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PARATEXTS, BOOK REVIEWS, AND DUTCH LITERARY PUBLICITY

Translations from German into Dutch, 1760-1796

by Joris van Eijnatten

Summary

In the second half of the eighteenth century, German books achieved an unprecedented degree of popularity in the Netherlands. This increase in popularity was accompanied by an enormous growth in the number of books translated from German into Dutch. While this spate of translations has often been noted, it has never been subject to a thorough analysis. This article provides a first insight into the general character of late eighteenth-century Dutch translations from the German. The general problem addressed in the article concerns the way translations of German books helped to shape Dutch literary 'publicity' or *Öffentlichkeit* in the second half of the eighteenth century. Who wrote, translated and published what, and when? Which authors and topics were the most popular in this period? How do the translations reflect changes in Dutch intellectual and literary culture of the second half of the eighteenth century? In short, what was the nature of Dutch literary publicity as represented by translations from the German?

The article provides both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of translations from German into Dutch, on the basis of (a) an inclusive corpus of book titles and (b) the review policies of several major periodicals. Statistical information is offered on, among others, publishers, authors, and translators. The aim is to demonstrate that translations from the German constituted a major share in publishing activity in the Netherlands during this period. A subsequent qualitative analysis, on the basis of a topical classification of books in combination with an examination of the vocabulary used in book titles, provides insights into several significant developments in Dutch literary publicity. The article generally illustrates the effects of international intellectual developments on a minor European country in the age of the Enlightenment.

The article includes 2 graphs and 5 tables.

PARATEXTS, BOOK REVIEWS, AND DUTCH LITERARY PUBLICITY

Translations from German into Dutch, 1760-1796

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I INTRODUCTION

1 *The Focus on Germany*

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a remarkable growth in Dutch interest in German writings. Contemporary authors were well-aware of the change in both the quality and the quantity of books coming from across the Dutch Republic's eastern borders. The poet Otto C.F. Hoffham (1744-1799), writing in 1775 from Berlin to a Dutch friend, noted that 'Germany nowadays has excellent minds; people like Abbt, Iselin, Lavater, Kant, Goethe, and others, continuously produce solid and pithy literary studies.'¹ Hoffham, a German himself, was impressed. Many Dutch men of letters shared his admiration but often also deplored what they considered the blind infatuation of their compatriots with foreign writings. When in 1778 Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803) strongly recommended contemporary German poetry as an example to Dutch writers in his translation of F.J. Riedel's *Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften* (1767), most critics, while not denying the quality of German poetry, censured his praise as inordinate and unpatriotic.² Others warned against the deleterious influence of German works on the creativity of Dutch readers. One knowledgeable writer, while making an exception for literary giants like Gessner, Gellert and Jerusalem, denounced the common mass of petty German authors as insipid and artificial, and observed that the widespread translation and imitation of German writings had brought dishonour upon the Dutch nation.³ And a religious writer announced in 1791 that the notions of deists like Voltaire had been easily controverted in the past. 'Now,' he continued, 'all this has changed completely. The big change has been caused by the Germans, specifically theologians.'⁴

Statements like these – and they are abundant in the latter decades of the eighteenth century – are hard to reconcile with the assertion that the eighteenth-century Dutch became less cosmopolitan and open to foreign developments as a result of their peculiar national obsession with moral, economic and political decline. One authority has recently put it like this: '[But] the issues debated in the republic were completely different from those discussed elsewhere in Europe. Decline and Enlightenment together produced a new national consciousness, directed to the past (...).'⁵ The claim seems inspired more by the historiography of the 1980s on 'national enlightenments' than an appreciation of contemporary witnesses. If anything, the number of translations from the German – and those from English and French remain to be examined – show that Dutch intellectual culture of

the latter part of the eighteenth century was hardly withdrawn into itself or, for that matter, oriented towards the past. Nor is there much reason to suppose that the issues debated by the eighteenth-century Dutch differed substantially from those discussed in surrounding countries, even though some of the problems addressed and the conclusions reached may have been typically Dutch. Why else the enormous interest in German writings? If the Dutch did not share in the cosmopolitan High Enlightenment of Voltaire and David Hume, this does not imply that they did not participate on an international level. The significance of high-level communication among the literati and the *philosophes* should not, perhaps, be overestimated, at least not as far as the later eighteenth century is concerned. By then the growth in native-language book production was bringing about the inevitable: the development of a larger and more anonymous market for books, leading to a relative decline in the significance of cosmopolitan networks. In a small country like the Dutch Republic the growth, on a lower level, of a nation-wide ‘cultural communication network’,⁶ which was able to digest and absorb foreign influences, was probably the most effective way of keeping up with the rest of the world. The Dutch share in international culture had become modest, but it existed; and it was modest less out of ideology than necessity.

There is another reason why the comments cited previously are of interest. Students of the Dutch ‘Enlightenment’ – and those who generally inquire into foreign intellectual influences in the Netherlands – have tended to focus on the Anglo-Saxon world. Especially since the Second World War, the influence of German writings on Dutch culture has been a neglected area of research. This observation applies somewhat less to literature than to writings related to religion, politics, and other topics. Indeed, common historical adage has it that Dutch traditions were both unique and more concerned with religious toleration and political freedom than those of any absolutist principality to the east. And this adage has been given additional support by the recent interest in the politicization of Dutch culture during the 1780s (the ‘Dutch Revolution’), and the accompanying emphasis on the connections between Dutch republican theory and English, American and French political thought.⁷

Whatever judgement contemporaries pronounced on German influences on Dutch culture, there was no denying that by the 1770s and 1780s German books had achieved an unprecedented degree of popularity in the Netherlands. This increase in popularity was accompanied by a growth in the number of books translated from German into Dutch. While this spate of translations from the German has often been noted, it has never been subject to a thorough analysis. The only monograph concerned with the general influence of German writings in the latter part of the eighteenth-century Netherlands appeared in 1931.⁸ This book is concerned mainly with aesthetics and literature, and is still a fair introduction to the topic. But it focuses mainly on the highlights, and not specifically on translations. A number of mostly older studies deal with the influence or reception of German authors, among others Lavater, Gellert, Jung Stilling, Goethe, and Kant;⁹ two studies

deal with the interest evinced by celebrated Dutch men of letters in German intellectual culture.¹⁰ The focus, again, is predominantly on literature. There is no study that specifically tackles the many books translated from the German in the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact, there are virtually no studies providing comprehensive analyses of statistical data on early-modern translations into Dutch from any foreign language.¹¹

This article is not only intended to provide an insight into the general character of late eighteenth-century translations from the German. It is also meant to demonstrate in general the use that can be made of readily obtainable data related to early-modern translations into Dutch. The problem addressed concerns the way translations of German books helped to shape Dutch literary ‘publicity’ or *Öffentlichkeit* in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹² Who wrote, translated and published what, and when? Which authors and topics were the most popular in this period? How do the translations reflect changes in the intellectual and literary culture of the second half of the eighteenth century? In short, what was the nature of Dutch literary publicity as represented by translations from the German?

2 *The Corpus*

To obtain a reasonably inclusive list of well-publicized translations, I have examined the two major all-round Dutch review periodicals of the time, on the one hand the *Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*¹³ and on the other the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*, which was continued after 1788 as the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak*.¹⁴ The two journals together reviewed 1,039 translations from the German between 1760 and 1796, including a limited number of second editions.¹⁵ This figure does not represent the total number of translations, since the journals did not have access to, or were not aware of, all the books that were published in the Republic, and probably made some selection. But the corpus of 1,039 titles does include the large majority of translations. Comparison with electronic databases and bibliographies yielded 186 titles not mentioned in the review periodicals; 133 of these were forms of fiction, including 93 plays. Since the focus in this article is on Dutch literary publicity as reflected in review periodicals, these additional titles have been left out of consideration in the analysis offered below.¹⁶ The additional data will, however, be referred to when its use would lead to diverging conclusions. The period chosen for this analysis begins in 1760 with the first instalment of the *Letter-Oefeningen*,¹⁷ and ends in 1796, when translations published during the last year of the Republic (1795) were reviewed. The books examined concern publications originally written in German or Latin by authors of a broadly German provenance, and issued independently in Dutch translation. The corpus therefore includes Swiss and Austrian books, but excludes works by a few Berlin Huguenots (like S. Formey and I. de Beausobre) and a minority of native Germans (such as the philosophers G.W. Leibniz and J.G. Sulzer) in so far as their books were translated from the French. Also excluded are collections of

poetry, plays or essays, unless the book title indicates that the collection as a whole was translated from the German.¹⁸

The *Letter-Oefeningen*, the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* and the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* made a point of providing the reader with extensive information on the book reviewed by copying its title-page, often in its entirety. The title-page not only contained information on the title of the book. It usually also mentioned the name and often the profession and dignities of its author; the name of the translator or a person who recommended the translation (by way of a foreword, for example); and the name of the publisher as well as the date and place of publication. The following analysis of German translations is based on this kind of 'paratextual' information. Paratexts can be defined as the textual instruments used to firmly ground a particular text in socio-cultural reality. Such instruments include prefaces, dedications, formal approbations, footnotes, subscription lists, and so on, but also the extensive title-pages common to early-modern writings.¹⁹ By making use of the information provided in book titles, it is possible to get a clear picture of the way translations were published, and, above all, 'publicized'. Eighteenth-century readers were perfectly aware of the commercial and intellectual importance of paratexts. At one point the *Letter-Oefeningen* discussed a Dutch translation of a certain Giuseppe Pinetti's *Amusemens physique* (1784).²⁰ From the title the reader could gather that Monsieur J.J. Pinetti Willedale de Merci was a professor of physics and a member of various academies, had been accorded a pension by the Prussian court and a knighthood in the order of Saint Philip, could pride himself on recommendations by a number of kings and sovereign princes, served as a geographer in the service of the prince of Limburg-Holstein, and so on. The reviewer in the *Letter-Oefeningen*, who not amused, or unaware of the hoax, regarded this particular abundance of paratextual dignities as a misleading ornament designed to boost the sale of an empty shell.²¹ But in most cases the full book titles had an important function in advertising and recommending the book itself to potential customers and readers.

In the four sections to come the following topics will be discussed. Section II. provides information on the review periodicals and discusses the way in which they reflected Dutch interest in German literature between 1760 and 1796. A subsequent section provides statistical information on books translated from the German, particularly on publishers, authors, and translators. The aim is to demonstrate that translations from the German constituted a major share in publishing activity in the Netherlands. Section IV is concerned with Dutch literary publicity as reflected in the corpus of German translations. In this section a topical classification of books is combined with an examination of the vocabulary used in book titles, in order to illustrate some developments in Dutch literary publicity. Finally, in section V the main conclusions are summarized.

II REVIEWING TRANSLATIONS

1 *The Periodicals*

Both the *Letter-Oefeningen* and the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* offered their readers two kinds of information, which were presented in two different parts of their periodical. One part consisted of reviews, usually in the form of a précis of the study at hand, and often accompanied by a limited comment on the contents, the style or the quality of the translated book. The other part, the ‘Miscellany’ or *Mengelwerk*, provided essays on diverse subjects, anecdotes, poems, medical and other scientific observations, biographies of famous people, and so on. Because of this dual nature, these journals have recently been christened as ‘broadly cultural’. They were based on a formula that became increasingly popular in the second half of the eighteenth century. The tendency of this type of periodical to keep the middle between specialization (expert opinion in book reviews) and generalization (miscellaneous pieces) reflected the limitations of the Dutch literary market. Highly specialized periodicals had little chance of surviving, given the limited number of copies that could be sold. On the other hand, there was a certain demand for specialization, leading to broadly cultural periodicals oriented towards more or less specific groups.²²

In this genre of periodical, the *Letter-Oefeningen* was one of the broadest and most successful. It was run in these years by two Mennonite brothers, both ministers at Haarlem: Cornelis Loosjes (1723-1792), who founded the periodical and remained its editor until he died, after which Petrus Loosjes (1735-1813) took over. The intention from the outset was to cater to the reading public as a whole, irrespective of religious and political leanings. This aim is reflected in the attempt to remain as non-committal as possible. Indeed, many reviews in the *Letter-Oefeningen* are no more than concise summaries. But the periodical was not, of course, neutral. In a political sense it had mildly ‘Patriotic’ leanings (i.e. it favoured the movement that during the 1780s attempted put through democratic reforms), which became particularly pronounced in 1795 and 1796. In a religious sense the periodical was generally opposed to confessional strictures. While works of a pastoral nature written by orthodox ministers were often attended by some words of praise, the religious stance of the *Letter-Oefeningen* and the non-confessional publicity it envisaged became clear during the so-called Socratic War. The translation of Marmontel’s *Bélisaire* in 1768 led to an intense debate on the question whether heathens could attain salvation as a result of leading moral lives – a question closely connected with problems concerning the precise authority of reason in respect of revelation, and the moral legitimacy of the Reformed church’s ‘dominant’ or public stature. During the Socratic War, the *Letter-Oefeningen* clearly sided with the so-called *Toleranten*.²³

Hence the founding in 1774 of the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* on an explicitly orthodox confessional basis, as a conscious counterpart to the *Letter-Oefeningen*. The Reformed divines who initially edited the periodical included, above all, Petrus Hofstede (1716-1803) and Johannes Hab-

bema (1733-1800). They not only warmly supported the dominant position of the Reformed church, but were also ardent defenders of the stadholderate as an indispensable element in the constitution of the Republic. To their dismay, however, the publisher, Martinus de Bruijn, in 1788 took on another editor, who refrained from requesting formal approbation from the church for the articles in the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*. This new editor was Jacob Kantelaar (1759-1821), who belonged to a younger generation much less interested in the maintenance of confessional orthodoxy. He was also a Patriot. In 1790 he was succeeded by another well-known Patriot, IJsbrand van Hamelsveld (1743-1812).²⁴ Under the latter's supervision the periodical, which had now become the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*, turned into the mouthpiece of those within the Reformed church who supported its public stature, but who were also less interested in its confessional basis and generally advocated a broad and multi-denominational religious publicity.

2 The Policy

It was pointed out above that the periodicals reviewed the large majority of translations. Indeed, the editors themselves asserted that they offered a survey of the literary publicity of the Republic as a whole. In its title the *Letter-Oefeningen* claimed to judiciously and candidly (*oordeelkundig en vrymoedig*) review books and writings 'published daily in our Fatherland'; the *Nederlandsche* and the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* made similar statements in their titles. In its early years, the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* had claimed to use other criteria. It expressed the intention to specifically (but not exclusively) review those writings that confirmed and defended the Christian religion in general and the Reformed in particular.²⁵ In the course of the seventies and eighties this aim of acting as a public support for the Reformed confessions slowly receded into the background, and for the larger part of its existence the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*, like its successor, functioned as an all-round review periodical. The main difference was that the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* initially tended to provide more critical, and therefore often more interesting, reviews than the *Letter-Oefeningen*.

The editors of the *Letter-Oefeningen* were strongly oriented towards England. The larger part by far of the many translations included in the Miscellany were essays derived from English periodicals. French translations made a poor runner-up, and even then the essays taken from the French easily outclassed those from the German in terms of number. In fact, the editors at one point noted explicitly that they had not procured their knowledge of how to write reviews from Germany (their periodical had just been compared with Friedrich Nicolai's notorious *Deutsche Allgemeine Bibliothek*), but that they themselves regarded the *Letter-Oefeningen* as an offspring of the English *Monthly Review*.²⁶ It would therefore be difficult to accuse the *Letter-Oefeningen* of partiality towards Germany and German authors. Yet the periodical reviewed 84.7 % of the 1,039 translations examined for this article (as opposed to 26.4 % in the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* between 1773 and 1788 and 23.3 % in the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* between 1789 and 1796). For the *Letter-*

Oefeningen this amounts to about 24 reviews of translations from the German per year; the figures for the *Nederlandsche* and the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* are respectively 17 and 30 (or 21.5 per year if the two are taken together). The relatively low figure for the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* does not indicate lack of interest. This periodical was dedicated to providing extensive comments on all the books it discussed, so that the total number of books it reviewed annually was smaller than that of the other periodicals. The figures reflect a systematic reviewing policy on account of the periodicals. The aim was to review as many new translations as possible, with the exception of fiction and especially plays – the growth in this genre was too prolific for any all-round journal to keep up with. Tentative data further show that translations of French, German and English books discussed in the *Letter-Oefeningen* between 1770 and 1830 comprised 41 % of all reviews, as opposed to the 54 % for native Dutch writings and 5 % for ‘others’.²⁷ Half of the translated books reviewed were German in origin (20 % of the total number of books reviewed, as opposed to 11 % English and 10 % French).²⁸

It is clear that German books were popular, and that they were read, or at least bought. By contrast, the Germans themselves became increasingly less interested in translations from any foreign language, including Dutch. The share of German-language translations of foreign books in relation to the total number of German-language writings declined from about 8-9 % in the 1760s to around 3 % in the early 1800s.²⁹ It would seem that German literary culture, rather than the Dutch, became more inward-looking. Nonetheless, to a limited extent the Dutch interest in German books was reciprocated. At least 195 books were translated from Dutch into German between 1760 and 1800. However, almost three quarters were concerned specifically with the natural sciences, indicating an interest in a restricted circle of Dutch professionals.³⁰ No wonder the self-appointed guardians of Dutch culture, religion and morality felt neglected.

The percentages mentioned above (the share of each periodical in the total number of translations from the German: 84.7 % for the *Letter-Oefeningen*; 26.4 % for the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*; 23.3 % for the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*) give a ratio of roughly 3:1:1 (or 6:2:2). It is useful to keep this ratio in mind when studying Table 1. The table classifies the books reviewed into 8 thematic groups and shows the percentage of the total number of reviews which the three periodicals devoted to each group.³¹ The table not only shows the varied nature of the translations, but also illustrates the all-round character of the three periodicals. This applies even to the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*, although the figures provided in the table do reflect its particular religious leanings. As was to be expected, this periodical was relatively strong in ‘Religion’ (56 % of all translations reviewed), but weak in ‘Entertainment’ and ‘World and People’. Interestingly, its successor, the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*, was apparently less interested in German writings on religion, and all the more so in entertainment.

III. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN: QUANTIFICATION

1 *The Overall Picture*

On average about 28 new titles and (a limited number of) new editions of translations from the German were reviewed annually between 1760 and 1796. Naturally, the number of translations published per year varied. Graph 1. shows the spread over time of reviewed translations published between 1761 and 1795.³² The three review periodicals each follow the same pattern, so that we may assume that the graph generally reflects the number of available translations in any one year rather than an idiosyncratic selection policy on behalf of one of the journals. The graph shows two periods of decline: one during the *Patriottentijd* (i.e. between 1780 and 1787), and one at the beginning of the Batavian Republic (in 1795).³³ Since there was no precipitous decrease in the number of pages devoted to reviews during either of these periods, it would seem that native books were deemed more relevant in times of crisis. Further research will have to show if the general levelling-out was continued after 1796 (see the trend line).³⁴ The level of the 1790s could represent a temporary ceiling, determined by the limited market potential for books of German origin within a population of about 2 million people. As was pointed out above, translations from the German remained prominent in the *Letter-Oefeningen* until at least 1830. Also, we know that best-selling authors continued to be translated. A case in point is the German divine Johann Ludwig Ewald, who was translated 12 times between 1788 and 1794, and at least 32 times in the three decades after 1796 (not including second and third editions).³⁵ Thus there is reason enough to expect that the number of books translated from the German per year continued on the level of the late 1780s and early 1790s, i.e. at about 30 to 40 translations per year.

2 *Places of Publication*

From Table 2. it can be concluded that Amsterdam was by far the most important place for the publication of German translations, with Utrecht and The Hague following at a distance. Arnhem and Nijmegen are the only places outside the provinces of Holland and Utrecht with more than 10 entries. The picture is essentially the same with regard to the spread of publications over the provinces. Holland accounts for 788 (73.0 %) of the towns mentioned as first or second place of publication, Utrecht for 193 (17.9 %). Together these two provinces account for 90.9 % of the total number of translations (1,039, including 18 titles with no place of publication). In Gelderland no more than 4.0 % were published, in Friesland only 1.1 %, and in the remaining provinces even less. The total number of towns mentioned is 33, of which 14 in the province of Holland. Dutch literary publicity, as reflected in translations from the German, was clearly centred on Holland and Utrecht. Or to put it another way, the influence on translations exercised by publishers in provinces bordering on German territories was negligible. A number of translations were published in German towns: one in Cologne, two in Kleve (both, however, in collaboration with Dutch publishers), and

one in Wesel (D.H. Purgold's *Resultat meines mehr als fünfzigjähriges Nachdenkens über die Religion Jesu*, 1783). The books issued in Cologne and Wesel were controversial, which presumably explains why they were published, or said to be published, abroad.³⁶ Another exotic place for a translation from the German was 'London'. This concerned an anonymous defamation of Karl Friedrich Bahrtdt, purportedly written by a Dutchman and published by a fictitious company ('James Brother') in 1779 – Bahrtdt was probably the most controversial German theologian of the time.³⁷ Two other anonymous and controversial translations mention 'Holland' as place of publication, and omitted the name of the publisher: one was a satire, the other an epistolary novel by F.A.C. Werthes, *Begebenheiten Eduard Bomstons in Italien* (1782).³⁸

3 Publishers

The number of publishers who produced translations from the German, and are mentioned in the title descriptions as either the first or the second publisher, total 234. Most of these issued only one or two publications. While no publisher was wholly specialized in German books, the figures reveal that translations from the German were at least an interesting side-line. The major publishers are shown in Table 3. The publishing companies mentioned reflect continuous enterprises between 1760 and 1796, i.e. no distinctions have been made between the initial owners and their widows who continued the company, or between fathers and sons. The Van Paddenburg company, based in Utrecht, clearly heads the list. None of the main publishers was specialized in specific kinds of translations. Although Van Paddenburg, Eichhorn and De Bruijn were the leaders in religious subjects, and Meijer and Döll in entertainment, they all produced a wide assortment of books. The review periodicals drew publications from all kinds of publishers, and, incidentally, did not give precedence to their own. Again, the general picture that emerges is one of a broad orientation towards Germany.

It was possible only in one instance to obtain figures on the number of copies printed: J.D. Michaelis' German translation of the Old Testament, rendered into Dutch by W.E. de Perponcher (and later by IJ. van Hamelsveld) from 1776 onwards, and published by the Van Schoonhoven company in 12 parts. Of each part 817 copies were printed; about 60% were ultimately sold. This was a relatively large figure, and certainly much higher than those reflecting the sale of most of De Perponcher's own writings.³⁹

4 Time Lapse

The review periodicals were exclusively interested in recent editions. The earliest translation dates from 1759, and it was reviewed in 1761. Likewise, the publishers were mainly interested in producing relatively modern books. Graph 2. portrays the time lapse between the year of publication of the first edition of a German book (or the first volume in a series) and the appearance of its Dutch translation. The figures are based on 778 out of 1,039 translations of which it was possible to verify

both the year of publication of the original and of its Dutch translation. About 70 % were translated and published within nine years of first appearance in Germany; 52 % were translated and published within four years, and 8 % in the same year. As the graph shows, the mode of the series (the value occurring with the greatest frequency) is a time lapse of 1 year; the average of the whole series is 8.2 years.⁴⁰ These figures indicate a limited time lag between Dutch and German literary publicity. In other words, the Dutch were not much interested in old-fashioned books. Older books were often translated for particular reasons. For example, the *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae* by J.F. Buddeus (1723, time lapse 61) was published as a support to traditional theology during a period of internecine Lutheran conflict.⁴¹ The longest time lapse (67 years) concerns a notorious anti-Jewish book, *Entdecktes Judenthum* (1700) by J.A. Eisenmenger.⁴² Some books were simply considered classics, such as J. Brucker's *Kurze Fragen aus der philosophischen Historie* (1731, time lapse 44).⁴³ Moreover, if the publishers had had their way, the average time lapse would have been much shorter. This is evident from the lists of forthcoming translations advertised in the main Dutch newspapers, which were issued on a monthly basis from 1790 onwards by the publisher A.B. Saakes.⁴⁴ Many of the advertised translations, which include an astonishing number of German writings, were not, in fact, published at all, and some were published much later. One reason for this discrepancy between the desirable and the possible was apparently that cheap but capable translators were sometimes difficult to find. A case in point is *Über Geisternahe, und Geisterwirkung* (1793) by G.E.W. Dedekind. The topic broached in this book was bound to attract the interest of the Dutch reading public of the 1790s, as the potential publisher well knew. Indeed, the book was duly advertised in the *Leidsche Courant* in May 1793, but did not appear (and at a different publishing house) until 1820, after the destitute poet Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831) had been hired to translate it.⁴⁵

5 Authors' Professions

German writers were well-advertised by their Dutch publishers. In 422 book titles (40,6 % of 1,039) the profession or office of the author was mentioned, and in 88 titles (8,5 %) a second profession or office was referred to in addition to the first. In both entries (first and second profession or office) university professors score best: 156 in all. Professors of theology were apparently considered attractive ornaments to a commercially interesting title-page. They formed the largest group (45, excluding five professors of oriental languages), followed by professors of philosophy (22) and medicine (15). Law professors seem to have sold badly: only one author was explicitly mentioned as such (J.G. Heineccius). The second most important group were church ministers, who account for 141 entries. The other professional groups, in order of importance, are church administrators, ranging from *Superintendent* and *Consistorialrat* to *Probst* and *Abt* (61); educational staff, such as (vice-)chancellors, headmasters and school inspectors (40); counsellors of state, ministers and ambassadors (39); medical practitioners and apothecaries (38); lecturers and other teachers at

universities and gymnasias (18); army officers (8); and the remaining bureaucratic occupations, such as a court musician, a police commissioner and private secretaries to princes (8).

Three conclusions can be drawn from these figures. The first is that professions connected with religion (professors of theology and oriental languages, church administrators and ministers) were especially prominent; they account for about 55 % of all occupations mentioned. The second conclusion is that a substantial number of professions were concerned with education: 214, or about 51 %. And the third conclusion is that practically all occupations had a bureaucratic background. That is, some 40 % of all books translated into Dutch mention the fact that the author was a civil servant. This applies also to the medical practitioners, whose status was often mentioned in elaborate designations as ‘court practitioner for the *Landgraf* of Hessen-Kassel’, ‘court practitioner for ducal Weimar’ or ‘town practitioner of Hamburg’. It would seem that Dutch readers valued the reassurance that their books were written by authors who were professionally capable and/or whose social status guaranteed the non-subversive nature of their books. Thus reference to professions or offices was particularly important in titles related to medicine and religious issues. By contrast, entertainment scored badly in this regard. Incidentally, Germans seem to have had a reputation for low-cost professional reliability. In the Republic they were much in demand for administrative vacancies, and apparently they were paid less than Dutch natives.⁴⁶

6 Provenance

Most of the authors whose offices were advertised in book titles exercised their professions in Prussia (especially Berlin), followed by Hannover (particularly Göttingen) and the various Swiss cantons (above all Zurich). Saxony, Braunschweig, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg scored relatively well also. This points to a broad geographical orientation. Dutch literary publicity was definitely not focused on the German towns traditionally connected with the intellectual history of the Dutch Republic, such as the ‘border towns’ of Lingen, Duisburg and Wesel (one author from each town), or Calvinist Bremen (mentioned only twice, in both instances reprints of early eighteenth-century books by the Reformed pietist F.A. Lampe).⁴⁷ This conclusion is also borne out by the provenance of the books translated. Most of the German originals were published in Leipzig (21 % of the 817 original editions traced). This figure is not surprising, since by the second half of the eighteenth century Leipzig had more or less become the storehouse of the German literary universe.⁴⁸ But other relatively prominent towns include Berlin (13 %), Frankfurt am Main (6 %), Hamburg (6 %), Halle (5 %), Zurich (4 %), Göttingen (3 %) and Vienna (3 %). The remaining places of publication, accounting for about half of 817 titles, vary from Copenhagen to Bern, and from Cologne to Königsberg. Some books do, of course, betray a personal connection with the Dutch Republic on behalf of the author or the translator. A case in point is a spectator, the *Einsame Nachtgedanken oder moralische Berachtungen über die Welt* (1757), written by P.L. Stadius Müller (1725-1776), who had been minister in Friesland before he became professor of theology in Erlan-

gen.⁴⁹ A few other translations had a Dutch provenance because they were translated, not from a German publication, but from manuscripts that for various reasons surfaced in the Republic. These include works by an astrologer and quack (J.C. Ludemann), a convert from Judaism (Chr.S. Duytsch), and a Patriot and advocate of Jewish emancipation (D. Friederichsfeld).

7 Original Language

The publishers, editors and translators usually indicated the origins of the books by mentioning on the title page the fact that it was translated from 'High German'. This was apparently important to mention, since 85 % of all the books reviewed included such a statement in their titles. A small portion (2 %) indicated that they were translated from 'German' Latin. Even originally non-German books were translated from the German. These include at least seven French and three English books. Thus, the German origins of a book did not in any way deter the Dutch reading public from buying it, in spite of the sometimes rather acerbic comments of the reviewers. G.S. Baumler's *Mitleidiger Arzt* (1731) was considered a good book, but the *Letter-Oefeningen* added that it seemed very German, given the tedious style and the extensive manner in which various sicknesses were categorized. It was not really suited to Dutch tastes.⁵⁰ The same periodical regarded J.G. Kruger's *Naturlehre* (1740) as a waste of a good translation; the book was not only imperfect but also much too German.⁵¹ And J.C. Schaeffer's *Die bequeme und der Wirthschaft in allen Rücksichten höchst vortheilhafte Waschmaschine* (1766) elicited the response that if this machine produced linen clean enough for Germans, Dutch housewives would certainly have second thoughts on its operation.⁵²

8 Authors

Some 21 % of all reviewed translations (i.e. 218 of 1,039) were published anonymously. I have been able to trace the original authors of more than half of these. The result is shown in Table 4., representing the main German writers translated into Dutch. Of the 27 names mentioned, more than half were theologians, at least 5 were popular writers of novels, fables or poetry, and 2 were physicians.⁵³ The figures are misleading in one sense, however, because no account has been taken of the number of volumes in multi-volume translations. Table 5. shows the 'publicity exposure' to which the main authors were subjected, based on the total number of volumes reviewed in the periodicals. Reviews of the same volume in more than one periodical have been counted only once. With 59 volumes reviewed, the theologian Johann Lorenz Mosheim is the undisputed leader of the list. He and his colleague Johann David Michaelis thus qualify as the German authors best-known to the informed Dutch reader. The total number of authors translated is large: at least 506, not counting the 86 anonymous writers whom I have not been able to trace.⁵⁴ Most (around 70 %) of these 506 authors are represented with only one book; about 10 writers authored or co-authored periodicals.

This shows once again that Dutch publishers, editors and translators selected authors from a large pool, and did not limit themselves to a circumscribed circle of well-known writers.

9 Translators

Finally, a note on the translators. The names, initials or pseudonyms of translators are mentioned only on 289 title-pages (28% of 1,039). The translators, in so far as it was possible to identify them on the basis of book titles and external sources, form a mixed group. As was to be expected, given their frequent affiliations with the German territories, Lutheran authors are prominent. These include A.F. Klenke (no dates known, 16 titles), the director of a Dutch and German school in Amsterdam; L.G. Cordes († 1827, 13 titles), born in Jeverland and minister in Zutphen and Zwolle; H. Volkorsz (1745-1796, 6 titles), a Dutch-born minister at Purmerend and Woerden who had studied in Rostock and Greifswalde; W. Goede (1764-1839, 4 titles), a Dutch Lutheran minister who had studied in Jena and joined the Remonstrant Brotherhood in 1795; and G.H. Reiche (1753-1830, 4 titles), a minister originally from Hannover. G.M. Nebe (8 titles) and J.W. van Haar (11 titles) are known only as translators; the former seems to have been Lutheran, the latter Reformed. Another major translator, A.A. van Moerbeek (no dates, 8 titles), was a Mennonite minister from Dordrecht. Another Mennonite, J. Daams (1736-1799, 4 titles) was a medical practitioner at Haarlem. The Reformed include J.W. Lustig (1706-1796, 4 titles after 1760), the translator of a number of books published before 1760; he had moved from Hamburg to Groningen in 1728 to become the organ player in the *Martinikerk*. Th. van Brussel (1748-?, 4 titles), a native Dutchman, had been a Reformed minister at Schoonhoven before being dismissed, and later became a writer in the Patriotic *Diemer- en Watergraaf-meersche Courant*. J. van Manen (1752-1822, 8 titles), a self-educated tailor, was another Patriot, who lived in exile between 1788 and 1792. Well-known men of letters like P.J. Kasteleijn (1746-1794, 12 titles) and P.G. Witsen Geysbeek (1774-1833, 4 titles) were mainly translators of plays.⁵⁵ The most that can be concluded from this provisory list is that being Lutheran and having a German background or German connections was helpful but hardly a prerequisite for positioning oneself as a translator; in fact, the clerical background seems more significant. Unfortunately, there are still many mysteries concerning the translators. If the names of all the translators were known, the results would probably differ considerably from those presented here. A case in point is the editor of the *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*, IJsbrand van Hamelsveld, a native Dutch Reformed minister, professor of theology, and Patriot. His name is mentioned as a translator on 12 title pages, but in his case it was possible to verify how many book he had actually translated: no less than 38 titles in all, at a rate of about three or four per year.⁵⁶ Similarly, the *Letter-Oefeningen* noted that Willem van Hamelsveld (1747-1787), IJsbrand's brother, was the translator of many writings, yet he is formally mentioned only once in the title of J.G. Herder's *Briefe das studium der Theologie betreffend* (1780).⁵⁷ Like the authors, translators did not form a limited

group. More than one hundred (out of 172 names, initials and pseudonyms) translated only one book.

IV. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN: QUALIFICATION

Table 1. reflects the ‘literary publicity’ of the latter part of the eighteenth century, by classifying translations from the German under eight headings. Whether the prominence of writings concerned with ‘Religion’ and ‘Entertainment’ was peculiar to translations from the German will remain an open question as long as we do not have access to figures concerning translations from French and English. But it is clear that within Dutch literary publicity both ‘Religion’ and ‘Entertainment’ were important criteria for selecting German writings eligible for translation. This applies especially to religious books.⁵⁸ Of the eight topics mentioned, the two leading categories show the most conspicuous variations in relation to the total number of translations between 1761 and 1795. The relative share of ‘religion’ shows a decrease over the whole period, whereas the relative share of ‘entertainment’ exhibits a steady increase, especially after 1785. In absolute numbers, the number of translations on ‘entertainment’ surpassed those on ‘religion’ during the last decade of the period examined (96 for ‘religion’ as opposed to 107 for ‘entertainment’ between 1785 and 1795).⁵⁹ Given the rapidly rising share of novels and plays in the growing book production in Germany itself at that time, these figures do not come as a surprise.⁶⁰

We have inferred from the data discussed in Section III. that Dutch publishers, editors and translators were oriented towards a broad German market. They were apparently in a position to consciously select for translation any book that appeared in Germany. They would have been aware of the existence of interesting books by perusing German review periodicals, such as the *Berlinische Monatschrift*, *Berlinische Journal für Aufklärung*, and the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*.⁶¹ Whether a book was ultimately translated or not thus depended, not on geography, but on other factors, such as the availability of suitable and relatively inexpensive translators and expectations regarding the sales potential. In other words, translations reflected market opportunities and (therefore) real Dutch interests. Native authors may have been unable to produce such writings themselves, because the expertise supporting them was lacking in the Netherlands, or for other reasons; translations may have been put on the Dutch market as a means to introduce new ideas, since it was safer to let a foreigner take the brunt of political, religious or literary criticism than to sacrifice one’s own reputation or career opportunities; it may have been cheaper to have an existing work translated than to have a new one written;⁶² or books may simply have been translated to add variation and flavour to Dutch literary publicity, since the exotic usually sells well. Be that as it may, it is clear that German books filled a gap in Dutch literary publicity, a gap the Dutch found important enough to close.

In the following I will focus on several conspicuous aspects of Dutch literary publicity as reflected in translations from the German. The analysis is based primarily on the contents of the book titles, as paratexts illustrating qualitative changes in both the demands of, and the supply to, the Dutch reading public.

1 *Politics*

The subclasses 'political theory' and 'political affairs' together comprise 3% of all translations between 1760 and 1796 (31 of 1,039).⁶³ The Dutch were interested enough in German accounts of political freedom and revolution.⁶⁴ In the 1780s the *Letter-Oefeningen* reviewed, without apparent disapproval, A. von Haller's *Fabius und Cato* (1774), in which the negative side-effects of democracy and aristocracy were discussed, and a mixture of both recommended.⁶⁵ Relatively conservative authors were apparently much read. C.G. Heyne's *Über die bürgerliche Frei- und Gleichheit in der Republik der Athenienser* (1794) was prejudiced against the French Revolution, observed the (Patriotic) *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*.⁶⁶ On the other hand, J.H. Campe's *Briefe aus Paris, zur Zeit der Revolution geschrieben* (1790) was praised in the *Letter-Oefeningen* because it was obviously written by a 'lover of freedom'.⁶⁷ *Über Revolutionen, ihre Quellen und die Mittel dagegen* (1792) by J.L. Ewald was lauded for its comparatively 'enlightened' ('opgeklaarde') ideas concerning freedom and tyranny. But the reviewer rejected Ewald's contention that even the most suppressed people will not be inclined to rebel on account of widespread religiosity, domestic felicity and ingrained respect for the magistrate.⁶⁸ Ewald's *Was sollte der Adel jetzt thun?* (1793), issued by the Patriot publisher Holtrop, was similarly criticized for its emphasis on obedience to the government.⁶⁹ These judgements reflect the success of Patriot-oriented opinion-makers to dominate the two main all-round review periodicals in the period following the fiasco of the Patriot Revolution. The reviewers criticized more than once what they viewed as the characteristically German sense of class consciousness and deference to political authorities. But the point is that conservative German writings were a conspicuous element in Dutch literary publicity. This applies, for instance, to a book by C.A.L. Kirchhoff, *Worauf muss ein Reich gegründet seyn, wenn innere Unruhen und Rebellionen vermieden werden sollen?* (1791), which received critical reviews. A highly conservative tract derived from the *Wiener Zeitschrift* by L.A. Hoffmann, a Roman Catholic professor in Vienna who was described on the title-page as a friend of both princes and the *true* Enlightenment, was rejected out of hand by both journals, among others because it and its anonymous translator associated democratic Patriotism with extreme, and therefore untrue and reprehensible, forms of Enlightenment. The book nonetheless went through at least three impressions.⁷⁰

2 Enlightenment

The *Letter-Oefeningen* observed that the translator of Hoffmann's book associated Patriotism with the 'so-called new Philosophy and the present-day Popular Enlightenment'.⁷¹ Not the politicization of the 1780s, but the notion of *Volksaufklärung* brings us to the heart of the changes in late eighteenth-century Dutch literary publicity, as reflected in translations. German authors were highly regarded by some for the way they attempted to create a broad, nation-wide basis for moral and religious values. Nonetheless, only one translation actually mentions the term *Volksaufklärung* in its title: J.L. Ewald's *Über Volksaufklärung; ihre Grenzen und Vortheile* (1791), issued in two different translations.⁷² But the term was well-known, and reviewers made good use of it. Thus G.J. Zollikofer's collection of sermons was appreciated for contributing to popular enlightenment. Notions connected with popular enlightenment began to appear in book titles in the 1780s and 1790s, such as J.H. Pestalozzi's *Lienhard und Gertrud. Ein Buch für das Volk* (1781), published anonymously, and A.H. Niemeyer's *Populäre und praktische Theologie, oder Materialien des christlichen Volksunterrichts* (1792).⁷³

3 Education

Enlightenment was closely linked with popular education and improvement, and terms to this effect regularly cropped up in book titles. German educational books were welcomed warmly in the Netherlands. They include A.F.E. Jacobi's *Meßkunst für Kinder* (1765), F.E. von Rochow's highly influential *Versuch eines Schulbuchs für Kinder der Landleute, oder Unterricht für Lehrer in niedern und Landschulen* (1772), and the *Kleine Kinderbibliothek* (1779) edited by J.H. Campe.⁷⁴ As these titles indicate, children and youths in general were regarded as important target groups. Some 8% of all titles (79 out of 1,039) used the terms 'children', 'young men', 'young women', or 'youth'. Religious education forms a particularly well-represented group; suffice it here to mention J.G. Rosenmüller's *Erster Unterricht in der Religion für Kinder* (1771). Other educational books were aimed at improving rhetorical and logical techniques, such as P. Villaume's *Methode, jungen Leute eine Fertigkeit zu geben, ihre Gedanken schriftlich auszudrücken* (1781).⁷⁵ Since by now it had become a commonplace that the foundation of adult well-being had to be laid in juvenility, many writings were concerned to provide information on the close connection between morality and health. Hence S.G. Vogel combated onanism in his *Unterricht für Eltern und Erzieher, wie das Laster der zerstörenden Selbstbefleckung am sichersten zu entdecken, zu verhüten und zu heilen* (1776). To this category also belongs the only tract that caused the *Vaterlandsche Bibliothek* to abandon the poise of detachment and sobriety it generally tried hard to cultivate. This was B.C. Faust's *Wie der Geschlechtstrieb der Menschen in Ordnung zu bringen, und wie die Menschen besser und glücklicher zu machen* (1791). The sultry warmth generated by trousers, argued Faust,

was the cause of various uncomfortable physical conditions, including premature fertility, unwarranted sexual stimulation, and groin ruptures.⁷⁶

4 Pedagogy

The review periodicals repeatedly stressed the fact that most new ideas and theories on education originated in Germany. The *Letter-Oefeningen* noted in 1786 that Germany in particular had progressed tremendously in this area. It lavished much praise on J.H. Campe's *Allgemeinen Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesen von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher* (1781), a bestselling systematic treatment of various educational topics by the best of German pedagogues.⁷⁷ Other examples include J.A. Noesselt, who took care of religion with his *Ueber die Erziehung zur Religion* (1775), and G.J. Zollikofer, otherwise famed for his collections of sermons, who wrote an *Abhandlung über die Erziehung* (1783). C.G. Salzmann, one of the best-known and (according to the review journals) extremely popular pedagogues, approached the issue in an unconventional manner in his bestseller: *Anweisung zu einer zwar nicht vernünftigen, aber doch modischen Erziehung der Kinder* (1781).⁷⁸ It is telling that J.J. Rousseau's *Émile* was first published in Dutch in 1790 using the annotations from a German edition, after the French original had been forbidden in 1762.⁷⁹ The subtitle indicated that this potentially immoral book contained the critical comments of such lights as Resewitz, Ehler, Villaume, Trapp, Campe, Stuve and Heusinger. In other words, the screening of these German professionals had made Rousseau's book both palatable and useful.

5 Handbooks

Handbooks, introductions, overviews and other instructional writings also comprise a substantial German contribution to Dutch literary publicity. Some 81 titles use terms such as 'inleiding', 'aanleiding', 'aanwijzing', 'onderrigting', 'handleiding' and 'handboek'. They include 14 writings on medicine, such as J.Z. Platner's standard textbook, the *Gründliche Einleitung in die Chirurgie* (1757), but also J.P. Brinckmann's *Beweis der Möglichkeit, daß einige Leute lebendig können begraben worden* (1772).⁸⁰ This latter book provided instructions on how to restore back to life victims of drowning, hanging, strangling, asphyxiation, lightning, freezing, falling, canon balls, and loss of blood; the popularity of this particular topic is evident from other titles. Medicine was an area in which the Germans, especially J.A. Unzer and G.J. Zimmermann, were generally recognized to have done a lot of work. Books on medicine were often dedicated to a broader section of the reading public, as testified by the *Unterricht zur Pflege der Ledigen, Schwangeren, Mütter und Kinder in ihren besonderen Krankheiten und Zufällen; ein Volksbuch* (1789) by H.G. Marschall.⁸¹ Another important subject testifying to German professionalism was biblical criticism. A major handbook in this category was the introduction to the New Testament (1765) by J.D. Michaelis.⁸² The general desire to popularize German professionalism is also illustrated by overviews of knowl-

edge, ranging from J.G. Büsch's *Encyclopädie der historischen, philosophischen und mathematischen Wissenschaften* (1775) to L. Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (1756).⁸³

6. Travel books

Travel books and geographical descriptions form yet another topic on which Germans were considered to be experts. In the Netherlands a breakthrough was achieved by J.J. Volkmann's *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien, welche eine Beschreibung des Landes, der Sitten, Regierungsform, Handlung, des Zustandes der Wissenschaften und besonders der Werke der Kunst enthalten* (1770), translated by R.M. van Goens. It even received laudatory reviews in the *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*, the reviewers of which were not renowned for getting along well with the precocious translator.⁸⁴ Some thirty books between 1770 and 1793 refer to 'travels' in their titles. Significantly, many travel books were concerned with *Statistik*, the compilation and analysis of economic, social and political facts.⁸⁵ This category includes books like J.C. Fabricius' *Reise nach Norwegen, mit Bemerkungen aus der Naturhistorie und Oekonomie* (1779), and above all F. Nicolai's universally applauded *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Teutschland und die Schweiz* (1783), with, as the subtitle claims, a commentary on religion, morality, learning, factories, commerce, and other matters. Another well-known book was the *Ansichten vom Niederrhein* (1791) by G. Forster. The *Reise auf dem Rhein* (1789) by J.G. Lang provided detailed descriptions of the various towns and villages along the Rhine, as well as viniculture and wood industry. The subtitle of J.C. Maier's *Versuch einer Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1780) is typically programmatic, claiming to analyze the consequences of the crusades with regard to the political conditions of medieval Europe in general, as well as to the various estates, commerce, shipping, the arts and sciences, morality, philosophy, and religion.⁸⁶ Influential books on *Statistik* proper are represented by G. Achenwall's *Staatsverfassung der heutigen vornehmsten europäischen Reiche und Völker im Grundriße* (1749) and the *Einleitung in die allgemeine und besondere europäische Staatskunde* (1779) by E. Toze.⁸⁷

7 Biographies

Another striking aspect of the corpus of reviewed translations are the 57 biographies. The most popular person in German-Dutch literary publicity of the later eighteenth century was undeniably Frederick II. If the reviewers are any measure, the popularity in the Republic of this absolutist monarch was very great indeed.⁸⁸ Some seven books were concerned with the life of the Prussian king, including an obituary, collections of biographical 'anecdotes' and 'fragments', and the anonymous, multi-volume *Die besondern Merkwürdigkeiten der Helden- Staats- und Lebensgeschichte des (...) preussischen Königs* (1787), by E.F. von Bucquoi.⁸⁹ Closely related to the biography of Frederick the Great is that of Friedrich von Trenck, to whose persecution by the Prussian king at least four books were dedicated. Biographies and autobiographies generally mirror a pot-pourri of celebrities in literature, politics and religion. They include C.F. Gellert, J.F. Struensee,

J.D. Michaelis, J.F.W. Jerusalem, K.F. Bahrtdt, M. Luther, U. Zwingli, J. Calvin, count Cagliostro, E. Swedenborg, G. Galilei, Peter the Great, and Louis XVI.

8 *Entertainment*

One third of all translations published anonymously were novels, plays or collections of poetry. Apparently writers' names were not very important in the entertainment business – unless a writer was successful, in which case his or her name (but rarely his or her profession) *did* matter. Successful authors in this latter category did not include many who are now generally valued. Goethe's books were mostly published anonymously, and few of Friedrich Schiller's writings were reviewed (and when they were, such as *Die Räuber* (1781), the reviewers were not impressed).⁹⁰ The most popular authors, given the way they were advertised, the number of reviews devoted to them, and the comments of the reviewers, were C.F. Gellert (8 titles related to entertainment), A. von Kotzebue (7), S. Gessner (6), A.G. Meissner (6), A. Knigge (5), G.E. Lessing (4), J.M. Miller (4), J.G. Müller (4), C.G. Salzmann (4), and C.M. Wieland (4).⁹¹ Woman novelists were Sophie La Roche (three titles), C.B.E. Naubert-Hebenstreit (two titles), and S. Von Tresenreuter-Thomson and F.H. Unger-Von Rothenburg (one title each). Book titles of novels and plays often explicitly mentioned their moral aims; the fact is well known, and need not be emboidered upon here. Suffice it to mention, by way of example, that the reviewers showed little appreciation for German sentimentalism with its 'emasculate and vapid Love Affairs', and regarded J.C. Wezel's *Wilhelmine Arend, oder die Gefahren der Empfindsamkeit* as a welcome antidote to the silly fad begun by Goethe's *Werther* (1774).⁹²

9 *Fashions*

Finally, book titles reflect the waning and waxing of several eighteenth-century fashions – demonstrating once again the lasting interest evinced by the Dutch for trends abroad. German physico-theology is represented by several works, but they are not prominent. One of the new rages was physiognomy, represented by books by J.K. Lavater and J.K.A. Musäus, both published in 1780. Some of E. Swedenborg's ruminations on theology were translated from the German, while books on life after death, such as K.C. Engel's *Wir werden uns wiedersehen; eine Unterredung, nebst einer Elegie* (1787), were popular. J.F. Danneil similarly took care of the elegiac theme with a series of pastoral lessons conducted in a churchyard: *Der Gottesacker, die Auferstehung und das Gericht* (1760).⁹³ The solitude found among graves (and elsewhere) enjoyed certain popularity. The best-known book in the genre was J.G. Zimmermann's *Über die Einsamkeit* (1784).⁹⁴ Another fashion was signalled by an esoteric book on animal magnetism by Karl von Eckartshausen (translated in 1794), and unanimously rejected by the reviewers. On the other hand, J.C. Hennings' *Von Geistern und Geistersehen* (1780),⁹⁵ and his books on dreams and somnambulism (1784, translated 1788), and premonitions and visions (1777, translated 1790), met with greater approval.

V. CONCLUSION

The impression conveyed upon the reader by the book titles mentioned in Section IV. may be one of mediocrity. To be sure, German lights such as Mosheim and Mendelssohn were translated. But others are conspicuously absent: the controversial theologian Johann Salomo Semler, for instance, and the philosopher Immanuel Kant. H.S. Reimarus is included in the list with an innocuous book on passions in the animal world; but one searches in vain for his *Fragmenten*, published posthumously by Lessing. Similarly, the two German writings which for the first time treated freedom of the press as a natural right remained untranslated, despite the fact that there was reason enough to broach the theme in the Netherlands during the later 1780s and the 1790s, and that the writings of one author, Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, were relatively well-known in the Netherlands.⁹⁶ Why did such books remain untranslated? At least two reasons may account for this apparent lack of interest. One is that the Dutch-language market for controversial writings was simply too small: the best bet for a publisher would have been a stock that sailed between the Scylla of traditionalism and the Charybdis of ridicule, heresy and criticism. Perhaps this is why the translation of Fichte's *Versuch einer Kritik aller Offenbarung* (1792), advertised by A. Danserweg in the *Rotterdamsche Courant* in the same year, was never actually published.

The second reason for the absence of what are now looked upon as the classics of the later eighteenth century is that many Dutch intellectuals could probably read at least two foreign languages: French, German and/or English (and most read Latin). In 1772 the *Letter-Oefeningen*, discussing J.C. Gottsched's *Grundlegung der deutschen Sprachkunst* (1748), noted that it had become more important than ever to learn the German language. Not only did German writers attract much attention in countries other than their own, but they now also tended to write in their own language.⁹⁷ Other intellectuals may have followed Willem Bilderdijk's example, teaching themselves German at an early age. Thus, while Semler's writings may not have been translated, his criticism of the biblical canon was hardly unknown in the Dutch Republic. The *Letter-Oefeningen* in 1782 reviewed a book by a divinity student who discussed Semler's views, even though these had not been popularized in Dutch; and the reviewer observed that Semler's views had already been criticized in Michaelis' *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (1771-1780).⁹⁸ Kant's philosophy must also have been known, given the account by F.G. Born (1791), which was translated by P. van Hemert in 1796 and reviewed extensively in the *Letter-Oefeningen*.⁹⁹ Granted the possibility that many Dutch readers could read other languages besides their own, it seems more to the point to concentrate on the books actually selected for translation (and which thus reflect a profound interest in German culture), rather than on the very many that were not.

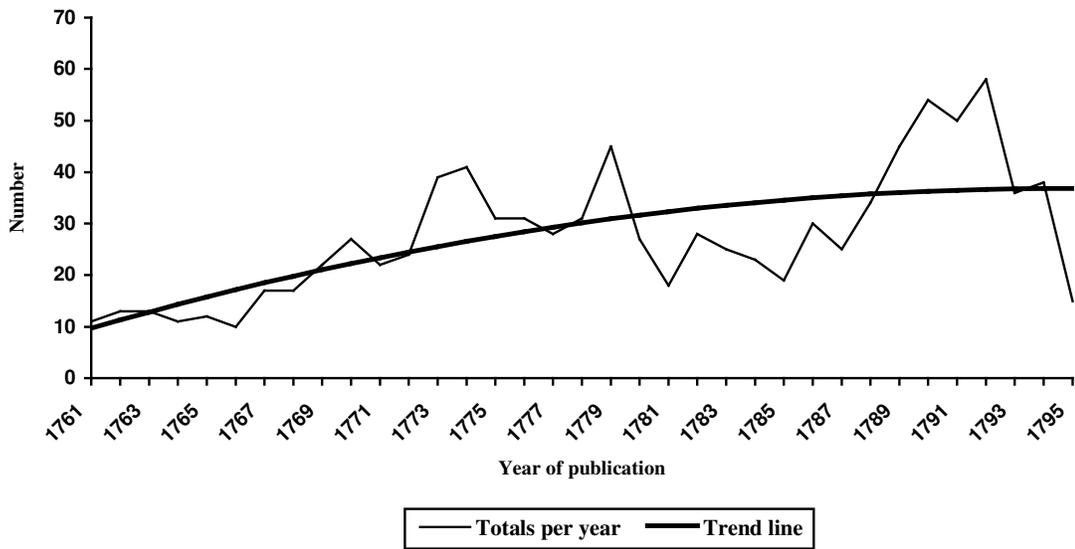
The aim of this article was to provide an overview of the books translated from German into Dutch between 1760 and 1796. How do these translations reflect Dutch literary publicity of the latter decades of the eighteenth century? At least three conclusions can be drawn from the above

analysis. The first is that the German share in Dutch literary publicity was exceptionally large. Translations from the German comprised one-fifth of all books reviewed in two major periodicals, about twice the share of originally French or English books. Not discussed in this article are the undoubtedly many German authors who were read in their own language (this would require a citation index), as well as the many translations of German essays, plays and poems in periodicals and anthologies. It is not surprising that a number of prominent Dutch opinion makers feared for the wholesale germanization of their native scholarship and culture. In terms of sheer numbers, the incursion of religious and ‘entertaining’ writings was especially large; but the Dutch were interested in all genres. Secondly, the information gathered from ‘paratexts’ generally shows that the intellectual compass of publishers, editors and translators was all but cramped. Books were published in the main centres of intellectual culture in Holland and Utrecht; a large number of publishers participated in the introduction of German writings; there was a relatively small time lapse between the publication of the German originals and their Dutch counterparts; the provenance of the authors was not limited to any particular region in Germany; the number of authors translated was substantial; and at least 150 translators participated in making German books available to the reading public. Translating books from the German was not a parochial affair. In the third place, Dutch literary publicity, as reflected in the main trends imported from Germany and discussed in the main periodicals, generally displayed an a-political tenor, reformist aims and, above all, an open and knowledge-seeking attitude. The professional reliability of the authors was valued highly. The rhetoric used in title-pages generally reflects an emphasis on political moderation, if not conservatism. Important themes are the popularization of knowledge, particularly with regard to children and adolescents; pedagogical and educational programs; handbooks, guidelines and introductions concerning a diversity of topics; geographical information related to the new science of ‘statistics’; biographies; new trends in novels and plays; and finally a number of fashionable topics, ranging from physiognomy and animal magnetism to the spiritual world.

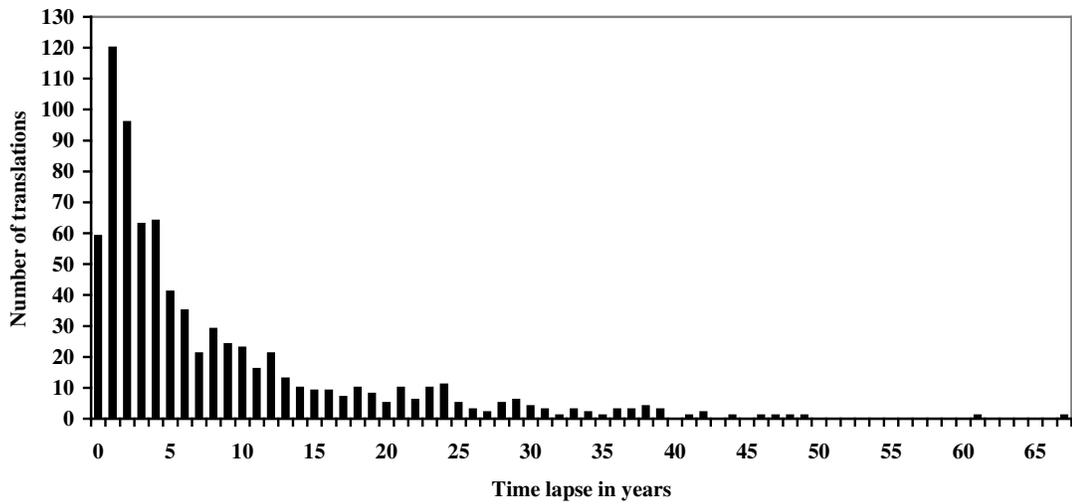
German authors provided much information and many important suggestions as to the techniques of disseminating and fruitfully utilizing knowledge within the existing social order. This concerted attempt to develop knowledge and put it to good use in the development of responsible citizenship is epitomized by Adolph von Knigge’s *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen* (1788). This guide to decorum, commented a reviewer, ought to be read by people belonging to all social ranks. Moreover, it contained an essay by a *burger* of Amsterdam on the contemporary state of society in the Republic, and the means to improve it. The author argued that the gradual social progress during the 1770s had been disrupted by the party spirit of the 1780s. He suggested that henceforth political conflict be avoided, and that intellectuals concentrate on socio-economic issues (*oekonomiekunde*) instead.¹⁰⁰ This plea for de-politicization, in a book by one of the most ardent German defenders of the French Revolution, may seem paradoxical. But the de-politicized social criticism

characteristic of Knigge's novels¹⁰¹ apparently suited the majority of Dutch intellectuals both before and after the 'Patriot Revolution'. It was precisely this non-political but reformist attitude which a substantial section of Dutch literary publicity had in common with its German alter ego.

Graph 1. Total number of reviewed translations, 1761-1795



Graph 2. Time lapse between original and translation



Subject	Number of titles	% of titles reviewed in <i>L-O</i>	% of titles reviewed in <i>NB</i>	% of titles reviewed in <i>VB</i>	ratio <i>L-O:NB:VB</i>
Religion	391	31,0	15,0	5,9	6:3:1
Entertainment	183	14,0	2,4	6,0	6:1:3
World and People	155	13,6	2,2	5,0	7:1:2
Moral Improvement	121	10,1	2,8	2,5	7:2:2
Medicine	73	6,4	1,3	1,6	7:1:2
Philosophy of Man	69	5,9	2,1	1,7	6:2:2
The Natural World	34	2,8	0,5	0,4	8:1:1
Economics, Language	13	1,1	0,1	0,2	8:1:1
Total	1039	84,7	26,4	23,3	6:2:2

Table 1. The share of each periodical in subject matter reviewed between 1760 and 1796, in respect of Dutch translations of German books (*L-O: Letter-Oefeningen; NB: Nederlandsche Bibliotheek; VB: Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek*).

Place of publication	%
Amsterdam	40,0
Utrecht	17,6
The Hague	8,4
Haarlem	6,7
Leiden	5,2
Dordrecht	4,4
Rotterdam	4,2
Arnhem	1,8
Nijmegen	1,4
Gouda	1,0

Table 2. Top ten of towns mentioned as first place of publication, with the percentage of the total number of translations (1,039).

Publisher	Number of entries	%
G.T. and A. van Paddenburg, Utrecht	68	6,5
I. and P. van Cleef, The Hague	38	3,7
Martinus de Bruijn, Amsterdam	33	3,2
J. van Schoonhoven, Utrecht	33	3,2
P. Meijer, Amsterdam	32	3,1
A. Eichhorn, Amsterdam	29	2,8
A. and J. Honkoop, Leiden	24	2,3
J. Wessing, Amsterdam.	23	2,2
F. and C.H. Bohn, Haarlem	22	2,1
G. Bom, Amsterdam	22	2,1
A.D. Sellschap, Amsterdam	22	2,1
S. and J. de Waal, Utrecht	22	2,1
J. Döll, Amsterdam	21	2,0
A. Loosjes, Haarlem	21	2,0
M. Schalekamp, Amsterdam	20	1,9

Table 3. Publishers mentioned in first and/or second place (only 20 entries and more), and the percentage of the total number of translations (1,039).

Author	Number of titles	Author	Number of titles
J.K. Lavater	21	A. von Kotzebue	7
J.L. Mosheim	21	J.F. Jacobi	7
J.D. Michaelis	18	J.J. Plenck	7
J.E. Schubert	18	J.F. Stapfer	7
C.F. Gellert	16	J.G. Töllner	7
J.L. Ewald	13	C.M. Wieland	7
C.G. Salzmann	13	J.G. Herder	6
J.A. Cramer	12	G. Less	6
J.J. Hess	10	A.G. Meissner	6
A. Knigge	9	M. Mendelssohn	6
C.C. Sturm	9	J.J. Spalding	6
J.H. Campe	8	J.G. Sulzer	6
C.F. Bahrtdt	7	J.A. Unzer	6
A.F. Büsching	7		

Table 4. Main German authors (more than 5 titles translated), 1760-1796.

Author	Volumes reviewed	Author	Volumes reviewed
J.L. Mosheim	59	A.F. Büsching	17
J.D. Michaelis	45	J.G. Zimmermann	17
J.E. Schubert	28	J.H. Campe	16
J.J. Hess	27	J.F. Stapfer	15
C.G. Salzmann	24	J.L. Ewald	14
J.A. Cramer	23	J.G. Herder	13
J.K. Lavater	23	G.F. Meier	13
G.J. Zollikofer	22	A.H. Niemeyer	13
T.C. Lilienthal	19	C.C. Sturm	13
C.F. Gellert	18	J.A. Unzer	13
J.G. Müller	18	C.M. Wieland	13

Table 5. Main German authors (more than 12 volumes reviewed), 1760-1796.

- ¹ Quoted in J.J. Kloek, *Over Werther geschreven... Nederlandse reacties op Goethes Werther 1775-1800. Proeve van historisch receptie-onderzoek* (2 vols.; Utrecht, 1995) II, 9 (Letter by O.C.F. Hoffham to P.J. Uylenbroek, dd. Berlin 2 May 1775 (KB 133 M 140)): 'Duitschland bezit thans voortreflyke koppen, een *Abt*, een *Isselin*, een *Lavater*, een *Kant*, een *Göthe*, en anderen, leveren geduurig doorwrochte en *körnighe* Werken in de fraaije weetenschappen.'
- ² P.J. Buijnsters, *Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803)* (Assen, 1973) 135-137; *Theorie der schoone kunsten en weetenschappen* (1778).
- ³ W.A. Ockerse, *Ontwerp tot eene algemeene characterkunde* (Utrecht, 1787) '1e stuk', 138-139.
- ⁴ *Prysverhandelingen van het Genootschap tot Verdediging van den Christelijken Godsdienst* (Amsterdam, Haarlem, Den Haag, 1791) 6-7: 'Nu is dit alles geheel veranderd. De groote verandering is veroorzaakt door de Duitschers, en wel door Godgeleerden.' The author called himself 'Christiaen'.
- ⁵ W.W. Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment: Humanism, Nationalism, and Decline', in: M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt, ed., *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century. Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution* (Ithaca (NY), London, 1992) 197-223, espec. 212-213. Mijnhardt does somewhat paradoxically observe that Dutch intellectuals continued to take an interest in foreign intellectual developments.
- ⁶ W.W. Mijnhardt, 'Natievorming in het revolutietijdvak', *BMGN* 104 (1989), 546-553.
- ⁷ E.g. N.C.F. van Sas, 'Opiniepers en politieke cultuur', in: F. Grijzenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt, N.C.F. van Sas, ed., *Voor Vaderland en Vrijheid. De revolutie van de Patriotten* (Amsterdam, 1987) 97-130; S.R.E. Klein, *Patriots Republikenisme. Politieke cultuur in Nederland (1766-1787)* (Amsterdam, 1995).
- ⁸ H.A.C. Spoelstra, *De invloed van de Duitsche letterkunde op de Nederlandsche in de tweede helft van de 18e eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1931).
- ⁹ W.J. Noordhoek, 'Lavater und Holland,' *Neophilologus* 10 (1925) 10-19; W.J. Noordhoek, *Gellert und Holland. Ein Beitrag zu der Kenntnis der geistigen und literarischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Holland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam, 1928); M. van Rhijn, 'Jung Stilling en Nederland', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 65 (1963), 208-234; Kloek, *Over Werther geschreven...*; M. Wielema, 'Die erste niederländische Kant-Rezeption 1786-1850', *Kant-Studien* 79 (1988), 450-466.
- ¹⁰ R. Schokker, *Bilderdijk en Duitschland* (Harderwijk, 1933); P.J.C. de Boer, *Rijklof Michael van Goens (1748-1810) en zijn verhouding tot de literatuur van West-Europa* (Amsterdam, 1938) 41-75.
- ¹¹ A partial exception for the seventeenth century is C.W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600-1700* (Leiden, 1983). Partial exceptions for the eighteenth century are the figures on translated sermons in J.J. Bosma, *Woorden van een gezond verstand. De invloed van de Verlichting op de in het Nederlands uitgegeven preken van 1750 tot 1800* (Nieuwkoop, 1997), and those on works of fiction: see espec. L.G. Korpel, *Over het nut en de wijze der vertalingen. Nederlandse vertaalreflectie (1750-1820) in een Westeuropees kader* (Amsterdam, 1992) 20-26; J. Kloek, *Een begrens'd Vaderland. De roman rond 1800 tussen nationaal karakter en internationale markt* (Amsterdam, 1997) 12-13.

¹² Recent accounts of ‘publicity’ include J.C. Laursen, ‘The Subversive Kant: The Vocabulary of “Public” and “Publicity”’, *Political Theory* 14 (1986) 584-603; A.J. La Vopa, ‘Conceiving a Public: Ideas and Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe’, *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992) 79-116; J. Brewer, ‘This, That and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in: D. Castiglione and L. Scharpe, ed., *Shifting the Boundaries. Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter, 1995) 1-21; J.C. Laursen, ‘Literatures of Publicity and the Right to Freedom of the Press in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Case of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt’, in: Castiglione and Scharpe, ed., *Shifting the Boundaries*, 105-130; B. Redekop, ‘Thomas Abbt and the Formation of an Enlightened German “Public”’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997) 81-103.

¹³ *Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen (...)*, Amsterdam, A. van der Kroe; after 1763 also published by Yntema and Tieboel. The name of the periodical was changed every so many years, allowing the publishers to sell without compunction the remaining copies at a lower price. From 1761 to 1767 the name was *Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*; from 1768 to 1771 the *Nieuwe Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*; from 1772 to 1778 the *Hedendaegsche Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*; from 1779 to 1785 the *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*; from 1786 to 1790 the *Nieuwe Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*; and from 1791 to 1811 the *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*. The name *Letter-Oefeningen* will be used henceforth, followed by the year of publication between brackets.

¹⁴ *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek (...)*, Amsterdam, M. de Bruijn. The name between 1774 and 1780 was simply *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*; after this it was called the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche bibliotheek*. In 1789 both the editors and the name were changed, and until 1796 the periodical appeared in Amsterdam at Martinus de Bruijn’s as *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak*. Henceforth the names *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* and *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* will be used.

¹⁵ Of these 1,039 titles, 15 could be duplicates. This means either that different titles in different periodicals denoted the same book, or that publishers re-issued unsold copies under a different title-page. The 15 titles have been included because the periodicals devoted separate reviews to each of them.

¹⁶ The electronic databases consulted include the Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus (NCC). The bibliographies include Spoelstra, *De invloed van de Duitse letterkunde*, ‘bijlage K’; M. Wielema, ‘Chronologische lijst van recensies van filosofische werken in achttiende-eeuwse Nederlandse tijdschriften’, *Geschiedenis van de Wijsbegeerte in Nederland* 2 (1991) 181-212; Bosma, *Woorden van een gezond verstand*, 635-654; and J. Mateboer, *Bibliografie van het Nederlandstalig narratief fictioneel proza 1701-1800* (Nieuwkoop, 1996). Of the additional titles, 136 can be classified as novels, plays or other forms of fiction, and 23 as sermons. Note that a more comprehensive analysis of second and third editions of books concerned with fiction will probably yield additional titles.

¹⁷ The volume for 1761 should be dated 1760; see G.J. Johannes, *De barometer van de smaak. Tijdschriften in Nederland 1770-1830* (Den Haag, 1995) 221, note 5.

¹⁸ Spoelstra, *De invloed van de Duitse letterkunde*, ‘bijlage K’, mentions 86 plays not published separately; these were issued in collections such as Cornelis van Engelen’s *Spectatoriale Schouwburg*, which offered plays translated from various languages.

¹⁹ G. Genette, *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge, 1997); cf. also A.T. Grafton, *The Footnote. A Curious History* (London, 1997). Extensive use of paratexts has recently been made by M. Jacobs in his unpublished thesis *Parateksten, netwerken en conventies in de Spaanse Nederlanden en Franche-Comté (1621-1678): de familie Chifflet uit Besançon* (Brussels, 1998); I would like to express my gratitude to Marc Jacobs for allowing me to consult his thesis.

²⁰ *Natuurkundige vermaaklykheden* (1789).

²¹ *Letter-Oefeningen* (1789, I) 206. Pinetti is not mentioned in any national biography.

²² Johannes, *Barometer*, 141-152; also Johannes, 'Infrastructuur en verlichtingscultuur. Het Nederlandsche tijdschrift: "spiegel der verlichting"?'', *BMGN* 111 (1996), 149-166.

²³ On the term *Toleranten* and its background, see J. van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia. Irenicism and Toleration in the Netherlands: The Stinstra Affair 1740-1745 (Studi e testi per la storia della tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI-XVIII 2, Firenze, 1998)*.

²⁴ See J.P. de Bie, *Het leven en de werken van Petrus Hofstede* (Rotterdam, 1899) 475-476.

²⁵ *Nederlandsche Bibliotheek* (1774, I), sig. *r.

²⁶ *Letter-Oefeningen* (1792, I), 411-412.

²⁷ G.J. Johannes, *De lof der aalbessen. Over (Noord-)Nederlandse literatuurtheorie, literatuur en de consequenties van kleinschaligheid 1770-1830* (Den Haag, 1997) 62-65; Johannes' figures are based on a spot check of seven volumes (1770, 1780, 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830). For the following I have also made use of N. van Dijk, *Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen. Een verkenning 1761-1813* (unpublished postgraduate thesis, Rotterdam, 1994); and Johannes, *Barometer*. I would like to express my gratitude to Nel van Dijk for providing me a copy of her informative thesis.

²⁸ On the basis of my own data, translations from the German comprised 18.5 % of all reviews in the *Letter-Oefeningen* between 1760 and 1796; the figures for the *Nederlandsche* and *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* between 1773 and 1796 are 17.4 % and 25.7 % respectively (together 20.3 %). Bosma, *Woorden van een gezond verstand*, 143-148, notes that between 1750 and 1800 2,035 individual German sermons were translated, as opposed to 1,534 English sermons; German translations surpassed English sermons in terms of annual numbers after 1770.

²⁹ H. Kiesel and P. Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. Voraussetzungen und Entstehung des literarischen Markts in Deutschland* (München, 1977) 196.

³⁰ The figure is based on a contemporary overview of the writings of Dutch scholars; see F.J.H. Hochstenbach and C.B.F. Singeling, 'Heinemeyer's onvoltooide. Een onuitgegeven lexicon over de achttiende eeuw', *Documentatieblad 18e Eeuw* 20/1 (1988) 29-50, espec. 42.

³¹ The thematic groups in Table 1. were determined by arranging 26 subclasses under eight headings. (1) 'Religion' (apologetics, bible studies, church affairs, church history, dogmatics, pastorate, religious tolerance, sermons); (2) 'Entertainment' (novels, plays, poetry, and others); (3) 'World and People' (biography, history, geography, political theory, military affairs, political affairs); (4) 'Moral Improvement' (education, secular ethics); (5) 'Medicine'; (6) 'Philosophy of Man' (philosophy, esthetics); (7) 'The Natural World' (nature, esotericism); (8) 'Economics and Language' (remainder).

³² In the graph books published in 1759 and 1760 (totalling 1 and 3 respectively) have been left out of consideration, on the assumption that it took some time for the review periodicals to function as a mirror image of Dutch literary publicity; likewise 1796 (with 11 titles) was left out because the review periodicals could not have reviewed all eligible books appearing in that year. The additional data provided by electronic databases and bibliographies does not change the general picture. If this data were included, the graph would show similar fluctuations but on a higher overall level. Thus 1796 (32 titles instead of 11), if included, would show a recovery in respect of 1795 (18 titles instead of 15). The average number of translations per year using the additional data (1760-1796) is about 33.

³³ The graphs in Johannes, *Barometer*, 45-48, show a similar decline in these years.

³⁴ The trend line is a regression curve of Y on X (least square parabola) with the equation $Y=8.0901+1.6536X_0-0.0238X_0^2$, where $X_0=X-1760$. Note that a trend line based on the additional data (mostly plays) shows a decreased tendency to level out, suggesting an increase in the number of translations per year during the following ten to fifteen years.

³⁵ See the bibliography in H.-M. Kirn, *Deutsche Spätaufklärung und Pietismus. Ihr Verhältnis im Rahmen kirchlich-bürgerlicher Reform bei Johann Ludwig Ewald (1748-1822)* (Göttingen, 1998) 552-562.

³⁶ Cologne: *De schim van Bocatius, of de geneesmeester der zwaarmoedigen* (1785); Wesel: *Resultaat van mijne meer dan vijftigjarige overdenkingen over den godsdienst van Jesus* (1790).

³⁷ *Der wahre Charakter des Herrn Doktor K.F. Bahrdt* (1779); *Het echt en waar karakter van den beruchten doctor Carl Friedrich Bahrdt* (1779). The tract is attributed to W. Triest.

³⁸ *Het leven van Thyll Uilenspiegel* (1790); *Gevallen van Lord Eduard Bomston* (1784).

³⁹ W.W. Mijnhardt, 'De Nederlandse Verlichting nagerekend. De verkoopcijfers van het oeuvre van Willem Emmery de Perponcher', in: E. Jonker and M. van Rossem, ed., *Geschiedenis en Cultuur. Achttien opstellen* ('s Gravenhage, 1990) 171-185.

⁴⁰ The median (the middle value of the series) is 4; the standard deviation 9.7. The additional data provided by the electronic databases does not change the general picture.

⁴¹ *Onderwys in de leerstukken der godgeleerdheid* (1784).

⁴² *Het ontdekt Joodendom* (1767). There were, of course, completely new editions of much older books, such as the seventeenth-century pietist Johan Arndt's classic *Over het waare christendom*, 'op nieuw uitgewerkt en vermeerderd door J.T.R. Feddersen' (Dutch translation ± 1780). Such books have been traced to the (first) new edition.

⁴³ *Eerste beginselen van de historie der wysbegeerte* (1775).

⁴⁴ *Naamlijst van boeken, die ter vertaaling zijn aangekondigd* (Amsterdam, 1790-).

⁴⁵ *Proeve over de werking en invloed der geesten* (1820). See J. van Eijnatten, *Hogere sferen. De ideeënwereld van Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831)* (Hilversum, 1998) 380, note 144.

⁴⁶ See e.g. *Letter-Oefeningen* (1778, I) 618-619.

⁴⁷ Cf. the figures on students in H. Schnepfen, *Niederländische Universitäten und Deutsches Geistesleben. Von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1960); and on ministers in F.A. van Lieburg, *Profeten en hun vaderland. De geografische herkomst van de gereformeerde predikanten in Nederland van 1572 tot 1816* (s.l., [1996]), 198. Leiden drew students from all over Germany, in contrast

to other universities; among ministers of German provenance those from North-West Germany and the Rhine Land predominated.

⁴⁸ H. Rosenstrauch, 'Leipzig als "Centralplatz" des deutschen Buchhandels', in: W. Martens, ed, *Leipzig. Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit (Zentren der Aufklärung III, Heidelberg, 1990)* 103-124.

⁴⁹ *Eenzaame nagtgedagten* (1761).

⁵⁰ *De medelydende geneesmeester* (1761); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1762, I) 833.

⁵¹ *Physiologia*, 1763; *Letter-Oefeningen* (1763, I) 109-114.

⁵² *De gemakkelyke en allezins voordeelige waschmachine* (1766); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1767, I) 478.

⁵³ If the additional information provided by the bibliographies and electronic databases were added, as well as the translations of Gellert's writings mentioned in Noordhoek, *Gellert und Holland*, the picture remains essentially the same, except that Gellert comes second place with 23 publications, and Kotzebue sixth with 14; G.E. Lessing would have to be added to the list with 6 publications

⁵⁴ Also excluded are five collections of essays and anthologies of poetry.

⁵⁵ The *NNBW IV*, col. 653-654, mentions that the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde possesses some 30 manuscript translations of French and German plays by Witsen Geysbeek.

⁵⁶ This information is based on an unfinished biographical lexicon by D.U. Heinemeyer in the University Library in Leiden, Ms LTK 867, box F-Ha, sig. 274-283.

⁵⁷ *Brieven betreffende de beoeffening der godgeleerdheid* (1785); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1788, I) 93.

⁵⁸ About 37 % of the translations examined for this article belonged to the category 'religion'. Figures provided by Van Dijk, 'Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen', 107, indicate that 27,5 % of *all* books reviewed by this periodical between 1761 and 1813 were religious in nature. Translations from the German thus had a relatively high share in the total number of religious books reviewed.

⁵⁹ If the additional data were included, the figures would be 109 for 'religion' and 136 for 'entertainment'.

⁶⁰ See R. Jentzsch, *Der deutsch-lateinische Büchermarkt nach der Leipziger Ostermeß-Katalogen von 1740, 1770 und 1800 in seiner Gliederung und Wandlung* (Leipzig, 1912); and Kiesel and Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, 180-208. Kiesel and Münch conjecture that two thirds of all eighteenth-century German publications were produced between 1760 and 1800.

⁶¹ These journals were read regularly by Ahasverus van den Berg (1733-1807), himself a translator of German pastoral poetry; see R.A. Bosch, *En nooit meer oude Psalmen zingen. Zingend geloven in een nieuwe tijd 1760-1810* (Zoetermeer, 1996) 186. Other journals include, of course, the famous *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*. In their Miscellanies the review periodicals mention, among others, *Neueste theologische Bibliothek*, *Journal für Prediger*, *Annalen der neuesten theologischen Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, *Hanoversche gelehrte Anzeige*, *Museum für Künstler und für Kunstliebhaber*, *Medicinisches Journal*, *Medicinische Bibliothek*, *Neues Magazin für Ärzte*, *Journal der Erfindungen*, *Theorien und Widersprüche in de Natur- und Arzneiwissenschaft*, *Chemisches Journal*, *Museum Helveticum*, and *Niederrheinsche Unterhaltungen*.

⁶² This is argued by Kloek, *Begrensd Vaderland*.

⁶³ ‘Political theory’ accounts for 2 % of 1,039 translations. By comparison, Van Dijk, ‘Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen’, 107, observes that 1.6 % of *all* books reviewed in this periodical between 1761 and 1813 concerned politics.

⁶⁴ Note that Saakes’ *Naamlijst* for the 1790s mentions many other German books concerned with political ideas.

⁶⁵ *Fabius en Cato* (1785); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1785, I) 503-507.

⁶⁶ *Verhandeling over de vrijheid en gelijkheid* (1794); *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* (1794, I) 478-479.

⁶⁷ *Over de staatsomwenteling in Frankryk* (1790); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1791, I) 569-571.

⁶⁸ *Over de staatsomwentelingen* (1792); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1793, I), 406-413)

⁶⁹ *Wat behooren adel en grooten thans te doen?* (1793); *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* (1794, I) 574-576. Ewald’s book was, however, also praised for its criticism of the aristocracy.

⁷⁰ *Beknopt antwoord op de nuttige vraag (...)?* (1792); *Ernstige en trouwhartige waarschuwing aan de grooten deezer waereld* (1792). *Letter-Oefeningen* (1793, I) 38-40; *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* (1793, I) 78-84).

⁷¹ ‘(...) zogenaamde nieuwe Philosophie en de hedendaagsche Volksverlichting’.

⁷² *Over de volksverlichting* (1793).

⁷³ *Lienhard en Geertruid* (1786); *Volks- en beoefenende godgeleerdheid* (1793).

⁷⁴ *Meetskunde voor kinderen, die hun verstand willen scherpen by hun onderwys* (1766); *Algemeen nuttig leerboek voor kinderen van den gemeenen man en vooral der landlieden* (1781); *Bibliotheek der kinderen* (1780).

⁷⁵ *Eenvoudig onderwijs in den godsdienst, voor kinderen* (± 1794); *Leerwyze, om jonge lieden bekwaam te maaken* (...) (1789).

⁷⁶ *Onderwijs voor ouders, opvoeders, en opzieners van kinderen* (...) (1790); *Verhandeling wegens eene noodzaaklijke verbetering der kleeding* (...) (1792); *Vaderlandsche Bibliotheek* (1794, I) 459-460.

⁷⁷ *Volledig leerstelsel van opvoeding* (1785); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1786, I) 131-132.

⁷⁸ *Gedagten over de opvoeding tot godsdienst* (1776); *Verhandeling over de zedelijke opvoeding* (1783); *Aanleiding tot eene onverstandige opvoeding der kinderen* (1791).

⁷⁹ *Emile, of verhandeling over de opvoeding* (1790).

⁸⁰ *Handleiding tot de chirurgie of heelkunst* (1764); *Bewijs der mogelijkheid, dat ’er menschen levendig kunnen begraven worden* (1778).

⁸¹ *Geneeskundig volksboek* (1792); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1781, I) 310-311.

⁸² *Inleiding in de godlijke schriften van het Nieuwe Verbond* (1778). I intend to publish an article on the translation of religious writings from the German elsewhere.

⁸³ *Encyclopedie van de historische, wysgeerige en wiskundige weetenschappen* (1778); *Grondig onderwijs in het behandelen der viool* (1766).

⁸⁴ *Reisboek door Italië* (1773).

⁸⁵ A. Seifert, ‘Staatenkunde. Eine neue Disziplin und ihr wissenschaftstheoretischer Ort’, in: M. Rassem and J. Stagl, ed., *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit, vornehmlich im 16.-18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn etc., 1980) 217-244.

⁸⁶ *Reize naar Noorwegen* (1781); *Reize door Duitschland en Zwitserland* (1790); *Reizen van George Forster* (1792); *Reis langs den Rhyn van Maintz tot Dusseldorp* (1793); *Proeve van eene geschiedenis der kruistogten* (1783).

⁸⁷ *Handboek of historische en staatkundige verhandelingen* (1791); *Inleiding tot de algemeene en byzondere staatkunde van Europa* (1779).

⁸⁸ Frederick's own posthumous writings were written in French and published in Dutch in 1790. See also J.A.F. de Jongste, 'Beeldvorming ronf Frederik II van Pruisen in de Republiek. Impressies bij een paradox', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 104 (1991) 499-531.

⁸⁹ *Staats- en karakter-kundige bijzonderheden, betreffende Frederik den II* (1787).

⁹⁰ *De roovers* (1789).

⁹¹ On the basis of 1,225 titles (i.e. including the additional data) the list would be as follows: Kotzebue (14), Gellert (13), Meissner (9), Gessner (7), Wieland (7), Lessing (6), J.C. Brandes (5), J.F. von Cronigk (5), Knigge (5), Miller (5), Müller (5), and Salzmann (4).

⁹² *Wilhelmine Arend, of de gevolgen van het overdreven gevoel* (1793); *Werther* (1776 and 1793).

⁹³ *Wij zullen elkanderen wederzien, eene zamenspraak, benevens eene elegie* (1791); *Het graf, de opstanding en het laatste oordeel* (1772).

⁹⁴ *Bespiegelingen in de eenzaamheid* (1789).

⁹⁵ *Onzijdige en beproefde gedagten over de leer aangaande geesten en geesten-zienders* (1786).

⁹⁶ The writings are *Briefe über Denk- Glaubens- Red- und Preßfreyheit* (1786) by Johannes Kern and *Über Preßfreyheit und deren Gränzen* (1787) by K.F. Bahrtdt. See J. Wilke, 'Die Entdeckung von Meinungs- und Pressefreiheit als Menschenrechte des späten 18. Jahrhunderts', in: O. Dann and D. Klippel, *Naturrecht – Spätaufklärung – Revolution*, Hamburg, 1995, 121-139; and Laursen, 'Literatures of Publicity'. At least 11 books by or on Bahrtdt were reviewed by the three periodicals in this period.

⁹⁷ *De Hoogduitsche spraakmeester* (1772); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1772, I) 47.

⁹⁸ *Oostersche en uitlegkundige bibliotheek* (1780); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1782, I) 515-519.

⁹⁹ *Beginzels der Kantiaansche wysgeerte* (1796).

¹⁰⁰ *Over de verkeering der menschen* (1789); *Letter-Oefeningen* (1791, I) 404-407.

¹⁰¹ M. Rector, 'Über die Grenzen des Umgangs mit Menschen. Zu Adolph Freiherr Knigges Romanen', in: *Text + Kritik*, Heft 130 (1996) 54-66.