt's efforts to write in a neutral tone of voice, they do mention Hooft's *artistry* in 'De lyriek van Hooft en Bredero': about his poetry, they write that Hooft's picturesque and stylistically thought-out use of language always remained natural and clear, and that he put his verses to iambic meter with a lot of feeling for natural sound and rhythm.²⁸⁵ Concurrently, when discussing his correspondence with Huygens and Barlaeus, Porteman and Smits-Veldt mention the crafty literary inventions that the three of them conjure, which refers to Hooft's linguistic *artistry*.²⁸⁶

281 P&SV 352. Original quotation: 'Vondel, Hooft en Huygens erkennen elkaar als dichters die met groot dichtkunst vermogen de bijzondere uitdrukkingmiddelen van de moedertaal exploreerden'.

282 P&SV 352. Original quotation: 'Algauw moet zich in de perceptie van menig poëzieliefhebber een – sterk in de klassieken gewortelde – canon zijn gaan vormen, vertegenwoordigd door Heinsius, Cats, Hooft, Vondel en Huygens. In elk geval vormden deze vijf dichters in 1627 het referentiekader van Jan Harmens Krul, de toenmalige leidende dichter van de Amsterdamse *Eglentier*'.

283 P&SV 202. Original quotation: 'Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft en Gerbrand Adriaenz. Bredero ... werden tevens, samen met Samuel Coster, de leidende toneelauteurs van de kamer'.

284 P&SV 363. Original quotation: 'Dankzij zijn spraakmakende protagonisten werd de kring om Hooft al tijdens diens leven een ijkpunt. Dit zou later nog duidelijker gemarkeerd worden door de idealiserende biografie van Hooft door Geeraardt Brandt (1671) en de eerste publicaties van Hooft's brieven (in 1671 en 1738)'. Interestingly enough, again Vondel's name pops up: Porteman and Smits-Veldt note that he only belonged to the periphery of the 'circle' around Hooft.

285 P&SV 209. Original quotation: 'Hooft's beeldend en stilistisch doordacht taalgebruik bleef altijd natuurlijk en helder ... met veel gevoel voor natuurlijke klank en ritme voegde hij zijn verzen daarbij op soepele wijze naar het jambische metrum'.

286 P&SV 364. Original quotation: 'Vondel deelde niet ... het plezier dat Hooft, Huygens en Barlaeus schepten in de uitwisseling van vernuftige literaire vondsten'.

Then, Hooft's role of language *purist* can be discerned at time as well, for instance when Porteman and Smits-Veldt mention the assemblies at the Visscher residence after Roemer Visscher's death: Anna Visschers organised these literary meetings, during which Hooft, Vondel, Reael and others worked on ways to uniform the Dutch language.²⁸⁷ Here, Hooft's endeavour of laying out the tracks for the language resounds, and we catch a glimpse of his role as language *purist*. In the same spirit, Hooft is referred to as one of the members of the *D'Eglentier* avant-garde, that quickly learned to compete at an international level with their newly acquired skills in metrical mastery, applying the classical tropes, discussing modern themes, and in *purity of language*.²⁸⁸ Lastly, Hooft is explicitly portrayed as a student of the disciple of literature in the vernacular H.L. Spiegel. Porteman and Smits-Veldt note that Hooft was convinced that his fatherland had a right to literary pride, and that he was ready to take over the literary leadership of Spiegel.²⁸⁹ Finally, the role of Hooft as *teacher* is implicitly referred to by Porteman and Smits-Veldt, as I will explain in what follows.

Before becoming a teacher, one usually is a student himself. So too is the case with Hooft: Porteman and Smits-Veldt often mention the relationship between him and H.L. Spiegel. They make it very clear that Hooft is Spiegel's student. What is more, Hooft is described as his descendant! A letter from Spiegel to Hooft, in which the latter is pointed to the way of self-knowledge, is described as 'a fatherly letter' by Porteman and Smits-Veldt.²⁹⁰ But of course, Spiegel is not Hooft's biological father. This is Amsterdam mayor Cornelis Pieterszoon Hooft, who had as big an influence on his son's schooling as Spiegel. Hooft senior made sure that his son begot an excellent education: indeed it was him that had sent Hooft junior abroad to study the Italian masters. Furthermore, Porteman and Smits-Veldt remark that Hooft was brought up in the spirit of responsibility for the young state, and that he would serve the community as a poet, officary, and historian. In other words, Hooft was to become a *teacher* or guardian of the state himself.

287 P&SV 248. Original quotation: 'Toen Visscher begin 1620 overleed, zette Anna de traditie van het huis voort. Nog in de winter van 1622-1623 ontving zij geregeld Hooft, Vondel en Laurens Reael ... met nog enkele andere vrienden. In deze 'letterkunstige vergaderingen' werkten zij onder meer aan een uniformering van het Nederlands'.

288 P&SV 202. Original quotation: 'De jonge avant-garde voedde zich gretig met klassieke, Neolatijnse of moderne Europese literatuur ... zij leerde snel: *in taalzuiverheid*, metrische beheersing, toepassing van klassieke stijlfiguren en moderne thematiek kon zij weldra een internationale vergelijking aan'. My emphasis. In this same passage, Porteman and Smits-Veldt remark that Bredero and Hooft would *profile themselves* as the most important lyrical poets of the new *D'Eglentier* generation.

289 P&SV 205. Original quotations: '... als goede leerling van Spiegel was Hooft ervan overtuigd dat zijn vaderland om andere redenen recht had op literaire trots', and 'Hij was in staat om het literaire leiderschap van de tweeëndertig jaar oudere Spiegel over te nemen'.

290 P&SV 205. Original quotation: 'In een vaderlijke brief, waarin hij nog eens herinnerde aan de christelijk-stoïsche ethiek van zijn *Hert-spiegel*, wees Spiegel zijn leerling de weg naar zelfkennis ...'.

Now that we have taken a look at these contemporary and more recent secondary accounts, we will be able to conclude a few things about the way Hooft's posture is represented when it comes to hetero-representation. It has become clear that in particular Hooft's representation as a language *purist* and as an *artist* of language have been picked up and maintained by his hetero-representation. The role of *teacher* is less represented, but this does not tarnish the overall image of Hooft as the father of the Dutch literary language. In fact, the father-posture of Hooft stands firm throughout his contemporary and later hetero-representation. Perhaps Busken Huet's remark that Hooft wished to become the father of the Dutch Renaissance in the Dutch language has had something to do with this, as many literary histories after Busken Huet refer to it. Below, I briefly summarise what we found in each hetero-representation.

Geeraardt Brandt mostly emphasises Hooft's activities as a language purist, really presenting Hooft as one of the pioneers of Renaissance literature in the Dutch vernacular. In *Het land van Rembrandt*, Hooft's roles mainly as a language purist and an artist of the Dutch language come to the fore, not so much his teacher role. Hooft did something that no other had done before him for the Dutch literary language, emphasises Busken Huet.

This line was continued in the hetero-representation by Kalff: Hooft's artistry in the Dutch language, which he purified of foreign influences, and enriched with new Dutch words, is highlighted by Kalff the most. These new words and constructions did not please Prinsen as much, as we have seen. He criticised Hooft for his at times 'unnatural' use of the vernacular in his works. Prinsen continued the image of Hooft as the father of the Dutch Renaissance literature, calling him the most typical Renaissance poet.

Hooft as the textbook example of the Renaissance poet endures in Bastiaanse's literary history a well: Hooft is to the Dutch literature what Ronsard, Dante and Petrarch were to theirs. This is because Hooft purifies the Dutch vernacular and stylises it in a beautiful way, like the admirable artist he is. We saw that Bastiaanse focused mostly on Hooft's personal life. Karsemeijer, on the contrary, quickly discusses Hooft's personal life, and spends much time on discussing his literature. We saw that Karsemeijer called Hooft a Renaissance man, and that he listed Hooft amongst the five greatest authors of that time. He laureates Hooft for his contributions to the Dutch literature in the Dutch vernacular, as his predecessors did before him. Again, the roles of purist and artist are emphasised most in this literary history.

G.S. Overdiep does not stray from this path, and also stresses Hooft's artistry in the Dutch language: he purified the language and created beautiful texts. Overdiep explicitly calls Hooft the progenitor of a new style of prose, as if he were a forefather of a well-known genus. This father-image comes to the fore again in Knувelder, who seems to tie up all the strings that have been laid out by the literary histories before him: he emphasises once again Hooft's mastery of the Dutch language, and the priceless influence he has had on the Dutch literature, and even cites Busken Huet, calling Hooft the father of the Dutch Renaissance in Dutch once more.

In *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* we saw that Hooft's roles as purist and artist are well-represented in the chapters that discuss him or his work. In addition, the *NLG* presented Hooft not as a teacher, but rather as one of the pioneers of patriotic literature, as we saw. This role has not been picked up by Porteman and Smits-Veldt in *Een nieuw vaderland*, where Hooft's artistry and purism are certainly represented, and his teacher-role resurfaces (albeit not as a teacher of the Dutch language). Porteman and Smits-Veldt acknowledge the influence that Hooft has had on the Dutch literary language. They call attention to Hooft's ability to combine the classic form with the new Dutch content (i.e. the vernacular language).

Some of the literary histories comment on Hooft's letter-writing, but where a few comment on the different styles that Hooft could adopt – and on the exemplary style he displays in his letters – none of them connect this to the idea of Hooft taking on a certain role or posture. This is where my analysis has been an addition: I have uncovered these representations in Hooft's auto-representation *and* have been able to indicate them in the hetero-representation on this father of the Dutch literary language.

Chapter VI Conclusion

Questions answered

Now that we have come to the end of this thesis, have we – to come back to what Jeroen Jansen was wondering in the quotation at the beginning of this thesis – figured out ‘who’ Hooft was? I do not think so, nor was that the aim of this entire exercise. Still, I hope to have shed some light on the image of Hooft, and in particular his posture as father of the Dutch literary language. A posture that was not created by commentators, critics, or experts, we have seen, but first and foremost by Hooft himself. It was from this supposition that I raised the following question:

How have P.C. Hooft's letters contributed to his current posture of 'father of the Dutch literary language'?

I explained that a posture is made up of an author's auto-representation, as well as hetero-representation by contemporary and later critics and/or readers. To answer the main question, I therefore had to look at a selection of Hooft's letters (auto-representation), as well as at a selection of hetero-representative material.

The main question I divided into two subquestions, the first being: ‘*How does Hooft express this posture in his letters (auto-representation)?*’ In chapter IV of this thesis, I have shown that from Hooft's letters, three roles become apparent: the role of language *purist*, the role of *teacher* of language, and of the *artist* in the Dutch language.

In Chapter V, I ventured into the hetero-reception of Hooft, to answer the second subquestion: ‘*To what extent is this image continued in later reception (hetero-representation)?*’ I tried to discern if the roles that I found in Hooft's letters, were maintained throughout his hetero-representation. It became clear that mainly Hooft's role as language purist and as an artist in the Dutch language were emphasised in the hetero-representation, and that less attention was given to a role as teacher. Instead, Hooft is sometimes represented as an *example*, which somewhat resembles a teaching role. In one of the literary histories, Hooft is represented as a contributor to the patriotic genre, which is not something that I picked up explicitly in his correspondence.

I have shown that Hooft took an active part in the construction of his own image or posture, by taking on the three different roles that I discussed above. This overall posture has been maintained and developed by his contemporaries and later critics, which perhaps is why

today we still think of P.C. Hooft as one of the progenitors of the Dutch literary language. I am not questioning Hooft's contributions to the Dutch literature and the Dutch language, but what I have attempted to show in this thesis, is that his posture as father of the Dutch literary language is also a construct and the result of his own self-fashioning in his letters. The letters were very useful material to discern Hooft's posture: they were the vehicle through which Hooft was able to sketch this image of himself. Letters being more personal documents than poems or prose, they reflect what the writer has intended for it to reflect – which does not mean that I wish to argue that they are a mirror of the writer's soul (quite the contrary).

In short, I have not attempted to determine who Hooft was, but I have brought us a little bit closer to his persona. With all the information that we have about his personal life, his professional contributions, his literary work, and political point of view, I would like to believe that in this thesis we have been witness to one of his most personal projects: the construction of what Hooft himself had wished for his readers to remember him by. And because these constructs have been picked up by his critics and contemporaries, Hooft will be remembered the way he preferred: as one of the pioneers of the Dutch literary language, or even as its father.

Discussion

What I have touched upon briefly in my analysis of Hooft's auto-representation, is that the recipient of the letter correlates with the way in which Hooft represents himself. Something similar is argued by Overdiep, who discovered different styles of writing, but perhaps an analysis like the one I have conducted in this thesis will show different patterns as well. For my corpus selection was based on Hooft's mentioning one of his works or discussing (an aspect of) the Dutch language: an analysis of *all* the letters, looking at the different recipients, could potentially offer some insight in the postures that Hooft presents in his written correspondence as well.

Expanding my auto-representation analysis is one option, and I also see options for expanding the hetero-reception analysis. Having picked up on whiffs of Hooft's representation as a pioneer of patriotic literature in *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*, I wonder if in other types of hetero-representation (for instance in museums or schoolbooks) we may pick up on a similar trend. It would not surprise me if the image of Hooft as national, patriotic icon will surface in these representations.

For this thesis, Hooft's posture as 'father' was the central focus. Perhaps in another study, this line of thought could be continued when studied in the context of the 'purity' of

the language. This is what Kalff and Bastiaanse appear to be touching upon when they are discussing Hooft's use of 'bastard words'. Hooft being a father, using his mother tongue, producing literary children, all these terms are united in the concept of a language family. It would be interesting to see if another father of the Dutch literary language – the most obvious example being Vondel – is portrayed in the same manner as Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, by himself as well as by others.

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