

**EXPORTING THE CANON: THE MIXED EXPERIENCE OF THE DUTCH *BIBLIOTHECA*  
*NEERLANDICA* (1954-1969)**

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I, Irving Wolters, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in my thesis.

## ABSTRACT

In the 1950s, for reasons of cultural diplomacy, a Dutch quasi governmental organisation, the Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk (The Foundation for the Promotion of the Translation of Dutch Literary Works) served by its bestuur (board), was established to raise awareness of its literature abroad. Its first key project involved translating a series of works called the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* into English and to do this, the board established contacts with academics, translators and publishing companies. The purpose of this original research is to map the process of the export of Dutch language classics in the 1960s and to ascertain how they relate to the canon of Dutch language and literature.

My methodological approach uses qualitative and quantitative research methods and involves isolating the three literary participants of the project, the board, the translators and publishers to enable me to examine their experiences. I use internet analysis and archival research to both scrutinize the micro-history of the board and the formation of volumes for export as well as to clarify the canon of Dutch literature and its role regarding international cultural diplomacy.

My findings demonstrate the complexity of such a cross-cultural undertaking where internal strategic and organisational shortcomings and a lack of planning within an unfavourable external context combined to undermine the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* fortunes. These are underlined by an influential chairman who selected works based on personal preferences, an ambiguous contract which made the onus of the works' press ready and final translations unclear, poor sales figures and the financial instability of the Heinemann publishing company which affected the 17 planned titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## IMPACT STATEMENT

The Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk (The Foundation for the Promotion of the Translation of Dutch Literary Works) served by its bestuur (board), was established in the 1950s to raise awareness of its literature abroad. Its principal aims were to promote translated Dutch literature by establishing contacts with Dutch and foreign publishing companies and academics, raising awareness of Dutch literature abroad and creating a portfolio of sample translations. It attempted to account for the obscurity of Dutch literature outside the Netherlands, acknowledging that the language-barrier was a factor, but noted that Dutch science had succeeded in crossing linguistic frontiers and that literature from other small nations enjoyed greater fame than Dutch letters. It contended that many works would interest readers outside the Netherlands because they shed light on a relatively little known aspect of European life.

One of the first key projects was the development of a series of Dutch works translated into English entitled the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* that would implicitly redress the imbalance in the international reception of Dutch literature and its fine-art counterpart in the Dutch Golden Age of painting. My research considers how successful the export of Dutch classics was in the 1960s and how they related to the canon of Dutch literature.

To investigate this, I conducted a multidisciplinary study involving internet, archival and library research which had not been done before whereby four fields were researched: cultural history which provided a setting for the event; social psychology, to establish the 'power' choice of literary works within a committee environment; Translation Studies, to establish the background of the translators, and the context for translation and publishing, to ascertain the suitability of the selected publishers.

This study is aimed at organisations in these fields as well as to researchers and a receptive public, not necessarily proficient in translated literature, that are keen to understand the maze of problems which present themselves when placing foreign translated literature in the world English-speaking arena.

I hope that this research will have stimulated a general awareness concerning the historical origins of translated literature and that the micro-history of this venture will read primarily

as a cautionary tale for smaller literatures, in which inexperience, incoherent planning and external circumstances can undermine ambitions. Finally, I hope that this study will lay the foundations for investigating further series of volumes that the Foundation was involved in following the lifetime of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

During the research I have published a blog 'RivetingReviews: Irvin Wolters reviews *Marriage/ Ordeal*' (2017); an article for *Dutch Crossing* (2020) and a chapter for *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*, (2020). I won the Association for Low Countries Studies' postgraduate essay competition in 2020 and 2021, the first of which has been published in *Dutch Crossing* (2022).

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This study would not have been possible without the staff at the Letterkundig Museum (Museum of Literature) in The Hague who prepared the Foundation's archive for me and allowed me to discover its treasures.

## PUBLISHED WORK

Some of the research in this thesis has been partially published in earlier and shorter versions:

1) Wolters, Irvin (2020) 'Exporting the Canon: The Mixed Experience of the Dutch *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*' in *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*, Rajendra Chitnis and others (eds). Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 99-116.

2) Wolters, Irvin 'RivetingReviews: Irvin Wolters reviews *Marriage/ Ordeal*'  
<<http://www.eurolitnetwork.com/tag/irving-wolters/>> (2017)

3) Winner of the Association for Low Countries Studies' postgraduate essay competition 2020.

Wolters, Irvin (2022) 'A translator is but one player in the literary field who constantly has to make choices': A case study: *Marriage/-Ordeal* (1963) by Gerard Walschap, translated by Alex Brotherton in *Dutch Crossing*, Ulrich Tiedau (ed). Routledge, Colchester, 46, 50-64.

4) Winner of the Association for Low Countries Studies' postgraduate essay competition 2021.

Wolters, Irvin, 'Genesis of the Canon of Dutch Literature: The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*?' The article is being edited before it can be submitted for publication in *Dutch Crossing*.

5) Wolters, Irvin, 'A Series of Series' on the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* (2018)

The article is available at: <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/bibliotheca-neerlandica>

Unless otherwise stated, translations are the author's own.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

This chapter introduces the thesis by setting out my two research questions, which ask how successful the export of Dutch classics in the 1960s became and what their relationship to the canon of Dutch literature was. Following Chapter Two which places the context of why the Dutch needed to translate its literature, I pursue three lines of enquiry in which I separate the literary participants and consider their role in the history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: these are the Foundation and its board, the translators and the publishers.

The Dutch had not exported their language through teaching it in schools outside the Netherlands nor had they left their language imprint on their colonies as the British and French had done; therefore, their literature remained inaccessible. I shall discuss these issues which involve obscurity and quality of translations in Chapter Three.

The governments's response, through the Ministry for Education, Arts and Sciences, was to establish and fund the Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk (The Foundation for the Promotion of the Translation of Dutch Literary Works), a quango,<sup>1</sup> on December 1954 which was served by a board, to select and translate literary works for publication.

Jacob Oversteegen was the Foundation's director who had the role of carrying out the decisions of the board as a quasi civil servant. I have mentioned in my abstract that the Foundation for the Translation of Dutch Literary Works was served by its 'bestuur', which translates as; 'board of management' and I shall refer to this body as 'the board' throughout my thesis. A 'bestuur' is the Dutch term for a board of management or governing body and whilst it certainly is the case that during the time period of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, the main role of the 'bestuur' was the nomination of titles to be translated, the Dutch term implies that it was also responsible for overall governance. I shall show that the board, whose role was wider than just selecting works, had little influence on the final selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

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<sup>1</sup> A semi-public administrative body outside the civil service but receiving financial support from the government which makes senior appointments. Stevenson, Angus (ed) *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010, 1451). Oxford.

One of the Foundation's first key projects was the development of a series of Dutch<sup>2</sup> (Netherlandic works from the Netherlands) and Flemish (works written by Dutch speaking Flemings who are indigenous to the Flanders area in Belgium) imaginative works translated into English, eventually called the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Literatures written in less widely spoken languages or from less widely known traditions strive to reach the cultural mainstream and this case study considers a 'small nations' literature and charts the journey of a government funded intervention strategy to attempt to create an entire series of 17 translated literary volumes called the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

In this chapter I firstly deal with the thesis structure within the chapters where the literary participants are highlighted; secondly, I discuss a literature review and highlight the various authors I interact with; thirdly, I establish my research questions and the lines of enquiry that I embark upon in order to answer them; fourthly, I establish my four research methods and finally, I present some ideas on current research into my field of study.

## **1, The thesis structure**

I consider each of the literary participants: the Foundation and its board, the translators, the Sijthoff and Heinemann publishing companies, and divide my thesis into four parts. Before I answer my research questions through my lines of enquiry, Part One will map out the terrain by providing a 'Context' for the thesis in Chapter Two. Here, I establish the necessity for the Netherlands and Flanders to translate their literary works if they were to reach an international English market and consider cultural diplomacy.

Part two, 'Institutional History', is divided into two chapters: Chapter Three considers how the Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Werk and its board came into existence whilst Chapter Four deals with the selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Part three, 'Translation Productions', is divided into two chapters: Chapters Five and Six deal with the background of the translators and the publishing companies. Part

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<sup>2</sup> The Taalunie (Dutch Language Union) develops and promotes policy on Dutch in the Netherlands, Flanders and Surinam. It has maintained since 1990 that there is officially only one language of Dutch. Where I need to make a distinction between Dutch and its literature from the Netherlands and Dutch and its literature from Flanders, I use 'Netherlandic' for the former and 'Flemish' for the latter.



four, 'Reception', which comprises Chapter Seven, deals with the the sales figures and possible reasons for them along with the reception of the volumes by the press.

These literary participants are considered along with their reception because they all played a role in helping to create, shape and form the final printed published volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. My first research question asks whether the export of Dutch classics in the 1960s was successful. In order to do this, I research the organisations and literary participants in a thematic, structured way so that the development of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* can be established. I consider the creation of the Foundation and its board, whose role it was to select works for the series, and highlight key personalities who affected the selection process. I continue with discussing the background ability of the translators to deal with the task of literature translation at a time when Translation Studies was only coming into its infancy. I then analyse Heinemann's financial problems. The second part of my research question concerns the canonical nature of the selected volumes and Chapter Four discusses the complicated nature of the canon of Dutch literature and its relationship with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## **2, Literature review**

Previous study relating to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* occurred between 2011 and 2013 by Van Voorst. She produced two papers entitled *De Stichting voor Vertalingen 1954-1990* (2011) (The Foundation for languages 1954-1990 (2011)) which was a diary of the Foundation's activities from the 1950s to 1989 and *Het goede litteraire werk uit Nederland, De Bibliotheca Neerlandica en het vertaalbeleid van de Stichting voor Vertalingen 1954-1966* (2013) (The fine literary work from the Netherlands, The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and the translation policy of the Foundation for Translations 1954-1966) which provides an analysis of the Foundation's translation policy with regards to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

Students of hers produced three MA papers which related to my field of study: Van Ardenne-Diephuis wrote a 14 page document entitled *De Stichting voor Vertalingen 1954-1999. De Bibliotheca Neerlandica: Nederlandse letteren op de Internationale kaart* (2011) (The Foundation for Translations 1954-1999. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: Dutch literature for the international market) which provides a summary of the events relating to the development of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series of translated volumes. Van Asselt (n.d. [c.

2011]) produced a paper entitled *De Stichting voor Vertalingen 1954-1990. Reizen van Oversteegen: Het nut en de noodzaak van de reizen van de eerste directeur van de Stichting voor Vertalingen*. (The Foundation for Translations 1954-1990. Oversteegen's Journeys: The value and necessity of the journeys which the Foundation's first director embarked upon). This details Oversteegen's attempts to establish contacts with foreign publishers. Emmelkamp wrote a short paper entitled, *Niet verwaarlozen wat verworven is: The Library of Netherlandic Literature* (2011) (Don't disregard what has been achieved: The Library of Netherlandic Literature). This paper presents a series of Dutch volumes translated into English for the American market in the 1970s.

The three student papers from Emmelkamp, (2011) Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011) and Van Asselt (n.d. [c. 2011]) provide background knowledge to the development of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* itself and introduce me to key players: Oversteegen, the director of the Foundation and Minderaa, the chairman of the board. This thesis reviews the literary participants who were responsible for the historical journey of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and provides a magnifying glass to the events of 1954-1969 to establish how the published volumes relate to the canon of Dutch literature.

Furthermore, my study addresses gaps from previous researchers and develops areas which require discussion in order to provide a holistic portrayal of the export of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and its canonical works. The internal power struggles between key players of the board and a consideration of previous publishing models which lay at the board's disposal are omitted save for a mention of the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* by Van Ardenne-Diephuis. Although Van Ardenne-Diephuis mentions the translators, the processes engaged in selecting the translators do not form part of the researchers' study where I stress the importance of their background in being key to placing literature on an international literary arena. Van Voorst (2013, 38) alludes to issues regarding who was directly responsible for the translations but does not go into detail about the unclear contract between the Foundation and the publishers.

My research considers how a European literature written in a less well known language tries, through translation, to reach the wider world by taking on the inequalities of globalization. During my research I placed myself in the academic terrain by publishing a

chapter in Chitnis, Rajendra and others (2020) *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*. Liverpool Press, Liverpool which provides case studies of over thirteen national contexts as diverse as Bosnian, Catalan and Maltese. My case study provided, according to Chitnis, the editor, 'a real linch-pin between my piece [Chitnis] (Chapter 'Four), Ondřej's [Vimr] (Chapter Six) and the more contemporary studies of institutional support'

### **3, Research questions and lines of enquiry**

On the back inside flap of all the published *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes, 17 are advertised as being part of the series; I could only find ten and my hypothesis was that something had gone awry. I initially wanted to discover what had happened to the other seven volumes in the series, but my interest grew into gaining an appreciation of what impact the export of Dutch literature had had in the 1960s and whether indeed these works related to its canon.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* project's aim was to translate a series of 17 Dutch literary works into English from a variety of genres and time periods and export them to the English-speaking market. Up to this point, this market had not had access to them due to their invisibility in that they were illegible to most English speakers who were not able to read Dutch. The success of this enterprise would consider a range of features including the number of volumes actually appearing in the series, sales figures of each of the volumes, the selection of the translated titles, the people who chose the series format and how many would be cited in literary histories.

By using sources to create a historical micro-history account of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* accompanied by theoretical analysis to support the historical narrative, my two overarching research questions ask: 'How successful was the export of Dutch classics in the 1960s.' And 'How did the works selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* relate to the canon of Dutch literature?' To answer my two overarching research questions, I will explain my thesis structure and why I chose particular organisations and groups of people to enable me to address my research questions. As I create my thesis, I hone in on lines of enquiry which will assist me in providing answers for my two research questions and these are:

i, The canon of Dutch literature: What exactly was the Dutch canon of literature and what role did it play regarding international cultural diplomacy?

ii, The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: What was its micro-history, which includes its creation and formation of selected translated volumes for export?

iii, How did the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fare in the market place?

iv, What was the delivery method chosen to export Dutch literature?

v, What was the suitability of this method?

vi, The results of the enterprise: What were the impacts of the experiment and how did this come about?

**i, The canon of Dutch literature: What exactly was the canon of Dutch literature and what role did it play regarding international cultural diplomacy?**

I establish the meaning of a literary canon and engage with documents from the dbnl (digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren/ digital library for Dutch literature) to clarify the position of the Dutch and Flemings with regard to their canons of literature. I engage with Franke (2011), D'haen (2011), Moi (1985) and Bloom (1994) to consider theoretical perspectives of canons to demonstrate that they are fluid historical processes and not stone monuments rising out of desert sands.

I clarify the position of the canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) literature regarding Dutch and Flemish scholars in Chapter Four by interacting with Knuvelde (1961) and Meijer (1971) who were literary historians. (Using archival minutes and reports of the 1950s and 60s obtained from the Letterkundig Museum (Museum of Literature) in The Hague, which houses the Foundation's archive, I ascertain which works were selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and then consider which of these relate to the canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) literature.

For the sake of clarity I engage with Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) to define cultural diplomacy which was a prime reason for creating the Foundation to export Dutch literature. I also discuss Vimr (2020) whose counter-argument highlights supply-driven translation as

being a key tool from smaller source cultures to establish its literature abroad and relate his findings to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. I hope to demonstrate the correlation between the canon of Dutch literature and its role regarding international cultural diplomacy whereby certain canonical Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish classics were exported for political purposes.

**ii, The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: What was its micro history, which includes its creation and formation of selected translated volumes for export?**

My second line of enquiry that I wish to explore concerns three aspects related to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes. Three key elements are required to provide a backdrop and setting for the thesis because the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* provided transport for classical works. Its creation by the board illustrates why certain works were chosen and not chosen and its sales figures provide a guide to whether it was correct in its selection.

I have opted for a micro-history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* because it has not been researched in detail before and can reveal decision-making processes and tensions which culminated in the final selection of volumes for the series. Dorleijn and Van Voorst (2009) discuss the organisations in Chapter Three which deal with Dutch translated literature after World War II and culminated in 1953 with the creation of the 'Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk' hereafter called The Foundation; I examine their material to provide me with a historical background to the formation of The Foundation. Dorleijn and Van Voorst (2010) note the various organisations that sent representatives to The Foundation whilst archival material attempts to illustrate its *raison d'être*.

The Foundation was served by a board which would deliver Dutch exported literature, in effect a committee. Through archival and literary sources, I will establish how this board was created, its composition and how its member dynamics directly affected the experiences of the selection process of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Moreover, I want to establish whether a committee was the ideal medium in which to choose Dutch literary works. In order to do this, I engage with Handy (1993) and Pfeffer (1981) to establish the pre-requisites for an efficient committee and why committees can be slow to reach decisions. I draw on Webb and Webb (2010) who use Bourdieu to illustrate the conflicts of gatekeepers who had

opposing views to the selection of literature whilst Needle (2001) and Webb and Webb (2010) highlight the position of a chairman's dominance and consequent reputation within a committee. Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011) establishes a backdrop as to how capital and reputation were acquired by the chairman, Handy (1993) explains the necessity for a mixed set of skills within a group, whilst Schein (1991), Handy (1993) and Pfeffer (1981) help to establish why ideal committees do not occur. I engage with Needle (2001) and Handy (1993) to establish the suitability of committees in decision making processes.

Using archival research, I assess how the selected volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were chosen for export, and interact with literary research to apply a theoretical back drop to the decision making processes. I establish whether a source based approach or a target based one was chosen, and interact with Vanderauwera (1985) and Van Voorst (2013) to focus on the practicalities of these approaches whilst Munday (2008) and Venuti (2008) provide a theoretical perspective with their clarifications of foreignisation and domestication.

I expand on Van Ardenne-Diephuis' (2011) ideas that a desire to pursue personal preferences using power by a gatekeeper occurred and I engage with Needle (2001), Van Dijk (2008), and McHoul and Grace (1993) to explain the concepts of power which Bacharach and Lawler (1982) subdivide into four bases. I then consider what Handy (1993), Pfeffer (1994) and Griffin (2007) discuss on the matter regarding Bacharach and Lawler's (1982) four bases. Archival material, in the form of minutes from 1959 to 1960, points towards 'power' as being a factor in the selection of works for the series and I draw on Satterthwaite (2008) to establish why there were very few suggestions concerning suggested works from the majority of the board members during meetings. Minutes from meetings taken in the 1950s and 1960s reflect various templates for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which became gradually streamlined until the final list was approved by the board in 1960.

### **iii, How did the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fare in the market place?**

I analyse an archival document located in the Letterkundig Museum to ascertain the sales figures for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and consider external factors which may have affected its sales.

Vanderauwera (1985) clarifies the lack of advertising of the series and archival letters support her reasoning to explain why a proportion of each print run was purchased by governments. I draw on theoretical issues of advertising as discussed by Stevens and Unwin (1939), Mann (1971), Legat (1991) and Bingley (1972) who argue whether it is necessary to advertise whilst Richardson (2007) brings to the fore the class audience of newspaper advertising which relates to the niche class of those purchasing translated literature.

Joy (1974) states that there is an issue with bookshop closures in the 1960s whilst Unwin (1960), Hill (1988), Stevenson (2010) and Norrie (1982) highlight the increase in book titles on the market when the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was published. These researchers aid my argument in helping me establish reasons for the sales figures of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

The Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish press were favourable to the series before its publication, but the English and Americans were less optimistic when the volumes became available. I consider the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* reception on the domestic and international market and divide these reviews into three sections: The Dutch reception to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* before publication, the international reception to the individual works, and the English reception to the complete series. I interact with Stevens and Unwin (1939) and then cite comments from the Dutch press of the time obtained from the British Library to set the scene for the importance of reviews. I work with Colie (1967) and Vanderauwera (1985) who offer hypotheses for the choice of volumes and submit detailed mixed reviews on each of the volumes. I note the comments of Unwin (1960), who offers a theoretical insight into the advantages of a 'series of volumes' and then highlight the journal comments of Flaxman (n.d.) who berates the choice of an unknown publisher for the American market.

#### **iv, What was the delivery method chosen to export Dutch literature?**

The delivery method for the export for the export of Dutch literature was the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and I systematically analyse the minutes from Museum of Literature in The Hague from 1955 to 1969 to establish the decision making processes by the literary participants in creating the series.

#### **v, What was the suitability of this method?**

Regarding the suitability of this delivery method, I reflect on the lack of consideration for other models as a template for the series by the board. Archival research in the form of minutes in 1956 highlights a previous series of Flemish literature being mentioned entitled the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* which Musschoot (2004) discusses; Khomitsky (2013) highlights a Soviet Union model entitled Gorky's World Literature House Project which had been attempted in 1918 and Vimr (2020) mentions the Bridge Project of 1947. UNESCO (n.d.) had a multinational model and internet research revealed the *Knickerbocker Series; A Holland-America Library* which had been produced in the early 1900s for the American market as well as *The Dutch Library* series which consisted of four translated mediaeval volumes produced in the 1920s. I distil comments from delegates at a conference in 2015 entitled, 'Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations' to establish whether similar series were produced from Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and Spain after World War II which could have been used by the board.

#### **vi The results of the enterprise: What were the experiences of the experiment and how did this come about?**

I investigate the following four areas to establish their influence, contribution and effect which they may have had on the experiences of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* enterprise:

##### **a, Were target or source based approaches used in selecting works and how did this influence the selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*?**

I use archival research in the form of minutes and activity reports of the late 1950s and early 1960s to tabulate the selection of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which were published in ten volumes. The activity reports and minutes of the late 1950s portray the issues concerning the selection of the volumes, dominating personalities, source and target based approaches, the issue of permanent and rotating members and a lack of planning. I draw on Vanderauwera (1985) who discusses source based approaches by the board in the 1960s and the fact that that afterwards they moved its direction slightly to a more targeted view; this is shown in further series of translated literature that the board subsequently produced. I lean towards the board using a source based approach and agree with Vanderauwera who



is of this opinion. Personal choices and approaches as noted in the minutes show how the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was created.

**b, What was the background of the chosen translators who created the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*?**

I use archival material in the form of letter applications from translators to reflect on their background for the project. I show the background of the translators selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and illustrate through archival reports and minutes how they were selected to accomplish the task of translating works for export. I establish whether their rates of pay allowed them to ethically work to the best of their ability. I interact with Jones (2018) to define a 'dedicated expert' in order to establish whether the selected translators had professional standing whilst a theoretical perspective of locating proficient translators is gained from Cross (1987), who highlights the fact that 'good' translators are at a premium and heavily booked up. Lindley (1961) discusses the ideal situation of procuring translators, which rarely occurs and archival minutes illustrate the situation in finding translators. MacShane (1987), Unwin (1960) and Gress (1987) consider the issues surrounding translating in and out of one's native tongue.

Archival reports reveal how translators were selected and are supported by letters in 1955 between literary participants whilst archival reports and letters of the time further illustrate how translators were approached to apply for work for the series in the 1950s, how the British Council was involved, and how they were selected or rejected.

I use Activities Reports to ascertain the problem of relatively poor payments when compared with earnings today which were given to translators and support this with Oversteegen's (the Director of the Foundation) memoir entitled *Etalage, Uit het leven van een lezer* (1999, 182) as well as internet research to make comparisons with today's rates of pay for the work. I consider which translators had translated more than one volume and highlight Colie's (1967) comments concerning rushed translations and whether some had taken on too much work. This issue flags up the discussion concerning ethics and I apply the works of Chesterman and Wagner (2002), Baker (2011) and Munday (2008) to ascertain whether this affected the translator's capability to translate effectively.

In order to assess the background of the translators I consider how they deal with translating the titles of the volumes. I engage with comments made by Stevens and Unwin (1939), Landers (2001), Unwin (1960), Milne (1948) and Derricourt (1996) that show the importance of titles to the success of a volume. Briffa and Caruana (2009) consider different types of translated titles and I use their work along with those of Newmark (1988), Nida and Taber (1974) and Paul (2009) to assess whether the translators are successful in their choices of title for the translated volumes.

### **c, The effect of choosing the Heinemann and Sijthoff publishing companies on the export of the canon of Dutch literature**

Woll (2010), Clark and Phillips (2008), Guthrie (2011) and Colie (1967) demonstrate the importance of making contact with authors and minutes and letters of the mid 1950s reflect the desire of publishers to correspond with them. Internet research defined which of them were alive at the time of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* production. I engage with Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011) and the Report of Activities (1 July 1955- 1 February 1956) to illustrate the need to develop contacts with publishing companies and highlight Legat (1991), Maschler (2005) and Stevenson (2010) who promote book fairs for this to occur. Van Asselt (n.d. [c. 2011]) discusses the contacts made over a ten year period. Minutes and Activities Reports of the mid 1950s record the English and publishing companies which were contacted at the time and I offer a background to them obtained through internet research. Activities Reports in 1956 reflect Dutch literary works which were sent to unknown publishers and the responses to them. Archival research supported by Vanderauwera (1985) and Van Voorst (2013) highlight the wariness of English publishing houses in dealing with Dutch literature and archival minutes of 1960 show Heinemann's interest in the project. There is a relationship between authors and publishers and I work with Bingley (1972), Maschler (2005), Legat (1991) and Mann (1971) to discuss these connections and ensuing communication problems whilst Unwin (1960), Davies and Balkwill (2011) and Dunham (2014) add their credence to the discussion. To understand the importance of book sales I utilise the thoughts of Stevens and Unwin (1939) and Latham (1966).

I work with Genette (1997) to define paratexts and consider the effects of paratextual disharmony on sales of the the *Bibliotheca Neerlnadica* volumes. Jennette (1956) highlights

the importance of paratexts and Mclean (1951), Derricourt (1996), Williamson (1966), Unwin (1960) and Rosner (1941) consider various aspects of these such as lettering and illustrations. I use archival minutes and reports to discover the role Heinemann played in the 1960s which affected the development of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and those canonical works within it.

The Sijthoff publishing company was responsible for the production of the volumes and I critically work with authors to engage with a wide range of paratexts including dust cover images, flap texts and typos to ascertain their role in book sales. Genette (1997) defines paratexts whilst Mclean (1951) adds to his discussion. Jennett (1956), Derricourt (1996), Williamson, (1996) Unwin (1960), Rosner (1949) and Legat (1991) assist me with epitext analysis whilst Jennet (1956), Newmark (1988) and Martin (1989) provide me with critical theory concerning peritexts. I work with Saller ((2009), Mclean (2000), Legat (1991), Dunham (2014), Davies (2011) and Clark (2008) to consider the prevalence of typos within the volumes.

#### **d, How did the contract affect the literary participants' role in the production of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*?**

Using archival research in the form of the Contract Statutes of 1962, I consider whether this document played a negative or positive role in the production of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and consequent canonical works.

#### **4, Research method: A combination of qualitative, quantitative, historical and archival methodologies**

The foundation of my methodology is to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies whereby I carry out empirical research which I place against a description of context, subject to theoretical reflection. After considering the creation of the Foundation and its board, I reflect on the roles played in creating the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* by each of the literary participants: the members of the board, the translators and the two publishing companies. Separating the literary participants, I use qualitative methods to analyse their role in answering my research questions through my lines of enquiry.

Historical research of the board's minutes identifies the genesis of the board and the selection process of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works. Yin (2009) notes:

Historical research is the obvious choice when events are in the 'dead' past – that is, when no relevant persons are alive to report, even retrospectively what occurred, and, and when an investigator must rely on primary documents and secondary documents as the main sources of evidence.

This was the case for my research because no relevant persons are alive who were involved in the enterprise.

For the translators' backgrounds, I use internet-mediated research which, according to Saldanha and O'Brien (2013, 47), is research conducted on the internet. I note their concerns about the participants knowing that they were being studied but this did not concern me because all of the translators are deceased.

The ambiguous contract between the board and the publishers required qualitative analysis because it needed unpicking to explain why it was not fit for purpose. Saldanha and O'Brien (2013, 193) note that, 'qualitative analysis and interpretation is about bringing flexible and insightful order into rather messy data. The researcher needs to demonstrate that the inferences made are justifiable on the basis of the evidence gathered'. I separated the ambiguous Statutes to illustrate the problem of ascertaining who had responsibility for the final translations.

I needed to discover why two publishing companies were used for the venture and using a qualitative approach as outlined by Saldanha and O'Brien (2013, 23), I engage in interviews with a former employer of Sijthoff as well as a contemporary publisher in London. Neither of these employers gave me a clear answer to my problem but directed me onto a path which offered me a solution.

In assessing how the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fared in the market place, I use quantitative data of the sales figures whilst considering underlying historical factors which affected the purchasing public.

In order to establish the methodologies I would use to analyse the various literary participants, I engage with four areas using differing methods:

## **i, Translation Studies**

As my research unfolded events, I considered translation theories to support my arguments to my methodological approaches. Jones, (2018) for example, discussed the requirements needed for a translator to be 'competent' in that they needed to have both worked in the profession for a considerable period of time and, moreover, have worked with others in the field. This was invaluable to me in assessing whether the translators chosen by Oversteegen were 'fit for the task'. Franke (2011) clarified the position that canons are fluid as has occurred recently with the changed composition of the canon of Flemish literature.

## **ii, Publishing**

I drew on expertise within the publishing department at UCL and was given assistance by Professor of publishing, Iain Stevenson. His work: Stevenson (2010) *Book Makers: British Publishing in the Twentieth Century* was indispensable and I used his bibliography to increase my knowledge within this field to aid my methods and to establish my methodologies.

## **iii, Power theories**

I had hoped to apply 'Leadership Theory' in my thesis with regards to the chairman of the board, but, I believe that leadership requires vision and my research showed that planning with regards to the creation of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was poor. I, therefore, had to locate another field in which to be able to analyse the characteristics the chair was displaying and realised that 'power' was a factor. I used Pfeffer's (1981) ideas of power as a lens to assess whether Minderaa used his position as chair to his own advantage to select works he favoured for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## **iv, Archival research**

Archival materials from the Museum of Literature in The Hague aided my understanding of the workings of the board. Table 1 on page 34 summarises the methodologies used for each of the literary participants in each of the chapters.

## 5, Current research

Within my thesis, I am not challenging existing theory, but rather am using it as a tool to evaluate my historical research to contribute to the issues that smaller nations have in translating literature.

I would like to add a final note concerning what this study will not do: the analysis undertaken will be confined to the literary participants who played a role in the evolution of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* but will not discuss the literary quality of particular volumes<sup>3</sup> or venture into the field of literary criticism.

I should mention here that the bibliography will not contain the many volumes and titles which are discussed by the board in coming to a decision for the final *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series unless I wish to make specific mention to them such as *A Short History of Dutch and Flemish Literature* in Appendix 6.

In considering current research on translating the literatures of smaller European nations, I refer to Rajendra Chitnis and others (2016, 2) who spotlights key findings from their report *Translating the Literatures of Smaller European Nations: A Picture from the UK, 2014-16* which explores how smaller European literatures attempt to reach the wider world and highlight five of them which relate to my study:

i, The number of independent presses publishing translated literature has markedly increased in the past decade. [The independent press, Create and Shop Mybooks in Puurs, Belgium published Omer Vandeputte's recent English translation of Stijn Streuvel's, *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (1926) as *When the Wheel Turns its Circle* (2016)].

ii, Technological advances are central to the growth in translated literature. Social media, book review sites, on-line reading groups and bloggers have transformed the notion of 'word-of-mouth'. [I published a review of Gerard Walschap's *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) on a book review site in 2017 entitled *RivetingReviews: Irvin Wolters reviews Marriage/Ordeal*].

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<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of the translation problems which Alex Brotherton encountered in producing *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) see: Wolters (2022).

iii, Translated literature remains a preoccupation of the educated urban middle-class, almost completely absent from school curricula. [The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was aimed at the educated urban middle-class which suggests that translated literature today has not moved into other strata of society because it has not been able to find a place in a school curriculum which would offer exposure for children of all classes].

iv, Male authors continue to dominate translated literature. [This was the case in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* where all the authors were male except for Hadewijch and Beatrice of Nazareth who had two short pieces in *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965)].

v, The UK and Ireland still lag behind European comparisons for amounts of translated literature; in 2011 all translations published and distributed in the UK and Ireland represented 3.16% of total literature sales, compared to 12.28% in Germany, 15.9% in France, 33.19% in Poland and 19.7% in Italy.

Chapter Two explains that the Dutch needed to translate their literature in the 1950s in order to export it to an English speaking market. My research questions ask how successful the Dutch were in exporting this through a series of planned 17 volumes and how it related to the canon of Dutch literature. In order to approach this, I explain why the publishing of the series occurred when it did and continue by setting out three lines of enquiry which explain the canon of Dutch literature, the micro-history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and the results of the enterprise and within these lines of enquiry. I isolate the literary participants and to enable me to pursue my lines of enquiry I use historical, internet-mediated, qualitative and quantitative research methods, see Table 1.

Chapters	Qualitative historical research. Archival research from the Museum of Literature in the Hague	Qualitative theoretical reflection	Quantitative research
Chapter 2 The context for establishing the Foundation with its		Translation Matters	

board and operations in the mid 1950s			
<p><b>Chapter 3</b></p> <p>The formation of the Stichting Ter Bevordering Van De Vertaling Van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk (The Foundation for the promotion of Dutch Literary Works) and its board.</p>	<p>Analysis of board membership from the minutes and Statutes of the Foundation's archive.</p>	<p>Cultural Diplomacy</p> <p>Committee theory</p>	
<p><b>Chapter 4</b></p> <p>Genesis of a canon: The selection of works for the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i></p>	<p>The selection of works for the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> from the minutes of the board</p>	<p>Power Theory</p> <p>Previous Series Models</p> <p>The canon of Dutch Literature</p> <p>Foreignisation and Domestication of translations (use of foreign vocabulary and use of introductions)</p>	
<p><b>Chapter 5</b></p> <p>The background of translators selected to translate the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i>.</p>	<p>The selection methods used to test the translators</p>	<p>The translators' experiences</p> <p>The professional standing of the translators</p>	



		Ethical issues of low pay and rushed translations for the translators	
<p><b>Chapter 6</b></p> <p>The effect of choosing the Sijthoff and particularly the Heinemann publishing companies on the export of the canon of Dutch literature and the issues surrounding the contract</p>	<p>The publishing companies which were available for the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i></p> <p>The selection of Sijthoff and Heinemann</p> <p>Internal financial issues with Heinemann</p> <p>The contract</p> <p>The end of the venture</p>	<p>Why were two publishing companies involved in the exercise?</p> <p>Interview with a publisher and a previous employer of Sijthoff</p> <p>Historical perspective of Heinemann's financial problems</p> <p>Hypothesis of what occurred regarding the submission of translations</p>	<p>Sales/Profit of Heinemann 1962-1965</p>

<p><b>Chapter 7</b></p> <p>How did the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> fare in the market place?</p>	<p>Dutch, English and American press reception</p>	<p>Lack of advertising</p> <p>Dutch and Flemish government purchase of <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> volumes.</p> <p>Demise of bookshops</p> <p>Book competition</p> <p>Rival publishers</p>	<p>Sales Figures of the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> volumes</p>
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Table 1: Methodologies used in the chapters

## **PART ONE**

### **CONTEXT**

#### **CHAPTER 2**

##### **THE CONTEXT FOR ESTABLISHING THE FOUNDATION WITH ITS BOARD AND OPERATIONS IN 1954**

###### **Introduction**

Today Dutch writers complain about the frustrations of working in a language that is not a world language. They feel that they write for a limited audience, a disadvantage both artistically and economically. (Du Perron, one of the most important novelists of the thirties, once complained that he wrote 'in a secret language'). Some works get translated of course, but these are few and not always the best, Flaxman (1968, 141).

This chapter sets out the context as to why the Dutch need to translate its literature if it is to find an international readership outside its linguistic borders. Unlike English and German, Dutch has to translate because it does not have world wide institutions such as the British Council and the Goethe Institute to export its language. Translation, then, is the only medium by which its literature can find a foreign readership. I conclude this chapter by answering why the Dutch Government decided to embark upon an initiative to place its translated literature on the world market specifically in the 1950s.

###### **Translation**

Goudsblom (1986, 112-120) states that, 'the Netherlands struggled with the 'see-through mirror effect' in that Dutch literature, was, as it were, hidden behind a semi-transparent mirror. In the Netherlands Dutch literature remained invisible on the world stage. Mennell (2015, 1), discusses this in his essay entitled, 'Goudsblom, Behind the one-way Mirror' where he illuminates these obstacles. The essay is about Dutch sociology in the 1950s and tucked away in a book about anti-Americanism. He states:

Sociologists in the Netherlands - unlike their mostly monoglot British and American counterparts – were able to read and appreciate the best writing in English, French and German as well as Dutch. They selected, rejected and innovated, but then wrote about their insights in Dutch. That guaranteed that they would not be read by any significant number of

their English, French or German-speaking colleagues. Goudsblom compared this to the view from behind the one-way mirror once commonly found behind in the small-group laboratories of social psychologists: the observers can see everyone out there beyond the glass, but cannot be seen by themselves.

Heilbron (1995, 208) continues this discussion of hierarchy as named by De Swaan (2001, 40-59) as a 'world culture system' by highlighting a hierarchical structure of central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages [Dutch lies in the peripheral sphere of languages]. Here the relationship, between the number of translations into and out of a language is indicative of the import dependence or export orientation of a country and therefore of the place of that country in the world translation system.

Venuti (2008, 11) states:

Very few translations become bestsellers; very few are likely to be reprinted, whether in hardcover or paperback. And perhaps most importantly, very few translations are published in English. [Escarpit (1966, 70-79) endorses Venuti (2008) by noting that Anglo-Saxon countries translated very little literary work].

British and American book production has increased more than tenfold since the 1950s but the number of translations has remained roughly between 2 and 4 percent of the total output-notwithstanding a marked surge during the early 1960s, when the number of translations ranged between 4 and 7 percent of the total. In 2001 British publishers brought out 119, 001 books, of which 1668 were translations (1.4 percent). Publishing houses in other countries have generally run in the opposite direction. Western European publishing has also burgeoned over the past several decades, but translations have always amounted to a significant percentage of book production, and this percentage has consistently been dominated by translations from English.

English, then, translates little compared to the central and peripheral languages whilst Dutch has to compete much more to establish an international readership.

## **Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish Literature and post-war cultural diplomacy in the mid-1950s**

Before I continue I would just like to clarify what constitutes Dutch and Flemish literature: After Belgium became independent from the Netherlands in 1830, the term Flemish literature referred only to the Dutch-language literature produced in Belgium. Dutch literature in the 1950s and 1960s then only related to the literature of the Netherlands with Flemish literature from Flanders being considered inferior. It was not until the 1980s that the term 'Dutch literature' came to mean literature from both that of the Netherlands and that of the literature of Flanders. This concept will be expanded on in Chapter Four when I discuss Dutch and Flemish canons and the conflicts which brewed over the status of Flemish literature.

Dutch literature is exported, and has to be if Dutch authors wish to find a place in the international literary arena for their works. Dutch authors need to translate their works into major languages, particularly English, if they are to establish an international readership outside the confines of its European and even Caribbean and South American borders. Van Es and Heilbron (2015, 296-298) support this fact and highlight the plight of Dutch literature within its peripheral setting:

In the Netherlands, about a third of all published books consist of translations whilst in the United States and Great Britain, only a few percent of all published books are translations

It is clear to see that if authors from a small nation's language like Dutch wish to position themselves in a global arena then they must have their works translated into other languages, particularly English. I believe that Dutch literary works which have been translated into English will establish potential for a wider platform of international readership which ought to enhance their chances of literary success. I agree with Van Es and Heilbron (2015, 302) who clarify the argument by stating, 'Dutch literary works which have been translated into English will have gained the favour of foreign intermediaries including critics and editors who will have contributed to the international visibility of the translated author'. Translation has therefore been the key to the problem.

My argument as to why the Dutch Government embarked on a policy of literature translation in the mid 1950s is developed in Chapter Three where I discuss the Dutch PEN, and the inefficient Commissie voor Vertaalzaken (Commission for Translation Matters) which forced a new quango style organisation to remedy the situation. The ostensibly apolitical ambitions underlying translation into a dominant language are noted by Sapiro (2014, 87) who suggests that, 'in the Netherlands, support for translation is bestowed on literary works with no specific ideological objective except for the promotion of the national culture abroad' and cultural diplomacy was seen as the reason for the export of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature.

Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 10) define cultural diplomacy as, 'any undertaking to promote the culture of a country by people who identify themselves with that country' and my stance is that the overriding reason for the Dutch to export their literature concerned cultural diplomacy which Vimr (2020, 55) highlights:

The importance of translation for (cultural) diplomacy and for the construction of the international image of a country grew in the interwar period, and it was most natural for diplomats and politicians from minor countries to provide supply-side support [I shall pursue this notion of 'supply driven translation' in Chapter Three] for translation, with the printed word as the only major source of knowledge about the unknown and unseen.

Politics sometimes informed the board's choices and it used attractive examples of its national literature to attempt to repair its reputation following Indonesian colonialism, notably with Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1860) which acknowledges Dutch oppression of the Javanese during its occupation of Indonesia. The literary colonial perspective is noted by Ashcroft (1989, 1-2) 'Literature offers one of the most important ways in which preconceptions of colonialism on contemporary peoples is expressed'. Multatuli's<sup>4</sup> *Max Havelaar*, (1860) which was translated and published by the board in 1967, highlights the fig-leaf policy of the Dutch government's ethical policies because the volume admitted Dutch oppression of Indonesia in the late 1800's. Meijer (1960, 17-18) discusses the novel's reaction in a lengthy but enlightening citation:

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<sup>4</sup> Eduard Douwes Dekker, (1820-1887) the author of *Max Havelaar* (1860) wrote under the pseudonym 'Multatuli', a Latin word meaning, 'I have suffered much'.

To quote a speaker in the House of Parliament shortly after the publication, 'it sent a shiver through the country. 'When he said that he was not referring to the literary quality of the book, but to the shock that the Dutch reading public received when they heard of the state of affairs in the colonies. The book was discussed in Parliament and questions were asked there. There is no doubt that it did have an influence on colonial policy. The main object of Dekker's [the author] criticism was the so-called *Kultuurstelsel* (Culture System), whereby it was compulsory to grow certain products prescribed by the Government. This Culture System, which dated from 1830, had been under heavy fire for some time when Dekker published his book, but the opponents of the system had not yet achieved any results. Dekker's book gave them a mighty weapon, which they used to advantage, so that after 1860 we see the gradual abolition of the Culture System: in 1862, two years after *Max Havelaar*, it was abolished for the cultivation of pepper, in 1863 for cloves and nutmeg, in 1865 for tea, 1866 tobacco, and so on. I do not want to say that *Max Havelaar* was responsible for the abolition of the Culture System: when the book was published, the system had had its day and would have disappeared sooner or later, even without *Max Havelaar*; but the book certainly deserves the credit of having hastened it. Perhaps more important was the fact that the book, through the effect it had on many future colonial civil servants, created an atmosphere in which a new colonial policy could develop.<sup>5</sup>

Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1860) was a wise choice for inclusion in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* since politically it had served a positive purpose which hastened the abolition of the notorious Culture System. This effect probably improved Dutch image to the world stage which it needed to do after its colonial rule of Indonesia.

## Conclusion

This chapter has mapped the terrain for establishing the need for the Dutch to translate their literature and moreover why specifically in the mid 1950s. Obscurity of translations was given by the Foundation as a reason for few translations but I shall show that translated novels actually rose in the period 1950-1957 and the Foundation was incorrect in this matter. In the 1950s the Foundation was established as a replacement for the PEN and

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<sup>5</sup> Between 1981 and 1990, an entire series of eleven translated volumes on Dutch colonialism entitled *The Library of the Indies* was published and co-funded by the University of Massachusetts press and the Foundation. This series included a reprinted copy of *Multatuli* (1982) see: Appendix 1.

Commission for Translation Matters and undertook responsibilities as a quango to translate Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish into a variety of languages by working with publishing companies and translators.



## PART TWO

### INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

#### CHAPTER 3

#### **THE FORMATION OF 'THE STICHTING TER BEVORDERING VAN DE VERTALING VAN NEDERLANDS LETTERKUNDIG WERK' (THE FOUNDATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE TRANSLATION OF DUTCH LITERARY WORKS) AND THE CONSEQUENT CREATION OF THE *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA* 1954 -1969**

##### Introduction

Casanaova (2020, 5-11) notes:

In scholarship, Dutch often epitomizes those literatures written in less widely spoken languages from less well known traditions that – it is argued – must be translated into dominating languages to enter 'world literature'. If writers from dominated national literary fields such as the Netherlands wish to enter the world literary competition, they must work on importing capital by nationalizing their great universal texts through translation since if a work is translated into one of the great literary languages it becomes legitimate immediately [...] In the world literary universe, translation is one of the main weapons in the struggle for literary legitimacy. For a writer, struggling for access to translation is in fact a matter of struggling for his or her existence as a legitimate member of the world republic of letters. In the dominated regions of the literary field, translation is the only means of being perceived, becoming visible, of existing [...] Translation then functions like a kind of right to international existence. It allows a writer not only to be recognised as a literary figure outside their borders, but even more importantly it brings into existence an international position, an autonomous position inside the national universe.

Casanova (2010, 5-11) explains that the 'small nation's status of the Dutch language coupled with the low export of its language to non Dutch speaking countries meant that if its authors desired an international audience, they had to translate. In the above citation, Casanova (2010, 5-11) specifically highlights the position of the Netherlands, which leads me to address one of the issues in my second line of enquiry for my research question: the reasons for the creation of a quango, the Foundation, which was served by a board to export Dutch translated literature. This organisation was to form the decision making

processes which would eventually create the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, the delivery vehicle for translated Dutch canonical literature.

I should mention that Casanova's work has been received both positively and negatively, and there are opposing views, especially in postcolonialist theory, that reject translation as a means of disseminating localized languages and cultures. Batchelor (2009, 206) falls outside this translation debate and for example highlights words which have no foreign equivalent which require paratextual explanations such as glossaries and introductory essays.

This chapter considers six areas and embarks on a journey to discuss its crucial contextual factors: Firstly, it explains the need for cultural diplomacy in the form of Dutch translated literature being translated into other languages; secondly, it looks at the historical background of the Foundation; thirdly, it highlights the creation of the Foundation; fourthly, it hones in on the board which served the Foundation and raises four issues which include its *raison d'être*, its aims, how it introduced publishers from 'less' central languages about Dutch literature, and whether a committee was a suitable medium for the selection of works; fifthly, it discusses the invitation of Flanders, with its Dutch speaking Flemish population joining the enterprise in 1960 and finally, it asks how the Foundation saw itself in the years that followed its creation and whether there was a change in its stance towards translated Dutch literature.

## **1, Cultural Diplomacy: Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature in translation**

The US Department of State (1959, iv) notes:

Cultural diplomacy, according to the 1959 definition of the US State Department, entails, 'the direct and enduring contact between peoples of different nations designed to help create a better climate of international trust and understanding in which official relations can operate'.

I consider that this citation from 1959 is now rather out of date, and I shall seek to explain that the definition of cultural diplomacy has moved away from mutual benefits between countries to a one-dimensional strategy of one country spreading its national culture as Gienow-Hecht and Mark Donfried (2010, 213) explain later on.

The document is informative but its local view and omission of publishing data reflects the Foundation's lack of strategy. I shall return to the Foundation's aims in more detail later in

this chapter when I discuss the *raison d'être* of the board. The government admitted its literary insignificance in world literature and needed to remedy the situation; how it did this is the purpose of this chapter. The need therefore was for Dutch literature to be translated into languages for foreign audiences and exported to those countries. This process comes under the umbrella of a term known as cultural diplomacy which is a complicated issue. Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 21) note that the concept was traditionally defined in large part by national governments as a prime example of 'soft power' or the ability to persuade through culture, values and ideas, as opposed to 'hard power' which traditionally conquers or coerces through military, political or economic might. Cull (2007, 19) notes that Nye coined 'soft power' as an expression of the ability of an actor to get what he wants in the international environment because of the attractiveness of its culture rather than military or economic leverage. Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 13) develops this idea by stating that, 'In current historiography, cultural diplomacy often denotes a national policy designed to support the export of representative samples of that nation's culture in order to further the objectives of foreign policy.' Cull (2007, 19) agrees with Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 13) and states, 'Cultural diplomacy represents the attempt, to manage the international environment through making its [that nation's] cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad.

Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 141) warn of using the term propaganda with reference to cultural diplomacy highlighting that, 'A fundamental conviction reigns among academics and the wider public that propaganda is something bad, employed only by nasty politicians who make selective use of the truth and actually manipulate information in order to suppress intellectual freedom.' Doob's study (1949, 240) defined propaganda as 'the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals towards ends considered of doubtful value at a particular time' whilst Ellul's (1973, xv-xvi) work rejected the assumption that propaganda is evil and that it always consisted of lies. Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 143) conclude that, 'It is mainly because of these negative connotations that many historians have eschewed the term 'propaganda' entirely and opted instead for 'cultural diplomacy'.

My definition of cultural diplomacy is that it is a means of promoting national interests beyond a nation's borders. Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 213) summarise the concept

of cultural diplomacy well in my opinion when they states that, 'Cultural diplomacy is a strategic action by Government to spread national culture – it is less concerned with mutual benefits and promoting understanding and cooperation between nations'. This, as this chapter will show, is what occurred when the Netherlands decided to export its translated literature in from a newly formed organisation in order to increase Dutch translated literature abroad. The Netherlands was not, however, seeking mutual cooperation and understanding with other nations during this process as Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 213) discuss; it was only concerned with its own translated literature export.

## **2, Historical background of the Foundation**

Two issues require consideration here; the obscurity argument by the Dutch government, obscurity of Dutch translations and the quality of translations produced before 1954 when the Foundation was established.

Dutch literature had been translated into other languages before the mid 1950s but in a leaflet entitled *Tradurre, Oversaette, Translate, Traduire* (n.d. [c. 1964]) issued by the Foundation to promote its activities and aims to an English audience, obscurity is highlighted:

The Foundation wants to put an end to the obscurity of Dutch literature: There is no point in speculating about the reasons for this obscurity. It is better to examine whether and how this situation may be changed. This is precisely the aim which the Foundation is setting itself. It wants to do everything in its power to enable the foreign reader to acquaint himself with Dutch literature.

Dutch literature is unknown abroad: In contrast with painting and architecture, Dutch literature is not sufficiently known outside the Netherlands. No doubt this is largely owing to the 'language barrier', but this is certainly not the only reason. Dutch science has succeeded in crossing the linguistic frontiers and there are other small countries whose literature enjoys greater notoriety than Dutch letters. Does that mean that the Netherlands is the 'country without literature' which it is often believed to be – a merely picturesque country of windmills, clogs and bulbs?

This was, however, not totally correct especially with regarding obscurity because as Heilbron (1995, 230) points out, the number of translated Dutch novels rose in the period

1900-1909 from 127 in 12 languages to 701 in 28 languages in the period 1950-1957. Furthermore, Index Translatorium states that Dutch is the 11<sup>th</sup> most frequently translated language globally which does not suggest that it fared particularly badly in the global exchange.

In *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen*, (The Foundation's Ten Years of Translations) (n. d. [c.1964, 3-4]) the events brochure published by the Foundation, discussed the fact that ten years previously Dutch visual arts and even music had made their mark on foreign audiences but this had not been the case for its literature :

Voor de litteratuur lag de zaak echter aanmerkelijk ongunstiger. Slechts bij toeval werden Nederlandse litteraire werken vertaald een toeval waarbij zelden de atristieke kwaliteit de doorslag gaf.

The situation for literature, however, was considerably more unfavourable. Dutch literary works were only translated by chance, **and even then their artistic quality came into question.**

It is interesting to consider the increase in literary translations from Dutch into other languages over the same period from other nations, see Table 2

Number of Literary Translations from Dutch into other languages as taken by Heilbron (1995)		
	1900-1909	1950-1957
German	80	262
English	8	57
Danish	6	76
Swedish	5	53
French	14	57
Norwegian	0	46
Czech	3	5
Finnish	0	28
Italian	4	10
Polish	3	7
Indonesian	0	22
Hungarian	1	7

Spanish	0	20
Esperanto	1	4
Russian	1	5
Slovak	0	3

Table 2: Number of Literary Translations from Dutch into other languages with regarding Heilbron (1995)

It can be noted that Germany experienced a high rise in translations in the same period as did the Nordic countries, Spain and France. This data was compiled from Morel. P. M. (1962) *Bibliographia Neerlandica Part III*. M. Nijhoff, The Hague which was governmentally overseen by the Ministerie van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen (The Ministry of Education, Arts and Science) so would have been reliable for the bigger picture. The literature cited in Heilbron's (1995, 231) referred to letterkundige vertalingen (literary translations only). Compared to the other nations, Dutch was by far an outlier in the translation field of the period increasing nearly six times as much in translations from Dutch as compared to other nations. The Foundation was not entirely correct with the quantity of translations having been produced but may have been so in their quality.

A reason for Dutch translated literature failing to join the global literary exchange put forward by the Foundation involved the inefficiency of the Dutch PEN and Commissie voor Vertaalzaken (Commission for Translated Matters) as there seemed to be no plan for them to be translated and even when they were, their quality came into question. The lack of a national strategy for translations of Dutch literature was in my opinion really not that different from other countries and The Foundation was therefore established to address these issues.

Dorleijn and Van Voorst (2009) note that the organisation known today as PEN International was established in 1921 in London as PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) by Catherine Dawson-Scott, a British poet, playwright and peace activist, as a way to unite writers after the devastation of World War I. It was at first nothing more than a dinner club, providing a space for writers to share ideas and socialise but evolved into an organisation that promoted literature and intellectual co-operation among writers everywhere. In 1923 the Dutch founded its own PEN branch which, in the 1950s, became overwhelmed by interested

parties expressing an interest in translation matters. In response to this in 1953 it created the Commissie voor Vertaalzaken (Commission for Translation Matters) within the PEN with Victor van Vriesland as its chair which proved to be inefficient in its decision making processes and failed to consider the target audience and satisfactorily bring assignments to a close. Dorleijn and Van Voorst (2010, 111) under their title, 'Veel geschreeuw en weinig wol' (Much ado about nothing) note that, 'De Commissie bracht ook verder weinig tot niets tot stand' (The commission, furthermore, created little to next to nothing). Moreover, in 1955, Leo Braat resigned as secretary from the Commission for Translation Matters as he had been disillusioned with the entire project stating that the exercise had been a farce and in fact in 1957 the Commission dissolved itself. There was still interest in the quality of translations but there seemed no one to lead a new initiative.

A key figure in post war cultural policy was Hendrik Jan Reinink, possessing in Boudieu's terms, cultural capital<sup>6</sup> as professor of Dutch literature at the University of Amsterdam as well as having symbolic capital<sup>7</sup> by being a member of the Dutch Parliament and a board member of the PEN. He wanted to address the issues surrounding exporting Dutch literature abroad by creating a Foundation consisting of members of literary organisations who would produce translated literature in a similar manner to that of Penguin Books. If I may highlight Penguin for a moment; Penguin Books is a British publishing house co-founded in 1935 by Sir Allen Lane and his brothers Richard and John. Penguin revolutionised publishing in the 1930s through its inexpensive paperbacks, sold through high street stores, bringing high-quality fiction and non-fiction to the mass market. After World War II, Penguin began 'Penguin Classics' with a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* by E. V. Rieu. This post war series was most likely what Reinink was referring to and indeed the drab colour format of the covers from Penguin books would be copied onto future *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works, although the series did not appear in a paperback format.

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<sup>6</sup> Cultural capital: A form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards. Within the field of education, for example, an academic degree constitutes cultural capital, Webb, Jen et al., 2002, x.

<sup>7</sup> Symbolic capital: A form of capital or value that is not recognised as such. Prestige and a glowing reputation, for example, operate as symbolic capital because they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities, Webb, Jen et al., 2002, xv.

### 3, The creation of the Foundation

At the end of 1954, a quango, the Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk te Amsterdam (The Foundation) came into existence and from then on, PEN Nederland took a back burner approach to translation matters. My second line of enquiry to answer my research questions asks what the micro-history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was and to answer this I need to establish the organisation which was responsible for its creation. The Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk was established [as stated in its legal charter in 1954 which was signed by H. A. Warmelink at his notary office in Amsterdam] with representatives from four literary and publishing agencies: The Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Society of Dutch Literature) was represented by Professor Doctor Pieter Minderaa,<sup>8</sup> who would become and remain chairman of the Foundation from 1954-1961 and Doctor Johannes Mak who would become and remain secretary/treasurer of the Foundation from 1954-1956. The Vereniging van Letterkundigen (The Author's Union) was represented by Emma Paulina van Lokhorst and Annie Romein-Verschoor; The Nederlandsche Uitgeversbond (Royal Dutch Publishing Union) was represented by Ernst Lefèbvre, chairman of the Foundation from 1954-1955 whilst The Centrum voor Nederland van de Internationale P.E.N. Club (The PEN Centre for the Netherlands) was represented by Victor Van Vriesland and Alfred Kossmann, Foundation members from 1955-1958. These members were likely to have been chosen to represent their organisations on the board of the Foundation because of their cultural and symbolic capital due to their academic qualifications, experience and prestige.<sup>9</sup>

A preliminary consultative meeting of the Foundation, which was minuted, took place on 18 November 1954 with representatives from the four agencies whose first decision was to establish a legal charter for the Foundation. Van Dijk (2008, 54) highlights the importance of recorded minutes which define the record of the encounter, and are often the institutional or legal basis for any further action or decision making. On 30 November 1954 the notary,

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<sup>8</sup> For an epitaph of Minderaa see: Janssens, Marcel (1968, 135-36).

<sup>9</sup> Van Voorst (2011, 6) provides the following: Emmy van Lokhorst (1891-1970), prose writer and member of the Foundation 1954-1964; Annie Romein-Verschoor (1895-1978), historian and writer: only present at the inaugural meeting of the board in 1954; Alfred Kossmann (1922-1998), poet, prose writer and member of the Foundation 1955-1958.



Hendrik Warmelink signed the charter detailing the members the goals of the Foundation and the requirements of its board as witnessed by the publisher, Albert Kluyver, director of the Nederlandsche Uitgeversbond and support staff Jacoba van der Werf and H el ene Josephine Dumont.

The Foundation was given an initial budget of 25,000 guilders (equivalent to  188,421 today).<sup>10</sup> In setting the tone of the organisation, it is important to appreciate that the Foundation was initially established to serve the Netherlands exclusively omitting other Dutch speaking countries as mentioned in Chapter Two. Dorleijn and Kees van Rees (2006, 15) emphasise that new organisations generally are continually appearing in the literary field. The Foundation was created from four Dutch agencies which unfortunately lacked representatives with business acumen, which I shall discuss later in this chapter, and was also only founded with representatives from the Netherlands with Belgium not coming on board until 1960.

#### **4, The board: its raison d' tre; its aims; its suitability as a committee and whether too many translated works were being considered at the same time**

The Foundation was served by a board in the form of a committee as its basic organ of oversight to consider works for translation which had three roles: to select translators for the titles to be translated which I will discuss in Chapter Five, to choose publishing companies who would produce the translated volumes which I will discuss in Chapters Six and Seven, and to determine which Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish oeuvres would form part of their repertoire which is discussed in Chapter Four. This was to present challenges because there was no model for this undertaking at the time as such a project had not been attempted before and therefore there was no method of improving on previous attempts.

The legal charter (1954) shows that the functions of the Foundation were to be administered by a board which would comprise of one member from each of the four agencies plus a fifth appointed agency at a later date if deemed necessary. The members would be given two or four year tenure, after which a new candidate would take office. Oversteegen, the director of the Foundation had permanent tenure, securing a salary of

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<sup>10</sup> A pound in 1954 was equivalent to 3.8 guilders. One pound in 1954 is equivalent to  28.64 pounds today.

9,000 guilders (£67,832 at today's prices) per year for his position according to a letter from Mak, the treasurer on 28 July 1955. Minderaa secured the chair of the board from 1956, following Lefèbvre's resignation, until 1961. In the first instance, the board would comprise of Minderaa, Van Lokhorst, Van Vriesland and Lefèbvre<sup>11</sup> with all members of the board having either a two or four year contract. The board was responsible for guiding the Foundation, and to do this would appoint a chairman, joint secretary and treasurer. Lefèbvre was initially appointed chairman and Mak as secretary/treasurer, see Table 3.

<b>Members of the Inaugural Board</b>		
<b>Representative Dutch (Netherlandic) institutions who sent members to the board in 1954</b>	<b>English name of institutions</b>	<b>Members</b>
De Vereniging van Letterkundigen	The Authors Union	Emma Paulina van Lokhorst
De Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde	Society of Dutch Literature	Professor Pieter Minderaa
Het PEN-Centrum voor Nederland	The PEN Centre for The Netherlands	Viktor van Vriesland
De Koninklijke Nederlandsche Uitgeversbond	Royal Dutch Publishing Union	Ernest Lefèbvre

Table 3: Members of the Inaugural Board

### **i, The raison d'être of the board**

Dutch literary obscurity outside the Netherlands, as introduced earlier in this chapter, plays a part in the board's raison d'être. In a brochure (n.d. [c. 1960]) produced by the Foundation entitled *Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk* (The Foundation for the Promotion of the Translation of Dutch Literary Works) to illustrate the

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<sup>11</sup> Van Voorst (2011, 6) provides the following: Victor van Vriesland (1892-1974), poet and critic. Member of the Foundation 1958-1966. Chairman of the board at its inaugural meeting in 1954; Jan Mak (1908-1975), literary historian, Secretary and treasurer 1954-1956; Piet Minderaa, (1893-1968), literary historian, poet and chairman of the board 1954-1961.

Lefèbvre, publisher, Member of the Foundation and chairman 1954-1955; Kluyver, publisher, only present at the inaugural meeting of the Foundation in 1954.

reasons for its existence, the Foundation attempted to account for the inferiority of Dutch literature outside the Netherlands and sought to find a solution through translation. The brochure, like the leaflet mentioned in the discussion on cultural diplomacy, is also informative but its omission of publishing data also reflects the Foundation's lack of strategy. The following statements by the Foundation in the English published brochure (n.d. [c. 1960]) illustrate how it saw the world in the light of Casanova on dominant languages:

Dutch literature has only been translated by chance, a chance whereby artistic quality was seldom the deciding factor. It was understandable that in an atmosphere of the growing importance of cultural life by the government, our literature's inferiority, compared to other cultural areas and of those abroad, could not remain unnoticed.

Does this mean that the Netherlands is the country without literature? Of course it would be absurd to contend that a literature is secretly flourishing in the Netherlands which produces one masterpiece after another, yet the Netherlands is most decidedly not a country without a literature.

The Foundation may have misjudged this obscurity because as Heilbron (1995,230) points out that the number of translated Dutch novels rose in the period 1900-1909 from 127 in 12 languages to 701 in 28 languages in the period 1950-1957. What was needed, however, was a planned policy for the export of translated literature as well as a pool of translators who would produce a quality end product which the PEN and Commission for Translated Matters had failed to produce. These were aims which the Foundation addressed.

Translated volumes of literature were being produced in Europe but I am specifically interested in the production of 'series' of works. In chapter Four I highlight a translation conference I attended where I asked the delegates from Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and Spain whether such a venture had been undertaken in their countries. Under subheading 'Was a similar series to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* produced in a European country after World War II?' in Chapter Four, I note their replies to the answer were negative and supply data to this fact in Appendix 1.

## ii, The aims of the board

The general aim of the board was to raise awareness of Dutch literature abroad whilst recognising its obscurity due to the language-barrier as discussed in Chapter Two. The Dutch needed to 'sell' their literature to a market which did not know of its existence and Vimr (2020, 51-52) calls this 'selling method' of transnational export of literature from a small nation as one of being 'supply-driven' whereby:

The key impulse for a translation does not come from within the target literary system, based on the reflection on what source systems have to offer and what the target culture may need. Rather, it comes from an entity positioned outside the target literary system with limited interest in and knowledge of the target literary system, including its 'gaps'. The range of stimuli on the supply side is variegated and includes, for example public agencies subsidizing translation [in this case, the Dutch Government].

Vimr (2020, 53) continues that, 'supplying translations is a practice that has consistently explored and been used by various actors, especially from smaller source cultures to stimulate a lower-than-expected demand in potential target cultures for over a century'.<sup>12</sup> In other words, make a market for a product if one does not already exist.

Returning to the aims of the board, its main aims as stated in *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen* (Ten Years of the Foundation for Languages, (n.d. [c. 1964], 4) were:

De Stichting heeft ten doel de kennis van de Nederlandse Letterkunde in het buitenland te bevorderen.

Zij stelt zich voor dit doel te bereiken door:

- a, Het leggen van contacten tussen Nederlandse en buitenlandse letterkundigen en uitgevers;
- b, Het meer bekendheid geven aan Nederlands letterkundig werk in het buitenland;
- c, Het doen vervaardigen van proefvertalingen en/of samenvattingen van Nederlands letterkundig werk;

(The Foundation's aim is to promote the knowledge of Dutch literature abroad.

It will establish this aim by:

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<sup>12</sup> For examples of supply-driven translation see chapters by Chitnis, Wolters, Hemansson and Leffler in Chitnis and others (2020).

- a, Establishing contacts between Dutch and foreign literary academics and publishers;
- b, Publicising Dutch literature abroad;
- c, Producing test translations and/or summaries of Dutch literary works;

These aims will be addressed in the chapters that follow: Chapters Six and Seven will illustrate part of points 'a' and 'b', in the search for publishing companies and the effect the two chosen publishers had on the export of the canon of Dutch literature. Chapter Five will address point 'c', the search and examination method used by the board to select translators for the literary volumes. Chapter Seven will discuss point 'b', and highlight the events that arose concerning advertising the literary translated volumes.

The Foundation was a State-funded quasi-governmental organization set up to deal with assisting in the translation of over 700 Dutch literary works into a variety of languages from 1956 until 1989.

### **iii, Allowing access of 'less' central languages a place on the world arena**

In an undated document printed around 1967, the Foundation produced a document of 772 translated literature entries entitled *Lijst met literair werk dat met hulp van de Stichting voor Vertaling in het buitenland werd ondergebracht 1954-1990* (List of translated literary works which appeared abroad with assistance from the Foundation in the period 1954-1989 (n.d. [c. 1995]). I have tabulated the data to illustrate the number of works which were translated by the Foundation and the target languages into which the works were translated, see Figure 1. The graph shows the prominence of English and the Foundation sought a solution whereby Dutch literary works could gain accessibility through translation into 'major' world languages and achieve status, recognition and possible success on the world literary arena. De Swaan (2001, 6) highlights this necessity:

If an Arab and a Chinese, a Russian and a Spaniard, or Japanese and a German meet, they will almost certainly make themselves understood in one and the same language, one that connects the supercentral languages with one another and that therefore constitutes the pivot of the world language system. This 'hypercentral' language that holds the entire constellation together is, of course, English.

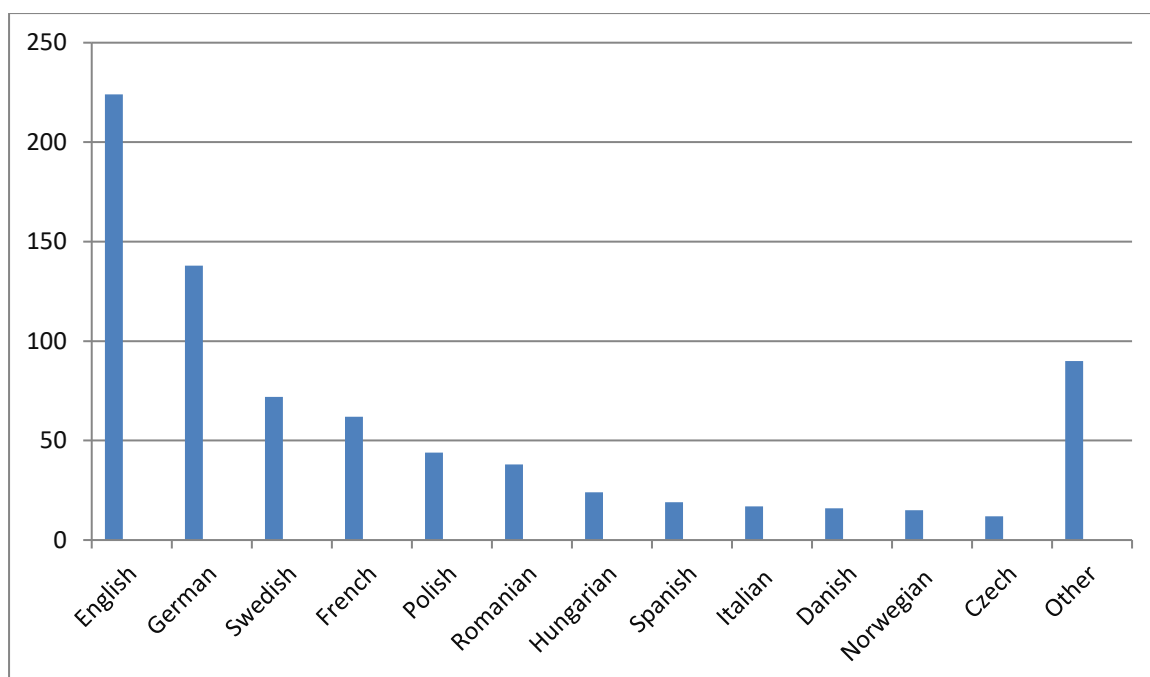


Figure 1: No. of Dutch works translated into other languages which the Foundation assisted in between 1954-1989

The Foundation was not only interested, however, in translating into the ‘major’ languages. I wanted to establish that as well as translating from Dutch into the the ‘major’ players of English, German (West), French and Spanish, translating into the ‘less’ central languages allowed those languages to enter the world arena. This allowed publishers from ‘less’ central languages to be informed of Dutch literature and perhaps even to be persuaded to import. I shall analyse the data after presenting the tables on page 69. Following tables which highlight the four ‘major’ languages, I have provided tables of the ‘less’ central languages’ translated works and listed them in order of publication, see Tables 4 - 15.

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into English (UK) between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>English Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1960	Hunting to live	Gomperts, H. A.
2	1960	Bitter Herbs	Minco, Marga
3	1962	The Dark Room of Damocles	Hermans, W. F.
4	1962	The Stone Bridal Bed	Mulisch, Harry
5	1963	Old People and the Things that Pass	Couperus, Louis
6	1963	The Waterman	Schendel, Arthur van
7	1963	The Man in the Mirror	Teirlinck, Herman

8	1963	Make Believe	Veen, Adriaan van der
9	1963	Marriage/Ordeal	Walschap, Gerard
10	1965	The House on the Canal	Coenen, Frans
11	1965	Three Novels	Elsschot, Willem
12	1965	Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	Several
13	1965	Alienation	Oudshoorn, J. van
14	1965	The Garden where the Brass Band played	Vestdijk, Simon
15	1967	Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	Several
16	1967	Max Havelaar	Multatuli
17	1968	What happened to Sergeant Massuro	Mulisch, Harry
18	1968	The Deadbeats	Ruyslinck, Ward
19	1969	After the Movies	Claus, Hugo
20	1969	Water	Geeraerts, Jef
21	1969	Wax Fruit	Wolkers, Jan
22	1970	The Horrible Tango	Wolkers, Jan
23	1973	Reflections	Insingel, Mark
24	1973	The Fall	Schierbeek, Bert
25	1973	Second Aeon	Verhagen, Hans
26	1973	Cocoon	Verhagen, Hans
27	1974	On the Netherlands	anonymous
28	1974	Portrait of a Landscape: A Winter Music	Kouwenaar, Gerrit
29	1974	The Tired Lovers: Art's Folder	Lucebert
30	1974	Books on the Netherlands	Several
31	1974	Chapman vol 2. No. 5/6	Several
32	1974	Turkish Delight	Wolkers, Jan
33	1974	No Title	Bomans, Godfried
34	1974	No Title (from Sprookjes van de lage Lnden)	Several
35	1974	No Title (from Bloemlezing moderene NLse poëzie en modern NLse Proza)	Several
36	1974	Max Havelaar	Multatuli
37	1974	Hommage to the Singer	Ostaijen, Paul van
38	1974	The Fifth Seal	Vestdijk, Simon

39	1975	Golden Ophelia	Ruyslinck, Ward
40	1975	Decor/Stills	Kouwenaar, Gerrit
41	1975	The Man who meant Well	Walschap, Gerard
42	1975	Stills	Kouwenaar, Gerrit
43	1976	Modern Poetry in Translation	Several
44	1976	Prospice	Several
45	1977	No Title (from an Anthologie van Gedichten)	anonymous
46	1977	No Title (from an Anthologie van Gedichten)	Conrad, P.
47	1977	Oasis	Several
48	1977	No Title (from an Anthologie van Gedichten)	Snoek, Paul
49	1977	Four Flemish Poets	Several
50	1977	Four Dutch Poets	Several
51	1977	Stars over Bombay	Verhagen, Hans
52	1977	No Title (from Klaagheid om Agnes)	Gijsen, Marnix
53	1977	No Title (from Bloemlezing Gedichten)	Several
54	1977	No Title (from Bloemlezing verhalen)	Several
55	1977	No Title (from Het Reservoir)	Ruyslinck, Ward
56	1978	No Title (from Vijf Gedichtencycli)	Berge, H. C. ten
57	1978	Gedichten in Dutch Crossing	Berge, H. C. ten
58	1978	No Title (from Sneeuw)	Cremer, Jan
59	1978	No Title (from Uylenspiegel)	Decoster, Ch.
60	1978	No Title (from Pauls ontwaken)	Eeden, Frederik van
61	1978	No Title (from Ratten)	Hart, Maarten 't
62	1978	9000 Jackals swimming to Boston	Lucebert
63	1978	No Title (from Prozabundel VI en NL. Auteurs)	Several
64	1978	Twee Vrouwen	Mulisch, Harry
65	1978	Oude Lucht	Mulisch, Harry
66	1978	No Title (from verhaal)	Ruyslinck, Ward
67	1978	No Title (from gedichten)	Schierbeek, Bert
68	1979	Adam, International Review, NL Nummer	anonymous
69	1979	2 Gedichten in Little World	Berge, H.C. ten
70	1979	6 Gedichten in Dutch Crossing	Gelderblom, A.
71	1979	4 Gedichten	Gelderblom, A.



72	1979	3 Gedichten in Little world	Hoste, Pol
73	1979	De Schaamte voorbij	Meulenbelt, Anja
74	1979	X-Man	Polet, Sybren
75	1979	The Stark	Polet, Sybren
76	1979	Poëzie	Vondel, J. van den
77	1980	No Title (from Een aanmerkelijke luchtreis)	Bilderdijk, Willem
78	1980	No Title ( from Trends vol 2 nr, 4 Gedichten)	Several
79	1980	Voor Onszelf	Meulenbelt, Anja
80	1983	De zwaarte hond	Bernlef, J.
81	1984	Bearers of bad Tidings	Hart, Maarten 't
82	1984	A Lamb to slaughter	Kooiman, Dirk Ayelt
83	1985	The Assault	Mulisch, Harry
84	1986	Selected Poems 1953-1973	Claus, Hugo
85	1986	A Posthumous Confession	Emants, Marcellus
86	1986	A Flight of Curlews	Hart, Maarten 't
87	1986	The Assault (pocket)	Mulisch, Harry
88	1987	A Remarkable Aerial Voyage	Bilderdijk, Willem
89	1987	Last Call	Mulisch, Harry
90	1989	Out of Mind	Bernlef, J.
91	1989	A vanishing Emptiness	Roggeman, Willem

Table 4: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into English (UK) between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into German (West) between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1958	Das Recht seltsame und durchaus abenteuerliche Menscenleben des einstigen Kasper von Klassen	Klany, J. J.
2	1962	Gedichte und Zeichnungen	Lucebert
3	1964	Gedichte in Castrum Peregrini 65	Roland Holst, Adriaan
4	1965	Human Being in Pro Blätter für neue Literatur nr. 1)	Verhagen, Hans
5	1966	Niederländischer Erzähler der Gegenwart	Several
6	1966	Poesie	Ostaijen, Paul van
7	1967	Horror vacui. Erzählungen	Hamelink, Jacque
8	1967	Der Preisstier	López, Esteban
9	1968	Die Schrecken des Nordens	Burnier, Andreas

10	1968	Tränen der Akazien	Hermans, W. F.
11	1968	Egoist 15	Several
12	1968	Ein Faun mit Kallen Hörnchen	Raes, Hugo
13	1968	Aufstehen am Samstag	Toonder, Jan Gerhard
14	1969	Der Tag am Strand	Heeresma, Heere
15	1969	Nierländer Erzählen	Several
16	1969	Club der Versuchspersonen	Raes, Hugo
17	1969	Eine Rose von Fleisch	Wolkers, Jan
18	1970	Eine Strasse in Ter-muren	Boon, Louis Paul
19	1970	Zu gutter letzt in Dublin	Heeresema Inc
20	1970	Näher zu Dir	Reve, G. K. van het
21	1972	Ohne Namen	Kouwenaar, Gerit
22	1972	Lied zwischen den Zähnen	Several
23	1974	Der ermüetenen Liebhaber	Lucebert
24	1974	Dokumente Hft 2. 30 jrg. 1974	Several
25	1974	Niederländische Literatur der Gegenwart	Several
26	1974	No Title (from De Bende van Jan de Lichte)	Boon, Louis Paul
27	1974	No Title (from De verwondering)	Claus, Hugo
28	1974	No Title (from Bloemlezing NLse verhalen)	Several
29	1974	Max Havelaar	Multatuli
30	1974	No Title (from De Avonden)	Reve G. K. van het
31	1975	No Title (from Bloemlezing Europees proza)	Several
32	1975	No Title (from De Avonden)	Reve G. K. van het
33	1975	Türkische Früchte	Wolkers, Jan
34	1975	Menuett	Boon, Louis Paul
35	1976	Gedichte mit Stille geschrieben	Snoek, Paul
36	1977	No Title (from De dagen van Olim)	Insingel, Mark
37	1977	Der leere Spiegel	Wetering J.W. van de
38	1977	No Title (from Bloemlezing literaire science- fiction)	Several
39	1977	No Title (from Napoleon)	Presser, Jacques
40	1978	No Title (from De verwondering)	Claus, Hugo
41	1978	Die modern Erzähler der Welt/Niederlande	Several
42	1979	No Title (from Het boot in het koren)	Bouhuys, Mes

43	1979	No Title (from Zeg het maar)	Diekman, M.
44	1979	No Title (from Een wonderkind of het total loss.	Hermans, W. F.
45	1979	Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke aus den Niederländen	Several
46	1979	No Title (from Twee Vrouwen)	Mulisch, Harry
47	1979	No Title (from Golden Ophelia)	Ruyslinck, Ward
48	1980	No Title (from Allemaal tränen)	Keulen, Mensje van
49	1980	No Title (from De ontaarde slapers)	Ruyslinck, Ward
50	1981	No Title (from Dubbelspel)	Arion, Martinus
51	1981	No Title (from Geef me de ruimte)	Beckman, Thea
52	1981	Die Tage sind gezählt	Several
53	1983	Das andere Gesicht, edichte, Prosa, Manifeste, Roman	Doesburg, Theo van
54	1983	Bloemlezing proza: Flämische Weihnachtsgeschichten	Several
55	1983	Bloemlezing verhalen : Mit dem Mofa übers Meer	Several
56	1983	Alpenjägerlied	Ostaijen, Paul van
57	1984	Der Katze hinterher	Meijsing, Doeschka
58	1985	Höldrins Turm	Frederik, Kester
59	1985	Unfreiwillige Seereise	Hart, Marten, 't
60	1985	Die Linien der Zeit	Loggem, Manuel van
61	1985	Bloemlezing poëzie: Unbekante Nähe	Several
62	1985	Bloemlezing proza: Mit anderen Augen	Several
63	1985	Das bittere Kraut	Calmann-Lévy
64	1985	Tituale	Nooteboom, Cees
65	1985	Auf der Suche nach Padjelanta	Quintan, Anton
66	1985	Geliebt und bewundert	Vries, Theun, de
67	1985	Der Pfirisch der Unsterblichkeit	Wolkers, Jan
68	1986	Ann, Kitty und die beiden Paulas	Bouhuys, Mies
69	1986	Der Liebeskäfer	Hoopen, Peter ten
70	1986	Der Attentat	Mulisch, Harry
71	1986	Näher zu Dir	Reve, G. K. Van het
72	1986	Das verbotene Reich	Slauerhoff, Jan
73	1986	Türkische Früchte (pocket)	Wolkers, Jan
74	1987	Jan de Lichte und seine Bande	Boon, Louis, Paul
75	1987	Eingeweihte . Was glaubt ihr, wer ihr seid	Dorrestein, Renate

76	1987	Fluchtversuche	Keulen, Mensje van
77	1987	Höchste Zeit	Mulisch, Harry
78	1987	Strafsache 40/61 (2e druk)	Mulisch, Harry
79	1987	In den niederländischen Bergen	Nooteboom, Cees
80	1988	Mein kleiner Krieg	Boon, Louis, Paul
81	1988	Nathan Sid	Dis, Adriaan van
82	1988	Ein Schwarm Regenbrachvögel	Hart, Maarten 't
83	1988	Bloemlezing proza en Poëzie : Belgien	Several
84	1988	Die Abende	Reve, G.K. van het
85	1989	Das Sakrament	Claus, Hugo
86	1989	Die Stunde X	Nijhoff, Martinus
87	1989	Ein Leid von Schein und Sein	Noteboom, Cees
88	1989	Der polnische Knoten	Ritzerfeld, J.

Table 5: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into German (West) between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into French between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>French Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1959	La dernière heure	Hoogte, Albert v.d.
2	1959	La roulette hollandaise	Jong, Dola de
3	1959	Le clan	Walraven, Willem
4	1963	La chamber noire de Damocles	Hermans, W. F.
5	1963	L'île au rhum	Vestdijk, Simon
6	1965	Nouvelles Neerlandaises des Flandres et Pays-Bas	Several
7	1966	Le règne vegetal	Hamelink, Jacques
8	1966	L'ornement des noces spirituelles	Ruustbroec, Jan van
9	1966	Les voyageurs	Vestdijk, Simon
10	1968	Max Havelaar	Multatuli
11	1969	Une confession posthume	Emants, Marcellus
12	1969	Télèmaque au village	Gijssen, Marnix
13	1970	Horror vacui	Hamelink, Jacques
14	1971	Les oiseaux ris	Schendel, Arthur van
15	1971	Autoportrait	Teirlinck, Herman
16	1973	Vieles gens et choses qui passent	Couperus, Louis

17	1973	Brévaire des Pays-Bas	Several
18	1974	No Title (from De stille Kracht)	Couperus, Louis
19	1975	Anthologie de la poésie néerlandaise de 1850 à 1945	Several
20	1975	Ecume et cendre	Slauerhoff, Jan
21	1976	Les Délices de Turquie	Wolkers, Jan
22	1978	No Title (from 4 gedichten)	Kouwenaar, Gerrit
23	1980	No Title (from Het Land van Herkomst)	Perron, E. du
24	1981	No Title (from Over de Tong)	Berge, H.C. ten
25	1981	Essay in Europe	Ferron, L.
26	1984	L'attentat	Mulisch, Harry
27	1985	Noces de pierre	Mulisch, Harry
28	1985	Rituels	Nooteboom, Cees
29	1986	L'Etonement	Claus, Hugo
30	1986	La force des tenebres	Couperus, Louis
31	1986	Bloemlezing poëzie	Several
32	1986	Deux femmes	Mulisch, Harry
33	1986	L'attentat (pocket)	Mulisch, Harry
34	1987	Les femmes de l'archange	Michels, Ivo
35	1987	Mokusei	Nooteboom, Cees
36	1988	Chimeres	Bernlef, J.
37	1988	Le chant de l'être et du paraître	Nooteboom, Cees
38	1989	L'Espadon	Claus, Hugo
39	1989	Le pupille	Mulisch, Harry
40	1989	La Bouddha derrière la palissade	Nooteboom, Cees

Table 6: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into French between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Spanish between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1959	Teatro Neerlandés contemporáneo	Several
2	1971	Un día en la playa	Heeresma, Heere
3	1971	Antología de la poesía neerlandesa moderna	Several
4	1972	Por siempre othno	Vestdijk, Simon
5	1974	Bloemlezing modern NLse verhalen	Several
6	1976	Al margen de la vida	Ruyslinck, Ward

7	1977	No Title (from De Kapellekensbaan)	Boon, Louis Paul
8	1977	No Title (from De komst van Joachim Stiller)	Lampo, Hubert
9	1978	Antologia	Lucebert
10	1986	El Atentado	Mulisch, Harry
11	1987	Rituales	Nooteboom, Cees
12	1987	Infancia	Oberski, Jona
13	1988	Dos mujeres	Mulisch, Harry

Table 7: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Spanish between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Swedish between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Swedish Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1962	Mörkrummet	Hermans, W. F.
2	1966	Kyparen och de levande	Vestdijk, Simon
3	1966	Resan tiil Jamaica	Vestdijk, Simon
4	1969	Moderna holländska berättare	Several
5	1969	Der rysliga snöbgubben och andra noveller	Wolkers, Jan
6	1970	Tva sagor	Boon, Louis Paul
7	1973	Turkisk konfekt	Wolkers, Jan
8	1975	Lilla Kapellets Vägg	Boon, Louis Paul
9	1975	Joakim fran Babylon	Gijsen, Marnix
10	1976	No Title (from Menuet)	Boon, Louis Paul
11	1976	No Title (from Klaagheid om Agnes)	Gijsen, Marnix
12	1976	Telemokos i byn	Gijsen, Marnix
13	1976	No Title (from Horrible Tango)	Wolkers, Jan
14	1976	Menuett	Boon, Louis Paul
15	1976	Mitt lilla krig	Boon, Louis Paul
16	1977	No Title (from Gangreen)	Geeraerts, Jef
17	1977	No Title ( from Ik ben maar een neger)	Geeraerts, Jef
18	1977	De olyckligas krog	Gijsen, Marnix
19	1977	No Title (from De komst van Joachim Stiller)	Lampo, Hubert
20	1977	No title (from Mijn kleine oorlog)	Boon, Louis Paul
21	1977	No title (from Max Havelaar)	Multatuli
22	1977	No Title (from Terug naar Oegstgeest)	Wolkers, Jan
23	1978	No Title (from Harmagedon)	Gijsen, Marnix

24	1980	No title (from De zwarte hand)	Boon Louis Paul
25	1980	No Title (from Morgen kom ik logeren)	Törnquist, Rita
26	1980	No Title (from De kus)	Wolkers, Jan
27	1980	No Title (from Het gevaar)	Vandeloo, J.
28	1982	No Title (from Golden Ophelia)	Ruyslinck, Ward
29	1983	Smaspovar i Flykt	Hart, Maarten 't
30	1983	Fladdrande sommar klanningar	Jong, Oek de
31	1983	Ododighetens periska	Wolkers, Jan
32	1984	Bottensats	Brouwers, Jeroen
33	1986	Fordundran	Claus, Hugo
34	1986	Mammut pa en sondag	Mulisch, Harry
35	1986	Overfallet	Mulisch, Harry
36	1987	Hjarnspoken	Bernlef, J.
37	1987	En cirkel i graset	Jong, Oek de
38	1988	Ritualer	Nooteboom, Cees
39	1989	En offentlig hemlighet	Bernlef j.
40	1989	En Barbar i Kina	Dis, Adriaan van
41	1989	Faders forbannelse	Paemel, Monika van

Table 8: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Swedish between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Polish between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1959	Fregata Johanna Maria	Schendel, Arthur van
2	1964	Jan Houtekiet	Walschap, Gerard
3	1966	Ludzie starzy isprawy presmijajace	Couperus, Louis
4	1968	Gedichten	Claus, huo
5	1968	Czowiek w lustrze	Teirlinck, Herman
6	1970	Piata pieczec	Vestdijk, Simon
7	1971	Elliasz abo walka ze slowikami	Gilliams, Maurice
8	1971	Wyspa rumu	Vestdijk, Simon
9	1971	Mastenstwo/ Celibat	Walschap, Gerard
10	1972	Dzien na plazy	Heeresma, Heere
11	1972	Rezerat	Ruyslinck, Ward
12	1973	Hochsztapler Laarmans	Elsschot, Willem

13	1973	Ksiega alfa	Michels, Ivo
14	1973	Tworcy kultury	Romein, Annie en Jan
15	1974	Zapomiana ulica	Boon, Louis Paul
16	1974	No Title (from Bloemlezing Belgisch proza)	Several
17	1974	No Title (from De lotgevallen)	Raes, Hugo
18	1974	No Title (from De dokter en het lichte meisje)	Vestdijk, Simon
19	1975	Bez przebudzenia	Ruyslinck, ward
20	1976	Czarne swalto	Mulisch, Harry
21	1977	No Title (inleiding op anthologie van verhalen)	Several
22	1977	Literatura na Swiecie	Several
23	1977	Kiega Joachima zBabilonu	Gijzen, Marnix
24	1979	No Title (Essays)	Vestdijk, Simon
25	1987	Cztery Palce	Gulik, Robert van
26	1987	Poezje wybrane	Ostaijen, Paul van
27	1988	Martwa Natura z Morszynem	Bernlef, J.
28	1988	Zamach	Mulisch, Harry
29	1989	No Title (Hotel Eden)	Coninck, Herman de
30	1989	Palm flamandzki	Timmermans, Felix

Table 9: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Polish between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Romanian between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1959	Amurgul avolui medui	Huizinga, Johan
2	1967	Max Havelaar	Multatuli
3	1970	O zi la playa	Heeresmaa, Heere
4	1970	Autoportret sau ultima masa a unui condamnat	Teirlinck, Herman
5	1972	Gradina de armara	Vestdijk, Simon
6	1973	Telemah la tara	Gijzen, Marnix
7	1973	Misterul Bornarzo	Haasse, Hella S.
8	1973	Antologie der poezie neerlandeža	Several
9	1974	Leul Flandrei	Conscience, Hendrik
10	1974	Secrutul din Java	Couperus, Louis
11	1974	Erasm	Huizinga, Johan



12	1974	La stinga liniei elicoptere	Raes, Hugo
13	1974	Omul apei	Schennedel, Arthur van
14	1974	No Title (from De man die zijn haar kort liet knippen)	Daisne, Johan
15	1974	Bloemlezing NLS proza	Several
16	1974	No Title (from Literature of the Low Countries)	Meijer r.p.
17	1974	No Title (from Het stenen bruidsbed)	Mulisch, Harry
18	1974	No Title (from Erflaters van onze beschaving)	Romein, Annie en Jan
19	1974	No Title (from rolande met de bles)	Teirlinck, Herman
20	1974	Celibaat en andere Roman	Walschap, Gerard
21	1977	No Title (from De bende van Jan de Lichte)	Boon, Louis Paul
22	1977	Homo Ludens	Huizinga, Johan
23	1977	Soseira lui Joachim Stiller	Lampo, Hubert
24	1977	Certeza, pictorlor	Mander, Carel van
25	1978	No Title ( from Jan Steen)	Kelk, J.C.
26	1978	Diamantful	Mulisch, Harry
27	1979	Reservatia	Ruyslinck, Ward
28	1984	Ceata Lui Jan de Lichte	Boon, Louis Paul
29	1988	Atentatul	Mulisch, Harry
30	1989	Mihnirea Belgei	Claus, Hugo
31	1989	Scara de nori si de piatra	Daisne, Johan

Table 10: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Romanian between 1956 and 1989

**Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Hungarian between 1956 and 1989**

No.	Year	Title	Author
1	1965	Németföldi kölk antológiája	Several
2	1971	Dominee met de ststrooien hoed. In Nayvilàg	Wolkers, Jan
3	1972	Viz in Nayvilàg	Geeraerts, Jef
4	1973	Apa, anya és flu. In Nayvilàg 2	Blaman, Anna
5	1973	ergy nap a tengerparton in Nayvilàg	Heeresma, Heere
6	1974	No Title (from roman of bloemlezing van verhalen)	Koolhaas, Anton
7	1974	Felbermaradt Mennydorges	Several
8	1976	Felbermaradt Mennydorges	Several
9	1976	Telemakhosz	Gijssen, Marnix

10	1977	No Title (from Anthologie van gedichten)	Anonymous
11	1977	No Title (from Bloemlezing gedichten)	Several
12	1977	Titkok birodalma	Vries, Theun de
13	1978	A rum szigete	Vestdijk, Simon
14	1978	No Title (from Poëziebloemlezing)	Several
15	1981	No Title (from het bittere bruid)	Minco, Marga
16	1986	A bablioni Joakim	Gijssen, Marnix
17	1986	Szertartasok	Nooteboom, Cees
18	1988	Ki latta Eileen W.	Winter, Leon de
19	1989	Dal a latszarol es a valosagrol	Nooteboom, Cees

Table 11: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Hungarian between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Italian between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1986	La scomparsa dell'orologiaio	Vestdijk, Simon
2	1963	La sala grande	Velde, Jacoba van
3	1963	L'isola del rum	Vestdijk, Simon
4	1965	Max havelaar	Multatuli
5	1973	Una giornata aal spiaggia	Heeresma, Heere
6	1974	Il mio amico assassino	Gijssen, Marnix
7	1974	Intrigo spangnolesco	Heeresma, Faber
8	1974	Pax per gli uomini cattiva volonta	Heeresma, Faber
9	1975	Il fuoco fatuo	Elsschot, Willem
10	1977	No Title (from Gangreen )	Geeraerts, Jef
11	1977	No Title (from Het verhaal van Matsombo)	Geeraerts, Jef
12	1978	Una sera un treno	Daisne, Johan
13	1978	No Title (from bloemlezing gedichte Ten Berge)	Several
14	1980	No Title (from Het gevaar)	Vandeloo, J.
15	1984	Un Volo Di Chiurli	Hart, Maarten 't
16	1986	L'attentato	Mulisch, Harry
17	1989	L'attentato	Mulisch, Harry

Table 12: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Italian between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Danish between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1958	Min brune ven	Vestdijk, Simon
2	1968	Nyere Hollandsk prosa	Several
3	1968	Den ottende plage	Wolkers, Jan
4	1969	Drømmen om insulinde	Multatuli
5	1973	En tur til zwolle	Campert, Remco
6	1980	NoTitle (from De schaamte voorbij)	Meulenbelt, Anja
7	1986	Et Tilfaelde	Mulisch, Harry
8	1986	Nej, Pedro, Nej	Willems, Liva
9	1987	Hjernesvind	Bernlef, J.
19	1987	Bloemlezing verhalen	Michaelis, Hanny
20	1987	Ritualer	Nooteboom, Cees
21	1987	Barnear	Oberski, Jona
22	1988	Bouainville	Spriner, F.

Table 13: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Danish between 1956 and 1989

<b>Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Norwegian between 1956 and 1989</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>
1	1958	Damokles'møkerom	Hermans, W. F.
2	1962	Hundeslager	Claus, Hugo
3	1962	Brudesengen av sten	Mulisch, Harry
4	1969	De lave land forteller	Several
5	1972	Gangren I	Geeraerts, Jef
6	1977	Fra de lave land	Several
7	1977	No Title (from Max Havelaar)	Multatuli
8	1977	No Title (from Een roos van vlees)	Wolkers, Jan
9	1978	No Title (from De kleine Johannes)	Eedenn Frederik van
10	1981	Fidessa	Couperus, Louis
11	1984	Attentat	Mulisch, Harry
12	1986	Skyggebilder	Bernlef, J.
13	1988	Sirkel i gresset	Jong, Oek de

Table 14: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Norwegian between 1956 and 1989

Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Czech between 1956 and 1989			
No	Year	Title	Author
1	1959	Fragata Johanna Maria	Schendel, Arthur van
2	1974	Co dávno odnesi cas	Couperus, Louis
3	1974	No Title (from De Metsiers)	Claus, Hugo
4	1974	Neviditelny nepřítel	Corsari, Willy
5	1974	No Title (from De trein der traagheid)	Daisne, Johan
6	1974	No Title (from Bloemlezing uit zijn werk)	Ostaijen, Paul van
7	1975	Vincent v Haagu	Vries, Theun de
8	1976	No Title (from verhalenbundel)	Several
9	1977	Bludicka	Elsschot, Willem
10	1986	Atentatul	Mulisch, Harry

Table 15: Dutch works translated by the Foundation into Czech between 1956 and 1989

Figure 1 highlights a preponderance of translated Swedish literature despite it not being a ‘major’ language, which indicates that apart from the fact that the focus of the project was to place translated Dutch literature in as many countries as possible, literary Sweden had enjoyed a ‘special relationship’ over the years with literary Netherlands. Petra Broomans (2013, 7) highlights this, stating that this began in 1840 and continued to the interwar years:

Er zijn een aantal Zweedse stromingen die hun sporen op de Nederlandse kunst hebben achtergelaten. In de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw, in de periode ca. 1840-1880 waren realistische auteurs zoals Frederika Bremer, Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emelie Flygare-Carlén razend populair bij het Nederlandse publiek. In het interbellum werd er veel populaire literatuur vertaald, bijvoorbeeld romans van Jeanna Oterdahl en werden enkele gecanoniseerde auteurs zoals Harry Martinson en Moa Martinson in het Nederlands uitgebracht.

(There are a number of Swedish literary movements which have left their marks on the Dutch arts. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, around 1840-1880 realistic authors such as Frederika Bremer, Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emelie Flygare-Carlén were extremely popular with the Dutch public. In the interwar years, much popular literature was translated, for example novels by Jeanna Oterdahl, whilst a few canonised authors such as by Harry Martinson and Moa Martinson were published in Dutch).

In its formative years during the era of the creation of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* from 1956 to 1967, the board was involved in the translation of 69 works into a variety of languages as stated in *List of translated literary works which appeared abroad with assistance from the Foundation* (n.d. [c. 1995]). In the period 1954-1990, if we subtract the ten *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes this means that the board was involved in 59 other works which required translation. The board attempted to give the 'less' central languages access to Dutch literature despite the problems of finding translators and this problem is highlighted in *Tien Jaar Stichting Voor Vertalingen* (n. d. [c. 1964] 7) which highlights Italian as an example:

In het Italiaans bijvoorbeeld zijn verschillende boeken via een tussentaal vertaald, omdat er niet voldoende personen blijken te zijn.

(In Italian for example, many books have been translated via another language because there are not enough people available).

By analysing the data from the tables above, it becomes apparent that four of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes; *Three Novels* (1965), *The Man in the Mirror* (1965), *Marriage/Ordeal* (1967) and *Max Havelaar* (1967) may have stimulated translations into the central languages. *Max Havelaar* (1967) was translated into Romanian in 1967, into Danish in 1969 and into Swedish and Norwegian in 1977. *Ordeal* (1967) was translated into Polish in 1971 and Romanian in 1974; *Three Novels* (1965) was translated into Polish in 1973 and the *Man in the Mirror* (1965) was translated into Romanian in 1970.

The mission of the Foundation was not to import foreign literature as the Netherlands already imported much, especially from England and America. Van Voorst (1997) considers this, however, in her volume, *Weten wat er in de wereld te koop is*. Van Voorst's study demonstrates that the translation flows included substantial imported literature, especially from the Anglophone sphere. She highlights diverse institutions and those involved in the distribution of literary works as well as the emergence of paperback editions within the literary field, concentrating her study on the histories and their produced material of four publishers; Het Spectrum, J.M. Meulenhoff, L. J. Veen, and Contact.

She notes that many Dutch publishers became active in the sixties in the field of English translations when the English language area became dominant and throughout the study,

considers areas such as the formation of series, oeuvre build-up, fiction, non-fiction, translated literary fiction, and translated scientific fiction and pocket editions. She concludes her discussion by addressing 'networks' used to refer to instances and persons who provide selections from the foreign title supply to the publisher.

The board sought to export its literature through supply driven translation by establishing contacts with publishers and translators to publish translated works abroad. It translated into many languages and gave a chance for 'less' central languages to have exposure to Dutch literature.

#### **iv, The board and its suitability as a committee for deciding which Dutch literary volumes should be translated**

I want to consider here whether a committee in the form of a board was the correct medium to deliver exported Dutch literature in translation. It is important to establish what an organisation is, what the objectives of organisations are and why groups of people are perceived to achieve more than one individual member. I also discuss the paradox of committees in that they must be large enough to represent all interests but that this often results in them being slow in fulfilling their brief.

My second line of enquiry concerns the suitability of purpose for a committee to select works for literature export. Needle (2001, 11-13) states that an organisation is a grouping of activities and people to achieve the goals of an organisation, with Handy (1993, 153) stressing that individuals use groups as a means of gaining help and support to carry out particular objectives and is a means of sharing and helping in a common activity, or purpose which creates something. Organisations do not form accidentally or spontaneously according to Schein (1991, 14-15); they are 'created' because one or more individuals perceive that the coordinated and concerted action of a number of people can accomplish something that individual action cannot. According to Pfeffer (1981, 173-75) one frequently used vehicle for co-opting various internal interests and building legitimacy and support of decisions is the use of committees and Handy (1993, 150-153) agrees stating that, 'The committee must be large enough to represent the various conflicting interests and must be comprised of representatives from the various constituencies potentially affected by the decision issue'.

The board, a committee, was created with the hope of creating a synergy whereby the interaction or cooperation of agents would produce a combined effect greater than the sum of their separate effects. It was therefore created to discuss and pool ideas in order to make decisions that would have been challenging to an individual member but, however, was to prove slow in the decision making processes needed for the selection of translated works. The board's meeting on 12 November 1956 shows first mention of a planned *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, a library of Dutch translated works into English, but it was not until six years later during the meeting of 11 January 1962 when the final decisions were made concerning the exact composition of the series. Pfeffer (1981, 174-75) offers a reason why committees in general are slow to reach decisions:

Committees are created in those situations in which there are no clearly agreed upon technology for finding a generally acceptable or correct solution. Thus, committees are created and used in just those decision situations in which it is going to be the most problematic to arrive at a decision. In such a circumstance it is hardly surprising that the committee would take a long time to reach any kind of decision, or that the discussions and disagreements evidenced at the meetings would become uncomfortable for those involved. This feeling of frustration is particularly likely given the belief in rationality that pervades most work organisations. As a consequence, persons come to committees not only joining a difficult decision making situation, but furthermore, with a set of beliefs about the operation of decision processes which are likely to be violated as a very necessity of the purpose of the committee.

A committee of members, however, was the choice of the Foundation, which would be in keeping with the management theory of today which leans towards inclusivity, and on 3 January 1955 the first board's meeting of the year took place at De Doelen restaurant in Leiden under the chairmanship of Lefèbvre. Two months later on 10 March 1955, Oversteegen became director of the Foundation who made an initial hint at creating a series of translated literary works into English which would be an eclectic mix of works and made requests for board members to voice their opinion on what should be included, warning in a report on the Foundation's activities since July 1955 that, 'Het is essentieel dat ook bij de Bibliotheek de boeken niet op zolder van een uitgever zullen belanden' (It is essential that the publisher's books should not end up in the library's attic). The board's first

key project was the development of a series of Dutch imaginative works translated into English, eventually called the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

From 1956-1962 discussions took place between members of the board to decide which works should be included<sup>13</sup> but it was not until the board's meeting of 7 January 1960 that an initial list of 29 titles was presented by Minderaa, for inclusion in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## **5, A chronology of events leading up to Belgium joining the Foundation in 1960**

Belgium has three languages within its borders: French, German and Flemish. This Flemish speaking area of Belgium, Flanders, expressed an interest in joining the Foundation in 1960 so that its authors could be involved in a project whereby their works could be translated to reach the same global arena as its Dutch (Netherlandic) counterparts. I shall show that after the Foundation in the Netherlands was established, it became the priority of the board that Flanders would join its organisation and send representatives to it, since the two countries had authors who shared a common language.

Archival material illustrates the thinking that was occurring in various meetings in Belgium and the Netherlands and demonstrates the fact that there was a desire on both sides for a co-joint project between the Netherlands and Belgium. Regarding the export of their translated literatures, I will let the minutes of the meetings explain the roll out of events:

On 12 November 1956 the minutes of the board first record mention of a Netherlands–Belgium joint venture for the project with Minderaa indicating interest:

Aangaande de wenselijkheid van samenwerking tussen Belgische (vlaamse) en Nederlandse instanties die belast zijn met de verspreiding van Nederlands-talig letterkundige werken in het buitenland. Besloten wordt, met de Commissie van de Vlaamse Akademie, die deze kwestie in handen heeft, contact op te nemen via de secretaries, Dr. de Baere. Professor Minderaa deelt mee, dat van belgische zijde grote waardering bestaat voor het nederlandse project.

(On the issue of the desirability of co-operation between Belgian (Flemish) and Dutch departments who are interested in the distribution of Dutch language literary works abroad, it

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<sup>13</sup> Many titles were also suggested for all the unpublished works see: Appendix 6.



has been decided with the Royal Flemish Academy of Language and Literature,<sup>14</sup> who have shown an interest in this, to make contact with the secretary, Dr de Baere. Professor Minderaa adds that there is a great interest on the Belgian side for the Dutch project).

There was an interest on the Belgian side to join the programme although as the 1957 minutes show, there was an initial doubt of which co-joint operation would be chosen. On 24 December 1957 the minutes reported the interest in a co-joint operation with Belgium with three possibilities of working together: a parallel Belgian Foundation, a separate Belgian Foundation or a new Dutch-Belgian Foundation with subsidies from both Governments [the latter was eventually the one that that was seen as the only workable solution]. In the following year, the minutes of 28 November 1958 recorded that Minderaa was in discussion with De Baere and the Flemish author Gerard Walschap, from the Royal Flemish Academy, where the possibility of a parallel organisation in Belgium was again mooted. The problem with the parallel model was that Belgium did not have a publishing agency as the Netherlands had in the form of the Royal Dutch Publishing Organisation. The minutes reported:

Een moeilijkheid bleek te zijn de paraelle organisaties van de Vlaamse vertegenwoordiging in het Bestuur, aangezien er geen uitgeverorganisatie is die met de Kon. Ned. Uitgeversbond te vergelijken is.

(A difficulty with having parallel organisations representing the government is that there is no Flemish publishing agency which can be compared to the Royal Dutch Publishing Organisation).

In the published booklet *Tien Jaar Stichting Voor Vertalingen* (Ten Years of the Foundation for Languages, (n.d. [c. 1964], 8) which recorded the Foundation's achievements following ten years in office, the issue of a joint programme with Belgium was reflected upon and pointed the way to problems which would eventually separate the two countries in 1989 into pursuing their own literature translation policies:

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<sup>14</sup>The now named 'Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts' is one of an independent learned society of science and arts of the Flemish Community in Belgium. It is one of Belgium's numerous academies and traces its origin to 1772 when the Imperial and Royal Academy of Brussels was founded by Empress Maria Theresia.

Op de Conferentie der Nederlandse Letteren <sup>15</sup>van 1959 te Antwerpen werd velezijden de wenselijkheid verdedigd van een samengaan van Nederland en België bij de verspreiding van onze litteratur in het buitenland. In België bestond geen georganiseerde activiteit op dit gebied, al was er hier en daar een begin gemaakt met de gesubsidieerde uitgave van klassieke reeksen, die echter nergens een success geworden waren. De bestreurenswaardige toestand dat gescheiden activiteiten bestonden voor de Nederlandstalige litteratuur, werkte nadelig voor beide landen.

(At the Belgian-Dutch Cultural Convention of 1959 held in Antwerp many supported the desire for a joint collaboration project between the Netherlands and Belgium to distribute their literature abroad. There existed no organised activity in this area in Belgium although initial progress had been made here and there with a subsidised published series of classics [probably the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* which I will discuss in Chapter Four] which, however, had never been a success. This regrettable condition of divided activities for Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature proved disadvantageous for both countries).

On 24 July 1959 Minderaa reported in the meeting that he had received a letter from Dr de Baere, the secretary of the Royal Flemish Academy of Language and Literature which promised a 30,000 Belgian Franc subsidy (equivalent to £4,273 today) <sup>16</sup> in order for Belgium to join the Foundation.

On 14 April 1960 a Flemish contingent of four organisations sent representatives to the board to represent Belgium's interests, see Table 16.

<b>Representative Flemish institutions on 14 April 1960</b>	<b>English name of institutions</b>	<b>Members</b>
De Vereniging van Vlaamse Letterkundigen	The Flemish Literary Association	Albert Westerlinck
De Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Taal- en	The Royal Flemish Academy of Language and Literature	Gerard Walschap

<sup>15</sup> The Conferentie der Nederlandse Letteren: The Belgian-Dutch Cultural Convention was a group of literati from the North and South who met on 6 and 7 October 1951 at the invitation of the Belgian government with the aim of demonstrating the cultural unity of the Dutch language area and strengthening personal contacts. The initiative came from Herman Teirlinck and Maurice Roelants . The participants were not only writers, publishers and librarians but representatives of radio and television.

<sup>16</sup> 140 Belgian Francs were worth one Pound in 1959. One Pound in 1959 is worth the equivalent of 19.94 Pounds today.

Letterkunde		
Het PEN-Centrum voor Vlaanderen	The PEN Centre for Flanders	
De Vereniging der Bevordering van het Vlaamse Boekwezen	Association for the Promotion of the Flemish Book Industry	Angèle Manteau
Private capacity		Luc Indestege

Table 16: Flemish members of the board in 1960

The minutes of the meeting recorded the new members, however, as Van Voorst (2011, 18) notes, the minutes are not always clear about the representative members and so the member for the PEN was not found in the minutes.<sup>17</sup>

The board now had four new representatives from Flemish literary organisations who would have a voice for Flemish literary works making the board a committee of eight members plus Oversteegen, the director. The Foundation's remit did not change when Belgium entered into this co-joint programme except for the fact that it was able to ensure that Flemish works would now be translated. What is noteworthy, however, is that the Flemings had an issue with wanting parity with literature from the Netherlands, and this was illustrated during the meeting of the board held in Brussels on Friday 27 November 1964 when Stheeman (secretary and treasurer of the board 1956-1966 employed by the Holkema and Warendorff publishing company in Amsterdam) read letters from the Belgian Minister Fayat and Dr. Kuypers, representing the Koninklijke Vlaams Academie (The Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts) in which he sharply condemned the use of the English words, 'Flemish' and 'Flemings' printed on the back flaps of the then seven published *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes. It was noted that the publishers had been contacted and whilst the Dutch publishing company Sijthoff did not mind making alterations, Alewyn Birch<sup>18</sup> sales manager of the English publisher Heinemann did, because the covers had already been printed. Discussions developed during the meeting with the

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<sup>17</sup> A. Westerlinck (1914-1984), poet and critic, Vice chairman 1960-1968; Angèle Manteau, publisher and Foundation member 1960-1970; Luc Indestege (1901-1974), poet, writer and Foundation member 1960-1970; Gerard Walschap (1898-1989) writer and Foundation member 1960-1966.

<sup>18</sup> For an obituary on Alewyn Birch see: Roth (2004).

Flemish writer Gerard Walschap saying this demand was too rigorous whilst the Dutch author Professor Brandt Corstius felt that the publishers had done everything to emphasise the unity of Netherlands literature and that this issue concerned the English language and not the Dutch. In effect the following happened: 'A Library of Classics of Dutch and Flemish Literature' as the heading on the back flap of the first seven published volumes was altered to, 'A Library of Dutch classics from Holland and Belgium' on the final three published volumes. These were Elsschot's *Three Novels* (1965), Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1967) and *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967). The text under this title containing the words 'Flemings' and 'Flemish' remained, however, the same as in the previous published seven volumes.

The Flemings were wanted by the board to form part of their organisation but they did not like being labelled with references to their Belgian culture. Belgium continued to send representatives to the board until 1989 when, due to financial issues, it would decide to function independently. In the Netherlands, the Foundation then became known as the 'Nederlands Literair Productie – en Vertalingenfonds' (Dutch Foundation for Literature and Translation) which was established in 1990.<sup>19</sup> In Belgium, the work was undertaken by the Ministerie van Cultuur en de Vlaamse Gemeenschap (Ministry for Culture and the Flemish Community).

## **6, The role of the Foundation in the years that followed its creation: a change in stance towards translated Dutch literature.**

The Foundation produced three booklets after its creation entitled *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen* (Ten years of the Foundation for Languages [n.d. [c. 1964]]), *Stichting voor Vertalingen, 15 Jaar 1954-1969* (Foundation for Languages, 15 Years 1954-1969 (1970) and *Stichting voor Vertalingen, 20 Jaar 1954-1974* (Foundation for Languages 20 Years 1954-1974 (1975) which summarise its role and activities within the field of translating literary works as it evolved over the years. Although the sections concerning translated literary works obviously grew over the passage of time, the main sections of the documents from

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<sup>19</sup> On 1 January 2010, this organisation merged with the Stichting Fonds voor de Letteren ('The Foundation for Literature') which was founded in 1965 to form the Nederlands Letterenfonds ('Dutch Foundation for Literature'). This organisation is fully subsidised by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

1969 to 1974 are similar in that they each highlight the unchanging role of the Foundation. This demonstrates that its ethos remained the same throughout stating that, 'The basis of the Foundation's work consists of offering literary works in whole or part translation' (1969, 3; 1974, 4). The three booklets basically cover six areas which deal with the following: how translators are selected; how they are supported with materials and advice; how they are offered grants; how they are offered travel bursaries to visit the Netherlands; how the Foundation reviews already published translations in a circular entitled 'Netherlands Books' and finally how the Foundation subsidises translated publications in cases where the publisher finds it impossible to meet the costs on his own.

In *The Foundation for Languages, 15 Years 1954-1969* (1970, 7) and *The Foundation for Languages 20 Years 1954-1974* (1975, 8) booklets, mention is made of *the Bibliotheca Neerlandica*:

In some very special cases, aid is given by the purchase of copies which are then presented to foreign universities and libraries, and to Dutch and Belgian institutes and study-groups in other countries. Instances where this has happened - again with extra support from the two ministries - include the series of Dutch classics (*Bibliotheca Neerlandica*) published in England with the Foundation's encouragement, and a similar series, *Pays-Bas/Flandres*, published in France.

Both booklets conclude by declaring its successes with literary participants:

It is gratifying to note that the Foundation is coming to be regarded more and more as an institute to which people turn automatically for anything concerning literary translations from the Dutch. Netherlands publishers are increasingly willing to cooperate, and authors, translators, and foreign publishers are turning more and more for help and advice to the Foundation, which as a result serves as a sort of information centre. In the years to come, the Foundation will continue to work with undiminished energy towards its highest and most important aim: to win and maintain for Netherlands authors that place in world literature to which their talent gives them right.

The Foundation was obviously pleased with its successes as it progressed through the years but did not mention areas of future development where it could improve, which suggests a sense of complacency.

## Conclusion

This chapter has addressed one of the issues in my second line of enquiry for my research question: the reasons for the creation of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* through the Foundation which was served by a board to export translated Dutch literature. One of the first major projects of the board was the translation of a series of Dutch volumes into English called the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which, as I will show in the following chapter, would become the delivery vehicle for Dutch canonical literature.

The chapter began by explaining the acceptance of the obscurity of Dutch literature abroad by Dutch politicians and scholars and the consequent need to resolve this problem using cultural diplomacy. I discussed that this angle taken by the Foundation was perhaps misguided due to Heilbon's findings of an increase in Dutch translated literature in the period 1900-1909 to 1950-1957 and that therefore Dutch translated literature was not as obscure as considered by the Foundation. The issue concerned more a planned model of translation export which it in some ways achieved and a quality end product which it largely was successful in. The Foundation also considered the fact that previous translations had been inferior by the Dutch PEN and Commission for Translation Matters. The issue here was that the PEN and Commission for Translated Matters were inefficient in their working practices in having no plan for translation export and that the end quality product was at times poor.

I engaged with Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) to explain what cultural diplomacy means today in that it really comes down to a one way strategic action to spread national culture from one country to another.

Reinink was a key figure in Dutch post war cultural policy and created The Foundation in 1954 which would consist of members from four literary and publishing agencies. These agencies sent representatives to a board which served the Foundation who would select works to be translated so that they could find a global audience.

The board's roles were to select works to be translated, and to choose translators and publishing companies to translate and to produce material for export. Its *raison d'être*, realising the low number of Dutch translated works in previous years, was to readdress the

obscurity of Dutch literature by embarking upon a programme of exported translation. Its aims were to raise awareness of Dutch literature abroad and I highlighted Vimr (2020) who explains that supply-driven translated literature was a factor here because there was little demand for Dutch translated literature abroad; indeed, the translated literature was in fact 'fed' into foreign markets. The aims of the Foundation as stated in the document *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen* (Ten Years of the Foundation for Languages (n.d. [c. 1964] 4) included establishing contacts with Dutch and foreign literary academics and publishers, publicising Dutch literature abroad and producing test translations for prospective translators which I will discuss in the following chapters. Establishing contacts with publishers is discussed in Chapter Six, publicising Dutch literature abroad is considered in Chapter Seven and producing test translations for translators becomes apparent in Chapter Five. The document *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen* (*Ten Years of the Foundation for Languages*, (n. d. [c. 1964] 4) made note that no one could predict what possibilities could come the Foundation's way and how the organisation could develop which points me in the direction of exploring in future chapters whether the board was weak in planning for the future both for itself and for outside governing factors. Consequently, the board's parochial perspective and lack of date in the document sets the scene for the absence of a clear theoretical and practical strategy in achieving its key aims.

From its outset, this poor planning would manifest itself in other areas such as the board being involved with translating works into other languages apart from English at the same time as translating the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. I argue that the board offered access to 'lesser' central languages to be informed of Dutch literature even though finding translators for some languages such as Italian proved a challenge for the board and often required relaying translations through English.

I also considered whether a committee was the correct medium to decide upon a series of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series because although they are large enough to represent all interests, this often resulted in them being slow to fulfil their brief. I demonstrated that although it was probably expected that a synergy would have been created to produce a combined effect greater than the sum of their separate effects, I will show in Chapter Four that the process to create the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* would take six

years of discussion from 1956 to 1962 with the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* not appearing until 1963.

The harmonics of the board changed in 1960 when Belgium joined the Foundation. Flanders expressed a desire to join the Foundation so that its authors could also reach an international literary arena and engaging with archival minutes discovered that both the Foundation and Flanders wanted a mutual co-working partnership between the two countries.

Various ways of joining with Belgium were discussed but eventually a Belgian-Netherlands Foundation was the one chosen with Belgium sending its first contingent of four representatives to literary agencies and a book promotion industry in 1960. The board now had a board of eight members plus a director. I do not feel that the remit of the board changed with the addition of the Belgian members, save for the fact that Flemish works from Flanders now had a better chance of being translated and exported. Flemings wanted parity with Dutch (Netherlandic) literature and made a stance to remove the words 'Flemish' and 'Fleming' from the back flap of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes which they succeeded partly in doing for the final three published volumes.

Finally, I assessed whether the Foundation saw its role change as it evolved over the years using three different booklets which the Foundation released in 1964, 1969 and 1974. I found that although obviously the number of translated published volumes increased over time, the aims, role and raison d'être of the Foundation remained fundamentally the same. The Foundation appeared to be pleased with its achievements over this 20 year time period and admittedly it had assisted during this time in the translation of 227 translated works by 1974 according to the *Lijst met literair werk dat met hulp van de Stichting voor Vertalingen in het buitenland werd ondergebracht 1954-1990*. (List of translated works which appeared abroad with assistance from the Foundation in the period 1954-1990 (n.d. [c. 1995]) but it does not appear to be gracious enough in perhaps suggesting ways it could seek improvement or admit problems it had encountered. In the following and subsequent chapters I shall work towards exploring the impact of this poor planning and ultimately attempt to establish whether the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* project was a success or failure.



## **PART TWO**

### **INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY**

#### **CHAPTER 4**

##### **GENESIS OF A CANON: THE SELECTION OF WORKS FOR THE *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA***

###### **Introduction**

This chapter will focus on three areas: the first addresses my second line of enquiry, which concerns the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* micro-history and its creation and formation of selected translated volumes for export. Here I will examine the habitus of the two gatekeepers, Minderaa, the chairman of the board, and Oversteegen, the director of the Foundation. I establish their respective roles in the creation of works for the series and show which of them ultimately was responsible for the selection of the works by highlighting the influence of power. The possibility of whether a similar project was occurring in Europe at the same time after World War II as well as the availability of similar published series which could have been used as a template are examined and I conclude this area by appraising the shortcomings in production of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

The second area addresses my first line of enquiry which asks what exactly the canon of Dutch was and what role it played in international cultural diplomacy. I will begin by discussing the formation of the Dutch (Netherlandic) canon of literature through literary histories as well as reviewing the Flemish canon. I then consider whether the works chosen for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes are located in the literary histories I have selected.

The third area addresses my third line of enquiry which considers one of the experiences of the experiment and how it came about. I consider whether target or source based approaches were used in selecting works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. I firstly consider theoretical perspectives of foreignisation and domestication and then apply these to two areas where they occurred in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works: the use of foreign vocabulary and the use of introductions. I conclude this area by addressing my first line of enquiry which relates to the effect of cultural diplomacy on the export of the canon of Dutch literature and the use of foreign vocabulary within the volumes.

The board served the Foundation to translate Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature into a variety of languages. Although 251 volumes were translated and published into a variety of languages between 1956 and 1962, the first major project for the board was the development of a series of Dutch imaginative works for the English and American market eventually termed the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. They were published between 1963 and 1967 and would implicitly redress the imbalance in the international reception of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature and their fine-art counterpart in the Dutch (Netherlandic) Golden Age of painting.<sup>20</sup> The board's role was to consider and select titles available to them from the Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish repertoire and I used minutes of the board's meetings obtained from the Letterkundig Museum (Museum of Literature) in The Hague to establish which board members were responsible for the selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

### **1, The micro-history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and the creation and formation of selected translated volumes for export**

As noted in my previous chapter, the minutes of 3 January 1955 show that the board's initial meeting took place in Leiden under the chairmanship of Ernest Lefèbvre. In the following year, in 1956, Lefèbvre resigned as chairman and Minderaa, who had been a member of the board since 1954, representing the Society of Dutch Literature, was awarded the position as chair at the age of 63, where he remained in post until 1961. Oversteegen was appointed director of the Foundation in 1955 at the age of 29. Oversteegen's status was different from that of the others. In my opinion as salaried director of the Foundation, he would be described as being 'in attendance' at meetings so that he could report on actions and also carry out the decisions of the meeting. The appointed board members from the various institutions held two or four year tenures and were predominately male, which was not unusual for the time since older male domination was the culture of the Netherlands after World War II, although this hierarchy was slowly changing.

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<sup>20</sup> I have only referred to the Dutch (Netherlandic) Golden age here since Flemish art flourished earlier on and was not referred to with the term Golden Age which is specifically used for the period of great wealth in the Netherlands in the 17 century.

Handy (1993, 155-159) notes that all members of a group must have the requisite skills and abilities to do the job and indeed all board members held cultural capital in that they represented a variety of leading bodies and institutions. He stresses that the larger the group, the greater the diversity of talent, skills and knowledge, but that the larger the group (now a board of eight members and chair) the less chance of an individual participating, which is what was to happen. Oversteegen was a full time salaried director of the Foundation and represented their interests to the board whilst Minderaa was permanent chairman to the board from 1959 until 1961 as opposed to other board members who were co-opted for limited time periods. Minderaa and Oversteegen could therefore play a more consistent role in meetings and I wish to discuss their respective habitus to highlight how they affected other board members in the selection of works.

#### **i, Jacob Oversteegen: director of the Foundation (1955-1964)**

Webb and Webb (2010, xii-xiii) describe Bourdieu's term of habitus as, 'a concept that expresses, on the one hand, the way in which individuals "become themselves" – develop attitudes and dispositions – and, on the other hand, the ways in which those individuals engage in practices'. Oversteegen was appointed director of the Foundation in 1955 and was an able 29 year old but possessed less cultural and symbolic capital than other committee members in that he only possessed a first degree in history and Dutch from the University of Amsterdam at the time of his appointment having worked as a teacher in Deventer in the Netherlands. Webb and Webb (2010, x) describe cultural capital as, 'a form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards'; an academic degree constitutes cultural capital but Oversteegen had not at that time embarked upon postgraduate research as other board members had done. Webb and Webb (2010, xv-xvi) continue that symbolic capital is 'a form of capital or value that is not recognised as such. Prestige and a glowing reputation, for example, operate as symbolic capital because they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities'. Indeed, Oversteegen admitted his lack of experience by declaring in his memoirs, *Etalage, Uit het leven van een lezer* (1999, 149-150):

Ik had er geen idee van hoe boeken bij de lezer terechtkwamen van vertalen en vertalers wist ik nog minder. Mijn eerste wankele stappen waren dus: de Nederlandse uitgeverwereld

verkennen, schrijvers opzoeken en praten met de paar literaire agenten die probeerden Nederlandse romans in het buitenland aan de man te brengen.

(I had no idea how books reached the reader, and I knew still less about translation and translators. My first shaky steps were as follows: to explore the Dutch world of publishing, to locate writers, and to speak with the few literary agents who attempted to take Dutch novels abroad to the man on the street).

Oversteegen's inexperience was further shown in his memoirs *Etalage, Uit het leven van een lezer* (1999, 182) where in chapter eight he notes that he had never been to England when he began his time with the Foundation: 'In Engeland was ik nog nooit geweest toen ik met de Stichting voor Vertalingen begon'. (I had never been to England when I started with the Foundation). He was, however, astute in quickly realising the obscurity of Dutch literature abroad stating that, 'De Nederlandse literatuur was buiten ons taalgebied vrijwel onbekend' (Dutch literature was almost unknown out of our language region) (1999, 204).

In fact, the point he makes in his biography during his initial journeys abroad for the board hinted at the disdain of the English to Dutch literature:

De vraag of een roman, essay of gedicht in een ander land uitgegeven zou kunnen worden, hing niet in de eerste plaats af van het literaire peil, van het niveau van de vertaling of van de te verwachten marktmogelijkheden, maar veeleer van de vraag of het boek ervaren werd als literatuur, (1999, 204)

(The question of whether a novel, essay or poem could be published abroad was not initially dependent on its literary standard, its level of translation or its expected marketing possibilities but rather on the question of whether the book would be experienced as literature).

This suggests that Oversteegen was aware that for Dutch literature to be successful on the English market, it was necessary for a target-based approach to be adopted so that it would have a better chance of acceptance. An example of this is the use of introductions in the volume which I discuss later in this chapter.

It was not until after his time with the board in 1969 that Oversteegen's cultural and symbolic capital increased when he obtained his PhD in 1969 entitled *Vorm of Vent* (Form or Fellow, Oversteegen, 1969a) which concerned the Dutch literary field in the inter-war years,

specifically the contradiction between style and person of the author ,see Oversteegen 1969b). He eventually became professor of literature at Amsterdam University in 1973 and later professor of literature at Utrecht University in 1976.

Webb and Webb (2010, xi) explain Bourdieu's 'cultural trajectories' as, 'the movement across and between various fields that constitutes an individual's history and which therefore shapes their habitus'. Oversteegen's cultural trajectories were still in their formative stages when he joined the board due to his age and relative lack of expertise resulting in a habitus that was perhaps not fully conducive to the requirements of the position as director. I accept, however, that it is not unusual today for a less experienced individual to be in an executive position, with a more experienced non-executive board so perhaps there was some forward thinking here. Oversteegen possessed an ability to understand and negotiate positions within cultural fields, a term Bourdieu called 'practical sense' since he held 'inalienable values' of honour and loyalty to the Foundation firmly believing in a target-based approach of translated works to bring success. I shall return to target and source based approaches to translating literature later in this chapter when linking them with the canon of Dutch literature. During his directorship for the board, Oversteegen would spend much time abroad promoting Dutch translated literature with publishers especially at the Frankfurt book fairs.<sup>21</sup>

## **ii, Piet Minderaa: chairman of the board (1956-1961)**

The other committee members were older and more experienced than Oversteegen, notably the chairman of the board, Minderaa. In 1956, Lefèbvre left as chairman because he had renounced his position from the Nederlandsche Uitgeversbond (The Dutch Publisher's Association) and Minderaa, representing the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (The Dutch Literary Society), declared his desire to accept the temporary chairmanship of the board. By then, the board members were already in place, which I feel caused a problem with culture formation. The process of culture formation, according to Schein (1991, 15), whereby everyone can work together, involves a single founder with an idea for a new enterprise who invites a core group who share a common vision with the founder. They all

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<sup>21</sup> For a report on Oversteegen's visits abroad, see: Asselt (n.d. [c. 2011]).

share a common ideal and will expand by inviting others with required expertise to join them. Pfeffer (1981, 139) notes, furthermore that a number of studies have found that persons tend to favour the hiring or selection of people who are similar to themselves and Handy (1993, 96-99) develops this by stating, 'there is a need in all organisations for individual linking-pins who will bind groups together and they will possess traits of initiative, self assurance and the helicopter factor '(the ability to rise above the particulars of a situation and perceive it in its relation to the overall environment). Consequently, Minderaa was forced to inherit a group of representatives who were already in place and may have preferred to have had a role, if possible, in influencing committee member selection.

Oversteegen and Minderaa were now director of the Foundation and chairman of the board, respectively, and positioned in their leadership gatekeeper roles, but unlike the young Oversteegen, Minderaa, now aged 63, possessed cultural and symbolic capital in that he was already an established literary academic, resident at Leiden University. Webb and Webb (2010, 135) support this by stating that as university figures they carry considerable cultural capital and, accordingly, form part of the dominant group and perform the important role of maintaining its distinction from other classes. Needle (2001, 11-12) notes that the dominant coalition, once established, sets up procedures to ensure that goals are pursued by the organisation as a whole, and Minderaa was able to do this in the title selection of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 71-72) highlights Minderaa's cultural capital in that he wrote before World War II for the Flemish literary magazine *Het Kouter* (The Field) and later in *De Spiegel der Letteren* (Mirror of Language and Literature) as a member of the editorial staff, obtaining a PhD in 1942 having studied the Flemish poet, Karel van de Woestijne (1878-1929). He became an honorary member of de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie (The Royal Flemish Academy) where the Flemish author Gerard Walschap (1898-1989) and Julien Kuypers (1892-1962) Flemish writer and editor in chief of the *Nieuw Vlaams Tijdschrift* (New Flemish Journal) which published until 1983, were also members. He was thus known, possessed symbolic capital in the form of prestige and commanded a glowing reputation. Pfeffer (1994, 136) highlights the importance of reputation which is critical if one wants to be seen as someone who is reliable and predictable and can get things done; getting things done necessitates power. Pfeffer (1994, 127) continues that a major source of power is

one's reputation in the organisation and how well one performs and has performed in previous positions. As a consequence, it appears that the board members became compliant to Minderaa and chose not to rock the boat.

### iii, The creation of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: from committee to dictatorship:

Between 1955 and 1961, the board distilled from a huge number of suggestions the planned series of 17 volumes for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and when Minderaa stepped down as chair in 1961, the selection had already been approved, Wolters (2020, 96).

Two meetings took place in 1960, in January and June, where Minderaa used his position as chairman to engineer the selection of comprehensive titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. On 7 January 1960 the minutes recorded, 'Professor Mindera geeft een aantal titels die naar zijn mening in deze reeks vertegenwoordigd zouden moeten zijn' (Professor Minderaa offers a number of titles which, in his opinion, must be represented in this series). I contend that Minderaa would have been supplied with suggestions for all the volumes from members of the board outside meetings; for the unpublished volume suggestions in the minutes, see Appendix 6.

Thus, Minderaa provided two sets of titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in 1960 from lists he had been presented with from board members, which paved the way for the final selection; see Table 17 and Table 19. An example of one of these lists can be seen in the Activity Report of 21 May 1959 where modern works were suggested.

Title	Publication date	Author	Author's dates
Karel ende Elgast	c. 1250	unknown	unknown
Beatrijs	c. 1374	unknown	unknown
Van den Vos Reinaerde	c. 1225	Willem die Madoc macte	c.1200- c.1250
An Anthology of Mediaeval Poetry			
Elckerlyc	c. 1496	Christiaen Snellaert	Unknown
Mariken van Nimwegen (Nieumeghen)	1485	unknown	Unknown

An Anthology of Renaissance Poetry			
De Spaanse Brabander	1617	Gebrand Adriaenszoon Bredero	1585-1618
De Gekroonde Leerse	1687	Michiel de Swaen	1654-1707
Lucifer	1654	Joost van den Vondel	1587-1654
Sara Burgerhart	1782	Aagje Deken/written jointly	1741-1804
Sara Burgerhart	1782	Betje Wolff/ written jointly	1738-1804
Camera Obscura	1839	Hildebrand (pseudonym). Nicolaas Beets.	1814-1903
Ernest Staes Advocaat	1908	Tony (pseudonym). Anton Bergmann	1835-1874
Max Havelaar	1860	Multatuli (pseudonym). Edward Douwes Dekker	1820-1887
An Anthology Companion			
An Anthology of Poetry 1880-1940			
Leven en Dood in den Ast	1926	Stijn Streuvels	1871-1969
De Boer die Sterft	1933	Karel van de Woestijne	1878-1929
Mijnheer Serjanszoon	1927	Herman Tierlinck	1879-1967
Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan	1906	Louis Couperus	1863-1923
Het Fregatschip Johanna Maria	1930	Arthur van Schendel	1874-1946
De Waterman	1933	Arthur van Schendel	1874-1946
Ik en mijn Speelman	1927	Aart van der Leeuw	1876-1931
Houtekiet	1939	Gerard Walschap	1898-1989
Lijmen	1924	Willem Elsschot (pseudonym). Alphonsus de Ridder	1882-1960
Het Been	1938	Willem Elsschot	1882-1960
Kaas	1933	Willem Elsschot	1882-1960
Het Land van Herkomst	1935	Edgar du Perron	1899-1940
A work by Vestdijk			

Table 17: Titles proposed by Minderaa which had to be represented in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: 7 January 1960



A second meeting did take place in April but Minderaa did not attend due to illness, leaving Van Vriesland to chair. Oversteegen stated that although there were too many works in the list, some could be published in one volume, which was a fair solution, and this is eventually what happened, with five of the published volumes containing more than one work. During the meeting on the 28 April 1960, five titles were suggested for the Heinemann publishing house, all of which were to become part of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, see Table 18.

Title	Publication date	Author	Author's dates
Max Havelaar	1860	Multatuli	1820-1887
Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan	1906	Louis Couperus	1863-1923
Zelfportret of het Galgemaal	1955	Herman Teirlinck	1879-1967
Celibaat	1933	Gerard Walschap	1898-1989
Trouwen	1934	Gerard Walschap	1898-1989

Table 18: Suggested Titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* sent to Heinemann: 28 April 1960

The third meeting on 16 June 1960 recorded, 'Betreffende de afzonderlijke delen van de reeks, doet Professor Minderaa voorstellen, gebaseerd op de *Bibliotheca Flandrica* een bestand plan van de Stichting voor Nederland.' (Regarding the individual works of the series, Professor Minderaa proposes an existing model for the Dutch Foundation, based on the *Bibliotheca Flandrica*, see Table 19.

Title	Publication date	Author	Author's dates	Remarks
<b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature</b>  1, Karel ende Elegast (c. 1250)	1967	Unknown		[Luc Indestege, board member who considered that Elckerlyc (c. 1470) was not suited to an English market since it had a

2,Reinaert de Vos (c. 1225)		Willem die Madoc maecte	c. 1200-1250	great similarity to Everyman. Everyman was a late 15 century morality play similar to Elckerlyc and it was agreed to remove this title].
3,Lanceloet van Denemerken (c. 1400)		Unknown		
4,Nu Noch (c. 1400)		Unknown		
5,Walewein (extract) (c. 1250)		Penninc/ Pieter Vostaert	c. 13 century c. 13 century	
Elckerlyc				
<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature</b>	1965			
1,Lyriek (Brieven) (c.1240)		Hadewijch of Antwerp	c. 1210-1260	
2,Beatrijs (c.1374)		Unknown		
3,Mariken van Nimwegen (c. 1485)		Unknown		
4, Vanden Blinckenden Steen or Vanden Vingherlinc or Vander Volmaectheid Der		Blessed John Ruysbroek	1293-1381	

Kijnder Gods (c.1340) 5, Seven Manieren van Minne (c.1235) 6, A selection of Sagas		Beatrice of Nazareth	1200-1268	[The Sagas were omitted from the volume]
<b>Max Havelaar (1860)</b>	1967	Multatuli	1820-1887	
<b>Mei (1889)</b>	Not published	Herman Gorter	1864-1927	[This volume was removed by the director because, despite a translation being available, he was aware that there were going to be too many volumes for the publishers. No reason in the minutes is given for its specific removal]
<b>Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan (1906).</b>	1963	Louis Couperus	1863-1923	
<b>De Waterman (1933)</b>	1963	Arthur van Schendel	1874-1946	

<b>Het Land van Herkomst (1935)</b>	Not published in this series.	Edgar du Perron	1899-1940	
<b>Celibaat (1934)</b>	1963	Gerard Walschap	1898-1989	These two works did form part of the series but did not appear together. Celibaat (1934) and Walschap's Trouwen (1933) were published together in one English translated volume in 1963 as Marriage/Ordeal and Het Dwaallicht (1946) appeared with Elsschot's Lijmen (1924) and Het Been (1938) in an English translated volume in 1965 entitled Three Novels.
<b>Het Dwaallicht (1946).</b>	1965	Willem Elsschot	1882-1989	
<b>Zelfportret of het Galgemaal (1955)</b>	1963	Herman Teirlinck	1879-1967	

Table 19: Provisional composition of English titles by Minderaa for the *Bibliotheca*

*Neerlandica*: 16 June 1960

Eventually the final selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was decided, see Table

20.

<b>Title</b>	<b>Publishing Date</b>	<b>Publisher</b>
<b>Old People and the Things that Pass/Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan (1906)</b>	1963	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London
<b>The Waterman/De Waterman (1933)</b>	1963	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London
<b>The Man in the Mirror/Zelfportret of het Galgemaal (1955)</b>	1963	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London
<b>Marriage/ Ordeal/Trouwen (1933) /Celibaat (1934)</b>	1963  [The binding had not been ready for these two volumes so they did not therefore actually appear on the market until January 1964]	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London
<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played/De Koperen Tuin (1950)</b>	1965	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/ London House & Maxwell, New York
<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature:</b>  1, Letters / Brieven (c. 1240) 2, Beatrice / Beatrijs (c. 1374) 3, Mary of Nijmegen / Mariken van Nimwegen (c. 1485) 4, The Book of the Sparkling Stone/ Vanden Blinckenden Steen or Vanden Vingherlinc or Vander Volmaectheid Der Kijnder Gods (c. 1340) 5, There are Seven Manners of Loving / Seven Manieren van Minne (c. 1235)	1965	Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/ London House & Maxwell, New York

<p><b>The House on the Canal (original title: Impersonal Recollections) /Alienation Original title: The Life of Willem Mertens) /Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen (1936) /Willem Mertens' Levensspiegel (1914)</b></p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/ London House &amp; Maxwell, New York</p>
<p><b>Three Novels: Soft Soap, The Leg, Will-o'-the Wisp /Lijmen (1924) /Het Been (1938) /Het Dwaallicht (1946)</b></p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/ London House &amp; Maxwell, New York</p>
<p><b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature:</b></p> <p>1, Charles and Elegast / Karel ende Elgast (c. 1250)</p> <p>2, Reynard the Fox / Van den Vos Reinaarde (c. 1225)</p> <p>3, Lancelot of Denmark / Lanceloet van Denemerken (c. 1400)</p> <p>4, Say That again / Nu Noch (c. 1400)</p> <p>5, Gawein /Walewein (extract from The Fight with the Dragon: The King of Faeri's Castle (c. 1250)</p>	<p>1967</p>	<p>Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/ London House &amp; Maxwell, New York</p>
<p><b>Max Havelaar/Max Havelaar (1860)</b></p>	<p>1967</p>	<p>Sijthoff, Leyden/ Heinemann, London/London House&amp; Maxwell, New York</p>

Table 20: The ten published *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes: 1963-1967

Minderaa stepped down as chair in 1961 because of retirement at the age of 68 and died seven years later on 27 May 1968 but the works for the series had already been put forward

to the board by him, see Table 20. In practice, the board would have decided the final selection of the works, but I believe that Minderaa was influential in this as was stated in the minutes of 7 January and 16 June 1960.

#### **iv, Power and Minderaa**

I would like to consider the concept of power and relate it to Minderaa. During the course of the development of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, he made choices of literary works based on personal preferences because of his power position as chair of the board. I shall begin by offering a theoretical perspective to power and relate it to Minderaa followed by considering whether he commanded an influential role over the members of the board.

Van Dijk (2008, 9) defines social power in terms of control of one group over other groups and their members whilst McHoul and Grace (1993, 84) consider power as nothing more and nothing less than the multiplicity of force relations extant within the social body.

Power's conditions of possibility actually consist of this moving substrate of force relations which are the struggles, confrontations, contradictions, inequalities, transformations, and integrations of these force relations.

Needle (2001, 11) argues that the ability of groups to pursue their goals depends upon the power they wield in the organisation, which will depend on a number of variables such as: their position in the hierarchy; the skills of group members; the resources they command and whether or not their role is seen as legitimate by the rest of the organisation members. Minderaa commanded power in all of these areas because he was the chair and, with that acme, had all the authority and resources of that office.

Bacharach and Lawler (1982, 34-36) categorise four bases of power:

The first is 'expertise', which Minderaa possessed due to his position as professor of Dutch literature at Leiden University and this afforded him cultural capital which is a base of power concerning formal or specialised knowledge about particular issues within an organisation. Schein (1991, 25) agrees, stating that founders always have prior experience to start with and Handy (1993, 130) supports this by stating that power is invested in someone because of their acknowledged expertise and that in a meritocratic tradition people do not resent being influenced by those whom they regard as experts. It is, furthermore, a power base

that requires no sanctions since if acknowledged as being an expert, will find their suggestions readily implemented. Only if their expertise is questioned will they have to fall back on other sources of power to implement their wishes and this was the case, in my opinion, with Minderaa in that his cultural capital would have been accepted.

‘Structural position’ was a second base of power which Minderaa possessed since he was the chairman of the board. ‘Structural position’ commands ‘compliance’ and Van Dijk (2008, 37) adds that compliance is obtained through institutional sanctions where direct control of action is achieved through discourses that have direct pragmatic function such as commands, threats, regulations, instructions, and more indirectly by recommendations and advice. Van Dijk (2008, 12) stresses that social position is linked to power with Handy (1993, 129) calling this ‘position power’ which affords the occupant potential control over all the rights of that role in the organisation including invisible assets such as information and a right of access to a variety of networks. Minderaa had power with the right to give orders, establish rules and take measures such as influencing title selection and book length. An example of this is found in the minutes of 16 December 1960 when referring to the unpublished short story volume which states that, ‘De voorzitter komt tot een keuze die zal neerkomen op een bundel van 375 paginas, 400 woorden per pagina’ (The chairman has decided upon a volume with 375 pages having 400 words per page).

Van Dijk (2008, 31-32) adds that the more powerful have access to an increasingly wide and varied range of discourse roles, genres, occasions and styles since they control formal dialogues with subordinates, chair meetings and issue commands. This symbolic power of Minderaa allowed him to influence agendas, public discussion and influence topical relevance. Van Dijk (1995, 85-88) supports this by elaborating that, ‘one major element in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance is the very ‘access’ to discourse and communicative events’ to which he highlights dimensions of access such as ‘planning’. Minderaa, for example, would have been able to call meetings at a time and place to suit him.

‘Personal characteristics’ are presented as a third base of power, which Minderaa exhibited since at 64 years of age he had cultural and symbolic capital in the form of his academic prowess and prestige. Pfeffer (1994, 166) states that a list of individual attributes providing



power and influence is more likely to begin with great genius or intellect than with physical characteristics such as strength, energy or endurance. Handy (1993, 131) calls this personal power, charisma, which he describes as a power which resides in a person and their personality which is enhanced by position or expert status. Minderaa was an intellectual which was enhanced by position and therefore was able to display this personal power called charisma.

Finally, 'opportunity' was a fourth base of power in that Minderaa was fortunate that Lefèbvre retired as chairman in 1956 leaving the position vacant early on in the board's life. He was therefore fortunate to be in the right place at the right time.

I found very few suggestions for the published works in the series in the archival minutes from other members of the board, even though lists may have been sent to him to his office.

The board was composed almost exclusively by a board of elite white men and Fenoulhet (2007, 59) highlights this male dominance phenomenon when referring to published works on Dutch literary history from 1925-1990 where all eight published volumes on the subject, including Meijer's (1971) [a future professor of Dutch at UCL] were all written by men:

Het valt overigens op dat, indien men naar de bovenstaande lijst kijkt, al deze mono verhalen één ding met elkaar gemeen hebben: dat ze door mannen geschreven zijn, dat het letterlijk 'master narratives' zijn.

(It is noticeable though, when looking at the above mentioned list that all these works have one thing in common with each other: they have been written by men, making them literally 'master narratives').

This lack of participation by other board members during meetings leads me to consider the concept of 'silence'. Salaman (2001, 128) highlights the fact that the most common basis of intra-organisational conflict between superiors and their subordinates concerns issues of domination which can result in silence through fear or 'not wanting to rock the boat'. Silence as a form of discourse is power and was perhaps exhibited by board members due to their frustration, awe or even non-interest. Satterthwaite (2008, xii) offers another possibility for the board's silence in that members of these 'vulnerable groups' are inhibited

from taking action for themselves in that they learn to accept this view and come to suppose that the experts know and understand them better than they know themselves. My assumption here is that the board members were a 'vulnerable group' because of their awe and subservience to Minderaa's cultural and symbolic capital status.

Minderaa had his own ideas of which Dutch works should be translated and would likely have received many suggestions from the committee. Pfeffer (1994, 23) states that individual success in organisations is quite frequently a matter of working with and through other people, and organisational success is often a function of how successful individuals can coordinate their activities. Minderaa may have been remiss in not being able to draw out suggestions from the board members which was their function, or may have preferred to ignore suggestions from lists sent to him which left him free to put forward his preferences.

Pfeffer (1994, 25) asks what happens if the one whose orders are being followed is incorrect, since when authority is vested in a single individual, the organisation can face grave difficulties if that person's insight or leadership fails. My position here is that Minderaa appeared to display influential power within a democratically established committee and pursued his own agenda which resulted in a failure of modern works for example being included in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* project. Minderaa was not in favour of modern works and a major omission in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was more popular and contemporary literature which might have prospered abroad even though modern works at the meeting of 21 May 1959 were mentioned, see Table 21.

Title	Publication Date	Author	Author's dates
Het Stenen Bruidsbed	1959	Harry Mulisch	1927-2010
Het Glinsterend Pantser	1956	Simon Vestdijk	1898-1971
Veuve Vesuvius	1946	Ferdinand Borderwijk	1884-1965
Op Leven en Dood	1954	Anna Blaman (pseudonym) Johanna Karolina Wessels	1905-1960
De Donkere Kamer van Damocles	1958	Willem Hermans	1921-1995
De Linkerhand	1955	Alfred Kossmann	1922-1998
De Zwanen van de Theems	1959	Cees Nooteboom	1933-

Table 21: Modern Works discussed at the board's meeting on 21 May 1959

Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 74) confirms Minderaa's dislike of modern successful literature of the time such as works by Gerard Reve, Willem Frederik Hermans and Harry Mulisch which never played a part in the series:

...'Zij hadden zich kennelijk bij Minderaa nog onvoldoende bewezen'

(...they had evidently not proved themselves to Minderaa).

Minderaa legde wel een zeer groot accent op de literatuur voor 1900

(Minderaa placed a heavy emphasis on pre 1900 literature).

Hieruit blijkt meer zijn voorliefde voor deze literaire periods, dan hij de smaak van een Engels publiek voor ogen had.

(His preference for these literary periods took precedence over the tastes of the English public).

This lack of inclusion of modern works strengthens my argument that Minderaa was influential in deciding what was and what was not to be included in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*; a lead he was able to pursue by virtue of his position as chair. Schein (1991, 15) notes that those in power will try to manipulate others:

Founders will typically have their own notion, based on their own cultural history and personality on how to get their idea fulfilled. They will tend to impose their assumptions on the group and to cling to them until such time as they become unworkable.

I investigated whether Oversteegen had recorded any discontent during his time in the board from his memoir *Etalage: Uit het leven van een lezer* (1999) (The Life of a Reader seen through a shop window), but surprisingly found no evidence of this. Furthermore, on 11 January 1962 Oversteegen gave an interview to *De Standaard, Brussel* proclaiming, 'een heel duidelijk communis opinio' ('A shared view') which was shared across the board regarding the selected titles for the series. I do not, however, agree since I found very few references to book suggestions from members of the board other than Minderaa and Oversteegen in the minutes from 1955 to 1969 and found no mention of recorded disagreement. On the one hand this could be attributed to the minute taker or have highlighted general agreement across the board. On the other hand the following hypothesis might have been responsible for this lack of board participation:

Firstly, Minderaa had tenure with the board as chairman from 1956-1961 whilst Oversteegen was director of the Foundation from 1955-1964 with a contract of employment which offered continuity. The other board members had a contract of either two or four years and only met quarterly on average. This meant that they were part of the board for limited times with some not always attending due to personal or external factors. Secondly, Minderaa possessed cultural and symbolic capital which may have been at times daunting to his audience. The other members of the board were renowned in their own right but the minutes of the selected time frame record few instances where other board members, apart from Oversteegen, suggested works for the series. I accept, however, that lists of works may have been sent to Minderaa for his consideration. This lack of participation in the meetings indicates that this offered Minderaa an influential power approach in selecting works for the series. I did locate a few instances, however, in the board's minutes where Oversteegen, played a discursive role: On 24 December 1957, Oversteegen suggested the title of *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* for the series of 15 works; on 30 January 1961 he requested a list of titles for the essay anthology; in December 1960, he suggested Streuvel's *Het Leven en Dood in den Ast* (1926) Timmermans's *Boerenpsalm*, (1935) and a list of existing English poetry translations.

**v, Was a similar series to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* produced in a European country after World War II?**

I was interested to establish whether the board would have had recourse to a similar type of series of translated literature in another European country after World War II, which would have offered it a model to refer to.

Between 8 -10 September 2015, I attended a conference at Bristol University entitled, 'Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations' where I was able to meet academic representative delegates. I asked them whether they had knowledge of the creation of a series of volumes similar to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in their countries after World War II and three languages areas became of interest: Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and Spain. According to their expertise, no series of translated volumes was launched in Sweden, Denmark and Iceland at the time of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* since their Ministries of Arts and Culture were not founded until the early 1960s and in the case of Iceland much more recently. Hungary and Poland suffered the proximity of the Soviet realm after World War II and as such had their translation policy dictated to them by the Stalinist government, which did not favour English. Yugoslavia, with its many languages, concentrated its translation efforts on inter-Yugoslav translations in post World War II period and it was not until the various nations declared their independence in the 1980s and 1990s that this changed so that they could concentrate on their individual nation's translation. In Spain, Catalan, Basque and Galician all suffered the oppression of the Franco Government until 1975 where these languages were outlawed. They were only able to find audiences abroad, usually in other Spanish Castilian speaking nations, such as Argentina, Cuba and Mexico. These answers provided an understanding of the European climate in which the board was operating in the 1950s and 60s and demonstrate that whilst it was forward-thinking, it went some way to explaining its amateurishness because there was no good practice for it to build on (see Appendix 1 for the complete academic responses of the delegates from the conference). The board therefore had no European country model to emulate in the post war period, however, it did have recourse to other series of literature which I shall show, chose largely to ignore.

**vi, Six published series which could have been used as templates by the board for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

**a, The *Bibliotheca Flandrica***

Minderaa mentioned the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* on 16 June 1960, originally named the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, which was funded by the National Fonds voor Letterkunde (National Fund for Literature) and published by Diederich Verlag, Düsseldorf between 1941 and 1954 as a working model for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, see Appendix 2. This series was not a wise choice on which to base the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as the venture collapsed in 1954 following the publication of the sixth translated Dutch work into German, *Rauschendes Lied* (*The Rustling Song*, 1954). The minutes of the board on 28 November 1958 had noted that not even the Vlaamse Academie (Flemish Academy) had rated the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* and Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 71) adds that the six volumes published had been poorly received, mainly due to the quality of the translations. I am going to address other models which were not discussed in the board's minutes but which would have been available to it at the time.

**b, Gorky's World Literature Publishing House Project**

There was a Soviet Union model which the board could have considered which, like the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, had been a state-driven concern in 1918 although this concerned translating works into Russian. Gorky's World Literature Publishing House project was founded after the October Revolution of 1917 to establish control over the publishing industry; its purpose was to systematically produce a library of translations from the fine works of world literature from many languages including French, English and Swedish into Russian. Though the publishing house was short-lived (1918-1924), it had a long-ranging influence on the development of the Soviet literary translation sphere.<sup>22</sup>

**c, The Bridge Project**

Vimr (2020, 58) mentions a Czech model named the Bridge project which was proposed and organised in 1947 by the Prague publisher Bohumil Janda and the renowned editor and

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<sup>22</sup> For more information see: Khomitsky (2013).

literary agent Max Tau, a German Jewish émigré to Oslo. It was supposed to involve publishers from all small European countries in a publishing and marketing network scheme. The key idea was to choose the ‘best books’ from the participating countries on an annual basis, have them translated into all other participating languages and publish them simultaneously, with a multiplying marketing effect. In 1948, publishers from seven countries including the Netherlands were supposed to attend the initial convention in Prague but the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia and the rise of the Iron Curtain put an end to the project.<sup>23</sup>

#### **d, The UNESCO Catalogue of Representative Works**

A Multinational model, the UNESCO Catalogue of Representative Works, was established in 1948 and discontinued in 2005 due to a lack of funds. According to the English PEN (2003), the project’s purpose was, ‘to encourage the translation, publication and distribution in the major languages – English, French, Spanish and Arabic – of works of literary and cultural importance that are nevertheless not well known outside their original national boundaries or linguistic communities’.

#### **e, The *Knickerbocker* Series: A Holland-America Library**

Attempts had been made at producing a ‘series’ of Dutch translated literature into English such as the series of translated Dutch literature published between 1919 and 1921 by the Eerdmans-Sevensma company in the United States which was called the *Knickerbocker Series: A Holland-America Library*. The series had titles published in Dutch and English but as far as I can see, only one title by B.K. Kuiper was translated in the series, see Appendix 3.

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<sup>23</sup> For a more detailed account of the Bridge Project see: Vimr (2011).

## **f, The *Dutch Library***

Another series appeared closer to home in the 1920s and consisted of four volumes of Dutch mediaeval literature translated into English, published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague as part of The *Dutch Library* series, see Appendix 4.

I have considered a range of previously published series models including *The Knickerbocker Series: A Holland-America Library* (1919-1920), an American undertaking; The *Dutch Library Series*, a Netherlands' concern (1923-1927); and the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* (1941-1954), a Flemish initiative, which had all been small scale attempts to produce a series of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literary translated volumes for the English and German markets. Whilst the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* series had been discussed by the board, the other models had not.<sup>24</sup> This was a pity because they could have added to the board's only portfolio of a previous publishing model which consisted of the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* and thereby offered assistance and guidance. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, however, was the first attempt to produce a substantial series of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish translated literature with an initial ambition of 17 volumes for English and American distribution. For a comprehensive list of translated Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish translated works, see Hermonowski and Tomme (1961) and Huffel (1939).

## **vii, Shortcomings in production of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

The shortcomings of the selection process were followed by inconsistent practice in the production of the volumes. Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1860) was one of four works chosen that already existed in English translation, a missed opportunity to introduce new works. Since Max Havelaar's previous translators – Alphonse Nahuijs (1868) and Willem Siebenhaar (1927) – were both Anglophile Dutchmen, in this case, I suspect, a retranslated new version was commissioned from a native English speaker, Roy Edwards. By contrast, the volume that launched the series, *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (Old People and the Things that Pass, 1906) by Louis Marie-Anne Couperus, reprinted a 1906 translation by

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<sup>24</sup> The term 'Dutch Library' was mentioned in the minutes of 1960 but this was in reference to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and not the *Dutch Library*: De 'Dutch Library' die in bespreking is met de Engelse uitgever Heinemann, zal een gemeenschappelijk Nederlands-Vlaamse reeks worden. (The 'Dutch Library' which is being discussed with the English publisher Heinemann will be a joint Dutch-Flemish venture.)



Alexander Teixeira de Mattos because of its success at the time. No retranslation of this work was considered in the minutes, which leads me to suspect that it was chosen to open the series because of its previous success and avoid translation costs.

Only half of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*'s ten volumes contain a single work. It is perhaps understandable that Gerard Walschap's *Trouwen* (1933) and *Celibaat* (1934) appeared in one volume as *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) since they thematically complement each other. Similarly, Elsschot's three novels *Lijmen* (1924), *Het Been* (1938) and *Het Dwaallicht* (1946), which appear in one volume as *Soft Soap, The Leg and Will o' the Wisp* (1965), are linked by their central character, Laarmans. By contrast, no explanation is either given or presents itself for the coupling in one volume of *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (1936) by Frans Coenen and *Willem Mertens Levensspiegel* (1914) by Jacobus Feylbrief, writing under the pseudonym J. van Oudshoorn as *The House on the Canal and Alienation* (1965).

Advertisements in earlier volumes referring to *Willem Mertens Levensspiegel* as *The Life of Willem Mertens* suggest disorganization and lack of strategy, and could later cause confusion. I doubt, however, that this is the first or last time that such vacillation has happened in publishing.

The failings in production practice and rigour are epitomized by the two mediaeval volumes, each an anthology containing an eclectic selection of five works, of which some are extracts: *Brieven* (Letters, c. 1240) by the thirteenth-century poet, Hadewijch of Brabant (c. 1210-1260) contains only 20 of the original 31 letters, while *Walewein* (Gawain, c. 1250) by the thirteenth-century poets Penninc (his stage name) and Vostaert comprises just five pages of the original and is difficult to put into context. Colledge had already translated four of the five works in the volume entitled *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) using an edited translation of *Beatrijs* (c. 1374) by Adriaan Barnouw for the fifth.<sup>25</sup> Colledge was also supposed to translate all five works in the volume entitled *Reynard the Fox and Other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967). However, after translating the four shorter pieces in the volume he entered monastic life, leaving *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (*The History of Reynard the Fox*, (c. 1225) by Willem 'die Madoc maecte' (Made by Willem de Madoc or

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<sup>25</sup> Colledge (1965, 125) notes: The original Dutch text of *Beatrijs* which is printed here, parallel with the English translation is from *Beatrijs. A Middle Dutch Legend*, edited from the only existing manuscript in the Royal Library at The Hague by Barnouw (1914).

Willem who made Madoc', 1200-1250) without a translator. Oversteegen eventually had to enlist a Dutch native speaker, Barnouw, to translate it. Barnouw chose not to update the only English translation, by William Caxton, favouring instead a new translation based on the work of J.W. Muller (1914).<sup>26</sup> Some pieces – *Beatrijs* (*Beatrice*, c. 1374), *Karel ende Elgast* (*Charlemagne and Elbegast*, c. 1250), *Lanseloet van Denemerken* (*Lancelot of Denmark*, c. 1400), *Mariken van Nieumeghen* (*Mary of Nijmegen*, 1485), and *Nu Noc* (*Say that Again*, c. 1400), all of which have an unknown author – were transposed from verse into prose, perhaps to make it easier to translate or for an English-speaking target audience to understand. Others – *Brieven*, *Walewein*, *Seven Manieren Van Minne* (*There are Seven Manners of Loving*, c. 1235) by the thirteenth-century Flemish nun, Beatrijs van Nazareth (1200-1268), and *Van den Blinckenden Steen* (*The Book of the Sparkling Stone*, c. 1340) by the 13-century Flemish mystic, John of Ruysbroek (1293-1381) – were all translated from prose to prose.

## **2, The canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature and the roles they played regarding international cultural diplomacy**

### **i, The canon of Dutch literature**

Referring to my second line of enquiry, I question what specifically the canons of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature were and what role they played regarding international cultural diplomacy as related to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. In order to answer this, I need to clarify the canon of Dutch literature. I will evaluate whether any of the chosen works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were included in the Dutch and Flemish canons of literature to establish how successful the board was in its choices for choosing canonical belles-lettres.

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<sup>26</sup> Caxton printed his translation of the prose version of 'Reynard's Story' in 1481 and again in 1489. Editions followed by William J. Thoms for the Percy Society (London 1844), by Edward Arber in The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works (London 1878), and by Edmund Goldsmid in the *Bibliotheca Curiosa* (Edinburgh 1884). In *Van den Vos Reinaerde. Naar de thans bekende handschriften en bewerkingen critisch uitgegeven met eene inleiding door J.W. Muller*, Muller tried to reconstruct the original text from a collection of manuscripts: the Latin text of Balduinus's *Reinardus Vulpes*, the Cambridge fragments of the printed edition of 1487, the prose version of Reynard II, the chapbook of 1564, and the Low German version of 1498. [Taken from the bibliography of *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967, 159-164)]

In considering what a canon is, Stevenson (2010, 255), editor of the Oxford English Dictionary provides several meanings of the word 'canon' but within the realm of literary works it highlights, 'the list of works considered to be permanently established as being of the highest quality'. Papadima (2011, 9) offers his interpretation:

According to dictionaries a 'cannon' is a device usually employed to break walls, whereas the slightly shorter word 'canon' seems to imply the opposite. Built out of fragile and composite raw materials such as rules, norms measurements, conventions names, judgements, beliefs, contentions, and much more, with the help of sophisticated machineries that include exegesis, gossip, salons, universities, magazines, academies, encyclopaedias and publishing houses, aesthetic canons are meant to make objects of art endure.

Franke (2011, 55) notes that canons are fluid and can alter in size and content over time according to prevailing political, social and economic events; they relate to society, politics, what is beautiful and are a branch of human creativity:

The wide diffusion of theoretical awareness about literature has taught us to view the canon not as a thing, like a stone monument rising out of the desert sands or a bronze plaque with names engraved in it, but as an ongoing historical process. The canon throughout history has been continually forged and re-forged on new and different bases, and not without struggle and conflict: it has been constituted by recurrent, hard-fought negotiations issuing in periodic and sometimes precipitous change.

The word 'canon' did exist in the 1950s and 60s for crucial books of culture such as the Bible and the works of Shakespeare and the board would have known which fine works existed in the Netherlands' repertoire. Mooij (1985, 23) notes that a literary canon is:

een verzameling van literaire werken, die in een samenleving als waardevol erkend worden, en die dienen als referentie punten in de literatuurbeschuwing (met name de literaire kritiek) en in het onderwijs.

(a collection of literary works which in society are recognised as being valuable and which serve as reference points in the study of literature, especially literary criticism and in education.)

I have chosen two literary histories available to the board in the 1960s which were written by Knuvelder (1961) and Meijer<sup>27</sup> (1971) and considered whether the works chosen by the board for inclusion in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series were mentioned in their literary histories, see Table 22 and Table 23. This would aid me in establishing a canon of Dutch literature for the period of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

<b>Bibliotheca Neerlandica Published Titles</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Knuvelder's comments</b>
<b>Old People and the Things that Pass/Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan (1906)</b>	626	.... in een aanzienlijk beknopter werk: <i>Van oude Menschen de dingen die voorbijgaan</i> (1906) (in a distinguished shorter work: <i>Old Things and The Things that Pass</i> )
<b>The Waterman/De Waterman (1933)</b>	659-663  66	Part chapter devoted to the author Arthur van Schendel (1874-1946)  Zo in de <i>Waterman</i> ...
<b>The Man in the Mirror/Zelfportret of het Galgemaal (1955)</b>	761	<i>Zelfportret of het Galgemaal</i> (1956) is merkwaardig ( <i>The Man in the Mirror</i> is remarkable)
<b>Marriage/Ordeal/Trouwen (1933) /Celibaat (1934)</b>		These are by the Flemish writer Gerard Walschap and so may not have been included in a Dutch (Netherlandic) volume
<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played/De Koperen Tuin (1950)</b>	716	Part page devoted to the author Simon Vestdijk (1898-1971) but no mention of <i>De koperen Tuin</i> (1950)
<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature:</b>  1, Letters / Brieven (c. 1240)	45	<i>De Brieven</i> van Hadewijch ...behoren tot het merkwaardigste proza dat in het Nederlands geschreven is ( <i>Letters</i> which belongs to the most remarkable prose that was ever written)

<sup>27</sup> Meijer was available in the sixties for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* programme even though his volume *A Short History of Dutch and Flemish Literature* (1971) was not published until 1971: See Appendix 6, pages 350-352 for the reasons why the volume did not form part of the series.

2,Beatrice /Beatrijs (c. 1374)	45	in Dutch) Uitg. door L. R. Reypens en J. van Mierlo, Leuven 1927 (mentioned by and L. R. Reypens and en J. van Mierlo, Louvain in 1927)
3,Mary of Nijmeghen /Mariken van Nimwegen (c. 1485)	117	Het meesterstuk van middelnederlandse toneelschrijfkunst: <i>Mariken van Nieumeghen</i> (The masterpiece of Dutch stage craft: <i>Mary of Nijmeghen</i> )
4,The Book of the Sparkling Stone/ Vanden Blinckenden Steen or Vanden Vingherlinc or Vander Volmaectheid Der Kijnder Gods (c. 1340)	71-76	Part chapter devoted to the author Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381)
There are Seven Manners of Loving/ Seven Manieren van Minne (c. 1235)	45	Uitg. door L. R. Reypens en J. van Mierlo, in Leuven 1927 (mentioned by and L. R. Reypens and en J. van Mierlo, Louvain in 1927)
<b>The House on the Canal (original title: Impersonal Recollections) Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen (1936)</b>	709-710	Na zijn dood verscheen <i>Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen</i> , een klein werkje dat dit genre in zijn pessimistisch, verboden wezen kenschetste (after his death appeared <i>The House on the Canal</i> , a small work, which characterized this genre in his pessimistic forbidden way)
<b>Alienation/ Original title: The Life of Willem Mertens) Willem Mertens' Levensspiegel (1914)</b>	664	..geldt dit voor zijn eerste grote <i>werk Willem Merten's Levensspiegel</i> (1913) (...this rates as his greatest work: <i>Alienation</i> (1965))

<p><b>Three Novels:</b></p> <p><b>Soft Soap /Lijmen (1924)</b></p> <p><b>Will-o'-the Wisp) /Het Dwaallicht (1946)</b></p> <p><b>The Leg /Het Been (1938)</b></p>	<p>769</p> <p>770</p> <p>769</p>	<p>...dat in <i>Lijmen</i> (1923) zijn klassieke vorm zal vinden (that finds its classical form in <i>Soft Soap</i>)</p> <p>..is het wellicht het meest gave prozastuk dat Elsschot schreef (it is perhaps the most gifted piece of prose that Elsschot wrote)</p> <p><i>Het Been</i> (1938) is als een vervolg op <i>Lijmen</i>...(The <i>Leg</i> follows on from <i>Soft Soap</i>)</p>
<p><b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature:</b></p> <p>1,Charles and Elegast / Karel ende Elgast (c. 1250)</p> <p>2,Reynard the Fox / Van den Vos Reinaarde (c. 1225)</p> <p>3,Lancelot of Denmark / Lanceloet van Denemerken (c. 1400)</p> <p>4,Say That again / Nu Noch (c. 1400)</p>	<p>19</p> <p>12</p> <p>86</p> <p>124</p>	<p>...maar gave meesterwerk van Vlaamse Herkomst, <i>de Karel ende Elegast</i> (but talented masterpiece, <i>Charles and Elegast</i>)</p> <p>Tot de twaalfde eeuw mogen gerekend worden de <i>Reinaert</i>, (<i>Reynard</i> ought to be rated to the twelfth century)</p> <p>...van het viertal merkwaardige wereldlijke spelen dat tot ons gekomen is (from the four remarkable plays that have come to us)</p> <p><i>Nu noch</i> ...tot deze periode rekenen (<i>Say that again</i> is rated in this period)</p>

5, Gawein /Walewein (extract from The Fight with the Dragon: The King of Faeri's Castle (c. 1250)	12	Tot de twaalfde eeuw mogen gerekend worden de <i>Reinaert</i> , waarschijnlijk Walewein, een hoofse lyriek.  ( <i>Reynard</i> ought to be rated to the twelfth century, probably <i>Walewein</i> as well, a courtly piece of poetry)
<b>Max Havelaar/Max Havelaar (1860)</b>	520-523	Part chapter devoted to the volume <i>Max Havelaar</i> (1860)
<b>Bibliotheca Neerlandica Unpublished Titles</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Trijntje Cornelis/Trijntje Cornelis</b>	276	...schreef Huygens het enige grote toneelstuk (Huygens wrote his only great stage play)
<b>The Spanish Brabanter/ Spaanschen Brabander</b>	244	...zijn laatste grote werk (..his last great work)
<b>Lucifer/Lucifer</b>	303	<i>Lucifer</i> is Vondel's barok-stuk (De Lucifer is Vondel's baroque piece)
<b>Granida/Granida</b>	252	Description of the play
<b>Life and Death in the Kiln/Het leven en de Dood in de Ast</b>	757	Zijn meestewerk uit deze periode is wel de uitvoerige vertelling <i>Het Leven en de Dood in den Ast</i> (His masterpiece from this period is the elaborate story of <i>Life and Death in the Oast house</i> )
<b>Peasant Hymn/Boerenpsalm</b>	771	...gaf hij zijn meesterwerk in <i>Boerenpsalm</i> (1935) (...he gave his masterpiece <i>Peasant Hymn</i> )

Table 22: Knuvelder's comments on the works which appeared in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series

<b>Bibliotheca Neerlandica Published Titles</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Meijer's comments</b>
<b>Old People and the Things that Pass/Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan</b>	254	The suspense is kept up in such a masterful way that most critics regard it as Couperus' best novel.

<b>(1906)</b>		
<b>The Waterman/De Waterman (1933)</b>	292-293	It is not a cheerful book, but its solid construction, its clear-cut delineation of character and its powerful evocation of the Dutch landscape, the rivers and polders and sombre skies, make it Van Schendel's best.
<b>The Man in the Mirror/Zelfportret of het Galgemaal (1955)</b>	281-282	<i>Zelfportret</i> still stands by far as his [Teirlinck's] most convincing book
<b>Marriage/Ordeal/Trouwen (1933) /Celibaat (1934)</b>	337	One of the main themes of his earlier novels, all published between 1929 and 1939 - is the interaction of sexual and religious problems.
<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played/De Koperen Tuin (1950)</b>	342  344	The genius Simon Vestdijk was a unique phenomenon in Dutch literature, and it is unlikely that there are many other literatures that can boast a writer of his calibre and versatility.  ...and novels that are only partially auto biographical such as <i>De Koperen Tuin (The Garden where the Brass Band Played)</i> .
<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature:</b>		
1, Letters / Brieven (c. 1240)	17	At the same time, Hadewych wrote with mentality of a knight.
2, Beatrice / Beatrijs (c. 1374)	21	Herman Teirlinck made it into a play 'Ik dien' (I serve), Felix Rutten into an opera libretto.
3, Mary of Nijmegen / Mariken van Nimwegen (c. 1485)	56	<i>Mariken van Nimweghen</i> is commonly regarded as the masterpiece of mediaeval drama in the Low Countries.
4, The Book of the	29-30	How highly his work was regarded can be seen from the fact



<p>Sparkling Stone/ Vanden Blinkenden Steen or Vanden Vingherlinc or Vander Volmaectheid Der Kijnder Gods (c. 1340)</p> <p>5, There are Seven Manners of Loving / Seven Manieren van Minne (c. 1235)</p>	<p>21</p>	<p>that during his lifetime important parts of it were translated into Latin by several authors. In this way Ruusbroec's work overcame linguistic barriers.</p> <p>The Dutch version is undoubtedly a very good poem, written in a simple and unadorned style, and it is claimed by Robert Guiette to be superior to any of the other versions.</p>
<p><b>The House on the Canal</b> (original title: <b>Impersonal</b> <b>Recollections</b>) <b>/Onpersoonlijke</b> <b>Herinneringen (1936)</b></p> <p><b>Alienation (Original</b> <b>title: Willem Mertens'</b> <b>Levensspiegel (1914)</b></p>	<p>339</p>	<p><b>Not mentioned</b></p> <p>An intensely sombre book that records the self-analysis of a man who is warped by loneliness, frustration and feelings of guilt.</p>
<p><b>Three Novels:</b></p> <p><b>Soft Soap /Lijmen</b> <b>(1924)</b></p> <p><b>Will-o'-the Wisp) /Het</b> <b>Dwaallicht (1946)</b></p> <p><b>The Leg</b> <b>/Het Been (1938)</b></p>	<p>336</p> <p>336</p> <p>336</p>	<p>A first-rate and highly original novel.</p> <p>A story or novella rather than a novel, is perhaps his masterpiece; the book must be regarded as one of the best stories in Dutch and was Elsschot's last work.</p> <p>A short novel which shows Boorman repairing the damage that one of his shady deals in <i>Lijmen</i> had caused and was Elsschot's last work.</p>
<p><b>Reynard the Fox and</b></p>		

<p><b>other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature:</b></p> <p>1, Charles and Elegast / Karel ende Elgast (c. 1250)</p> <p>2, Reynard the Fox / Van den Vos Reinaerde (c. 1225)</p> <p>3, Lancelot of Denmark / Lanceloet van Denemerken (c. 1400)</p> <p>4, Say That again / Nu Noch (c. 1400)</p> <p>5, Gawain / Walewein (extract from The Fight with the Dragon: The King of Faeri's Castle (c. 1250)</p>	<p>7/8</p> <p>23</p> <p>43</p> <p></p> <p>11</p>	<p><i>Karel ende Elgast</i> is undoubtedly the best of the Frankish romances. It was one of the first books printed in the Low Countries, and the fact that no less than six copies are extant, is indicative of its popularity.</p> <p><i>Van den Vos Reinaerde</i> is an accomplished masterpiece, without any flaws or lapses, and Willem (the author) whoever he was, must be regarded as one of the major poets of the Middle Ages.</p> <p>For a mediaeval play the character of <i>Lanseloet</i> is quite subtly drawn</p> <p><b>Not mentioned</b></p> <p>The best example of a British romance in Dutch is <i>Walewein</i>.</p>
<p><b>Max Havelaar/Max Havelaar (1860)</b></p>	<p>223-225</p>	<p>This is the most discussed novel in Dutch literature...It has become an undisputed classic of Dutch literature, and what is more, a classic which is still alive and kicking, and still capable of arousing emotions.</p>

<b>Bibliotheca Neerlandica Unpublished Titles</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Trijntje Cornelis/Trijntje Cornelis</b>	146	The play which is an excellent piece of theatre delights in farcical situations and scandalous detail.
<b>The Spanish Brabanter/ Spaanschen Brabander</b>	126	Bredero has given this play a subtlety which none of his other plays possess.
<b>Lucifer/Lucifer</b>	136	<i>Lucifer</i> (1654) Vondel's most grandiose play...
<b>Granida/Granida</b>	114	It is brilliantly written
<b>Life and Death in the Kiln/Het leven en de Dood in de Ast</b>	284	A masterpiece disputed by few and envied by many.
<b>Peasant Hymn/Boerenpsalm</b>		<b>Not Mentioned</b>

Table 23: Meijer's comments on the works appearing in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series

As can be seen in the tables, all the published works were mentioned Kuvelder (1961) and only Coenen and his work *The House on the Canal* (1965) and *Say That Again* (1967) were not discussed by Meijer.

## ii, The canon of Flemish literature

The Flemings in Belgium wanted their own Flemish canon of fifty works and I will consider this development; D'haen (2011, 20-21) highlights the discussion that arose:

The Flemish weekly *Knack*<sup>28</sup> early in the 2008 appealed to authors, literary scholars, critics, secondary school teachers, librarians, publishers and booksellers, for suggestions as to what they deemed the fifty most important Flemish books.

D'haen (2011, 20-21) mentions Geert Buelens, Professor of Modern Dutch literature at Utrecht University and a Fleming himself, who suggested three lists: a Dutch (Netherlandic) one, a Flemish one and a Dutch-language one to include literature from the Netherlands and

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<sup>28</sup> *Knack* is a Flemish weekly news magazine covering local news, politics, sports, business, jobs, and community events founded in 1971. It was the first Flemish news magazine in the country and is owned by Roularta Media Group, Brussels. It is the Flemish equivalent of the French language news magazine *Le Vif/L'Express*.

Flanders. D’haen, (2011, 21) however, questions Buelen’s reasoning in that he does not know if the joint list contains the same titles as the national lists, or whether the three lists share any titles.

Eventually on 1 July 2015 the Canon van de Vlaams-Nederlandse literatuur (Canon of Flemish-Dutch literature) was created consisting of 50 titles, in which more attention is devoted to the Flemish literary heritage. This list was compiled by KANTLE, the Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde, (Royal Academy of Dutch language and literature) in Flanders which has around 40 members consisting of linguists, literary scientists and creative authors. It is an autonomous, independent and multidisciplinary society whose goal is the study, practice and flourishing of Dutch language and culture. The Royal Academy of Dutch Language and Literature stresses in its report that these books are considered essential works of Dutch literature in Flanders but stresses that, ‘this selection is not a concrete cast of so-called compulsory literature; it is not a stone table for eternity, but a menu that tests the taste of today against the literary cuisine of our past’ [which is what Franke (2011, 55) stated, as discussed previously in this chapter]. Whilst this list<sup>29</sup> focuses on Flemish literature, it does contain works from Netherlands’ Dutch writers such as Multatuli who was born in Amsterdam. I must stress, however, that to my understanding this canon is not officially recognised as a canon in its own right. See Table 24 for eight works from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which formed part of the 2015 canon of Flemish Literature.

Title	Author	Date
Van den Vos Reynaerde	Willem die Madoc maecte	c. 1225
Karel ende Elegast	Unknown	c. 1250
Walewein	Penninc/Pieter Vostaert	c. 1250
Beatrijs	Unknown	c. 1374
Lanseloet van Denemerken	Unknown	c. 1400
Mariken van Nieumeghen	Unknown	1485
Max Havelaar	Multatuli	1860
Het Dwaallicht	Willem Elsschot	1946

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<sup>29</sup> For a list of the Canon of Flemish- Dutch literatures (2015) see: KANTLE, a (2015).

Table 24: The eight works from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which formed part of the 2015 canon of Flemish Literature

In 2020 KANTLE,<sup>30</sup> in Flanders updated its published literary canon which both added and removed some works from its canon which demonstrates fluidity as discussed by Franke (2011, 55) previously in this chapter. The criteria used by the Canon Commission from KANTLE<sup>31</sup> were that it selected literary works written in Dutch at least 25 years ago and the author was no longer alive.

*Max Havelaar* (1860) is worthy of attention because although Bloom (1994) in his volume, *The Western Canon* discusses the canonical authors of the world mentioning Shakespeare from England, Ibsen from Norway and Dante from Italy, and makes no reference to any canonical authors from the Low Countries, it is one of only three Dutch works which have since entered the 'Canon of World Literature' if one uses the Penguin Classics series as a guide. Of the more than 1,110 titles of the published Penguin Classics series, only three are written by authors from the Low Countries: one of them is the Renaissance scholar, Erasmus (1466-1536), who wrote *Praise of Folly*<sup>32</sup> (1509), in Latin, the second is Van Gogh's (1853-1890) *The Letters Vincent Van Gogh*<sup>33</sup> (written between 1872-1890) and the third is Multatuli's (1820-1887) *Max Havelaar* (1860). No mention is made of Van Gogh's letters in the canon of Dutch literature (2002), whilst one member of the Society of Dutch Literature did allude to Erasmus in Latin in his comments which I have previously noted. Since its appearance in 1967, *Max Havelaar* (1860) has also been retranslated by Ina Rilke and David McKay in 2019 which shows that this canonical volume was found worthy of being updated for a contemporary audience.

To address my first line of enquiry regarding the role the canons of Flemish and Dutch (Netherlandic) literature played in international cultural diplomacy, I note that the board was astute in selecting all of the works in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series which were

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<sup>30</sup> For a list of the 2020 Canon of Flemish-Dutch Literature see: KANTLE, b (2020).

<sup>31</sup> For the criteria used to establish the Canon of Flemish-Dutch Literature see: KANTLE, c (2020).

<sup>32</sup> *Praise of Folly* had the Latin title of *Stulittiae Laus* or *Moriae Encomium* and the Dutch title *Lof der Zotheid*. For a contemporary version of *Praise of Folly* in Penguin Classics see: Erasmus, (1993).

<sup>33</sup> For a contemporary version of *The Letters Vincent Van Gogh* in Penguin Classics see: Gogh, Vincent van (1997).

discussed in the literary histories of (1961) and Meijer (1971) and secondly, it was perhaps a pioneer in sowing the seeds for establishing future Dutch and Flemish canons. Indeed, the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* may have given rise to a canon and perhaps one could say that this was the first example of a canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature represented in print. If we consider the canon of Flemish literature produced in 2015, then eight works would be included in the list. A positive experience here shows that all of the published Dutch *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works were found to be included in the literary histories whilst nearly one third of the published Flemish *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works became part of the 2015 canon of Flemish literature.

### **3, Target and source-based translation strategies available to the board**

#### **i, A theoretical perspective: target and source-based strategies**

Both target and source-based translation strategies were available to board members and I will highlight the theoretical issues of the opportunities of both strategies and then apply them to an example of each strategy. Venuti's terms of 'foreignisation' (a source-based approach) and 'domestication' (a target-based approach) have become discussed aspects of Translation Studies today as Munday (2008, 144) notes:

These strategies concern both the choice of text to translate and the translation method. Their roots are traced back by Venuti to Friederich Schleiermacher and his 1813 essay 'Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens' (Concerning differing methods of translation).

Venuti (2008, 15) refers to Friedrich Schleiermacher's essay in 1813<sup>34</sup> when Schleiermacher argued that either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader towards him, a source-based or foreignisation approach; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him, a target-based or domesticating approach. Venuti (2008, 84) notes that Schleiermacher privileges the first method, making the reader of the translation travel abroad. Munday (2008, 29) endorses Schleiermacher's first method when referring to an unknown German text whereby the reader moves towards the writer; this entails not writing as the author would have done

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<sup>34</sup> For the essay see: Störig, Hans Joachim (1967).

had he written in German but giving the reader through then translation, the impression he would have received as a German reading through the work in the original language.

I wish to consider the translation strategies which were at the disposal of the board and whether the correct one was chosen for the project. Two different strategies lay at the disposal of the board for translating novels; how the work had been received in the Netherlands, a source-based approach, or whether the work abroad would count as being interesting, a target-based approach.

Van Voorst (2013, 32) discusses these two strategies. She states that the target-based strategy deals with promoting and translating works which relate to the demands, critics and readers of the target literature. The source-based strategy relates to the belief that if one presents 'good' literature abroad, then recognition and appreciation of the literature itself will follow from readers and critics, and objections will be overcome. This idea, however, puts heavy emphasis on the Dutch literature and the fact that the literature must be 'good'. Van Voorst (2013, 33) notes that 'goede' literatuur (high quality literature) was the order of the day and in a letter from Minderaa to Oversteegen on 4 November 1955 this was emphasised: 'vooral niet beginnen met helpen aan verspreiding van literatuur die niet eersteklas is' (above all, do not start circulating literature which is not first class!).

Vanderauwera (1985, 141-142) notes that foreign interest in literature can be generated in these two ways and adapts these ideas specifically to Dutch belles-lettres noting the difficulty of a source-based approach:

The easy tactic is to promote and translate works that fit target demands and target taste, and by doing so to neutralize aesthetic objections, and as a consequence the basic commercial objections, at least to a certain degree. The difficult and more hazardous tactic, and one demanding more patience, is to mount an aggressive effort to create some attention for the specificity of the Dutch production, in order to make editors, publishers and reviewers aware that there is a format in contemporary Dutch fiction, somewhere between the novel and short story, which derives its special character from its evocativeness, its intimistic theme, its precious imagery and language, and which may have something to contribute to its target literature.

Vanderauwera (1985, 55) further notes that the Foundation was marketing their classics and not really catering to target tastes, which were not particularly receptive to the often stylized and introspective fiction of the Low Countries.

## **ii, The use of introductions within the canonical works: An example of domestication or a target-based approach**

I would like to offer an example of both strategies which I researched in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes beginning with the use of introductions as a target-based approach followed by the use of foreign vocabulary as a source-based approach.

The minutes of the board on 3 January 1955 show that eventually it came to the understanding that the selection of works for a series be based on how the works had been received in the Netherlands and whether the works abroad would count as being interesting. These were sensible comments from the board highlighting a key issue since both source and target strategies were being considered. An issue to develop from this, however, and which was to cause a problem later for publishers, was that a source-based approach meant that what had been received well in the Netherlands would not necessarily be interesting to the English speaking market. Two key experiences which occurred in the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* illustrate both domestication and foreignisation, which will help address my first line of enquiry to elucidate the role the Dutch canon played regarding international cultural diplomacy.

According to Vanderauwera (1985, 54), 'Most volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* come without an introduction, suggesting a source-based approach leaving the reader alone to establish the context of the work. In fact, Vanderauwera (1985, 54) was, on the one hand, incorrect here as five [in fact, four and a half volumes because in the co-joint volume of *The House on the Canal* (1965) and *Alienation* (1965) only *Alienation* (1965) was given a translator's introduction] of the ten volumes did offer a translator's introduction. One could say that these five volumes employed a target-based strategy, a domestication approach, to help the reader to put the novel into context and I have highlighted them with an 'x' in Table 25.



It should be born in mind that introductions serve a variety of purposes and are not necessarily indicative of a target-based approach. A translator's introduction can point out translation issues and the identity of the translator, making the translator more visible, in Venuti's terms. Batchelor (2018, 26) notes that, 'the most widely studied type of paratext is the translator's preface'. On the other hand, in support of Vanderauwera (1985, 54), it may have been that her understanding of the translator's note did not fit her criteria of what should be included. *Reynard the Fox and Other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967), *Mediaeval Netherland Religious Literature* (1965) and *The Waterman* (1963) had in my opinion informative translator's notes because they helped the reader put the text into context through a target-based approach whilst the other two works, *The Man in the Mirror*, (1963) *Alienation* (1965) address more the author than the text.

Name of Volume	Introduction	Remarks
Old People and the Things that Pass		
The Waterman	x	Translator's introduction
The Man in the Mirror	x	Letter to Willem Pée
Marriage/Ordeal		
The Garden where the Brass Band Played		
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	x	Translator's introduction
The House on the Canal/Alienation	x	Translator's introduction to <i>Alienation</i> only
Three Novels		
Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	x	Translator's introduction to <i>Reynard the Fox</i> Translator's introduction to the remaining four works
Max Havelaar	x	Translator's introduction D. H. Lawrence introduction

Table 25: *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes with introductions

Let me take a moment to concentrate on the English translated canonical work of *Max Havelaar* (1967) where a second introduction by D. H. Lawrence discusses the work and its complexities and prepares the reader for the difficulties of style used in the work. Introductions aid the reader in translated literature and Oversteegen wanted a small introduction by the literary editor William Plomer (1903-1973) for *Max Havelaar* (1967), however, for reasons unknown this did not occur and the volume was introduced instead by the translator, Roy Edwards and author and literary critic D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930). D. H. Lawrence's introduction was taken from W. Siebenhaar's translation of *Max Havelaar* (1927) published by A. Knopf, New York.<sup>35</sup> In his introduction, D. H. Lawrence compares *Max Havelaar* (1860) favourably to another original work chosen for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series, *Van oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906) whilst criticising its composition:

If you ask a Hollander for a really good Dutch novelist he refers you to the man who wrote: *Old People and the Things that Pass*, (Louis Couperus) – or else to somebody you know nothing about. As regards the Dutch somebody [sic. something] I know nothing about, I am speechless. But as regards *Old People and the Things that Pass* I still think Max Havelaar a far more real book...As far as composition goes, it is the greatest mess possible. How the reviewers of today would throw it in the w.p.b [waste paper bin].

Meijer,<sup>36</sup> (1971, 226-227) however, disagreed with Lawrence:

*Max Havelaar* has often been called an incoherent book, motley, a rambling novel, because of the constant switching from seriousness to comedy, the double setting in Lebak and Amsterdam, the Droogstoppel-digressions, the great variety of styles, the poems and short stories that are thrown in at various stages. D. H. Lawrence, in his introduction to the

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<sup>35</sup> An earlier English version of *Max Havelaar* had been translated by Alphonse Nahuys in 1868 and published by Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh.

<sup>36</sup> Fenoulhet knew Oversteegen as he had been her tutor whilst she was studying in Amsterdam in the 1970s. She told me that Oversteegen and Meijer had studied together and been friends until their falling out over the rejection of Meijer's literary history volume for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which I refer to in Appendix 6. Oversteegen was young and inexperienced whilst the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was being produced but held very different views on literature to Minderaa whose choices of novels he did not like. Oversteegen wanted to cross boundaries and tended towards new writers, held a dynamic approach towards translation and was interested in the future of the Foundation. Minderaa was the opposite of this and Oversteegen was not proud of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* when published.

American edition of 1927<sup>37</sup> stated bluntly: 'As far as composition goes, it is the greatest mess possible'. Lawrence was very wrong, for in spite of its chaotic appearance *Max Havelaar* is an extraordinarily well-controlled and coherent novel in which all characters and all situations, however unrelated they may seem, are closely linked and arranged in such a way as to put one another in perspective.

D. H. Lawrence is regarded as one of the most influential writers of the 20 century and a high profile figure in 1960s following the obscenity trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). This leads one to suggest that D. H. Lawrence's introduction was used for the 1967 translation of *Max Havelaar* because he would have been more of a draw at the time, perhaps making the novel 'sexy' by association.<sup>38</sup>

Translator introductions can be an example of domestication or a target based approach whereby the reader is helped by the translator to understand a work by placing it in context so that they are not confused at the outset. The English translation of *Max Havelaar* (1967) had a translator's introduction which was a positive experience for this canonical work. *Max Havelaar* (1860) was retranslated again in 2019 and given a new introduction, written in Indonesian by Pramoeda Ananta Toe, and translated by John H. McGlynn.

The converse is sadly true of another recently translated work which was planned to form part of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series; Streuvel's English translation of *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (1926) translated by Omer Vandeputte and others entitled *When the Wheel Turns its Circle* (2016). This was an unpublished work for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series [although Roy Edwards had translated it for the series and I located the copy in Amsterdam in an attic at the Nederlands Letterenfonds, Dutch Literature Foundation]. In a conversation with Jane Fenoulhet, she also highlighted the significance of introductions or forwards by the translator. There was unfortunately a negative experience with this work because it lacks a comprehensive translator's introduction which should relate more to the text than

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<sup>37</sup> The introduction by D. H. Lawrence was taken from W. Siebenhaar's translation of *Max Havelaar*, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York in 1927.

<sup>38</sup> Sandbrook (2010) described the events of the case concerning the Crown versus Penguin Books which opened on October 21, 1960 whereby a loophole in a new Obscene Publications Act, concerning the question of literary merit had opened the door for Penguin to announce its plans in May 1960 to publish 200,000 paperback copies of the novel. Only if Penguin were acquitted of breaking the Obscene Publications Act would it be legal to distribute. On 2 November 1960 after just three hours' deliberation, the jury acquitted Penguin books of all charges.

the author and translators. She is of the opinion that its absence would have affected the work failing to find a recognised publisher, which it did. [see Appendix 5 which shows that Vandeputte had to publish the work privately]. The introductions which formed part of six of the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* should have helped the reader by setting the works into context but because some relate to the author rather than the text, they; they did not do this.

### **iii, The use of Dutch and non Dutch vocabulary in the canonical works: An example of foreignisation or a source-based approach**

I would like to consider the experiences of foreignisation or a source-based approach within the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works, particularly favoured by Minderaa, by highlighting the use of untranslated Dutch and non Dutch foreign vocabulary in the next few pages. I should mention here that Anglo-American publishing has an overwhelming preference for domestication which causes ideological and political problems in that it reduces the reader's ability to encounter the foreign, it reinforces the dominant forces in the dominant culture and it strengthens Anglo-American hegemony. Venuti (1992, 6) states:

Anglo-American publishing has been instrumental in producing readers who are aggressively monolingual and culturally parochial.

Translators have two plans of attack: firstly, engage with a foreignizing strategy to create an artificial foreignness in the translated text by using non-dominant elements of the target language such as archaism, slang, dialect forms (of which there are many examples in Flemish novels) and the mixing of registers and styles; secondly, highlight the fact of translation in paratexts (in introductions) and reviews. Foreignisation, then, is not to preserve foreign features that are in the source text but rather to enable domestic readers to question the original version.

Approximately 70 percent percent of the English audience had received no foreign language tuition at secondary schools in the 1960s in the United Kingdom when the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series was published and would have been at a disadvantage to those with foreign language knowledge when reading the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works.

Allow me to explain why 70 percent were disadvantaged. From 1944, movement from the primary to the secondary sector was selective and all pupils at the age of 11 sat the 11+ exam at primary school. Successful pupils went to grammar school whilst the others went to the 'inferior' secondary modern school. Let us consider just boys for my example as schools were sex segregated at that time. In Lincoln where I went to school in the 1960s there were two grammar schools where foreign languages were taught (The Lincoln School and the City School) and five secondary modern schools (St. Giles, Bishop King, Rosemary, Sincil Bank and St. Peter and St. Paul's Catholic School) where they were not. It was possible to move from secondary modern to grammar school after four years, as I did, but one was not allowed to take on a foreign language there because the subject was deemed to be too complex. Therefore roughly 30% only of pupils leaving the grammar school curriculum in the 1960s would have had foreign language exposure. This is not to say that only grammar school pupils would have or should have been the exact audience for readership of foreign literature in translation as many could have learned a school taught language or non taught school language, such as Dutch, at night school or at university. My point is that the 70% of secondary modern pupils would have been at a disadvantage to grammar school pupils when dealing with French or/and German in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes. The audience of *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was aimed at the middle classes, many of whom would have come from the grammar school sector who had an interest in Dutch literature.

I have separated the Dutch and non-Dutch occurring vocabulary because one could form more of a supportive argument to include some Dutch vocabulary in view of the fact that the novels are from the Netherlands and Flanders and there would have been a Dutch interest in the novels. I shall begin with an overview of the use of foreign language vocabulary in translated literature and then analyse the use of Dutch and non Dutch vocabulary within the volumes. I wish to make it clear that Venuti's theorisation of foreignisation (ethnocentric violence) and his recommended approach (decontextualisation and recontextualisation) is distinct from my investigation, which looks rather at the use of foreign words and names in the context of reader familiarity with such words.

#### **a, Foreign language vocabulary used within the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

Lefevere (1992, 29-30) acknowledges the translational problems of foreign words in texts and mentions that the writer put them there for a reason and that to simply translate them as if they were not foreign words may be to detract from the complexity of the original. His solution is to leave the foreign word un-translated and then to insert a translation into the body of the text. He adds that foreign words can add to the colour of the text, however, there are numerous instances in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes where foreign words occur; in fact a total of seven languages, see Table 26.

<b>Dutch</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>German</b>	<b>Latin</b>	<b>Italian</b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Ancient Greek</b>
The Waterman	The Waterman					
Old People and the Things that Pass	Old People and the Things that Pass			Old People and the Things that Pass		
The Man in the Mirror	The Man in the Mirror	The Man in the Mirror		The Man in the Mirror		The Man in the Mirror
Marriage	Marriage	Marriage	Marriage			
The Garden where the Brass Band Played	The Garden where the Brass Band Played	The Garden where the Brass Band Played	The Garden where the Brass Band Played			
			Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature			
The House on the	The House on the					

Canal	Canal					
Three Novels	Three Novels	Three Novels	Three Novels		Three Novels	
Max Havelaar	Max Havelaar	Max Havelaar	Max Havelaar			
			Reynard the Fox			

Table 26: Foreign Language Vocabulary occurring in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

Eposito (2011, 10) states that in some cases a word should be left un-translated, but that it will ultimately cause more problems than it solves. He maintains that the practice of leaving foreign words in a text is symptomatic of poor writing, shoddy and lazy. Moreover, it signals to the reader that the author does not know the culture he is describing very well. I believe that the largely 70% mon-lingual nature of the 1960s English language audience may not have been appreciated by the translators of the time.

Both Cora Bresciano (2011, 1) and Lefevere (1992, 29) like the idea of bilingual texts offering an English translation alongside the foreign language text so that the atmosphere of the scene is captured for those who understand whilst those who do not are offered a lifeline. The solution offers both authenticity and clarity with the reader given the experience of the foreign language without feeling frustrated. This was done only on one occasion by Colledge who placed his English translation of *Beatrice* (1965) next to the original *Beatrijs* (1374) as a parallel text.

Cuéllar (2007, 9-10) highlights the use of parallel texts:

Parallel texts help students to understand text differences in the diverse text dimensions (semantic and syntactic). At the same time they also help students to take advantage of any similarities found in the text analysis and comparison so that they can transfer some source language translation features to target language translation. Parallel texts constitute a rich translation resource to the extent that they provide an accurate pool of words related to the topic of source language text and precise guidelines as to the target language text overall structure.

This solution offers both authenticity and clarity with the reader given the experience of the foreign language without feeling inadequate or frustrated.

An issue that presents itself with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* is that all the volumes except the mediaeval ones, have untranslated Dutch vocabulary in them. Upon closer consideration, however, most of the occurring Dutch vocabulary concerns street names or the titles of men and women who would have been appropriate to the target class audience of the series.

Bresciano (2011, 1) highlights the counter point, however, that it is important that the reader is aware that another language is being spoken but stresses that the necessity of understanding is paramount and adds, ‘We don’t want readers to lose anything or to become irritated with a story because they’re stumped by the use of foreign words’.

I shall begin by tabulating the use of Dutch vocabulary within the volumes where they occur within them. Tables 27 illustrate Dutch vocabulary in each of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes but omit word repetition.

<b>The Waterman</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
18	praam
61	tjalk

<b>Old People and the Things that Pass</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
26	Meneer
41	Mevrouw
59	Ijsselmonde
59	Freule Ijsselmonde
99	Juffrouw

<b>The Man in the Mirror</b>
------------------------------



<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
48	Ter Kameren
93	Mevrouw

<b>Marriage</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
7	mijnheer
159	juffrouw
<b>Ordeal</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
234	'Mie Katoen, kom morgen noen, we zullen een pintje drinken'

<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/phrase</b>
10	Mijnheer
178	Juffrouw
207	Mejuffrouw

<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>
	No entries

<b>The House on the Canal</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>

17	koepelkamer
31	Mevrouw
35	Palijs
<b>Alienation</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>
133	Meester

<b>Three Novels</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>
14	Mijnheer
30	Juffrouw

<b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>
	No entries

<b>Max Havelaar</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Dutch word/Phrase</b>
21	Prinsengracht
27	Kalverstraat
27	Sjaal
29	Westermarkt
29	Amsterdammer
57	Stoep
143	Amstelkerk
170	Eigen haard veel waard
288	Leidesche-dwaarstraat

Tables 27: Dutch vocabulary in each of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes

I have tabulated these results in a graph which show the total number of Dutch vocabulary occurrences in each volume, see Figure 2.

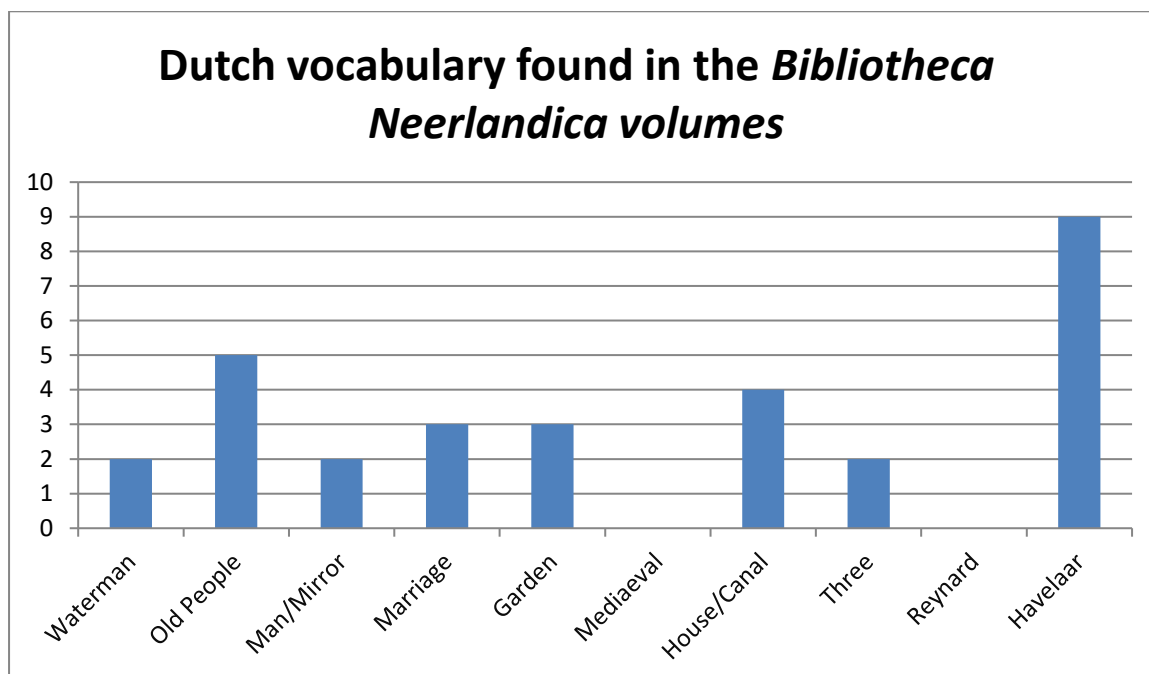


Figure 2: Dutch vocabulary found in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

The number of occurrences only ranges from zero to nine in one volume so the English readership did not have to struggle with high volumes of Dutch vocabulary.

**b, Non Dutch foreign vocabulary used within the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes**

Tables 28 tabulates the number of mainly French occurrences of non Dutch foreign vocabulary in each of the works found in each *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volume but does not show repetition of the same word. The argument here is that the series was aimed at a middle class readership, 30 per cent of whom would have had foreign language exposure from their grammar school foreign language education that would have enabled them to tackle the mainly French foreign vocabulary in the texts.

The Waterman	
Page Number	Foreign word
67	chasseurs

<b>Old People and the Things that Pass</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
24	causeries
62	Le moindre de mes soucis
101	Femme-de-ménage
105	Grande coquette
110	La Giconda
113	Cent-vingt-cinq
113	Homard à l'américaine
114	Madame la supérieure
115	Le bon Dieu
115	enthousiaste
115	trucs
115	Soupe-maigre
119	Monsieur le directeur
124	Tiens
127	Mai je suis très femme, moi
137	sicuro

<b>The Man in the Mirror</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
10	mise-en-plis
14	Lebensangst
39	grandezza
55	kohl
98	Laissez faire Dieu à présent

100	Bonne journée!
137	raté
139	cher ami
142	Il ne faut pas espérer pour entreprendre
142	La corde au cou
147	Bien sûr
150	gnothi seauton
151	On aura tout va
156	mon dieu
170	dénouement
176	sub rosa
179	A huit heures
179	Ća va
181	passons

<b>Marriage</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
26	Pax huic domui
60	Dans le temps nous avons voulu faire une bonne oeuvre comprenez-vous
86	L'école moyenne
103	Quos vult perdere Jupiter prius dementat
103	et etiam hoc transit
<b>Ordeal</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
127	Crise de nerfs
131	Nondedju
132	Mais, ma chère enfant
132	Je vais mourir, promets-le vite
133	Et voice ma femme
133	quel sale metier, nom de tonnere

138	Les femmes, c'est bon pour la nuit
139	c'est comme ça
150	Je ne pense tout de meme pas que Lucien aura froid
151	Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez, chè amie
151	Est-ce toi, mon fils Lucien?
155	burgomaster
162	Je suppose que vous voudriez, comme on fait beaucoup en Allemagne
170	Ex Oriente lux
174	tais-toi donc
174	Le blé qui meurt
174	La terre qui lève alors
175	Est-ce que.....qui lève
177	Ma très chère...et si pur
198	Il faut-être philosophe dans la vie
208	An diese kleine Händchen. Ach es tat ihm leid
211	Krieg
212	Aber das ist ja egal
215	Et pas un seul mot
220	Et maintenant tu serras sage. C'est un péché ce que tu as fait...
224	Der grosse Willy war schlecht zu mir

<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
36	jeunesse dorée
143	point d'orgue
149	ce joli garçon
153	grande passion
154	cantus firmus
157	Musikdramen

176	chambre séparée
180	Delerium Tremens

<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign Word</b>
34	Sicut in cello et in terra
34	Fiat voluntas tua

<b>The House on the Canal</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
10	coquetterie
11	coffre-fort
13	Louis Seize
14	cocotte
30	diné
31	Les murs ont des oreilles
31	Soeur de lait
31	La vie en partie double
32	La Soeur de locrisse
34	Entre Sol
43	soirées
54	reconnoitre
57	décolleté
61	corps de ballet
61	jeunesse dorée
61	patres familias
63	mauvais sujet
65	très décolletée
91	camarades de misère

<b>Alienation</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
159	trouvailles
186	Je vous dicterai les lois

<b>Three Novels:</b>	
<b>Soft Soap</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
9	Un stout, un!
39	Qui est lá
39	C'est pour les deux photos du corbillard automobile, Mademoiselle
50	Sœurs du Sacré-Cœur
68	Les pillules de l'Abbé Robert
70	Regardez ma mere, monsieur.
78	La siento tanto más que hubiera celebrado mucho el aprovechar esta occasion para activar nuestras relaciones.
120	Dies Irae
<b>The Leg</b>	
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>
199	Après siècles d'esclavage, le belge sortant du tombeau
214	Herrenvolk

<b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature</b>	
<b>Page</b>	<b>Foreign word</b>



Number	
68	Placebo domino
82	Dieu vous garde
97	Confiteor tibi, pater noster
108	Nomine Pastrum Christum file
116	Semmi dominis

Max Havelaar	
Page Number	Foreign word
30	Plait-il
43	schwärmt
47	Gemütlichkeit
91	Embarrass de richesse
93	Patrrium canimus
110	Grand seigneur
112	A rêve aux millions
131	Advienne que pourra
133	Anspruchlose
134	Horribile auditu
153	Aux armes of the Marseillais
158	En pomme de terre
163	Gemütlich
169	Entre l'écorce et le bois il ne faut pas metre le doigt
160	En pantoufles
187	En passant
188	Lares et penates
211	naïveté
280	controlleur

Tables 28: Non- Dutch foreign vocabulary in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes

See Figure 3 for the total number of non Dutch foreign vocabulary in each volume

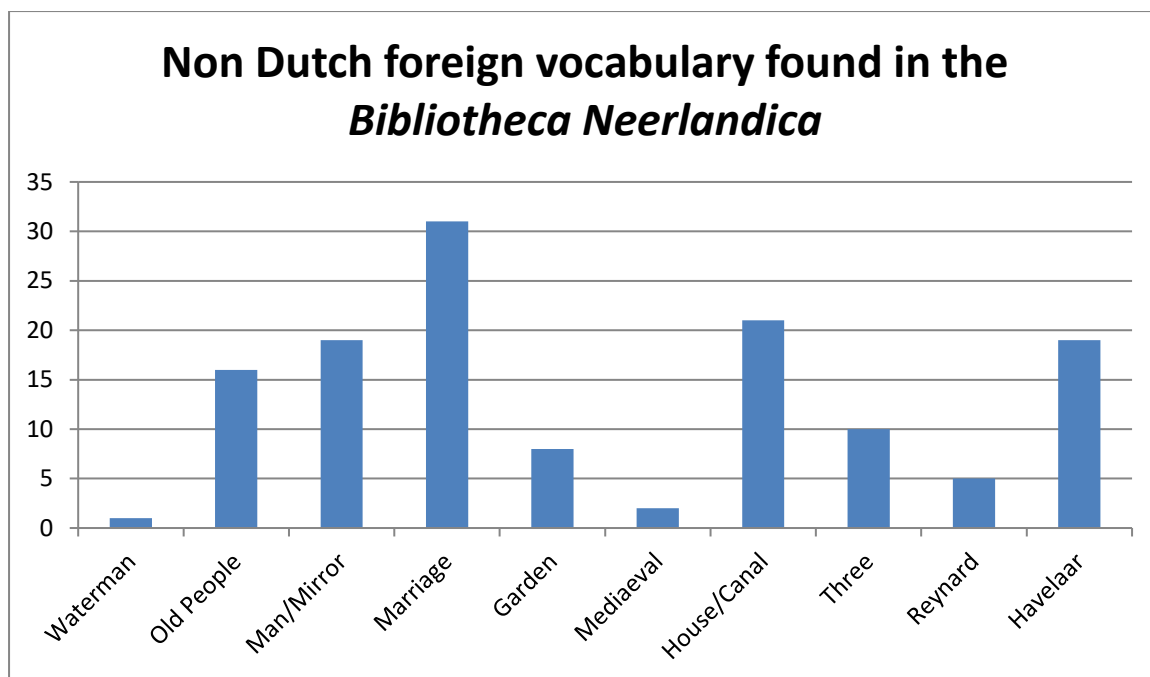


Figure 3: Non Dutch foreign vocabulary found in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

This graph highlights the issue that the middle class English speaking readership of the volumes had to contend with non Dutch foreign vocabulary but it was mainly French with some German. In view of the fact that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* targeted a middle class audience with an interest in foreign literature who hailed from grammar schools where French and German were taught should not have caused a problem.

#### **iv, The effect of cultural diplomacy on the export of the canon of Dutch literature**

In order to ascertain the effect of cultural diplomacy on the export of the canon of Dutch literature, which relates to my first line of enquiry, I contend that all of the works selected by the board were canonical in nature because they were discussed in the literary histories which I referred to earlier in this chapter.

In 1966 Heinemann withdrew from the series, which I discuss in Chapter Six, after publishing only ten of the proposed 17 volumes despite the fact that preparative work and discussion had been done on the seven unpublished titles. Some of these were to enjoy their own destiny and eventually make their mark on the global literary arena outside the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* umbrella whilst others have never been translated or published, see Appendix 5 for those seven planned *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works which were not published in the series.

## Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on three areas; the first concerns the gatekeepers whereby the use of power by the chair influenced the decision making processes in selecting works for the series. I then consider what models of other published series were available to the board, whether similar ventures were undertaken by other small nations' states post World War II and appraise shortcomings of production. The second area discusses the canons of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature and the role it played in international cultural diplomacy. It considers that all of the chosen works of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were in fact canonical literature and that the board was responsible for being the first organisation to export this. The third area concentrates on the mixed results of the enterprise and considers target and source-based translation strategies in the form of introductions and use of foreign vocabulary to highlight mixed experiences of the project. I conclude by addressing shortcomings which occurred.

Between 1955 and 1967, the board discussed Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish works to be included in a series of ten English translated volumes although 17 were originally planned. Using the board's minutes from the Museum of Literature in The Hague, I established that Minderaa, who was a key player in the choice of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, and Oversteegen created conflict in the decision making processes relating to the selection of works.

Minderaa was the older of the two in his sixties with Oversteegen only in his early thirties when the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* meetings in the 1950s and 60s were held and took a much more decisive role in his choices for book title selection. Studying the minutes of the board from 1954 until 1969, it became evident that suggestions for titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* came mainly from Minderaa although I must assume that lists would have been sent to him from board members. There was a high suggestion input, however, for the three unpublished anthologies. It fell to Minderaa to make the selection for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as he was the one ultimately responsible for making the enterprise work.

Symbolic violence is suggested by Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 75) who formed an impression that Minderaa coerced members of the board into accepting his personal choices for the series stating: 'Het was vooral Minderaa die een stempel drukte op de

selectie zonder dat men ook maar over enig criterium sprak'. (Above all it was Minderaa who stamped his mark on the selection without there being any discussion about criteria). Minderaa played a decisive role in selecting the works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series by virtue of his age, habitus, power and position which commanded him power and ability to ensure that his selection would go forward. This was seen in his influential statements in the minutes of January and June 1960 where he made it clear what should be included in the series.

Oversteegen was only 29 at the outset of the enterprise, an 'apprentice' in fact, with little power, charisma or standing within the board. What was remarkable was the silence of the other members in offering suggestions which may have been due to being in awe of Minderaa or just simply complacency in perhaps not having the same desire for the project as Minderaa had. It was also strange that Oversteegen recorded no discontent during meetings, in his memoirs or in the Dutch press.

I discussed four areas of power and related them to how Minderaa manipulated them to influence his personal preferences of works; these four areas of power included his expertise, his structural position, his personal characteristics and his opportunity. By being chairman of the board, Minderaa was able to play a decisive role in attaining task completion in ensuring a personal selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. This may have been because of having a less than enthusiastic group of board members who did not share the same drive for the project as him enabled him to rollercoaster his preferences through; it may have been that he played little interest in drawing out their preferences for the series or it may have also been due to the non tenured members changing every two or four years, and not being able to establish themselves. I found only three instances where Oversteegen played a discursive role in the selection of works for the series, which is remarkable, however, Oversteegen was absent from many meetings because of his constant travels abroad to promote Dutch translated literature. Minderaa was coercive in achieving which works he wanted in the series but he was proven correct in his choices by selecting all 22 works of canonical status.

I found no other similar projects by European countries after World War II for translating a series which the board could have had recourse to. Scandinavia's Arts' Ministries had not

been established at that time; the Eastern Bloc nations were suffering from Soviet oppression which did not favour English, whilst the translation of small nations' languages of Spain; Basque, Galician and Catalan, were prohibited by the dictator General Franco.

The delivery method for the export of Dutch literature was the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which housed works from my two selected literary histories by Knuvelde (1961) and Meijer (1971) and the suitability of this method could have been improved by considering other series' initiatives that were available to the board. These templates for the series were a group of six published series' initiatives which had existed around the world and sadly only one of them, the *Bibliotheca Flandrica*, was mentioned in the board's minutes. It had been favoured by Minderaa but was a poor choice as it had suffered unfavourable reviews from the Flemish Academy due to its poor translations. This was neglectful of the board and reflects a lack of research for the project which was available to them.

My second area concentrated on what the canon of Dutch literature was and its role in international cultural diplomacy. Canons are not fixed entities but shift and change, though only incrementally. I found no mention of the term 'canon' in the minutes of the board from 1954 to 1969 as this term was only used then for crucial books of culture such as the Bible or Shakespeare and did not become widely used until the late 1960s. This suggests that members of the board did not see themselves as canon builders per se although they did have a remit to submit what they considered fine literary works.

The board successfully chose its entire canonical works from literary histories of the time and indeed, the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* may have given rise to a canon. Perhaps one could say that this was perhaps the first example of a created canon of a canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature in print. It was also the first time that Dutch and Flemish literature were treated equally in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series which occurred when Belgium joined the Foundation in 1960, as discussed in my previous chapter. On the other hand, the board did not always choose works which have stood the test of time in that only *Max Havelaar* (1860) and *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c. 1225) have been retranslated since the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes were published in 2019 and 2009 respectively.

Both target and source based translation strategies were available to the board with Oversteegen preferring a target-based approach to translated literature whilst Minderaa

favoured a source-based approach based on his personal preferences; eventually this was the approach that was applied. Vanderauwera (1985, 54-55) notes that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* had been the result of the board's prime policy in the sixties where it concentrated largely on 'classics' and it was not until the Foundation published a series of volumes entitled *The Library of the Indies* in the 1970s that, 'the Foundation would seem to have shifted its basic policy more and more from source-oriented selection to a better-balanced combination of its metaliterary purposes with target interests'.

I have highlighted an example of translation strategies of domestication and foreignisation available to the board and chose introductions for the former and the use of foreign vocabulary for the latter. Vanderauwera (1985, 54) makes the point that introductions, which would aid the reader in placing the work into context, were omitted from most of the volumes but I think she meant that informative introductions concerning the works were omitted. Six of the volumes had an introduction of sorts but on closer inspection they were not all informative about the work and in fact related more to the author.

An example of a translation strategy I chose relates to foreignisation and considers the use of Dutch and non Dutch foreign vocabulary within the volumes. I separated Dutch and non Dutch foreign vocabulary because in reading Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature one would, as a reader, expect to be au fait with Dutch references. In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes, only between zero and nine instances of Dutch vocabulary, which were mainly street names, occurred in any one volume which would have been acceptable to a non Dutch speaker. This was then an acceptable positive experience to the experiment. I contend that the middle class audience with a grammar school education and exposure to foreign languages would have been able to deal with French and German aspects of the works.

Having researched the micro history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, I would like to hone in on four experiences from the experiment which include the shortcomings of the series, whether there was a strategy and plan, if the board was overzealous in producing translations, and whether a lack of business and marketing acumen played a part.

The shortcomings in the selection process were worsened by irregularities in volume production. *Max Havelaar* (1860) already existed in English translation which meant a

missed opportunity for a new work although the two existing translations were deemed to be poor and canonical works do tend to be retranslated over time. An older English translation from 1919 of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) was used without updates and corrections to open the series instead of a new one being commissioned after forty years. In fact, my research established that the reissued volume of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) was inferior to the original in that more typo errors ensued. Only half of the volumes contain one work, with the other five containing two, three or five works which was curious in some volumes as the works were not related to each other by author or theme. The mediaeval volumes highlight failings in rigour and production practice in that some have complete works whilst some have only extracts, some works have been transposed from verse into prose, possibly for ease of understanding for an English audience whilst others have been translated from prose to prose.

The enterprise would have been more effective had it spent time at the outset on developing a strategy or making a structured plan of possible works within a detailed time frame. Responsibility for areas of the programme could have been disseminated to various members or groups of members to ease the work load on Minderaa. Even in the two years leading up to publication in 1963, discussions were still continuing about the series' composition. In a meeting in Leiden on 29 September 1961, Minderaa mentioned Van Oudshoorn's *Willem Mertens Levensspiegel* (1914) and Marcellus Emants' (1848-1923) *Een Nagelaten Bekentenis*<sup>39</sup>(1894) as possibilities for the series and in the following year a meeting was held on 11 January 1962 in Leiden where discussions continued. Van Oudshoorn's *Willem Mertens Levensspiegel* (1914) and Coenen's *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (1936) were confirmed as definite additions to the series but Du Perron's *Het Land van Herkomst* (1935) was feared to have been published in America and so the board opted for Vestdik's *De Koperen Tuin* (1950). Their fears were unfounded, however, since *Het Land van Herkomst*<sup>40</sup> (1935) was not to be translated into English until 1984.

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<sup>39</sup> *Een Nagelaten Bekentenis* (1894) appeared in a later series of works in English called *The Library of Netherlands Literature* see: Appendix 10.

<sup>40</sup> *Land van Herkomst* (1935) appeared in a later series of works called *The Library of the Indies*, see: Appendix 9.

The board in my opinion may have undertaken too many translations at one time. A French series called *Pays-Bas/ Flandre* which was based on the same lines as the English *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was published in conjunction with éditions universitaires press; Appendix 7 shows that twenty volumes were originally proposed but to my knowledge only nine volumes were published between 1968 and 1975. They were published one year after the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* but, nevertheless, the preparation work would have been substantial and impeded on time which could have been devoted to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. In addition, the *List of Literary Works Translated with help of the Foundation 1954-1990* (n.d. [c. 1995]) lists 83 volumes which were translated into many languages between 1956 and 1968 [the creation and publication dates of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*], culminating with *Max Havelaar* (1967) which was a high amount for such a small board.<sup>41</sup>

The board had been the first organisation to seriously promote Dutch literature abroad and took a first step in institutionalising a foreign literature policy but the members were scholars or writers, influenced by Minderaa, who had little experience with neither business of the publishing world nor the needs of the foreign market. They were therefore not fully equipped to satisfactorily complete their task from the outset.

This chapter has provided a micro-history of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, illustrating the way the board was influenced in the selection of works for the series by the chair through the use of power and position. It has illustrated how difficult it was to be a pioneer in the field of literary translation but highlights that it did nevertheless allow Dutch literature a modest position on the world literary stage. Furthermore, although the board did pursue an international cultural policy and was perhaps successful in canon-building, it did successfully choose all of its 22 works for the series from accomplished literary histories highlighting their canonical status.

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<sup>41</sup> See January 1960- January 1961, January 1961-January, 1962, January 1962-January 1963, and January 1963-January 1964 End of year Reports for lists of completed translated works submitted to the board.



## PART THREE

### TRANSLATION PRODUCTIONS

#### THE TRANSLATORS SELECTED TO TRANSLATE THE *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA* VOLUMES

##### CHAPTER 5

###### Introduction

The board had been responsible for deciding which titles would form part of the series. In order to have translations, one needed translators and this chapter considers two issues, the journey to find them which was to present problems for the board especially for the 17th century works, and the experience of the translators to establish whether they had a suitable background for the task.

I now wish to develop my third line of enquiry which will establish the background of the chosen translators and will discuss four areas to help me do this. Firstly, I will ascertain whether Oversteegen, the director of the Foundation, was robust and rigorous in his selection of translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. Secondly, I will establish whether his chosen translators had professional standing. To do this I will draw on two academics; initially I use Jones (2018) to consider what he termed 'dedicated expert status' which is based on two criteria, the length of a translating career and the number of cojoint projects in a career. I will then apply his findings to the translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Thirdly, I interact with Briffa and Caruana (2009) and others to establish whether the translators had professional standing through their ability to translate titles. Finally, I will address two ethics issues concerning whether low payments for translators resulted in them taking on too much work and whether the translations were rushed, which resulted in them not being fit for purpose.

###### 1, Oversteegen: a rigorous search for translators

An undated English brochure entitled *Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk* (n.d., 6-7) published by the board stated:

It became evident that finding good translators was a really difficult problem. In Italian, for example, many books have been translated via an intermediary language because there are

insufficient people with the literary expertise to directly translate into Italian from Dutch. That was the case even for French.

The board's report of 1 September 1955 states that the procurement of translators was difficult and a number of German, Italian, French, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish and English translators had been put forward for consideration from personal contacts; in the case of Britain and France, these came from The British Council and Maison Descartes (The French Institute for Culture and Exchange in Amsterdam) or had applied directly to the Foundation.

Cross (1987, 157) states that, 'Good translators continue to be at a premium. They are heavily booked up'. Two examples of this included Margaret Walker of the British Council, who wrote to Oversteegen on 19 August 1955 stating that they were most interested to hear of his plans for translating Dutch works into English and offered James Brockway as a translator who might be able to help. A second example was highlighted in a letter dated 29 August 1955 to Arthur van Schendel's wife concerning her husband's short work entitled *Fratilamur* (1928)<sup>42</sup> where Oversteegen asked her whether she knew if the piece had been translated in any languages and if not, would she be in agreement for it to be translated abroad. He ended his letter by asking if she was aware of any competent Italian translators in the literary field.

The report of 1 September 1956 mentioned that the problem of obtaining translators continued because publishing companies had been miserly in sharing them with outsiders as they regarded them a personnel possession. Flaxman of New York University wrote to the treasurer of the Foundation, J. Mak, on 19 January 1955 in support of Dutch translated literature having just spent a year in Amsterdam:

As an American who has learned Dutch only in order to be able to read Dutch literature, I hope your institute will be successful in making the literature of the Netherlands accessible to those who cannot read the language.

In a letter to Oversteegen on 5 December 1955, he explained that he had been trying to encourage American publishers to publish Dutch literature in English translation without

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<sup>42</sup> There is no English translation of this novel. The title, according to Van Schendel (1981), is a puzzle and relates to an anagram of a few words but he has forgotten which one since he wrote the novel.

success but had been successful in establishing a conference on Dutch literature in Chicago under the auspices of the Modern Language Association of America. He had recently had a Dutch work published entitled *Herman Heijermans and his Dramas* in 1954.

Oversteegen replied in an undated letter to Flaxman:

U zult begrijpen dat één van de belangrijkste kwesties voor ons is: het vinden vertrouwbare vertalers (zij moeten natuurlijk aan de hoogste eisen voldoen). Wij hebben langzamerhand wel een heel lijstje, maar er is toch nog altijd een tekort, vooral omdat een zekere specialisatie vaak noodzakelijk is.

(You must understand that one of the most important questions for us is obtaining trustworthy translators who must of course satisfy the highest demands. We have gradually made a list but there is always a shortage, above all because a certain specialism is often required).

Nevertheless, Oversteegen selected five translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, stating in *De Standaard, Brussel* on 11 January 1962 that, 'Uit tachtig Engelsen die Nederlandse werken zouden kunnen vertalen, hebben we de zes beste uitgezocht.' (From eighty English people who could translate Dutch works, we sought out the best six).

He later added a Dutchman, Adriaan Barnouw to translate *Reynard the Fox* (1967) when Edmund Colledge withdrew from the project to enter monastic life. Oversteegen had to locate translators and examine their ability himself by setting them items of literature to translate within limited time frames. Although mention had been made of the problem by the board in locating translators, Oversteegen stated in his memoirs (1999, 153) that quite to the contrary, he found no difficulty in finding English translators and in fact he had a bank of around 80 to choose from:

Waar ik vooral naar uitkeek, waren vertalers in het Engels, en welzeker, daarvan bleken er meer te zijn dan ik had durven hopen

(Wherever I looked in detail, there were English translators, and to be sure, there seemed to be more than I had hoped).

He assembled a team of five translators, four of whom were native English speakers: Alex Brotherton, James Brockway, Roy Edwards and Edmund Colledge, whilst Neline C. Clegg-

Bruinwold Riedel was Dutch. Adriaan J. Barnouw, a Dutchman, came on board later whilst a previously published translation by the deceased Alexander Teixeira de Mattos was used to launch the series. I want to address part of my third line of enquiry to establish whether Oversteegen's methods of selecting translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were sufficiently robust and rigorous. The method used by Oversteegen involved the translator applicants being tested with a sample translation. In the brochure *Stichting voor Vertalingen 20 Jaar 1954-1974 (The Foundation for Translations: 20 Years 1954-1974)* (1975, 6) the procedure is explained:

Van iedere vertaler die zich bij de Stichting aanmeldt wordt een proefvertaling gevraagd en deze wordt aan een adviseurs ter beoordeling toegezonden. Deze adviseurs zijn meestal afkomstig uit het betreffende taalgebied en hebben hun sporen op literair en taalkundig gebied verdiend. Het aan de Stichting uitgebrachte advies geldt als bindend en over de uitslag is geen discussie mogelijk.

(Whoever applies to the Foundation is required to submit a sample translation which is sent to a number of consultants for assessment. These consultants hail predominantly from the respective language areas and are respected in their fields of literature and language. Their conclusions are regarded as binding by the Foundation with no room for discussion).

I shall now consider case studies of the six translators which Oversteegen selected and employed by engaging with the minutes of the board. The minutes provide a flavour of the interaction between Oversteegen and the translators whilst the Experience's Table offers a resumé of their achievements.

## **Translator case studies**

### **i, James Brockway**

Oversteegen contacted Brockway on 4 January 1955 regarding a sample translation to ascertain his competence:

...en zend U voor een profvertaling, en wel *Vergeelde Portretten* [Faded Portraits] van Breton de Nijs, waaruit ik graag het tweede hoofdstuk, dat over Oom Tjen handelt, vertaald zou willen hebben.

( ...and send you a sample translation regarding *Vergeelde Portretten* by Breton de Nijs (1954)<sup>43</sup> from which I would like you to translate the second chapter concerning Uncle Tjen).

Brockway replied to Oversteegen on 6 March 1956 having made an error:

Omtrent Oom Tjen....pedati heeft hélaas niet met paddle steamers te maken. Dus de tekst moet lezen: an old fashioned ox-cart. De eerste keer, dat ik ooit in een vertaalwerk iets gegist heb. Ik doe het nooit meer.

(Regarding uncle Tjen....'pedati' it has sadly nothing to do with paddle-steamers. Thus the text should read: an old fashioned ox-cart. The first time that I have ever guessed anything in a translation, I will never do it again).

Oversteegen wrote to Brockway on 8 March 1956:

Daar onze adviseurs gunstig over Uw vertaling geoordeeld hebben, zou ik graag eens met U willen spreken over verder vertaalwerk. Bovendien zou ik graag kennis met U maken.

(Due to the fact that your translation has met with a favourable reception with our advisers, I would like to speak with you concerning further translation work. Above all I would like to meet you).

On the 17 April 1957, Brockway wrote to Oversteegen regarding *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (later translated as *The House on the Canal* (1965) :

I handed the copy of the book back to Mrs. Oversteegen at the same time as I delivered 'Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen', with the translated passages. I enjoyed translating these passages a great deal and think the book; however lugubre, extremely well written, though 'slow' by modern standards. It is a pleasure to translate good writing...but also very difficult.

In order to ascertain whether Oversteegen had selected translators of 'dedicated expert' status, I engaged with Jones (2018) who described two factors necessary to be present,

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<sup>43</sup> This was his pseudonym for Rob Nieuwenhuys.

these being ‘experience’ and ‘collaboration with others’. In Tables 29, 30,31,32, 34 and 35 below, I list key experiences that the translators accrued over their careers and although I admit that Oversteegen only had access to their experiences up until the 1950s, the data does substantiate the fact that he had chosen wisely in that the translators went on to enjoy successful careers. Indeed, the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* experience may have been instrumental in furthering the careers of these translators. As this chapter progresses I shall highlight the experiences of each of translators to illustrate their abilities and achievements.

Experiences	Date
His first collection of his poems, <i>No Summer Song</i> (1949) was published by Fortune Press, London.	1949
He published Dutch versions of the novels of Alan Sillitoe, Muriel Spark and Iris Murdoch, as well as critical essays on trends in English writing. His translations of Rutger Kopland appeared in the early 1980s in <i>Stand Magazine</i> and then as a selection of 10 poems in <i>The Prospect and The River</i> (1987) published by Jackson’s Arm, London (Perman, 2001)	1987
He translated 57 translations of Rutger Kopland’s poetry in <i>A World beyond Myself</i> (1991)	1991
A project was established in Leiden in 1992 called <i>Gedichten op Muren</i> <sup>44</sup> (Poems on the Walls) and ran until 2005 whereby more than 110 poems in many languages were painted on exterior walls in the city. Brockway took part in the project and some of his poems formed part of the scheme. <sup>45</sup>	1992
In Holland, there were publications of his translations from the poet Maria Vasalis (pseudonym Margaretha Droogleever Fortuyn) and the Frisian poet Tsjêbbe Hettinga.	
He published a poetry anthology, <i>A Way of Getting Through</i> (1995) published by Rockingham Press, Ware. (De Volkskrant 2000) <sup>46</sup>	1995
For his achievements in promoting Dutch literature abroad he received the Martinus Nijhoff prize <sup>47</sup> for translating Dutch prose into English. <sup>48</sup> Jury report (1966, 10-12) stated:	The Jury report (1966, 10-

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed report of the project in Dutch see: Brockway (1992a).

<sup>45</sup> For a list of the wall poems of Leiden see: Brockway (1992b).

<sup>46</sup> *De Volkskrant* is a Dutch daily morning newspaper which was founded in 1919.

Een van de eerste Nederlands literaire kunstwerken na de oorlog in de Engels taal verschenen was namelijk een gedicht van P.C. Boutens in 'Poetry Today' vertaald en geplaatst door James Brockway.  (One of the first literary masterpieces to appear after the war in English was a poem by P.C. Boutens in 'Poetry Today', translated and transposed by James Brockway).	12)
He died at 84 in The Hague on 15 December 2000 shortly before his last poetry collection <i>The Brightness In Between</i> was published by Rockingham Press, Ware.	2000
He was bilingual and has lived in Holland for half his lifetime	

Table 29: James Brockway

During his lifetime, Brockway produced a plethora of published poems and novels in translation as well as a poetry anthology, winning the Martinus Nijhoff prize in 1966.

## ii, Ernest Roy Edwards

On 10 September 1955 Oversteegen wrote to Edwards at Kamperfoeliestraat 81, The Hague asking:

Bent U bereid, vertaalwerk voor de Stichting te doen?

Wat is Uw ervaring op litterair gebied? Indien mogelijk ontving ik gaarne iets dat U al vertaald hebt ter beoordeling.

(Are you prepared to translate for the Foundation? What is your experience in the literary field? If possible I would like to receive something that you have translated in order to make a decision).

Edwards replied to Oversteegen on 21 September 1955 that he had gained literary experience by translating works by Johan Fabricus into English stating:

Ik heb Engelse, Franse en Duitse Letterkunde mijn leven lang bestudeerd. In de laatste zes jaren heij ook voor Nederlandse Letterkunde geïntereseerd, mede door het feit dat ik sedert

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<sup>47</sup> Established in 1955, the Nijhoff translation prize is awarded yearly for translation in or of the Dutch language. The prize is now €35,000 and is one of the most prestigious translation awards of the Netherlands.

<sup>48</sup> For a photo of the event refer to:

<http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/afbeeldingen/fotocollectie/zoeken/weergave/detail/tstart/0/q/zoekterm/james%20brockway/q/commentaar/1>

Februari 1949 bij de N.V. De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschapij als beroepsvertaler werkzaam ben. Wat mijn ervaring als litteraire vertaler betreft, heb ik de volgende boeken van den Herr Johan Fabricus in het Engels vertaald.

(I have studied English, French and German literature my whole life. In the last six years I have become interested in Dutch literature as I have worked since February 1949 as a translator for the Bataafsche Petroleum company plc. Concerning my experience as a literary translator, I have translated the following books from Mr. Johan Fabricus into English).

On 13 April 1956 Oversteegen wrote to Edwards requesting a sample translation from various parts of *Het Leven op Aarde* (Life on Earth) (1934) written by J. Slauerhoff. He concluded by stating, ' En om te laten zien, dat ik een brutale aard heb: wilt U dit alles zo gauw mogelijk doen (And to show that I have a forthright nature, would you do this as quickly as possible.

Experiences	Date
He won the Martinus Nijhoff prize for Dutch translation in 1962 <sup>49</sup> and the Jury Report, (1962, 10) where Minderaa formed part of the five member jury of the selection committee, states that he had translated works by Fabricius, Du Perron, Hermanns, Mulisch, Vestdijk, Nescio and Marga Minco. The Report (1962, 10) highlights Edwards' work on Nijhoff's exceptionally difficult prose work, <i>Pen op Papier</i> (Pen on Paper, 1936)	1962
He translated <i>Boerenpsalm</i> (1935, Peasant Hymn) by Felix Timmermanns and <i>Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast</i> (1926, <i>Life and Death in the Kiln</i> ) by Stijn Streuvels but they were not published. [A poor translation of the title in my opinion and should have been Life and Death in the Oast House/orMaltings (an indigenous word to Suffolk)]. I located Edwards' original unpublished (draft) translation of <i>Het leven en de Dood in de Ast</i> (1926) in Amsterdam and refer to this volume in my conclusion and in Appendixes 5 and 6.	unknown 1960

Table 30: Ernst Roy Edwards

<sup>49</sup> For a photo of the event refer to : [http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/afbeeldingen/fotocollectie/zoeken/weergave/detail/start0/tstart/0/q/zoekter](http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/afbeeldingen/fotocollectie/zoeken/weergave/detail/start0/tstart/0/q/zoekterm/roy%20edwards/qcommentaar/1)



A winner of the prestigious Martinus Nijhoff prize in 1962 for his translated works, Edwards also translated two works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which were not published: *Life and Death in the Oast House* and *Peasant Hymn*.

### iii, Neline Clegg Bruinwold Riedel

Mrs. Neline C. Clegg Bruinwold Riedel was Dutch. An issue frequently discussed in Translation Studies is whether the translator should be a master of the target or source language. Frank MacShane (1987, 232) states, 'the first requirement for any translator is that he be master of his own language, the language into which he is turning the foreign language'.

Unwin (1960, 309) in the 1960s made the point that:

In my early days the standards of translations was deplorable, but in recent years there has been a marked improvement. It is now more fully realized that even the most perfect knowledge of a foreign language does not make one a good translator; that there is a definite technique to be mastered; that exceptional conscientiousness is called for, and that no one can be expected to make a really first rate translation into any other language than his own mother tongue. In fact the greater the literary merit of the original the greater the need for literary gift on the part of the translator.

I argue that if translators are bilingual through multilingual parents it does not matter if they translate into or out of the source language whilst those who attain a foreign language through study truly have to show a high level of competence to translate into the target language especially when dealing with translating literature. I make this point in Appendix 5 when the Fleming, Omer Vandeputte's translation of *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (1926) failed to find a recognised publisher.

But Gress (1987, 60) offers a more diplomatic approach:

What should a translator know best, the foreign language or his own? The ideal is that the translator should know both languages to perfection but in reality there is always a choice. The writer-translator who is himself creative, will usually hold that knowledge of one's own language is most important, while the academic type will insist that the knowledge of the nuances of the foreign language is the most important thing.

In a letter dated 14 September 1955, Clegg states that she was willing to work for the Foundation and provided a short resumé of her achievements to date. She sent a sample translation and mentioned that whilst translation payments were lower in Holland than in England she would not be willing to work for a much lower tariff. Before the war she did journalistic work and worked for the Regerings Voorlichtingsdienst (Governmental Information Service). During the war, from 1941, she worked for Ambtenaar Ministerie Sociale Zaken (Public servant for the Ministry of Social Affairs) and from 1943-1944 was a member and secretary to the Commissie Van Rhijn, Sociale Zekerheid (Van Rhijn Commission, Social Security). After the war she worked in a small publishing company (Messrs Spalding & Levy) working with correspondence and literary activities. She worked as a translator for Heinemann as a reader and wrote articles for different newspapers such *De Groene* [Amsterdammer] concerning literary history.

On 9 November 1955, Oversteegen wrote to Clegg in which he informed her that he would soon send a piece from *Op de Grens* (1952) (On the Border) by Willem Walraven which he would like translated. He was also most interested in her work with Heinemann because he was looking for a publishing company to work with. [He did in fact eventually opt for Heinemann which I discuss in Chapter Six]:

Het zou voor de Stichting mogelijkerwijs een dergelijke brug naar de Directie van een goede Engelse uitgever kunnen zijn.

(It could be a possible bridge for the Foundation to the management board of a good English publisher).

On 14 November 1955 Clegg replied that she could contact Heinemann on their behalf and on 8 December wrote to Oversteegen acknowledging receipt of *Op de Grens* to be translated. On 11 January 1956 Oversteegen replied to Clegg and was critical about one issue:

Ik geloof niet dat het mogelijk is, de specifiek hollandse aanduidingen uit het verhaal weg te laten. Bovendien zijn deze dingen in engelse vertalingen (Tsjechow) heel gewoon.

(I do not believe that it is possible to omit specific Dutch details from the story. These are above all common in English translation such as in Chekov).

On 21 March 1956 Oversteegen wrote to Clegg with corrections to a translation and good news:

Onze adviseurs hebben Uw Vertaling van *Op de Grens* beoordeeld. Het rapport luidt: Een zeer goede vertaling, waarin echter enige onjuistheden voorkomen zoals het vertalen van ‘sparren’ (in een keuken) met fir-trees. U ziet, het resultaat is dus zeer positief. Ik zou U dus willen verzoeken een nieuwe opdracht van ons te willen aanvaarden. Over enkele dagen zal ik U daar nader over schrijven.

(Our advisers have judged your translation of *Op de Grens*. The report states: A very good translation in which, however, a few mistakes have occurred such as the translation of ‘sparren’ (in a kitchen) with fir-tree. You see that the result is positive. I hope that you will accept a new contract from us. I shall write to you further in a few days).

Experiences	Date
Clegg’s translations:	
Den Doolaard, A. (1958) <i>The Land Behind God’s Back</i> , N.C. Clegg (trans.) Heinemann, London.	1958
Aubier Dominique and Manuel Tuñon (1960) <i>Spain</i> , N.C. Clegg (trans.). Vista, London.	1960
Cranaki, Mimica (1960) <i>Greece</i> , N. C. Clegg (trans.). Vista, London.	1960

Table 31: Neline C. Clegg Bruinwold Riedel

It did not appear from my research that Clegg was as prolific in translating as the other translators selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

#### iv, Alex Brotherton

Oversteegen wrote to Brotherton on 12 January 1956:

U zult begrijpen, dat wellicht het moeilijkste problem in deze beginperiode is; het vinden van bekwame vertalers. In dit verband nu, werd mij Uw naam genoemd.

(You should understand that perhaps the most difficult problem at this point in time is finding competent translators. Your name was given to me in this respect).

Brotherton was in correspondence with Oversteegen about his request for a translation of *Mijn Aap Schreit* by Albert Helman (*My Monkey is Crying*) (1928) on 12 January 1956 and in his returned copy on 21 February 1956.

Experiences	Date
In 1967 he won the Martinus Nijhoff prize for translation which included Elsschot's <i>Three Novels</i> (1965), Vestdijk's <i>The Garden where the Brass Band Played</i> (1965) and Walschap's <i>Marriage/Ordeal</i> (1963). <sup>50</sup> He was also responsible for translating the film text of Fons Rademakers' <i>Dans van de Reiger</i> (The Heron's Dance) by Hugo Claus.	1967
He was a multi-linguist well versed in Javanese, Malay, Chinese, Turkish, Bahasa Indonesian, Russian, Italian, French and Dutch	
He had a degree in comparative linguistics, teaching at the Instituut voor Vertaalwetenschap (Institute of Translation Studies) at the University of Amsterdam until his retirement.	
He was resident in Holland for many years	
He was the only translator chosen by the board to translate three volumes for the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> .	

Table 32: Alex Brotherton

Brotherton was a multilingual translator. I visited his partner Betty Verheus after his death in 2009, and she informed me that he sadly wanted all his papers to be destroyed. He did not earn much money from the project, although he translated three works for it.

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<sup>50</sup> For a photo of Brotherton at the event refer to:  
<http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/afbeeldingen/fotocollectie/zoeken/q/zoekterm/alex%20brotherton>

## v, Edmund Colledge

On 10 July 1962, the board received suggestions for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* volume from the translator Edmund Colledge which they found unsatisfactory since there was too much emphasis on historical rather than literary value. Colledge's suggestions contained *De Limburgse Sermoenen (The Limburg Sermons)* (c. 1300)<sup>51</sup> which were considered too popular, a chapter from *Elckerlyc* (c. 1470)<sup>52</sup> and an unnamed work by a 13 century writer, Jan van Leeuwen. These were removed and the proposed remaining five works<sup>53</sup> were sent to Colledge for his approval along with a suggested work by Tymos Claesz Honich called *Een Boecxken van Verclaringhe*<sup>54</sup> which was not to be included in the volume.

Colledge translated all of the works for the *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965). He also translated four of the works in *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967) which did not include the English translation of *Reynard the Fox* (1967) which was translated by Adriaan Barnouw. He chose to translate some of the works from prose to prose whilst translating others from verse to prose, perhaps because they are easier to read in that format for an English speaking audience. See Table 33 for the translated format of the mediaeval works. In a letter from Oversteegen to the board members on 28 August 1962, Oversteegen states that Colledge is to be given a contract.

Verse to Prose	Prose to Prose
Beatrijs	Brieven
Karel ende Elgast	Walewein
Lanseloet van Denemerken	Seven Manieren van Minne

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<sup>51</sup>This was written in Limburg dialect. See: Scheepsma (2008).

<sup>52</sup> This morality play *Elckerlyc* (c. 1470) was written by Peter van Diest and may have been the original source for the English play *Everyman*. See: Anonymous (2014).

<sup>53</sup> *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965): Beatrice of Nazareth's *Seven Manieren van Minne (There are Seven Manners of Loving)* (c. 1235), Hadewijch of Antwerp's *Brieven (Letters)* (c. 1240), Ruysbroek's *Van den Blicckenden Steen (The Book of the Sparkling Stone)* (c. 1340), *Beatrijs (Beatrice)* (c. 1374), *Mariken van Nieumeghen (Mary of Nijmegen)* (c. 1485).

<sup>54</sup> This was probably a companion to the Bible which was translated from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek languages into Dutch. It was ordered by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, financed by the government of the Protestant Dutch Republic and first published in 1637. Such an item would have been needed as the Bible would have been new to the Dutch.

Mariken van Nieuwweghen	Van den Blinkenden Steen
Nu Noch	

Table 33: Translation Format for the works in the two mediaeval volumes

Experiences	Date
He was born Eric Colledge (Edmund was the religious name he took up in late life) and graduated with first class honours in English from Liverpool University in 1932.	1932
He earned an MA from Liverpool in 1935.	1935
He served as an assistant lecturer in Liverpool University's Department of English Language and Philology from 1937-1939.	1937
He was an excellent linguist with competence in Dutch, French and German and because of this he was in military intelligence during World War II. (Hussey, 1999)	
He returned to Liverpool University in 1946 as Lecturer in English, Senior Lecturer in 1952 and Reader in 1961.	1952 1961
He lectured on mediaeval literature as well as the history of the English language. It was in the field of mediaeval spiritual writing and English that his chief contribution to scholarship laid.	
His earlier work consisted of critical introductions of Jan van Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Eckhart and his 1962 <i>Anthology, The Mediaeval Mystics of England</i> is still used, see: Peel, 1962.	1962
In 1957 he published (with Joyce Bazire) the Middle English, <i>The Chastising of God's Children</i> .	1957
In 1963 he resigned from Liverpool University and entered the Augustinian Friars at Clare Priory in Suffolk and assumed the religious name of Brother Edmund. As an older man, the novitiate at Clare cannot have been easy but after studies in Rome at Beda College he was ordained in 1967. He became Assistant Professor, then Professor at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto from 1968-77.	1963 1967 1968
He then returned to England to join the teaching staff at Austin Friars St. Monica's School in Carlisle.	
In 1978 he published with Fr James Walsh, <i>A Book of Showings to the anchoress</i>	1978

<i>Julian of Norwich</i> . Virtually confined to bed, he still managed to correct proofs of <i>The Mirror of Simple Souls</i> by Porette (1999). <sup>55</sup>	1999
His penultimate publication was an edition in English of Suso's <i>Horologium Sapientiae</i> , 2019, see: Hackett, 2000.	2019

Table 34: Edmund Colledge

Colledge was an accomplished linguist with interests in mediaeval literature and taught for a large part of his life at Liverpool University. He translated all of the mediaeval works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* except for *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c. 1250) because he left the programme to enter monastic life where he continued to publish mediaeval works until his death in 1999.

#### vi, Adriaan Barnouw

Adriaan Barnouw who was resident in America at the time did not have to undergo Oversteegen's rigorous selection methods but was rather asked to supply a translation to the board. He translated *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c.1250) into English in a verse into verse format. The activities report 1963-1964 stated:

Professor Barnouw heeft een vertaling van Van den Vos Reinarde die hij nog in portefeuille had, ter beschikking gesteld

(Professor Barnouw has placed at our disposal a translation of Reynard the Fox which he had in his portfolio).

Experiences	Date
A memoriam (Jalink, Thys and Thomassen, 1968) to Dr. Adriaan J. Barnouw notes that he obtained his doctorate in 1902 under the title, ' <i>Textkritische Untersuchungen über den Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels und des schwachen Adjektivs in der alten englischen Poesie</i> ' ('A Critical Study of Definite Articles and Weak Adjectives in Old English Poetry Texts').	1902

<sup>55</sup> For an obituary see: Hussey (1999).

Between 1902 and 1919 he taught at the Haganum grammar school in The Hague and taught Victor van Vriesland and Martinus Nijhoff.	
From 1913 -1919 he worked as a correspondent for the New York Nation after meeting the editor Harold de Wolff.	1913
He translated <i>Beatrijs</i> (Beatrice (1914) into English.	1914
From 1919-1921 he worked as associate editor for <i>The Weekly Review</i> in New York.	1919
From 1921-1948 he was Queen Wilhelmina Professor of the Language and Literature at Columbia University in New York and a portrait of him was painted by Herbert Eugene Ives in 1949 which currently hangs in Columbia University. <sup>56</sup>	1921
He produced: Barnouw, Adriaan (1923) <i>Holland under Queen Wilhelmina</i> . Charles Scribner' Sons, New York.	1923
He wrote the <i>Monthly Letters</i> <sup>57</sup> between 1924 and 1961 for the Netherland-America Foundation whose aim was to forward and develop the educational, literary artistic, scientific, historical and cultural relationships between the United States and the Kingdom of the Netherlands'.	1924
He translated <i>Mariken van Nieumeghen (Mary of Nijmegen)</i> (1924) into English.	1924
He translated Chaucer's <i>Canterbury Tales</i> into Dutch in 1930	1930
He produced Barnouw, Adriaan (1947) <i>The Fantasy of Pieter Brueghel</i> . Lear Publishers, New York	1947
He produced: Barnouw, Adriaan (1948) <i>Coming After; an anthology of poetry from the Low Countries</i> . Rutgers press, New Jersey.	1948
In 1957, he was awarded the Gouden Ganzenveer <sup>58</sup> (The Golden Goose Quill). [I attempted to locate a jury report for the event but Annachien Visser (2018) of the Mediafederatie (Media Federation) informed me that until 1999 the Koninklijke Nederlandse Uitgeversbond (KNUB) (Royal Dutch Publisher's Association) distributed the Golden Goose Quill. In that year the KNUB amalgamated with other organisations and re-named itself the Media Federation but sadly no records remain of the KNUB period].	1957
He produced: Barnouw, Adriaan (1961) <i>The Land and People of Holland</i> . J. B.	1961

<sup>56</sup> For the painting see: [http://npg.si.edu/object/npg\\_COO.1054\\_CU](http://npg.si.edu/object/npg_COO.1054_CU)

<sup>57</sup> The *Monthly Letters* are housed at the Netherland-America Foundation; 505 Eighth Avenue, Ste 12A-05, New York, NY 10018. [www.thenaf.org](http://www.thenaf.org)

<sup>58</sup> The Gouden Ganzenveer (Golden goose quill) is a Dutch cultural award initiated in 1955, given annually to a person or organisation of great significance to the written word.



Table 35: Adriaan Jacob Barnouw

Barnouw was older than the other translators and therefore had a history of success in that he had been a professor of language and literature with mediaeval published translations. This was probably the reason why Oversteegen approached him for his available translation of *Van den vos Reynaerde* (c. 1250) after Colledge had left the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* programme.

In addressing part of my third line of enquiry which asks what Oversteegen's methods of selection for translating the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were and moreover whether they were robust and rigorous, I contend that although the difficulty of finding good translators was raised in an undated brochure entitled *Stichting ter Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk* (n. d. [c.1960]), Oversteegen admitted in *De Standaard*, *Brussel* newspaper on 11 January 1962 that he was presented with a pool of eighty applicants for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. He would have had a variety of selection methods at his disposal including curriculum vitae, references or even a time set translation exam at the Foundation's offices in Amsterdam but he chose to be quite brutal in sending out sample translations in the form of a chapter as was shown in 1955 with Brockway or an entire novel which he sent to Clegg in 1956. These were often accompanied with a request for the translation to be done quickly as can be seen in his letter to Edwards in 1956 which added to the level of difficulty. Indeed, Brockway admitted the difficulty of translating passages of *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (1936) in 1957 which he eventually completed for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series as *The House on the Canal* (1965).

I found that his methods were admirably suited to the task of finding translators who would be able to tackle the demanding role of translating literature in that they were exacting and job specific to the tasks required of them. Their work was assessed by consultants in the field of letters and literature and their results were binding with no room for discussion. This was therefore a favourable result to the experiment in that it proved an effective method in finding the best initial five translators from the available pool of eighty. Most of the translators had already published translated works in the 1950s when Oversteegen was searching for translators and so therefore had a positive track record. Colledge and Barnouw

were older than the other translators and so had a more detailed curriculum vitae to hand and most of the translators continued to publish translated works afterwards and win literary awards for their efforts. I will now consider whether the translators had professional standing to translate the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and engage with Jones (2018).

## **2, Oversteegen's choices of translators and their professional standing**

### **i, Using 'dedicated expert status' as a means to establish professional standing**

Jones (2018, 309-10), who uses James Holmes as a case study, highlights two factors necessary for a translator to attain what he termed 'dedicated expert' status': firstly, experience and secondly, 'collaboration with others through networks'. I shall engage with his work as a case study in order to establish whether the translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* met his criteria to attain 'dedicated expert' status. Jones relates his first factor 'experience' to James Holmes:

He won the Netherlands' Martinus Nijhoff Prize in 1956, and the Flemish Community's prize for translation of Dutch literature in 1964 and as a senior lecturer at the University of Amsterdam, Holmes was also the founding father of Translation Studies internationally. Most of Holmes's translation-studies writings (collected in one posthumous volume: Holmes, 1988) derive from his poetry-translating experience which remains key references for poetry translation scholars.

To relate to the second factor, 'collaboration with others through networks', Jones (2018, 64-67) explains:

Like all published poetry translators, dedicated experts work within networks of people and texts. Firstly, a poetry-translation project involves one or more translators, one or more source poets (if alive) and their poems, often an editor, and other actors like a publisher. Secondly, joining a new project often means working with both old and new co-translators, poets etc. These form a gradually-expanding 'career web' – a wider network of actors whom the dedicated expert has worked with across various projects.

Jones' (2018, 311) study concerns firstly how far the cultural-ambassador role of dedicated experts is based on their own translation efforts, and secondly whether being a key hub within communities of translated poets and/ or poetry translators plays a role. Jones (2018, 315-318) continues:

Holmes's project count of being translator in 44 projects from 1954 to 1984 was enough to qualify him for dedicated-expert status whilst he also worked alongside other translators within the same time frame; indeed 49 altogether. Some of Holmes's co-translators, as prolific translators were arguably dedicated experts in their own right as well and included James Brockway<sup>59</sup> and Peter Nijmeijer with whom he collaboratively worked on two projects.

Jones (2018, 319) speculates that Holmes's high output in his late career and his enhanced status as dedicated Dutch to English poetry translation expert, were due not just to his individual efforts. A very productive co-translating and, editing partnership with Nijmeijer almost certainly played a key role whilst conversely these partnerships may be seen as enhancing Nijmeijer's own dedicated-expert status. Jones (2018, 329) concludes by stating that it is a combination of acquired experience as well as collaboration with colleagues that leads to the attainment of 'dedicated expert':

Therefore, an individual dedicated expert is best regarded as one of several key nodes which, in constant interaction and flux, help to create and maintain a wider network of translators, poets and editors. And it is this wider network – not one actor, no matter how prolific – that represents a poetic culture to readers of another language.

Regarding Jones' first criterion of 'experience' for 'dedicated expert', I argue that the translators selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* achieved this. Apart from Barnouw, the translators chosen for the project were between forty and fifty years old, three of whom had work experiences influenced by World War II. During World War II, Colledge had worked in military intelligence using his knowledge of Dutch, French and German; Brockway had been a member of the Royal Air Force and Clegg had worked for the Dutch Social Security Department. Two of the translators had had academic training; after World War II, Colledge enjoyed an academic life at Liverpool University up until 1963 when he left as Reader whilst Brotherton had a degree in comparative linguistics and taught at the Instituut voor Vertaalwetenschap (Institute for Translation Studies) in Amsterdam. Clegg was already working as a translator for Heinemann. Brotherton, Brockway and Edwards all won the

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<sup>59</sup> Brockway produced two English translations for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series: *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *The House on the Canal* (1965).

Martinus Nijhoff prize in the 1960s between 1962 and 1967 for many translated works including those of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* whilst Barnouw had been awarded the Gouden Ganzenvaar (The Golden Goose Quill) in 1957. The translators then satisfied Jones' (2018) criterion as a 'dedicated expert' in that they had wide experience, which was a positive experience to the experiment.

## **ii, Jones: Using 'collaboration with others' as a means to establish professional standing**

Jones' (2018) second criterion for establishing 'dedicated expert status' involved 'collaboration with others' but here I found very little evidence of this having occurred with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* translators although admittedly David Perman, who wrote Brockway's obituary (2001), noted that he worked closely with Rutger Kopland in translating his poetry.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* translators certainly worked in isolation of each other in England, Belgium, the Netherlands and America although they may have had colleagues in other projects with whom to collaborate. Wagner (in Chesterman and Wagner, 2002, 86) stresses the importance of collaboration and mentions that translators should never translate alone. All in-house translation services and the best translation services work on that basis and Chesterman and Wagner (2002, 86) highlights the importance of built-in revision procedures, with other people checking the translator's texts.

Therefore, this second criterion of Jones was, to my knowledge, not always fulfilled mainly because of the lack of translation conferences and events at the time where translators could discuss issues. The development of Translation Studies did not start to appear as a discipline at universities until the mid-1960s, which meant that translators did not have much recourse to other translators's ideas. In addition, meeting like minded translators abroad in conferences was prohibitive because of the cost.<sup>60</sup>

Regarding Jones' 'collaboration with others', I cannot prove that each translator worked with others, although circumstances of the time regarding prohibitive flight costs would

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<sup>60</sup> Low cost travel did not start to happen until 1973 when South West Airlines of Dallas, Texas became the first budget airline to offer low air fares for the general public.

have made this difficult. In answering part of my third line of enquiry regarding whether Oversteegen's choices had professional standing, I would answer that regarding their long life experiences in the world of translating, they did which was proved by their experiences as discussed by Jones (2018). His second criterion of 'collaboration with others', however, may not have occurred. But I should note that Jones (2018) includes collaboration with editors and not just translators, and as these translators were networking with Oversteegen, their publishing track records would suggest that they also networked with editors. Therefore Jones' (2018) theory was achieved if editors were included, although I have no evidence if they met with other authors bearing in mind only four were alive (Teirlinck, Vestdijk, Elsschot and Walschap) when the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was in production. To support Jones, (2018) I interact with Briffa and Caruana (2009) to analyse whether the translations of the titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were of professional standing.

### **3, Charles Briffa: Translating 'Titles' as a means to establish professional standing**

It is outside the remit and scope of this thesis to compare the original source text of each of the ten volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* with their target texts, which could have helped to ascertain the professional standing of the individual translators. Therefore, in addition to Jones' two criteria of establishing 'dedicated expert status' through experience and 'collaboration with others', I sought to establish the expertise of the translators by analysing how they individually tackled the issue of translating titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works which posed pioneering choices and difficulties.

Derricourt (1996, 111-112) notes:

A good title should be an informative title, not dull or long. It helps if the title is short enough to be memorable. One should be direct, informative, exact, and unpretentious. There is no need for *Essays on, a critique of*. The title is a bibliographical tool so start with a word which everyone can spell and spells the same way. Don't start with a numeral or an initial if you can help it. That will discourage *Zschokke's Early Drama* or *Gaol Reform Movements, 50,000 Years of Instability* or T.S. Eliot as Mannerist.

The titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* conformed to this in that none started with numerals, initials or had ambiguous spelling. For a literary text I believe that the criterion of

'expressiveness' (the quality of effectively carrying a thought or feeling) should have been included in Derricourt's list.

In order to analyse whether the translators had professional standing in their ability to translate titles, I engage with Briffa and Caruana (2009, 5) who note that there are four types of translated titles: Type One is called 'transference' which entails the title retaining the original orthography; Type Two is called 'naturalisation' whereby the title is localised to the target language such as 'Makbett' and 'Romeo u Guljetta' being the Maltese equivalents of 'Macbeth' and 'Romeo and Juliet'; Type Three is called 'Literality' whereby the target language title is a literal translation and Type Four which involves an element of translation shift such as Teirlinck's *Zelfportret of het Galgemaal* (1955) meaning 'A self-portrait' or 'The Last Supper' being translated as *The Man in the Mirror* (1963).

Briffa and Caruana (2009, 3) and Landers (2001, 147) agree that the choice of title is of paramount importance and is associated with the novel's content, thus becoming part of the text. Newmark (1988, 56) states that, the issue is to keep the characteristics of the original title which will adequately describe the content. This means that the title derives its identity from the context and translation must take this into account'. Landers (2001, 142) notes that titles of novels are crucial because they are the first things that the potential readers see which will influence whether or not they will actually buy the novels. I am going to consider each of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes under the four title types as stated by Briffa and Caruana (2009).

### **i, Transference (Type One)**

Only one volume *Max Havelaar* (1967) became a Type One translated title in that the title remained the same as the Dutch original.

### **ii, Naturalisation (Type Two)**

No volumes became a Type Two translated title. This model would have been unsuitable for these titles.

### iii, Literality (Type Three)

Newmark (1988, 56) states that, 'normally, a translator is entitled to change the title of a text, but this can be difficult because when translating a title, it is necessary to consider it as part of the whole text. A translator has to understand the whole text before translating its title,' and he concludes that, 'if the original title adequately describes the content and is brief, then leave it'. Literal translations are, however, often dreadful mistakes and editors and translators need to be prepared to be creative. I refer to the translation of Truffaut's *Les Quatre Cent Coups* as *The 400 Blows*.<sup>61</sup>

Nida and Charles Taber (1974, 12), explain that 'translating titles requires the same process as any translation in general in that translating consists in producing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message'. In so doing, Nida and Taber (1974, 14) warn that, 'in trying to reproduce the style of the original one must be aware of producing something which is not functionally equivalent because reproducing style may not result in an equivalence and it is equivalence which is required'. In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, four of the works became a Type Three translated title and they are *The Waterman* (1963), *Marriage* (1963), *The Leg* (1965), and *Will-o'-the-Wisp* (1965).

### iv, Translation Shift (Type Four)

Landers (2001, 140) maintains that the ability to influence the choice of a work's title places a heavy responsibility on the literary translator. He agrees that approaches differ but is of the school that a title should only be changed when it cannot be left unchanged. Paul (2009, 42) concurs that although the title is a commercial decision on which the publisher will have the final say, the creating of a new title (Type Four) to avoid alienating readers is not good practice. A title change may occur because of cultural, linguistic, historical or even geographical disparities between the source language and the target language and agrees that in all cases the purpose should be to afford easier access into the work. Briffa and Caruana (2009, 1) agree that, 'the title must ensure continuity between title and text even if

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<sup>61</sup> Landers (2001, 140) explains that Francois Truffaut's *Les Quatre Cents Coups* was translated as *The 400 Blows* which is meaningless in English and was never elucidated in the film. In French *faire les quatre cents coups* means 'to sow ones wild oats' and this relates to the content of the work.

this means declining a literal translation' whilst Newmark (1988, 56) argues that, 'the translated title should usually bear some relation to the original, if only for identification but it should also sound attractive, allusive, suggestive to attract the potential readers. If it does not one can make the title more inviting or highlight the main point'. See Table 36 for the English titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* tabulated under the Four Title Types as described by Briffa and Caruana (2009).



<b>Type 1: Transference</b>	<b>Type 2: Naturalisation</b>	<b>Type 3; Literality</b>	<b>Type 4: Translation Shift</b>
		Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature <b>Adriaan Barnouw/ Edmund Colledge</b>	
		Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature <b>Edmund Colledge</b>	
Max Havelaar (Max Havelaar) <b>Roy Edwards</b>			
			Old People and the Things that Pass (Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan meaning 'Of old People and the Things that Pass') <b>Alexander Teixeira de Mattos</b>
			The House on the Canal (Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen meaning 'Impersonal memories') <b>James Brockway</b>
		<i>The Waterman</i> ( <i>De Waterman</i> meaning 'The Waterman') <b>Neline C. Clegg</b>	<i>Alienation</i> ( <i>Willem Mertens' Levensspiegel</i> meaning 'The Mirrored Life of Willem Mertens') There was an original working title of 'The Life of Willem Mertens' <b>Neline C. Clegg</b>
			The Garden where the Brass Band played ( <i>De Koperen Tuin</i> meaning 'The Garden of Brass') <b>Alex Brotherton</b>
		<i>Marriage</i> ( <i>Trouwen</i> )	<i>Ordeal</i> ( <i>Celibaat</i> meaning 'Celibacy')

		meaning 'Marriage') <b>Alex Brotherton</b>	<b>Alex Brotherton</b>
		<i>The Leg (Het Been</i> meaning 'The Leg') <b>Alex Brotherton</b>	<i>Soft Soap (Lijmen</i> meaning 'to glue' or 'to win over') <b>Alex Brotherton</b>
		Will-o'-the-Wisp (Het Dwaallicht meaning 'Will-o'-the-Wisp') <b>Alex Brotherton</b>	The Man in the Mirror(Zelfportret of het Galgemaal meaning 'Self-portrait or The Last Supper') <b>James Brockway</b>

Table 36: The Titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* tabulated under Briffa's Four Title Types

The following comments on the translated titles are my personal opinions.

Type One is an easy choice for a translator in that one simply keeps the original title; the problem, however, is whether the meaning will be transferred. It is rarely used and an example of this was the film 'Papillon' meaning butterfly. The epic story concerned Henri Charrière, whose nickname was 'Papillon' a safecracker from the Parisian underworld who was framed for murder and condemned to life in the notorious penal colony on Devil's Island. Type Two was not applicable to my research. Type Three was used whereby the original title was translated into English and Type Four offered a new title which illustrates originality and perception on the translator's part.

In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, seven of the works became a Type Four translated title and I am going to reflect on the translator's choices for the need to change the title to Type Four in each work.

*The House on the Canal* (1965) was translated by Brockway from the title *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (1936) meaning 'Impersonal Memories'. The translated title is appropriate because whilst the novel concerns a reflection of the events that occurred at the building now known as the Willet-Holthuisen Museum on 605 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, the English title offers the reader a clear indication of a building in which events will occur.

*Alienation* (1965) was translated by Clegg from the title *Willem Mertens' Levensspiegel* (1914) meaning, 'The Mirrored Life of Willem Mertens' although it had an early working title of *The Life of Willem Mertens*. The original title offered the reader the idea that the work

would concern the life of the protagonist Willem Mertens and that his life would be in some way reflected upon, discussed or considered. The chosen title, 'Alienation' offers no clues to the plot of the novel although it communicates the main theme of the novel and the atmosphere a reader is likely to encounter. The title was most likely chosen because during the narrative Mertens gradually alienates himself from all those around him, from his barmaid girlfriend to his friends at his local pub.

*The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965) was translated by Brotherton from the title *De koperen Tuin* (1950), meaning 'The Copper/ Brass Garden'.<sup>62</sup> This, for me, is a very erudite translation. The novel is a reflection of life beginning in the town gardens where the protagonist is enchanted by the music of a brass band. The original meaning of the garden with its copper/brass colour has been beautifully translated into a title which encompasses that meaning within a context of music.

*Soft Soap* (1965) was translated by Alex Brotherton from the title *Lijmen* (1924) meaning either to dawdle or linger, or to glue (together) or talk round/win over. I like this translated title since the story concerns the protagonist unsuccessfully trying to escape from the limitations of his life whilst being coerced into working for the unscrupulous Boorman character through his masterful means of persuasion and soft soaping skills.

*The Man in the Mirror* (1963) was translated by Brockway from the title *Zelfportret of het Galgemaal* (1955) meaning 'self-portrait' or 'the last meal'. This title concerns the merciless dissection of a businessman whose selfish life has drained him of any impulse towards self-evaluation he may have had. The title portrays self-evaluation by the use of the mirror, which infers reflection. Brockway may have taken his translation from the 1936 English comedy film of that name which was directed by Maurice Elvey and starred Edward Horton and Ursula Jeans. My translation suggestion for this novel would have been 'The Last Supper' since it highlights the final events of a man's life.

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<sup>62</sup> In Dutch, the word 'koper' can mean either copper or brass. The two metals are different in that copper is a metal; whilst brass is a metallic alloy which is made of copper and zinc. If the Dutch have to make a scientific distinction between the two then they will use 'roodkoper' (red copper) for copper and 'geelkoper' (yellow copper) for brass.

*Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) was translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos from the title *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906). The original title would translate as, 'Of Old People and the Things that Pass', which gives a tentative impression that one is to be sacrificed, according to Peereboom (1963), which is an underlying theme of the novel where a death is kept secret for years.

The translators had professional standing through their experiences over a period of time even though they would have had limited opportunities to collaborate with others and would have had dealings with Oversteegen. In considering how well the translators dealt with translating titles, I highlighted Type Four, perhaps as being the most demanding. I have analysed how the translators efficiently dealt with translating titles and, combining the results of Jones (2018) and Briffa and Caruana (2009), this has provided me with evidence that the translators had been wisely chosen by Oversteegen which was reflected in their experiences and achievements in later life. I found that Jones' areas of analysis were met especially if one includes working together with Oversteegen as editor and conclude that the translators indeed had professional standing. I now wish to consider whether ethical issues impeded on the translators's professional standing.

#### **4, Ethical issues**

##### **i, Low payments to translators**

Baker (2011, 276) discusses ethics as being, 'a conscious elaboration of codes and principles that constrain the behaviour of those obliged to abide by them'. I wanted to assess whether these constraints affected the way in which the translators were able to operate and provide translated material. In order to discuss this, I shall consider whether low translation payments paid by the board to the translators created an unethical backdrop where they were forced to take on additional work to make a living which on occasion served to make their translations late. Secondly, I will consider whether the translations were rushed which may have resulted in them being below par.

Macrae (1987, 33-35) states:

Publishers generally assume that the readership for uncelebrated, though talented, foreign writers is finite, possibly identifiable as a group of only four or five thousand souls. Because

the target audience is said to be small, it has not been considered prudent for publishers to expend large enough sums to attract first-rate translators. Thus the works of good and occasionally important foreign writers are frequently rendered into the English language by translators who have little concern for literary quality and whose single attractive feature to publishers is their willingness to accept low pay. The publisher who is willing to take the necessary financial risk to insure a quality translation for a little-known work must recognise that the work's sale rarely repays the investment. A friend and translator Alistair Reid, remarks that the only thing lost in translation is *money*!

Macrae's (1987) comments concerning publishers who cost cut by seeking cheap translators who have little concern for literary quality may be rather brutal, but Oversteegen did understand that many translators working in commercial companies were being paid higher salaries than the Foundation could afford. In a report on the activities of the Foundation since 1 July 1955, Oversteegen pointed out:

Een reclame-geschriftje van een koekfabriek de vertaler twee tot drie maal oplever (de) als een lang essay van Vestdijk'

(An advertisement for a biscuit factory earned a translator two to three times as much as a long essay by Vestdijk).

He stated in his memoirs, *Etalage: Uit het leven van een lezer* (1999, 153), however, that:

Meestal werkten zij voor commerciële instellingen of voor internationale organisaties als de Raad voor Europa, maar allemaal deden ze dat bij gebrek aan beter.

(Mostly they worked for commercial institutions or for international organisations such as the Council of Europe but nearly everyone wanted a chance at doing something better).

I agree with Oversteegen in that translators would have enjoyed a chance at something to test their mettle such as a literary work. The translators had requested payments of between 20 and 30 guilders (£124 and £187 today) per 1,000 words which was found to be high; The Rapport over de Werkzaamheden van de Stichting voor Vertalingen, 1 januari 1963-1 januari 1964 (The Activities Report for the Foundation, 1 January 1963-1 January 1964) printed the translator's payments for the works, see Table 37.

Title	Payment in guilders in 1964	Adjusted payment at today's prices in pounds <sup>63</sup>
De Waterman	2,000	12,437
Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan		
Zelfportret of het Galgemaal	2,400	14,924
Celibaat	1,522	9,464
Trouwen	1,480	9,203
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	2,800	17,411
Introduction to Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	500	3,109
De koperen Tuin	4,000	24,874
Max Havelaar	3,480	21,640

Table 37: Payments to translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

I compared these rates with a variety of companies available on today's market which offer three levels of service: an economy service which provides a perfect translation for understanding a text but which is not suitable for publication purposes; a professional service which is carried out by a native-speaking professional translator with a qualitative assessment by a second native-speaking professional translator and thirdly, a high quality translation for publication purposes carried out by a native-speaking professional translator and reviewed by a second native-speaking professional translator. The rates for translating 1,000 words of a Dutch literary text into English range between £107 for the professional translation and £140 for the premium translation. Since the premium translation is for publication purposes, I selected the final one to make my comparison. The translators' relatively low earnings may have necessitated some translators to take on additional work with some of them translating more than one volume in the series. See Table 38 for the translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and their translated works.

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<sup>63</sup> The adjusted payment is approximate and assumes that one pound in the 1960s equalled 3.8 guilders. One pound in 1960 would equal £23.63 pounds today.

Translator	Translated work
Alexander Teixeira de Mattos	Couperus, Louis (1963) <i>Old People and the Things that Pass</i>
Roy Edwards	Multatuli, (1967) <i>Max Havelaar</i>
Roy Edwards	Streuvels, Stijn (1926) <i>Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast</i> . [English translation not published]
Roy Edwards	Timmermans, Felix (1935) <i>Boerenpsalm</i> . [English translation not published].
Neline C. Clegg	Van Schendel, Arthur (1963) <i>The Waterman</i>
Neline C. Clegg	Van Oudshoorn, J. (1965) <i>Alienation</i>
James Brockway	Teirlinck, Herman (1963) <i>The Man in the Mirror</i>
James Brockway	Coenen, Frans (1965) <i>The House on the Canal</i>
Alex Brotherton	Vestdijk, Simon (1965) <i>The Garden where the Brass Band Played</i>
Alex Brotherton	Elsschot (1965) <i>Three Novels</i>
Alex Brotherton	Walschap, Gerard (1963) <i>Marriage/Ordeal</i>
Edmund Colledge	<i>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature</i> (1965)
Edmund Colledge	<i>Reynard the Fox and other mediaeval Netherlands secular Literature</i> (1967) [He did not translate Reynard the Fox]
Adriaan Barnouw	<i>Reynard the Fox</i> (1967)

Table 38: The Translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and their translated works

Some of the translators were also involved with works outside the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* umbrella by Heinemann to supplement their income. Edwards translated Hermans' *De Donkere Kamer van Damocles* (1958) into *The Dark Room of Damocles* in 1962 and Clegg translated *Het Land Achter Gods Rug* (1956) into *The Land behind God's Back* in 1958. This work load may have contributed to some of the volumes being published later than their planned publishing dates. Table 39 sets out the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works which were late in completion.

Work	Expected Publication Date	Actual Publication Date	Comment
The Garden where the Brass Band Played	1963	1965	
Alienation	1963	1965	The translator, Clegg, had challenging personal circumstances.
The House on the Canal	1963	1965	
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	1964	1965	
Max Havelaar	1965	1967	The translator, Edwards, was ill.
Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	1965	1967	A replacement had to be found for Van den Vos Reynaerde (c. 1250) as the translator, Colledge, had resigned.

Table 39: *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works which were late in completion

This resulted in a negative experience in that the low pay of the translators in the 1960s leads me to postulate that they may have had to increase their work load which resulted in some *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* drafts being late.

## ii, Rushed translations?

A second ethical issue arose with Colie (1967, 116-117) commenting on the fact that some of the translations were not fit for purpose because they were done too fast:

More worrying is the matter of translation. I found the work of Teixeira de Mattos and Brotherton natural and often graceful, the work of Clegg adequate, and of Brockway very bad. Perhaps these books were done too fast.



I agree that the translations may have been done too fast due to the reasons of low payment which I have addressed above but I find her comment about Brockway unfair because she offers no reason why his work was 'very bad' even although his translated works were published in 1963 and 1965, and he did win the Martinus Nijhoff prize in 1966 for his poetry, showing that his work in other areas was fit for purpose.

I engage with Vermeer (2004) to attempt to provide an answer as to whether some of the translations were poor as Colie (1967, 116-17) has indicated. Munday (2008, 79-80) refers to Vermeer's skopos theory<sup>64</sup> which notes that each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. If the commission falls beyond the scope of the specifications, that is if the translator is unable to produce the best possible Target Text available, then an 'optimal' version' should be agreed upon. Vermeer (2004, 236) offers four definitions of the term 'optimal':

One of the best translations possible in the given circumstances

One of those that best realize the goal in question

**As good as possible in view of the resources available**

As good as possible in view of the wishes of the client

The translators were able to fulfil the third criterion in that they produced 'as good as possible in view of the resources available' because low earnings may have made them take on more work to supplement their income which may have caused them to rush.

In order to address Colie's comments (1967, 116-117), I clarified what she meant by 'adequate' and 'bad' translations which she perceived were done by some of the translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. All in all, I argue that a positive experience was achieved by

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<sup>64</sup> Skopos theory: The final version of the (TT) target text is determined by skopos which means that the *purpose* of the TT is the main determinant for the chosen translation methods and strategies. The role of the source text (ST) in the source culture may be different to the role of the TT in the target culture. The TT must take into account the receiver's situation and background knowledge-- it must be 'internally coherent'. The TT must be faithful to the ST-- 'coherent with the ST'. Here the translator is the key, as the information provided by the ST must be determined, interpreted and relayed to the target audience. The TT must be coherent with the ST, which means that there must be coherence between the ST information received by the translator, the interpretation the translator makes of this information and the information that is encoded for the TT receivers. These rules are in order of importance, so skopos has the prime position.

the translators who had produced work that was fit for purpose for the eventual readers of the translations. I did find a few examples of poor translations in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which required attention and list three here:

...and when the major got to telling about the time, when, as a boy of six, he had given an angry rooster that had chased him right into this room a blow with a stick and killed it, and nom de tonnerre, didn't I get a thrashing for it, and I still don't know how I did it, and then they waited patiently until they could make themselves heard again', *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963, 144).

They had scarcely savoured the first kiss together, naturally together, in meteorological and psychological circumstances that couldn't have been more favourable, than she had, with that resolute high-mindedness of hers, turned the discussion to the question of ideals, *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963, 177).

Even, an umbrella in the window of a shop he said I should try for the *World Review* had, he discovered, the same bone handle as the one he'd given her for her last birthday, *Three Novels* (1965, 153).

Although commercial translating would have been more beneficial for the translators, the opportunity of literary translation was a driving force in my opinion but resulted in some translators translating more than one work under the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* umbrella or even works with rival publishers to make ends meet. Colie (1967) thought that some of the works were poor but overall, I contend that they were as good as possible in view of the resources available.

Finally, I would like to consider the issues which arose using De Mattos' English translation of 1919 for the first planned volume of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## **5, Alexander Teixeira de Mattos: the case for his work being retranslated**

The board's first translated published volume for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906) was a borrowed translated work with the title *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1919) which had been translated by Alexander Teixeira

de Mattos. Here no editing was done. Let us firstly consider De Mattos' achievements and experiences, which are extensive in Table 40.

Experiences	Date
In the 1890s he was the leading translator for the Lutetian Society, a group whose mission was to provide British readers with unexpurgated translations of Continental authors. These included two of Émile Zola's maligned, if not banned, fine literary works in 1894 and 1895 so that they might be able to form an unbiased opinion of the literary merits of these works. These were <i>Les Héritiers Raboulin</i> (1874) translated as <i>The Heirs of Rabourdin</i> (1894) and <i>La Curée</i> (1871) translated as <i>The Hound's Fee</i> (1895). This title was changed in its 1954 reprinting to <i>The Kill</i> .	1890  1894/1895
On 20 October 1900, he married Lily Wilde, née Sophie Lily Lees, the widow of Oscar Wilde's older brother Willie Wilde.  De Mattos <sup>65</sup> worked as a translator and became the official translator of the works of Maurice Maeterlinck; beginning with Maeterlinck's <i>The Double Garden</i> (1902) and is best known for his version of Fabre's natural history, for the later plays and essays of Maeterlinck, for the novels and stories of Ewald and for the novels of Couperus. These, however, formed only a part of his output; and his bibliography included the names of Zola, Châteaubriand, de Tocqueville, President Kruger, Maurice Le Blanc, Madame Le Blanc and Streuvels.	1900  1902
On 11 June 1920, De Mattos was created a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold II, <sup>66</sup> which was established on 24 August 1900.	1920
McKenna (1922, 1-5) stated:  Teixeira was incontestably the greatest translator of his time. By 1914 he stood in the forefront of English translators; and through his labours, translation had won a place in the forefront of English literature.	1922
The New York Times (15 January 1922) called him one of the best translators of foreign languages of the present generation.	1922
McKenna (1922, 22) notes, 'De Mattos created a new literary English for every kind of book that he translated. His versions of Maeterlinck's <i>Blue Bird</i> , Couperus' <i>Old People</i>	1922

<sup>65</sup> For a complete list of De Mattos's translations see: Merkle (2003, 28-30).

<sup>66</sup> The Order of Leopold is one of the three current Belgian national honorary orders of knighthood. It is the oldest and highest order of Belgium and is named in honour of its founder, King Leopold I.

<i>and the Things That Pass, Fabre's Hunting Wasps and Ewald's My Little Boy</i> have nothing in common but their exquisite sympathy and scholarship.	
Flower and Henry Maas (1967, 260) stated, 'De Mattos 'was to become the most sought-after translator of his time'.	1967
De Mattos spoke English, French German, Danish and Dutch	
He died in St. Ives in 1921	1921

Table 40: Alexander Teixeira de Mattos San Payo Y Mendes

De Mattos was a multi-linguist and one of the best translators of his time, having won a literary award and having published an array of translations by notable authors.

On 21 May 1959 Oversteegen raised the issue of translating important Dutch works into the 'great' languages and highlighted the case of Couperus (1863-1923) in England. Despite his glory in his time and the transmission of a radio programme by the BBC based on *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906), publishing companies, who had previously published Couperus, and publishers of 'classical series' were simply not interested in him anymore, even though Thornton Butterworth Ltd. had published the original English translation in 1919 and reprinted it in 1920, 1923, 1924 and 1926 showing that it had been well received.

The board decided that the opening volume to the series (although it was actually published as the second volume in 1963 following *The Waterman*, 1963) was to be Couperus' *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906) translated originally into English as *Old People and the Things that Pass* in 1919 with its original translation by De Mattos. It was strange that a newly formed board with a brief to translate literature would begin its journey with an archaic 40 year old translation. In fact six more typos occurred in *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) than in the original version of 1919, see Table 41.

<b>1919 translated version of <i>Old People and the Things that Pass</i></b>	<b>Typos in the 1963 <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> version of <i>Old People and the Things that Pass</i></b>
evening-paper (page 12)	eveningpaper (page 14)
both (page 64)	b oth (page 60)
so (page 144)	s o (page 128)
pleasantly (page 101)	pleas- a ntly (page 160)

with the result that (page 165)	with the result hat (page 146)
always (page 187)	al ways (page 165)

Table 41: Additional typos in the 1963 *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* version of *Old People and the Things that Pass*

Vanderauwera (1985, 53) highlights the problem with this original translation:

Here no editing was done at all, and one might ask whether such infelicities as ‘een beste jongen’/ ‘a capital fellow’ (16/14), ‘coquet was zij zeker geweest, maar natuurlijk zonder berekening’/ ‘a butterfly she had certainly been, but just an unthinking butterfly, because her nature was butterfly’s’ (10/9), ‘verdomde meid’/ ‘damned baggage’ (330/256), ‘kerel’/ ‘beggar’ or ‘old chap’ (235, 326 /252, 253) really serve the basic aim of making Dutch authors known to a present-day audience. The same holds true for the preservation of the 1918 euphemisms replacing Couperus’s references to improper sex life which probably sound quite funny to modern target readers: ‘Trevelley scharrelde’/ ‘Trevelley was spending a life of pleasure’ (12/10), ‘Grootpapa Dercksz zou een meid hebben gehad’/ ‘Grandpa Dercksz had shown kindness to a woman’ (98/78), ‘handtastelijkheden, die hij zich nog had vergund op het kleine meisje van zijn wasvrouw’/ ‘making overtures to his laundress’s little girl’ (180/140).

The translations she quotes are correct but are nevertheless early 1900s colloquial English and consequently, a retranslation would have been preferable for a 1960s audience, especially for the first planned published volume of the series where impact for the series would be set.

Two works from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series which eventually found themselves in the canon of Dutch literature in 2002 have been retranslated since the 1960s: *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c.1225) has been retranslated twice, once in 2009 by Thea Summerfield and again in 2015 by James Simpson and *Max Havelaar* (1860) in 2019 by David Mackay and Ina Rilke.

Desmidt (2009, 2) notes:

Retranslations result from the wish to meet the requirements of the receiving culture, requirements that are obviously not (no longer or not entirely) met by the existing translation. As cultures continuously change, every generation may take a different view on what is good, i.e., functional translation and may ask for the creation of a new translation.

The fact that the opening planned volume of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series used an archaic 40 year old translation which, according to Vanderauwera (1985, 53) needed retranslation, highlights the fact that retranslation by the board had not been addressed which resulted in a negative experience to the reader. The purpose of the board was to employ translators to translate Dutch literature and not save costs on their debut volume by using an obsolescent translation.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have established in my third line of enquiry, the background of the chosen translators to establish professional standing.

Firstly, I ascertained that Oversteegen was robust and rigorous in his selection of translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. Translation Studies as a discipline did not appear on the market until the 1960s and therefore Masters Degrees specialising in this subject area at universities with attention to science, technology and literature were not available to interested parties as they are today. Methods of assessing translators, therefore, had to be selected by the assessor as they would have had no recourse to selection on study programmes which in the early 1960s did not exist.

In *Tien Jaar Stichting Voor Vertaling* (n. d. [c. 1964], 4) the board addressed this issue stating:

In de Stichtings - akte van 2 december 1954 werd het doel van het Nieuwe instituut als volgt omschreven:

De Stichting heeft ten doel de kennis van de Nederlandse Letterkunde in het buitenland te bevorderen.

Zij stelt zich voor dit doel te bereiken door:

c, Het doen vervaardigen van proefvertalingen en/of samenvattingen van Nederlands letterkundig werk.

(In the Foundation's Act of 2 December 1954, the aim of the new institute will be defined as follows:

The Foundation will have as its aim, the promotion of Dutch literature abroad.

It will achieve this by:

c, Constructing sample translations and/or summaries of Dutch literary work).

It was very common to work with test translations and Oversteegen adhered to this act from the Foundation sending test translations to interested parties. I mention four of these in Chapter Five where Brockway, Edwards, Clegg and Brotherton received Dutch literary

works to translate within given time periods. In addition to this he would have been sent samples of their work from previous employers.

Oversteegen had the role of finding translators for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* who would be able to translate a series which would encompass literature from the mediaeval period to the 20 century. Translators commanded higher salaries in industry than Oversteegen was able to match but he nevertheless approached the British Council who supplied him with a list of prospective candidates, and coupled with those who applied independently, he formed an eventual list of around 80 prospective candidates. I considered each of the selected translators using archival correspondence and illustrated the selection process that Oversteegen subjected the translators to. His methods involved sending them sample literary translations which he insisted on being done within a small time frame. It became evident that he was exacting in his standards and sought out the best from his supply of 80 candidates, even humbling Brockway for a guessed error in 1956.

Oversteegen finally selected five translators to begin work on the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and when Colledge left prematurely to enter monastic life, replaced him with Adriaan Barnouw to provide the English translation of *Reynard the Fox* (1967). This illustrated that even with careful selection and planning, unforeseen difficulties can always occur.

Ultimately, Oversteegen's selective methods of requesting sample translations of literary pieces within a short time frame were an excellent way in filtering out weak translators. He chose those with literary experience and where possible those with academic capital. I therefore argue that Oversteegen was ahead of his time in the way he pioneered obtaining translators through his recruitment programme.

Secondly, I established that Oversteegen's choices of translators had professional standing; here I used Jones' (2018) term, 'dedicated expert status', which is based on the length of a translating career along with the number of co-joint projects with colleagues and applied his findings to the translators of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. I established that they all possessed his first criterion. The translators most likely worked in isolation from each other which denied them an opportunity to collaborate, share ideas and discuss problems.

Translators may have been able to meet like minded colleagues in their home cities but they did not have the possibilities to meet at foreign conferences in order to exchange and pool



ideas because air travel was prohibitive in price. During my research at the Museum of Literature I frequently came across telegrams as the mode of communication between the board and publishing companies in The United States because it took ‘forever’ for a letter to cross the Atlantic in the 1960s. Jones (2018) includes collaboration with editors and as the translators were networking with Oversteegen; their publishing track records would suggest they also networked with editors. It could be argued, therefore, that, Jones’ (2018) theory was fully met if Oversteegen as editor played a role.

To support my attempt to establish professional standing with Jones, I examined the selected translators’ ability to translate titles. It has been outside the remit of this thesis to engage in a detailed comparison and analysis of all the methods and methodologies used by the translators to translate the source text to target text for all ten published volumes, therefore, to underscore and add support to Jones’ work in establishing professional standing of the translators, I selected the domain of ‘titles’ and considered the four differing translation methods that lay at their disposal to achieve the ten translated English titles which encapsulated the contents of the volumes. I applied Briffa and Caruana’s (2009) methods to the translated titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* whereby I found that Oversteegen’s choices of translators were proven to be correct when one considers the translator’s lifelong experiences post *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. In my opinion, the translators for the most part, dealt adequately with the difficulties of translating titles for the series which was a positive experience of the experiment.

Fourthly, I addressed an ethics issue concerning relatively low payments for translations which investigated whether the translators were forced to rush their work. I was doubtful as to whether the rates of pay affected the end quality result of the translations even though they received less in earnings compared with the translators of today. Colie (1967, 117) stated that, ‘Translation is no easy task, as we know; but perhaps these books were done too fast, or were by done too-professional translators quick at giving the sense of a text but not its literary shadings’. Most of the translators were involved in more than one work for the board which would have put them under pressure whilst some were also involved in translating essays, short stories and poems for the unpublished anthologies of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Molly Meier (2012), a colleague of Brotherton’s, mentioned that earnings for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were low even though he was at one time reliant

on these payments. The translators were consequently under pressure to earn quickly which may have affected the late completion dates of some of the works. The relatively low pay earned by the translators necessitated them searching for as much work as possible which was why most of the translators were involved in translating more than one volume in the series and in dealing with contracts from other agencies. Edwards was employed by Heinemann to translate *De Donkere Kamer van Damocles* (1958) to *The Dark Room of Damocles* (1962) for another venture, their *Blue Passport* series. Ultimately, low payments to the translators necessitated them to take on as much work as possible to supplement their income, but apart from a few translation sections which I found in need of retranslation, the translations, in my opinion, were largely fit for purpose.

Finally, the issue of retranslation or rather lack of it for one of the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was considered. An archaic volume of De Mattos (1919) was used without redrafting or retranslation and was to be the first planned published volume in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. This was a strange thing to do since the whole purpose of the board was to translate literature for an English market. It would admittedly have saved Oversteegen money in that he was spared translation costs and also perhaps because it had been previously published, he may have thought the volume was fit for publication without retranslation.

## PART THREE

### TRANSLATION PRODUCTIONS

#### THE EXPERIENCES OF CHOOSING THE SIJTHOFF AND HEINEMANN PUBLISHING COMPANIES AND THE EXPORT OF THE CANON OF DUTCH LITERATURE

##### CHAPTER 6

###### Introduction

This chapter will build on the discussion by considering further literary participants; the publishing companies. Two were chosen to deal with the English speaking market; Heinemann, an English company which was responsible for the editing process of the volumes and Sijthoff, a Dutch company which had responsibility for production of the volumes. Their decisions would cause complications for the board and indeed for the fate of the series itself.

In this chapter, I firstly consider Oversteegen's search for publishing houses to publish the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, eventually choosing Heinemann and Sijthoff, secondly, I note the English publishing companies' lack of enthusiasm for translated Dutch literature, thirdly, I offer a hypothesis as to why two publishing houses were chosen and, fourthly, I highlight Heinemann as being influential in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* life-cycle. (Later, both the small American based London House and Maxwell, and Putnam publishers in the United States came on board for the American market).<sup>67</sup> Fifthly, I will highlight a further area in my third line of enquiry and establish that while an initial interpretation of the contract leads me to believe that the distribution of responsibilities was clear cut between the Foundation and two publishers, forensic analysis will illustrate that this was indeed not the case. I demonstrate from this aspect of my research that the contract and its Statutes were to cause unease between the board and publishing companies, and I offer a hypothesis as to what happened regarding the translations between them and how this venture was

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<sup>67</sup> All ten volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* for the United States market were published by London House & Maxwell, New York between 1964 and 1967 except the co-joint volume: Coenen, Frans (1967) *The House on the Canal/Oudshoorn*, J. van (1967) *Alienation* which was published by Putnam. For a complete list of this see: 'A Series of Series' <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/bibliotheca-neerlandica/> to which I contributed as well as the thesis bibliography under the heading: *Bibliotheca Neerlandica works with their English translations from the planned 17 volumes*.

prematurely terminated. Sijthoff was responsible for the production of the volumes and I finally critically engage with a range of paratexts including the dull black and blue dust cover images, flap texts as well as typo errors to establish whether these affected sales by dissuading potential buyers and readers.

## **1, The Search for publishing companies**

Casanova (2004, 15) states that 'Literary prestige' depends on the existence of a more or less extensive professional 'milieu' including, as she states, 'sought-after publishers' and Dorleijn (2006, 18) notes the importance of publishing companies within the literary field:

Literaire werken, hun statue, waarde en ranking niet alleen te danken hebben aan de activiteiten van schrijvers, maar ook en vooral aan andere actoren die gericht zijn op symbolische (critici, docenten, tijdschriftredacteurs, jury's) of materiële productie (Uitgevers, boekhandelsketens, boekenclubs).

(The status, value and ranking of literary works is not only due to the activities of writers but also primarily to other actors who orient themselves to symbolic (critics, academics, newspaper editors, juries) and material production (publishers, bookseller chains, book clubs).

Bingley (1972, 2) agrees, highlighting the role of the publisher, stating that it forms one of five principal component members of the book industry: the author, the publisher, the printer, the bookseller, and the librarian. Bingley (1972, 6-7) notes the publisher's role as a simple one: to accept the responsibility for publication of an author's work, to control and pay for its translation into printed and bound book form, and to arrange for its sale to the market through whatever commercial processes may be appropriate.

Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 69) notes that Dutch literature in the 1950s was still in its infancy in the international market, and the Statutes of the Foundation of 18 December 1954 show that Oversteegen wanted to develop international attention to Dutch literature by establishing contracts with publishers. There were problems associated with this which Oversteegen became aware of and Vanderauwera (1985, 141) offers her interpretation of the issue: 'Literature coming from an area of low socio-political or even cultural interest does not elicit great excitement at a target pole which is from the outset notoriously indifferent to foreign work'.

In an activities' report on 1 September 1955, Oversteegen stated that there was a lack of enthusiasm for Dutch literature abroad which was described as 'Heimatkunst' en niet meegeëvolueerd met de realistische stroom van na het oorlog' ('Old-fashioned and not in keeping with post-war realist development'). In the report on activities from 1 July 1955 to 1 February 1956, Oversteegen realised he would have to travel to make contact with foreign publishers:

Persoonlijk contact is zo essentieel bij dit werk, dat tot nu toe zo goed als niets tot stand is gebracht in landen die ik niet heb bezocht, of bij uitgevers die ik niet persoonlijk heb leren kennen.

(Personal contact is so essential in this business that up until now practically nothing has occurred in countries that I have not visited nor with publishers that I have not personally met).

Oversteegen attempted to liaise with many countries at the same time rather than just focusing on one 'major' language's market, such as that of the English speaking world, and he began to travel. In a subsequent report on activities since 1 July 1955, he stressed the need to travel abroad and meet the target audience stating, 'omdat men alleen in het buitenland kan beoordelen wat voor dat buitenland geschikt is' (because only abroad can one judge what is suitable for that country). In her paper *Reizen van Oversteegen* (The Travels of Oversteegen) (n.d. [c. 2011], 98) Annemarie van Asselt discusses Oversteegen's belief in a target-based approach by travelling abroad to meet foreign publishers, 'In de tien jaar dat Oversteegen directeur is, is hij dan ook veelvuldig op reis' ('In the ten years that Oversteegen was director, he was frequently travelling').

He regularly visited the Frankfurt Book Fair and Legat (1991, 22) notes that international Book Fairs are an important part of the publishing scene and take place in all countries of the world with the best-known and largest Book Fair being the one held every autumn in Frankfurt. Other well-known ones occur in London, Jerusalem and Moscow along with the ABA (American Booksellers Association) meetings which are held in a different US city every year. Book fairs provide opportunities for foreign booksellers to order books, and the majority of booksellers feel that it essential to attend them. Maschler (2005, 265) agrees that the Frankfurt Book Fair is by far the biggest in the world, beginning as a showcase for

German publishers to display their wares to German booksellers to becoming increasingly international.

At the Frankfurt book fair, Oversteegen experienced this lack of enthusiasm for Dutch literature and Stevenson (2010, 36) highlights this phenomenon:

British publishers showed little interest in the potential of continental European markets. Despite the efforts of cosmopolitans such as Heinemann, British book sales in Europe were small. This was partly due to the overwhelming dominance of the German Tauchnitz company who had an enormous business selling licensed copyright editions of English-language books to itinerant British tourists and English reading locals.

In a report from the board on 15 April 1956, Oversteegen made initial contacts with several publishers which are listed in Table 42. The companies are listed in the order that Oversteegen mentioned them in the report.

<b>Publisher</b>
GeorgeAllen and Unwin
Chatto & Windus
Penguin-Pelican
Hamish Hamilton

Table 42: Publishing Companies that Oversteegen contacted regarding the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

The Report of October-November 1956 highlighted more contacts, see Table 43.

<b>Publisher</b>
Hodder and Stoughton
Andre Deutsch
Michael Joseph
Secker and Warburg
Macmillan
Hutchinson
Faber and Faber
Vanguard press
Pantheon Books

Routledge
Eyre & Spottiswoode
Calder Publications
James Barrie Publishers
Heinemann
Querido
Sijthoff

Table 41: More publishing Companies that Oversteegen contacted regarding the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

## 2, A lack of enthusiasm for Dutch literature by foreign publishers

In order to assess which Dutch literature was favourable to an English target audience, the report on the board's activities October-November 1956 report show that a variety of works were sent to (unknown) foreign publishers in a fact-finding mission, see Table 44.

Title	Publication date	Author	Author's dates	Response
Van Oude Menschen de Dingen die Voorbijgaan	1906	Louis Couperus	1863-1923	Favourable
Nog Pas Gisteren.	1951	Maris Dermout	1888-1962	Little reaction
De Tranen der Acacia's	1949	Willem Hermans	1921-1995	Really favourable
Werther Nieland	1949	Gerard Kornelis van het Reve,	1923-2006	Little reaction
Het Leven op Aarde.	1934	Jan Jacob Slauerhoff	1898-1936	Favourable
Aktaion	1941	Simon Vestdijk	1898-1971	Really favourable

Table 42: Works sent to publishers for comments: 26 July 1956

The minutes offer no guidance as to how the works were distributed nor why these publishers were targeted but the exercise illustrates an attempt by the board to discover which literary works would be conducive to an English palate. The problem was that of the six novels dispatched only one at the time had an English version which was *Van Oude Menschen de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906). Three were translated later and two have never, to my knowledge, been translated into English, see Table 45.

Dutch Title	English Title	Date of Translation	Publisher	Translator
Van Oude Menschen de Dingen die Voorbijgaan	Old People and the Things that Pass	1919	Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London	Alexander Teixeira de Mattos
Nog Pas Gisteren.	Yesterday a Novel	1959	Simon & Schuster, New York	Hans Koningsberger
De Tranen der Acacia's.	No English translation			
Werther Nieland	Werther Nieland	2019	Pushkin Press, London	Sam Garrett
Het Leven op Aarde.	Adrift in the Middle Kingdom	2019	Handheld Press, Bath	David McKay
Akaion	No English translation			

Table 45: Translation dates of works sent to publishers

This meant that five of the works were distributed to publishers in their original Dutch language, which pre-disposed a necessity for the publisher to have knowledge of Dutch. I am unable to ascertain whether the recipients had knowledge of Dutch, as I do not know who the receiving publishers were, nor what their assigned brief was. The responses to the exercise assume that the works had been read, but the responses are minimal with only one or two word answers and only offer a guide by the reader. This exercise, however, was an attempt to gain some insight, although small, into the target-based literature preferences of the English market. Lindley (1961, 157-158) notes that there are two requirements that will



affect the publisher's choice of books for translation; intrinsic merit, either in the sense of literary excellence or wide popular appeal, and the sturdiness necessary to withstand the rigours of transplantation:

If the publisher or the editor can read the language in question, he can at least make an informed guess whether any given book meets the two requirements. In most cases it will be a gamble but his own. If he has to rely on outside reports, his position is much shakier. Specialists in foreign literature are only in rare circumstances possessed of publishing experience, and yet this, from the publisher's point of view, is a necessary ingredient in the decision he has to make.

English publishers were wary of Dutch literature and warning bells were to become repeatedly offered to the board in the following years regarding concerns about Dutch literature which had been sent to them even as early as 1957 when on 22 March, Stanley Unwin of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. wrote to Oversteegen on the issue of Dutch short stories [this volume was not published in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series]:

You will be sorry to learn that that the first sentence of our reader's report reads as follows:

I approached this massive collection of translated Dutch stories with pleasurable anticipation, and left it with acute disappointment.

Collections of short stories are difficult to sell anyway and one needs to be very enthusiastic if one is to embark upon their publication. As, to our regret, we see no possibility of making the publication of a selection of these short stories a success, we have no alternative but to stand aside, while at the same time thanking you for your kindly thought of us.

Hutchinson's editor-in-chief, Raleigh Trevelyan, wrote to Oversteegen on 14 July 1959 concerning *De Avonden (The Evenings)* (1947) by Gerard van het Reve (1923-2006): 'Quite honestly, having now been able to consider the entire book we do not feel that it would go down well in this country. Somehow the formula adopted is a little outmoded in our country'. Chatto & Windus wrote to Oversteegen on 8 September 1958 concerning Harry Mulisch (1927-2010): 'Clearly he is a talented writer; both these pieces show much originality and skill. But they contain much that is not attractive, not to say – in the case of the novel – obscene'. Hutchinson wrote to Oversteegen on 4 July 1957 concerning the novels of Simon Vestdijk (1898-1971): 'However excellent in Dutch they may be, they will

not transpose satisfactorily into English...His work could not reach a well-disposed market in this country'. Heinemann wrote to Oversteegen on 18 June 1959 concerning the translation of Willem G. van Maanen's (1920-2012) *Droom is het Leven* (1953, *Dream Is Life*), 'This book is not entirely suitable for an English readership. The novel is of course very short by our standards'. The London publisher, Eyre & Spottiswoode wrote to Oversteegen on 23 July 1958 about *Het Leven Op Aarde* (1934, *Life on Earth*) by Jan Slauerhoff, (1898-1936) '*Life on Earth* looks an interesting novel but I think its style would tell against it nowadays and that the risk of translating it would be commercially too great'.

The publishers would have had to have read the novels in Dutch as the three that are mentioned above were not available at the time in translation. *De Avonden* (1947) was translated by Sam Garrett as *The Evenings: A Winter's Tale* in 2016 and published by Pushkin press, and *Het Leven op Aarde* (1934) was translated as *Adrift in the Middle Kingdom* by David McKay in 2019 and published by Handheld press. I have located no English translation of *Droom is het Leven* (1953).

There was a wariness of Dutch literature from English publishing houses due to the 'gloominess' of its subject content particularly after the misery of World War II but the board was not put off by this and repeatedly ignored these warnings of a disliked Dutch atmosphere, see Table 46. Vanderauwera (1985, 137) highlights this wariness:

The director of the Foundation, Joost de Wit in his American report to the Foundation in 1972 stated that 'Dutch language books are always so negative, always war, always misery, no hope of a happy ending.

Van Voorst (2013, 34) highlights the fact that this typical Dutch atmosphere was not always appreciated abroad and the gloominess and oppressive nature found in much Dutch literature was not always to the English market's palate since the national discourse habitus of the Dutch differed to that of the English market.

Henri Peyre (1968, xvi) emphasises:

The sufferings endured during the German occupation in 1940-1944 and the subsequent loss of the Indies with which Dutch life, economy, and imagination had been more closely bound

up than those of Britain with India or France with Africa have profoundly affected the Dutch psyche.

<b>'Gloominess' in the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> volumes</b>	
<b>Title</b>	<b>'Gloominess' in the volumes</b>
Old People and the Things that Pass	x
The Waterman	x
The Man in the Mirror	x
Marriage/Ordeal	x
The Garden where the Brass Band played	x
Max Havelaar	x
Three Novels	
The House on the Canal	
Reynard the Fox	
Mediaeval Netherlands Literature	

Table 46: 'Gloominess' in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes

The issue here is what meant by the term 'Gloomy'. It can be a bit of a Catch-all where it is used to denote quite different features such as old people reflecting on wrong doing in *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963), a disappointed young woman committing suicide in *The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965) or a bargeman's intense suffering and loneliness in *The Waterman* (1963). I am using the word as was used by the publishing companies to highlight the fact that after World War II, perhaps an English readership was searching for a more light hearted escapism from such a sad and miserable past which always ends badly for the protagonist.

Although a subjective interpretation, I consider having read the volumes, that the above mentioned six ticked volumes are of a 'gloomy' nature with *Three Novels* (1965) being amusing, *The House on the Canal* (1965) narrating a diary of events and the two mediaeval volumes being mixed in content. Therefore over half of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes, in my opinion, stood up to claims by English publishing houses of being gloomy in content. 'Gloominess' may have played a part in publisher's choices of works for the series and should be considered with paratexts within the volumes and their potential effect on sales which I consider later on in this chapter.

Despite all these warnings concerning the length, style and formulaic nature of Dutch novels, the board pressed ahead in an almost blinkered fashion. I found no discussions or comments concerning these obstacles in the minutes which illustrate that the board chose to ignore the comments from English publishers, ensuring that the members became victims of their own structure and power hierarchy. There was, however, a wealth of Dutch authors producing more positive and atmospheric work that would have been more suitable for the English market at the time, demonstrating that Dutch literature was not the problem but rather the literary taste of the publishing houses. I am unsure whether Sijthoff and Heinemann were selected on merit or because they were the only two publishers who agreed to come on board for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* project but I suspect that they were the only two because I found no narrative appertaining to discussions around selection procedures for other potential bidders in the archival minutes.

### **3, Two publishing companies for one venture: A hypothesis**

The minutes of 29 September 1962 show that Heinemann had declared an interest in working with the board and in the same year, Sijthoff confirmed it would publish the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in a joint venture with Heinemann with four volumes per year [although this did not happen]. Before I begin with a discussion of the two publishing houses, I need to ascertain why two publishing houses were chosen for the project. Firstly, I will offer a brief background to the founders of the two publishing houses, both of whom had a history in translating works which would have made them favourable acquisitions by the board. Stevenson, (2010) notes:

William Heinemann (1863-1920) was born in 1863 in Surbiton into a cultured family of Jewish antecedents with German connections (his father was from Hannover). He had early ambitions to become a musician but his cosmopolitan education (he spoke French, Italian and German fluently) drew him ineluctably toward the world of books. His European outlook and travels gave him a sense of different models of publishing.

Albertus Willem Sijthoff (1829-1913) worked in Paris as a typographer and later established his business in Leiden in 1851 where he rose to prominence in the trade of translated books. In Lek van der, G.J., (1950) *A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V.1851-1951*. Sijthoff,

Leiden (Sijthoff's Publishing Co. Ltd. 1851-1951) numerous translations by the company into English and other languages are catalogued.

I asked a former director of Sijthoff, Hanca Leppink, who worked there from 1980-2011 why she thought there were two companies involved in the project and her answer was that Sijthoff most probably needed partners with better contacts in English speaking countries especially in the realm of bookshops. She may well have offered a part solution and I shall show in Chapter Seven that there was indeed a demise of bookshops in the 1960s when the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was published as well as increased book competition in the U.K which could have affected sales figures.

I also asked Katie Hall, marketing director of Faber publishing in London the same question and her reply was of benefit:

I don't have a lot of experience with this but where I have experienced it, it is generally related to expertise. We have had occasional co-publishing deals where we have supported a smaller publisher whose book has become popular beyond their means so we join forces to add the weight of our sales, marketing and publicity teams. And we have an arm of our business called Faber Factory which supports smaller publishers with digital and audio publishing. **Could it have been that Heinemann were more experienced in correcting English translations so they were enlisted to help with this?** Historically we had an agreement with Penguin in the publishing of P. D. James books; the hardback editions were published by Penguin and the paperbacks by Faber. I can't remember exactly why they were published this way but I think it was due to Penguin's expertise in hardback publishing. **It's uncommon practice so there's no obvious reason why this would have been the case for these Dutch books but it sounds most likely that one publisher was helping the other with something they weren't able to do themselves.** Were they credited as co-publishers? **Or could it have been related to rights, were they titles which Heinemann held UK rights to, and Sijthoff held the Dutch rights?** Therefore, perhaps in order to publish the translations it had to be a co-publishing deal.

I would like to address three of Hall's comments which I have highlighted above:

Firstly, I think that Heinemann was more experienced in correcting the translations as most of the typesetters at Sijthoff were Dutch speakers, according to Colie (1967, 117). I shall develop this discussion when I refer to the contract and the problems of ownership of the translation correction process in Chapter Six. Therefore, Hall's comments on helping

another publisher with something they were not able to do or not able to do well are valid here. Regarding her comments on rights, both organisations held rights to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series of translated English works; the original Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish works having been distributed by a range of publishers. However, her comment made me reflect on the distribution rights which are discussed in the minutes of 29 September 1960 which show that Heinemann would have rights for the Commonwealth and America whilst Sijthoff would have the same for Belgium and the Netherlands. Therefore, a sharing in the translation corrections process was envisaged at the outset by the board and coupled with a division of distribution rights offers a reason for this joint venture.

This bi-publishing approach was to have negative experiences because although it seemed a good idea initially in that the companies could borrow expertise from each other, it would create problems as will be seen later in this chapter.

#### **4, The Heinemann publishing company**

In this section, which uses historical evidence and specialist commentators, I shall consider a third line of my enquiry which relates to the results of the enterprise and concerns the effect of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the canon of Dutch literature. I shall firstly consider the selection of Heinemann by the board, secondly, Heinemann's lack of consultation with living authors of the time, thirdly, Heinemann's financial problems and fourthly, Heinemann's role on the export of the canon of Dutch literature.

##### **i, The choice of the Heinemann publishing company**

Van Es and Heilbron (2015, 301) discuss the issue of small publishers which is still the case today:

Dutch literature is more likely to be published by smaller publishing houses with their independent status and predominantly literary and cultural orientation. Small publishing houses tend to be more focussed on foreign publishers, specifically on those publishers that share a similar literary identity underscored by distinctive non-commercial aims.

The minutes of 29 September 1960 show that the small publishing company Heinemann, with an interest in foreign literature, had declared an interest in working with the board. In

1962, the Sijthoff publishing company in Leiden confirmed that it would publish the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in a joint venture with Heinemann with four volumes per year. Heinemann would receive the translations from the board where their editors would approve them whilst Sijthoff publishers would print the entire series.

## **ii, The lack of consultation between living authors of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and Heinemann**

I contend that there was little if no consultation between Heinemann and the living authors of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* even though Maschler (2005), Mann (1971), Legat (1991) and Dunham (2014) argue for its importance. The minutes of 26 July 1956 stated that, 'living' authors of longer works were favoured since youth offered them a positive advantage but only four of the authors of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were alive in the late 1950s and 60s at the time of the production of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. They were Herman Teirlinck, (1879-1967) Simon Vestdijk, (1898-1971) Willem Elsschot, (pseudonym Alphonsus de Ridder 1882-1960) and Gerard Walschap (1898-1989).

The four authors who were alive at the time of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* production would have been able to offer their assistance to the board, but I found only two letters of correspondence in the Museum of Literature's archive from Oversteegen to Vestdijk and Van Schendel's wife which I discussed earlier in this chapter.

I argue that this was remiss of the board, if they were the only letters, because authors can be of assistance to translators as noted by Woll (2010, 219) who states that, 'authors possess in-depth information on those interested in the work as well as influential people relevant to this environment'. Clark and Phillips (2008, 98) agree and refers to the fact that the best thing in the world has to be when you are invited into an author's imagination to observe the writing process as it happens. Guthrie (2011 41) states, however, that this rarely happens and that the author is often at the bottom of the whole publishing process, while paradoxically being perhaps the most important participant. Colie (1967, 117) adds that, 'In the case of authors still alive, they can perhaps be consulted on their own behalf'. The board, therefore, missed an opportunity to engage with four living authors to gain insight into their works.

Maschler (2005, Preface) stresses that the most important aspect of publishing is the relationship with authors and the editing of their book since as Mann (1971, 40) underlines, 'as every fiction publisher will agree, it is authors who sell rather than books'. Problems, however, can arise during the working relationship between an author and his advisors and Legat (1991, 145-146) remarks:

Relationships between authors and publishers are often difficult, and have been so over a long period of time.....very few authors understand - much about publishing. The faults are certainly not on one side – even those editors who work closely with their authors - tend to have little idea of what goes on in a writer's head. Publishers would probably be shocked to learn that an astonishingly large number of authors see them as the enemy.

Dunham (2014, 130-132) agrees that there are publisher's difficulties with authors and stresses:

Working with authors can be rewarding. It can also be vexing. We need to remember that we editors were put on this earth to help writers. Often writers need a lot of help and it's best to give it with patience and encouragement, though I certainly have fallen short at times. Also, some writers are, well, 'touchy' and proposes four resolutions for editors: try to build trust first of all; remain kind; understand that when the client asks a question, sometimes they just need reassurance that they are not stupid or rubbish at writing and make sure they praise as well as criticise.

The issue with the four surviving authors of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* at the time of production was that I found no discussion of any meeting between them and Heinemann. This is perhaps because travel in the 1960s would have been expensive or because the agencies did not consider it necessary. Legat (1991, 157) gives prominence to the issue of face-to face meetings:

It always seems to me a pity when authors who live long ways away from their publishers never get to meet their editors. A face-to-face encounter is so much more helpful in establishing a relationship than any amount of telephone calls and letters.

Legat (1991, 147) adds:

In all the years that I dealt with authors I found them to be almost always understanding and co-operative when I took the time to and trouble to explain what was happening. The most



difficult thing for an author to understand is that his publisher is also concerned with other books and other authors.

Legat's last comment is noteworthy because the agencies were engaged with other projects at the time; the board was active in translating 69 works into a variety of languages between 1956 and 1967 whilst Heinemann had also been dealing with their *Blue Passport* series of volumes which was published in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Appendix 8.

I found therefore, no discussion between author and publisher, nor even of an attempt to engage in a narrative with them, even though this could have been advantageous to the outcome of the works in question.

### **iii, Heinemann's financial problems: The demise of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

The minutes of 16 December 1960 show that Minderaa announced that Heinemann had encountered financial problems because the financiers in Birmingham had withdrawn and they were considering an offer from an American publisher:

Naar aanleiding van de Nederlandse Bibliotheek in Engeland deelt de directeur mee, dat onverwachts moeilijkheden gerezen zijn door de financiële situatie waarin zich de uitgeverij Heinemann bevindt. Deze, algemeen als zeer rijk beschouwde uitgeverij, die zelfs een aantal kleinere uitgeverijen beheerst, is plotseling in moeilijkheden geraakt doordat de financiers uit Birmingham zich teruggetrokken hebben. Op het ogenblik wordt o.a. door Amerikaanse uitgeverijen een bod gedaan op de aandelen van de Heinemann Group. De toestand is op het ogenblik zeer onduidelijk, maar helaas voor de Stichting op één punt duidelijk: voorlopig zal Heinemann niets voelen voor een uitvoering van het plan zoals het aanvankelijk gesteld was. Er is dan ook al een brief van de Heer Birch binnen, waarin een kleinere reeks, te weten een vijftal delen, voorgesteld wordt. De directeur meent dat deze verkorte vorm op dit ogenblik onaanvaardbaar is, en heeft onmiddellijk contact opgenomen met Oxford University Press, die reeds een jaar geleden belangstelling voor deze reeks aan de dag legde.

(With reference to the Dutch library (*Bibliotheca Neerlandica*) in England, the director reports that unexpected difficulties have arisen concerning the financial situation of Heinemann. This publisher, which controls a number of smaller publishers and is widely perceived as being wealthy, has suddenly fallen into difficulties due to Birmingham financiers having withdrawn their funding. At this time an American publisher, amongst others, has made an offer for Heinemann's stock. The situation is very unclear at the moment but regrettably for the

Foundation one point is clear: Heinemann will not be in favour of realising the plan as originally intended. There is also a letter from Mr. Birch in which a smaller series of five volumes are suggested. The director reports that this shorter series is unacceptable at this moment in time and has made contact with Oxford University Press who a year ago voiced an interest in the series).

The board in 1961 was still hedging its bets in conversation with other publishers and the minutes of 28 April of that year show that Oxford University Press declined the offer to produce the series. This reflected the fact that the board had not considered doing a risk analysis on intended publishing companies and was still willing to accept any publisher who would come on-board with them.

In 1961, Minderaa resigned as chairman as he was 68 years of age, and was replaced by Victor van Vriesland. At this time, it was clear that definite plans were in place to produce a series although it was still unclear what the whole series was as was observed in a letter of 27 October 1961 from Birch to Oversteegen:

Furthermore, is it necessary in fact to mention fifteen titles? I would be happier if we left it with the phrase as it stands that the most important titles will be done. It sounds better, and in addition, you are begging the question which titles they will be and this is something we want to avoid.

In 1961, Birch did not want to commit to 15 titles and wrote to Oversteegen that it would be better to be ambiguous about actual numbers for the series. This illustrates a lack of planning and forward vision, resulting in a negative experience on Heinemann's part in that they could not plan for the amount of work required for translating and proof-reading.

This lack of planning, resulting in a negative experience, was seen again in 1962 when Heinemann agreed to publish the series starting in 1962 although it did not start until 1963. Four volumes were scheduled for publication in 1963 although two of them, *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963), did not appear on the market until 1964 as the binding was not ready. Three more volumes appeared in 1965 and three more in 1967.

There was an overall lack of planning for such a large project which lacked direction in the decision-making processes for the choice of a publisher; indeed, Oversteegen liaised with publishers instead of planning a strategy to focus on just the English market. Heinemann

was selected in 1960 as the British publisher which was a small publisher with a tradition of translated volumes but this was to prove a poor choice since unbeknown to the board, it had been encountering fiscal problems. It had made ill-advised acquisitions, such as Peter Davis and Hart-Davis, which were loss-making whilst Hill (1988, 154) notes that Heinemann had failed to adjust to the paperback revolution and the downturn in sales of hard-cover fiction.

St. John (1990, 525) notes that write-downs followed in 1963 and 1964, and indeed over the whole of this decade the new management was imbued with the need to value stocks conservatively and, more fundamentally, to reduce the need for stock depreciation. This was done in two ways: first by smaller initial print-runs, though accepting the need to reprint quickly when some books sold faster than expected, which meant closer monitoring of the sales trends of each title; secondly, the gradual elimination of commercially peripheral publishing, which would include the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, so enabling the sales department to give fuller attention to the stronger books in the list. Although agreed in 1961, the print run of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series, which I will discuss in the next chapter, was small, with no more than 4,000 for each volume, the series fell into the new Heinemann policy of smaller print runs of peripheral publishing.

The minutes of 13 October 1966 highlighted the slow demise of the series. All members of the board had received a copy of a letter dated 7 October 1966 from Heinemann stating that it wished to stop the series due to a fall in sales figures and high editing costs of the translations which had failed to reach the standards required by the editor. Oversteegen attended the meeting and informed the board that the situation between the Foundation and Heinemann was not going well and that Joost van de Wit, future director of the board 1964-1990, had informed him at the Frankfurt Book Fair that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series was in danger. Heinemann's representative, Birch, had written to De Flines at Sijthoff about the poor translations and the resulting costs of editing which had been expensive, and the fact that the English and American publishers wanted to halt the series.

Oversteegen had been shocked about this because he considered the series to have been a success, questioning the 'poor translations' and highlighting Clegg's translation which had been praised in the Times Literary Supplement. He was dismayed that Heinemann offered

no explanation for the issues regarding the translations and thought the reason for this change of heart lay in tension with Heinemann's board of directors.

The minutes of 15 December quoted Birch's letter of 25 October 1966 from Heinemann to his colleague De Flines at the board indicating a desire to terminate the series:

Soon we will be publishing *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli and *Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature*. After this we are left with the unwritten *History of Dutch Literature* and several volumes of essays and poetry. As you will see the sales for the more recent volumes have declined. If we deduct the copies sold to the Dutch and Belgian governments then they have been small throughout [...] our editorial costs have been rising constantly. It was originally agreed that the Stichting (Foundation) would commission the translations and forward the final version to us complete [...] Many of the translations have been in poor English and have required a great deal of rewriting [...] They have turned a marginally profitable series into an unprofitable venture.

#### **iv, The export of the canon of Dutch literature: Heinemann's role**

One of the sections in my third line of enquiry relating to the experiences of the experiment asks what the effect was of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the Dutch canon. I have highlighted in Chapter Four the ten *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes that were published, which amounted to 22 works in total, and explained that all of these were mentioned by Knuvelder (1961) and Meijer (1971) in their literary histories. Therefore, the effect of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the Dutch canon was twofold: firstly, it published all of the 22 works before withdrawing from the program; secondly, seventeen volumes were planned for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series but as Heinemann withdrew from the agreement in 1966 after publishing only ten volumes, the further planned seven were not published. These seven volumes contained ten works. Therefore, the effect of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the Canon of Dutch literature was that it failed to publish these. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, however, *Lucifer* (1654) and *De Spaanse Brabander* (1617) were later translated into English in 1990 and 1982 but not within the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* umbrella.

#### **5, The contract**

This section relates to Birch's letter of 25 October 1966 and considers three issues: the Statutes from the contract and the Foundation's stance on the translations, a hypothesis of what may have occurred regarding the submission of translations, and the conclusion of the venture.

I will now address part of my third line of enquiry which relates to issues arising from the contract. On 23 November 1961 a draft memorandum agreement was drawn up between The Foundation, Sijthoff and William Heinemann Ltd. With some minor adjustments, this became the final contract the following year and contained three Statutes of note which I will consider:

### **i, The Statutes**

Birch's letter of 25 October 1966 from Heinemann to his colleague De Flines at the board indicating a desire to terminate the series is significant and correct in that sales figures had on average fallen from the publication of the second volume and that the translations had required rewriting. I shall come back to sales figures in more detail in the following chapter but I do not consider a fall in sales figures as being the only reason for Heinemann wishing to withdraw from the series because the issue of rewriting needs clarification. I wish to consider three of the Statutes in the Dutch draft agreement; Statutes Two, Five and Six (which are Statutes Two, Three and Four in the English Memorandum of Agreement) and the Foundation's stance on this, and then offer a hypothesis of what may have occurred with the translations.

#### **a, Dutch Statute five: Heinemann**

Heinemann zal de redactionele arbeid die aan de werken verbonden is op zich nemen.

(Heinemann shall undertake responsibility for the editorial work necessary on the works).

I would like to highlight 'editorial work' which is simple clarifications that do not alter the substantive meaning of the material. Translation work, which was the responsibility of the translators, is not editorial work which was contractually bound to Heinemann. This meant that Heinemann had responsibility for the final version of the manuscript of the translation which would go to be typeset at Sijthoff. Birch, (1966) representing Heinemann, had stated

that it had spent time and money on correcting the translations which is why it decided to withdraw from the series after publishing only ten volumes.

#### **b, Dutch Statute two: The translators**

De vertalers die door de Stichting zijn aangegeven, zullen gehouden zijn hun vertalingen getypt en persklaar in te leveren.

(The translators, commissioned by the Foundation, would be responsible for the delivery of their typed and press ready translations).

The translators would be responsible for the last stage of the journey which would be the delivery of their press ready proofread version of the printer's proofs which would then go to press. The problem was that the translations passed by the translators to Sijthoff and then to Heinemann were not press ready as they needed improving. This was done by Heinemann which cost them time and money.

#### **c, Dutch Statute six: Sijthoff, Heinemann and the translators**

Sijthoff, Heinemann en de vertaler zullen de druk proeven en corrigeren.

(Sijthoff, Heinemann and the translator will proof-read and correct the edition).

Sijthoff produced the works at a time of no computers which entailed physically preparing the material which made it easy to make mistakes which they did. Therefore, Sijthoff managed the editorial proof and would have developed a blueprint. Sijthoff was only interested in typesetting and printing and looked for obvious crude errors and would have referred errors back to the translators and Heinemann. The issue was that, as well as Sijthoff, Heinemann and the translators had an equal role in the proofread version of the printer's proofs which would then go to press according to Statute Six. Therefore, all those literary participants had an equal say in the proof before going to press.

#### **d, The Foundation's stance on the translations**

The Foundation had made it clear that it would not be responsible for the quality of the translations even though they had the expertise. In an undated report between the board and the judicial advisor it states:

In het onderhavige contract, moet expliciet verklaard worden dat de Stichting niet aansprakelijk gesteld kan worden voor de kwaliteit van de vertaling.

(Regarding the contract in question, it must be made explicit that the Foundation cannot be held responsible for the quality of the translation).

It is fascinating that such a crucial aspect was so under-discussed. It seems that the board members with their linguistic expertise were the only ones who could judge and comment on the correctness of the translations and appeared to be abdicating responsibility for something which they were far better equipped to resolve compared to the English speaking Heinemann publishing company.

## **ii, The editing of the translations : A hypothesis**

Low sales figures of the volumes and poorly translated translations requiring rewriting which resulted in increased costs were the reasons that Birch (1966) from Heinemann gave for withdrawing early from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series after only ten of the volumes were published. I will now forensically examine the evidence and offer a hypothesis of what could have happened regarding the work needed to improve the translations.

The contract states that Heinemann would deal with the editorial work for the final version of the manuscript of the translation which would go to be typeset whilst Heinemann, Sijthoff and the translators would play a joint role in proof reading the printer's proofs which would then go to press. However, Roland Gant from Heinemann wrote to Oversteegen as director of the Foundation on 18 August 1965 stating, 'It must be perfectly clear to all translators that the English versions are accepted in principle by you and your nominee, but these must be subject to our approval'. Heinemann therefore wanted the Foundation to approve the translations since the Foundation employed the translators, even though the Foundation did not want this responsibility, and Heinemann according to Gant (1965) was to have the final say, even though Statute Six gave equal stance to the translators and Sijthoff for the proofread version of the printer's proofs which would then

go to press. This was incorrect of Gant (1965) since the Statutes do not say that Heinemann had the final say before the proofs went to press, only that it was responsible for the editorial work before going to be typeset. I found no written record of Heinemann corresponding with the board complaining about the poor quality of the translations before its withdrawal from the project and I consider it incorrect and unfair of Heinemann to blame the board for Heinemann's premature withdrawal.

Heinemann wanted the final say in approving the translations and therefore would have been responsible for the final proofread version of the printer's proofs before going to press, and it appears that Heinemann expected translations from the translators as stated in Statute Two to be of 'persklaar' (ready for the press) quality. They, however, were not and Heinemann had to bear the cost of correcting the translations. Heinemann could have either sent the translations back to the Foundation, which the Foundation did not want as it had made it clear that it did not want the responsibility, or to the translators, but I found no record of this in the minutes. It would appear that Heinemann decided to improve the translations themselves with their own bank of translators to save face, which would have been expensive. They would have then sent them to Sijthoff for printing but there were still translation errors within the volumes and it may have been that Heinemann only agreed to take out major errors. Perhaps, Heinemann's translators were unskilled in literary translation, or were only allotted specific time and funding to improve the translations and in any case it is easier to translate an original piece than improve someone else's attempt. I suspect that the situation gradually worsened between Sijthoff and Heinemann, with a continual engagement between the two companies. Heinemann became annoyed at the cost and time of redrafting and eventually decided to walk away from the enterprise after ten published volumes even though *Life and Death in the Kiln* and *Peasant Hymn* were ready by Roy Edwards. [I have obtained Edwards' unpublished translation of *Life and Death in the Kiln* which would have been unfit for publication, according to Professor Jane Fenoulhet (November 4 2019), without major redrafting]. This all resulted in a poor outcome for the venture and Heinemann eventually gave up with Sijthoff, which was to become a fateful decision.

The boundary between producing texts and editing is unclear at best and the consequent potential for misunderstanding huge. There was no research at the time into the end-to-end



process of publishing translated literature making it poorly understood and very hit and miss and therefore this piece of research makes a contribution to knowledge and understanding in this area.

### **iii, The end of the journey**

Rather than attempting to discover the reason behind the withdrawal, and address the problem at source, on 15 December 1966, the minutes show that Oversteegen refused to accept defeat and suggested stimulating the series by making the future intended volumes more attractive. It was suggested that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series with Du Perron's translation of *Het Land Van Herkomst (Country of Origin)* (1935) and *A Literary History*. These works were published much later but not under the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* umbrella. This exhibits desperation on the part of Oversteegen whereby he simply threw another work at Heinemann without dealing with the root-level reasons for Heinemann's distress and highlights a negative experience of the venture.

The minutes of 2 March 1967 show that Heinemann had finally withdrawn from the series having not accepted the board's proposal of an altered series format. At a meeting on 8 June, however, a letter dated 24 April 1967 was discussed whereby Sijthoff stated that Heinemann was prepared to continue the series with the following provisos:

Ten eerste dat er slechts een vijftal titels zullen worden uitgebracht. Ten tweede dat de Stichting boven de 1,000 exemplaren van de beide regeringen nog eens 750 op zich neemt tegen een korting van 3 $\frac{1}{3}$  dat de minimum-oplage die bij contract is vastgesteld op 3000 exemplaren teruggebracht wordt op 2500 exemplaren. Ten vierde dat van elk uitgegeven deel de publicatieprijs uitsluitend tussen Heinemann en Sijthoff wordt vastgesteld.

(Firstly, that only five titles would be published. Secondly that the Foundation would purchase an additional 750 copies over their agreed 1,000 for both governments at a discount of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  %, the minimum contracted print run would be reduced from 3,000 to 2,500 copies. Fourthly, that the publication price would be decided exclusively by Heinemann and Sijthoff.)

Ten volumes had already been published so if accepted, the board would have nearly achieved its planned quota of 17. This would have presented challenges for the board though, if the provisos had been accepted in that no translators had still been found for the Vondel, Hooft, Bredero and Huygens works, but on the plus side, the works by Streuvels and Timmermans had been translated by Roy Edwards, even though as I have mentioned, the Streuvels' volume, would have needed redrafting. The provisos concerning additional copies to the Belgian Academy and Dutch government with a reduced print run and publication price being dictated by Heinemann and Sijthoff proved sadly to force the board to reject this proposal. This meant that seven volumes from the planned 17 would not be published in the series but some were to have their own destiny, see Appendix 6.

These suggestions were disliked by the board although it still hoped to find a solution but on 21 September 1969, the minutes show that this proposal was rejected. The board asked Heinemann if they could have the remaining 600 copies of the series, which were held by them, at no cost. On 26 November 1969 Heinemann sold its remaining stock to them at a considerable reduction. Heinemann's representative, John Beer wrote to Johan Somerwil (board member, 1968-1972):

With reference to Mr. De Wit's letter of 14 November and our talk two days ago, I am authorised to say that we shall be glad to sell you the remaining stock of the above series at published price less 80%. It is understood that this transaction is confidential.

The contract stated that no volumes should be given to libraries around the world where Heinemann could sell through normal channels but this was not to be the case and the unsold books were distributed by the Productiefonds (Dutch Foundation for Literature) and to university libraries which offered Dutch Studies courses.

I will now consider whether paratextual disharmony from Sijthoff played a contributory factor in book sales of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* since the dull front boards housed inconsistencies between the volumes.

## **6, Sijthoff and Paratextual Disharmony: A Player in the Premature Demise of the Dutch *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*?**

Paratextual elements are materials which accompany the text and which help present the text to the readers. Genette (1997, xviii) defines paratexts as:

Those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it, (epitext) that mediate the book to the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, prefaces, intertitles, epilogues and afterwords.

McLean, 1951, 7 notes:

In the design of books intended to be read (not all books are) nothing must come between author and reader. No letter, no comma, may call attention to itself gratuitously, even for its beauty.

I shall reflect in this chapter on McLean's citation (1951, 7) and consider whether the paratextual elements of the volumes, both epitext and peritext, and typesetting errors could have played a part by Sijthoff on the sales figures and export of the canon of Dutch literature. This area is divided into three sections and will firstly address the epitext of the volumes, secondly the peritext and thirdly typesetting errors.

## **i, The Epitext**

Jennett (1956, 431) states that the cover is composed of the front and back boards and the spine which are the parts first seen, as they are on the outside. Inside there are two flaps, by means of which the jacket is held on the book. I will consider each component in turn.

### **a, The front board: The depiction of titles, authors and translators**

Jennett (1956, 432) notes that the front board bears the title and the name of the author written comparatively large and may also have the publisher's imprint. In addition, there may be decoration or a diagram or an illustration intended to enhance the book's appeal and perhaps in part to explain its content or kind. Derricourt (1996, 138) states that the words are most important with the author, title and subtitle being on the front. The jacket must interest and attract as well as inform. At the distance a customer stands from a book display, the cover should identify the author and title with clear lettering, and the visual image must convey the level, the feel and if possible the subject matter of the book.

Williamson (1966, 341) states that an effective jacket displays on its front the name of the

book and of its author in letters clear enough to be read at a distance of not less than eight to ten feet; this is approximately the distance from the back of a bookstall or bookshop window to the eye of a passer-by. Williamson (1966, 345-346) continues that since the jacket is to be seen from some distance, and is to appear in the bookshop among many other jackets, the best colours (at least for books intended to be popular) are rather strong and bright, and combinations of colours gain from pronounced contrast.

Unwin (1960, 309) states:

In the case of translations, the title is especially important. It is not always easy to follow the original as closely as might be desired. The rule should be to give the original title on the back, if not on the front, of the title page, particularly if the English title leaves any doubt as to which particular work by the writer is being translated. The point is so easily overlooked that I would urge translators themselves to draw attention to the desirability of giving the fullest information upon such points as part of the bibliographical information the reader is entitled to expect.

In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, the original Dutch title is mentioned in the opening pages of the volumes and only in one volume, *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965), is the translator mentioned on the front board. The author's name appears in white at the top of the front board with the title in black underneath in eight of the volumes. These are set on a blue background. In the case of the two works of *The House on the Canal* (1965) and *Alienation* (1965) where they appear together in one volume, the second author and title appear under the first one. In the case of the two mediaeval volumes, where there are numerous authors, Colledge, the translator, is written on the cover of *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) but in the case of *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967) no mention is given of the two translators, see Table 47: This reflects inconsistency between the volumes and represents an obstructive experience.

Author on front board	Translator on front board	No author or translator on front board
Old People and the Things that		

Pass		
Max Havelaar		
The Waterman		
The Man in the Mirror		
The Garden where the Brass Band Played		
Three Novels		
Marriage/Ordeal		
The House on the Canal/Alienation		
	Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	
		Reynard the Fox

Table 47: Authors and Translators depicted on the Front Board of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

### **b, The lettering of the title on the front board**

Derricourt (1996, 136-137) states that the cover requires a clearly readable title. Jennett (1956, 444-445) notes that in spite of the successes of decorated faces, there is something to be said for plain and honest letters since the primary purpose of lettering is to be read and not form part of the decoration; the pleasure it may give, the beauty of its appearance, are secondary to its quality of legibility. This was the case with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* where the letters of the titles and authors were not decorated. He adds that while it is usual to give the title of the book the greatest emphasis, there are occasions when it may appear more desirable to emphasize the author's name. The name may be the selling point, and famous authors may find their names appearing in huge letters, with the title in something comparatively small.

In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* there is inconsistency in the positioning of the lettering for the front board titles which points towards a negative experience, see Table 48.

The author is in white upper case letters at the head of the	The title is in black lower case letters at the head of the front	Comment

<b>front board followed underneath by the title in black lower case.</b>	<b>board.</b>	
Max Havelaar		
The Garden where the Brass Band Played		
Marriage/Ordeal		
The Waterman		
The House on the Canal/ Alienation		
Old People and Things that Pass		
Three Novels		
The Man in the Mirror		
	Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	The translator is mentioned underneath in white upper case letters.
	Reynard the fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	Only 'Reynard the Fox' is in black lower case; the rest of the title is in white upper case. No mention is made of the two translators.

Table 48: Positioning of the Lettering for the Front Board Titles

### **c, Illustrations used for the front board**

Williamson (1966, 346) states:

Illustration is very widely used on jackets, and for those types of book which rely mainly on casual sales it is almost obligatory. Since a jacket needs to be distinct from its neighbours, simplicity, clarity, and force are among the prime virtues of any illustration that is to appear. Garishness may discourage the reader from wishing to own the book inside such a jacket.

The jackets of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were certainly not garish; on the contrary they consisted of a black and white photograph with a dull blue heading format which were unattractive and not in my opinion conducive to luring potential readers to purchase them.

Rosner (1949, 6-7) adds that once a publisher has decided what type of jacket is called for by a particular book - whether typographical or pictorial, factual or imaginative - he will select his artist and send to him the typescript, adding, if need be specific instructions, such as the number of colours to be used. In the case of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* it was only one colour - blue. The most economical, and by no means the least effective, is the typographical jacket since it can be easily altered or improved when still in the proof stage.

Jennett (1956, 433-434) agrees that we may for convenience divide jacket design into two broad categories, typographical and artist, which is to say those that are printed from type, and which are designed by the typographer and those that are reproduced from a drawing or painting made specifically for the purpose. In the case of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, neither pictorial/artist nor typographical formats were used since paintings and manuscripts from The Netherlands, Belgium and England were transposed for the jacket into black and white photographs.

Legat (1991, 92) notes that most publishers employ an art director, whose sole responsibility is jackets. If it is decided to produce a jacket which is based on a photograph or perhaps an existing painting he may design the jacket within the house. The board chose this option which was neither typographical nor pictorial/artist for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* whereby a series of colour manuscripts and paintings were used from galleries and Universities in Belgium, the Netherlands and the UK but which became, sadly, black and white photographs. Therefore, the beautiful colourful manuscripts and paintings that were sourced for the series were transposed into dull black and white images which would not have caught the eye of the purchasing public in the same way as the original colour format would have done and may have affected book sales. This was a negative experience although a colour version may have been cost prohibitive.

The difficulty will become particularly apparent, continued Rosner (1949, 7) when it is a photograph that is selected for use on the jacket, for in such cases special attention will have to be paid to the balance between lettering and the particular point in the picture that demands emphasis. Nor must it be forgotten that if the photograph is used as a background the choice of type-face must be made with added care so that it not only does not conflict with the actual picture but retains its essential object of legibility. On the jackets of the

*Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, there was a simple balance of black and white lettering against a blue background in the top third of the jacket with the black and white photograph used for the rest of the jacket being left uncovered.

Rosner (1949, 8) and Williamson (1966, 346) agree that a book may gain considerable presentation value, though at added cost, and with the loss of advertising space, if the jacket is continuous over back, spine and front. The chance to design such a cover will particularly appeal to painters, who are used to large surfaces on which to work, and since they are not, as a rule, expert letter designers, will provide scope for the super-imposition of typographical lettering which, provided it is always readable, may be allowed to play a secondary role to the painting, which itself will catch the eye and convey the essential style of the book's contents. This was not the case in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series where the jacket was only continuous over the front and spine which left the spine being the edge of a non-descript black and white photograph.

#### **d, The paintings and manuscripts used for the front boards**

Jennett (1956 -437) states that care is needed in choosing an illustration from the book for use on the jacket. Whatever the picture, it should in some way be capable of representing the book as a whole; an illustration comprehensible only in relation to some isolated action in the narrative is not suitable, and may even be misleading.

Derricourt (1996, 138) continues that there is a vast wealth of visual material to choose from and rather than having a piece commissioned which will not be liked, it is usually easier to select an existing piece of art work. This is what occurred with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* where paintings and manuscripts were selected. Rosner (1949, 8) states that a cover illustration must have an immediate impact, its subject matter clear enough to convey the subject or tone of the book. If it is 'informational' and meaningful only to someone who is already reading the book, it will fail to serve the purpose of a cover picture.

Jennett (1956, 445) continues:

Truth in jacket design, which includes suitability of the design of the book, cannot be ignored, for the jacket plays an important part in the creation and preservation of good will. It is true that any book is aimed at a particular section of the population, at a particular stratum or



strata of society, and it is the publisher's business so to clothe and present his book that its appeal to those for whom it is intended shall be enhanced and reinforced. A mistake in psychology or a wrong design merely means that we shall be trying to sell the book to the wrong people.

I will now discuss the original artwork that was used and illustrate the poor choice of transposed dull black and white images which became the front board for the series alongside, and where possible, the original colourfully detailed artwork that was sourced. Although I agree that a colour front board would have increased the cost of the volume, this may have been offset by increased sales. Derricourt (1996, 136-137) explains:

The cover is not a decorative item; it is a marketing tool and serves to identify a book to make it recognisable in a library or bookshop. It requires a clearly readable title with the author's name on the spine. A bright and lively cover may be appropriate, perhaps with a full-colour illustration and the tone of the cover should suggest the tone of the book. The subject matter also guides the cover design. A cover illustration must have an immediate impact, its subject matter clear enough to convey the subject or tone of the book.

I will consider the painting or manuscript used on the front board of each volume and ascertain its relevance to the contents.



Figure 4: Stadsgezicht and *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963)

The painting used for the front cover is *Townscape (Stadsgezicht)* which was painted in 1934 by the Dutch artist Albert Carel Willink (1900-1983) and is currently housed in the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, acquired by them in 1950. It is oil on canvas 87.8 x 113 cm, see Figure 4.

Kunst in kwadraat (2014) states:

Een duister vrijstand huis en een straat met twee huizen totaal? Een vreemde lichtbron en een hek zonder bestaansrecht? Het Stadsgezicht van Carel Willink schreeuwt mysterie. Het is gemaakt in een eigen stijl: het magisch realisme.....

(A dark detached house and a street with only two houses? An eerie source of light and a fence that ought not to exist? The Townscape by Carel Willink is an enigma. It was produced in an individual style; that of 'magical realism....').

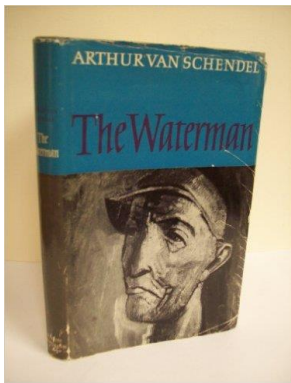


Figure 5: *The Waterman* (1963)

The painting used for the front cover is *A Peasant in a Cap* by the Dutch artist, sculptor and graphic artist Hendrik Chabot (1894-1949) and is currently housed in the Chabot museum in Rotterdam. It is oil on canvas and is 50.8 x 60.96 cm. The museum has been reluctant to send me a copy of the original, see Figure 5.

Chilvers and Glavers-Smith (2009, 133) state:

In his early work he (Chabot) experimented with cubism, but turned to expressionism and became one of the country's leading exponents of the style. He is best known for his paintings depicting the Netherlands during the German Occupation in the Second World War. His subjects included refugees, prisoners of war, and resistance fighters, depicted with great pathos.

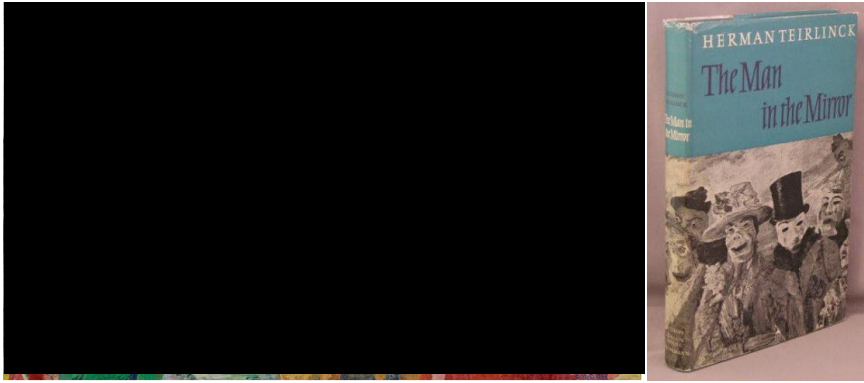


Figure 6: De Intrigue and *the Man in the Mirror* (1963)

The painting used for the front cover is *De Intrigue (The Intrigue)* which was painted in 1890 by the Belgian artist James Ensor (1860-1949) and is currently housed at the Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten (The Royal Museum of Fine Arts) in Antwerp. It is oil on canvas 89.5 x 149 cm, see Figure 6.

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (2015) states:

As a painter of the bizarre and the grotesque, James Ensor was a true pioneer of modern art. From around 1880, he began to incorporate the motif of disguise in his work, which earned him the nickname of 'the painter of masks'. However, in an ironic reversal, Ensor's masks reveal rather than conceal the true face of the wearers. One of the best masquerades in this oeuvre is undoubtedly *The Intrigue*. A woman appears to have hooked a suitor: she is holding a bouquet, suggesting that the couple are newly-weds. Sinister masks encircle the two. A peasant woman has a doll on her shoulder that resembles a dead child. She points at the man at the centre of the composition. A skeleton figure with a loose-hanging jaw looks on. The fate of the groom is uncertain.

Artsconnected (2015) considered the couple's engagement:

Here the artist depicted his sister Mariette in blue hair and green cape, with her top-hatted fiancé, Tan Hée Tseu, a Chinese art dealer from Berlin. The couple's engagement caused a scandal in the home town of the Ensor family, and the artist, in retaliation, depicts the town gossips, who disguised in their masks, have come out to point, stare and laugh at the couple.

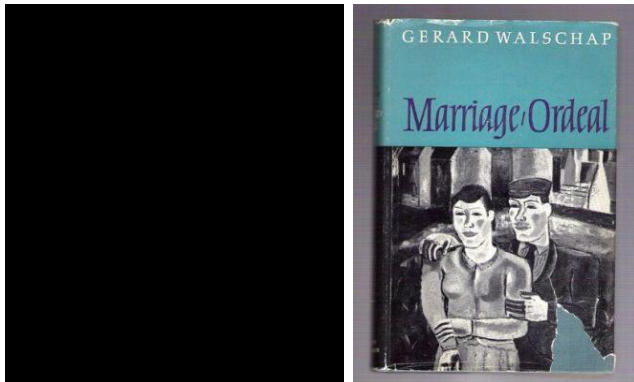


Figure 7: *De Verliefd* and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963)

The painting used for the front cover is *De Verliefd* (*The Lovers*) which was painted in 1931 by the Belgian expressionist artist Gustave De Smet (1877-1943) and is currently housed in a private collection by one of De Smet's sons. He prefers the title *De Minnaars* (*The Lovers*) which has a slightly different connotation in Dutch in that it infers that the couple are having an affair rather than being in love with each other. It is oil on canvas 131 x 115 cm. Most of his works are still in the family, being divided among his children following his death. Of note is the fact that there is another painting of the same name by the artist which is oil on canvas 140 x 99cm. painted in 1921, see Figure 7.

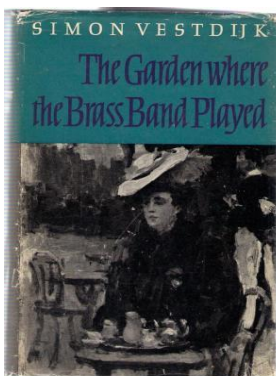


Figure 8: *The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965)

The painting used is *Lady in Teagarden* painted by the Dutch artist Isaac Israëls (1865-1934). It is in a private collection and I have been unable to locate it since Israëls painted many ladies in teagardens, see Figure 8.

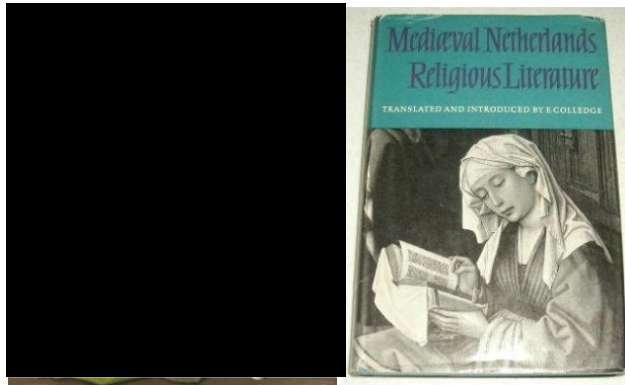


Figure 9: The Magdalene Reading and *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965)

The painting used for the front cover is *The Magdalene Reading* which was painted before 1438 by the Belgian artist Rogier van der Weyden (about 1399-1464) and is currently housed in The National Gallery in London, acquired by them in 1860. It is oil mahogany, transferred from another panel. 'Amongst his greatest works is a powerful *Descent from the Cross* (Madrid, Prado) of which *the Magdalene Reading* is a fragment' National Gallery (2015a), see Figure 9.

National Gallery (2015b) states:

This fragment shows Mary Magdalene with Saint Joseph behind, and the bare feet and red robe of Saint John the Evangelist on the left. The jar in the foreground contains the ointment which Mary Magdalene used to anoint Jesus' feet, as she wept over them, repenting of her sins. She subsequently devoted her life to holy works, and is represented reading a holy book. Her clothes are sumptuous: her fur-lined dress is turned back to reveal a bejewelled underdress. The wooden cupboard suggests that the scene was set in a rich domestic interior. The background includes a detailed landscape view.

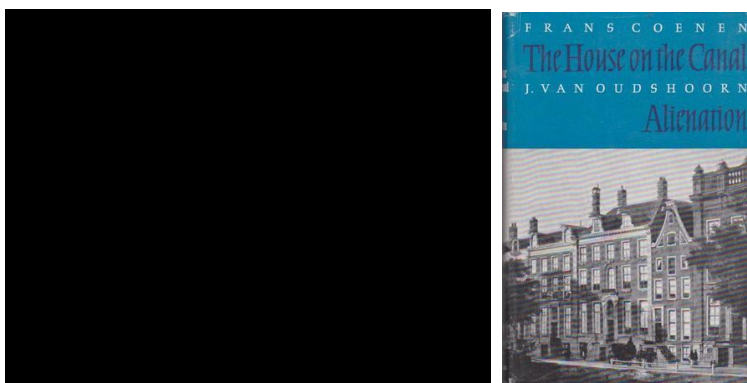


Figure 10: Heerengracht met Huis Willet Holthuijsen and *The House on the Canal/Alienation* (1965)

The painting used for the front cover is *Heerengracht met Huis Willet Holthuijsen* (*The Willet-Holthuijsen House Heerengracht*) unknown date by the Dutch artist Kaspar Karsen (1810-1896) and belongs to the Amsterdams Historisch Museum (Amsterdam Museum, formerly called the Amsterdam Historical Museum) but is on loan to the Museum Willet-Holthuysen in Amsterdam. It is a colour on canvas and is 1,400 cm. X 1,128cm, see Figure 10.

Vreeken (2012, 9) states:

Museum Willet-Holthuysen is a museum on 605 Heerengracht in Amsterdam. It is the only fully furnished canal side patrician house in Amsterdam that is open to the public housing silverware, plates and books from the Golden age as well as a substantial collection of art.

Vreeken (2010, 324-325) notes:

Coenen's *Onpersoonlijke Herinneringen* (1936, original title *Impersonal Memories*, later translated as *The House on the Canal* (1965) with its negative image of the last inhabitants of the house and the age in which they lived, served as a historical source until well into the twentieth-century. It profoundly influenced public opinion about the legators and the museum. Coenen retired as curator of Huis Willet-Holthuysen in 1932.

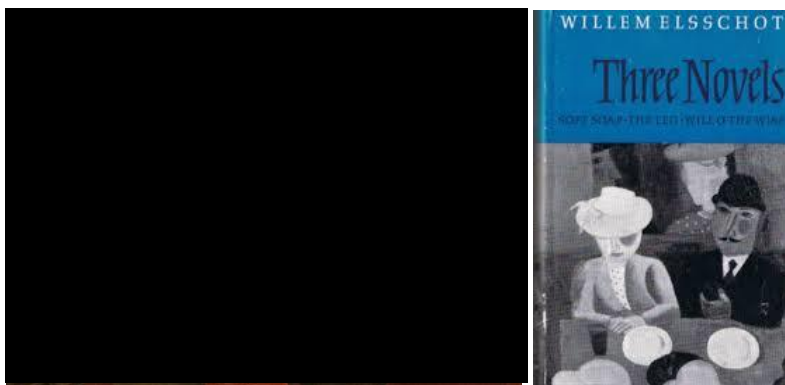


Figure 11: *De Mosseleeters* and *Three Novels* (1965)

The painting used for the front cover is *De Mosseleeters* (*The Mussel Eaters*) which was painted in 1923 by the Belgian artist Gustave De Smet (1877-1943) and is currently housed in the Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten Antwerpen (Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp). It is oil on canvas 93 x 123 cm, see Figure 11.

Vlaamskunstcollectie (2020) states:

Negen figuren zitten in hun zondagse pak aan een rechthoekige tafel. In de achtergrond ziet men figuren die in een ander deel van het restaurant zitten. Links beneden zit een hondje. De tafel met de borden worden in bovenaanzicht weergegeven, het glas en de mosselschalen in vooraanzicht. Het gaat er hier niet om over hoe men de dingen ziet, maar hoe men ze zich in het hoofd voorstelt.

(Nine figures, all dressed in their Sunday best, are seated at a rectangular table. The background shows seated diners in another part of the restaurant. In the bottom left sits a small dog. The table with the plates has a frontal view whilst the glass and mussel bowls are viewed from above. It is not about what is seen but what is being thought about).

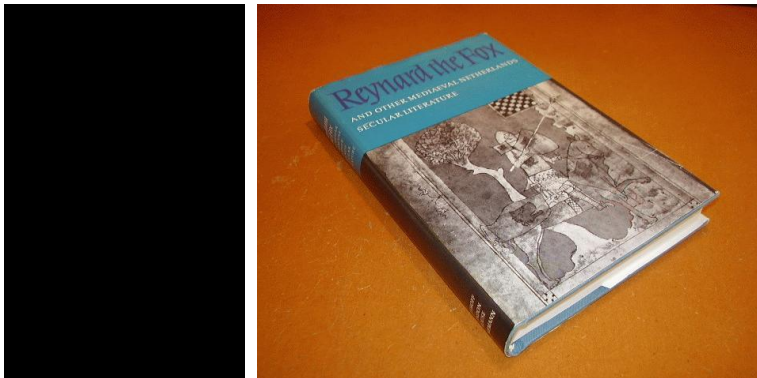


Figure 12: *Walewein en het Zwevende Schaakbord* and *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Literature* (1967)

The manuscript used for the front cover is the *Walewein en het Zwevende Schaakbord* (*Gawain and the Floating Chessboard*) by an unknown artist (14<sup>th</sup> century) and is currently housed at Leiden University Library. It is 600 cm. x 976 cm, see Figure 12

Dr. André Bouwman (2010), curator of Western manuscripts at Leiden University Library offers a description of the manuscript:

Of the Middle Dutch Arthurian romances the Roman van Walewein is considered to be the most interesting. It relates a highly original series of adventures undertaken by King Arthur's nephew Walewein (Fr. Gauvain, Eng. Gawain). His initial quest for a wondrous floating chessboard can only be completed if Walewein undertakes a second quest (for the Sword with Two Rings) and even a third (the quest for King Assentijn's beautiful daughter Ysabele). For King Wonder agrees to part from his chessboard only in exchange for the magic sword, and Walewein will acquire the sword only if he brings its owner, King Amoraen, princess Ysabele. In the end Walewein — with the help of the speaking fox Roges and the ghost of a dead robber knight — succeeds in bringing not only the chessboard to King Arthur's court, but also his new love Ysabele.

This ingeniously narrated romance of about 11,200 lines was, according to its epilogue, begun by Penninc, but not completed. The last 3,300 lines were composed by Pieter Vostaert, possibly around 1250. The complete text has survived in only one manuscript, which is written in 1350, according to the colophon and is now kept in Leiden University Library. The chessboard has 56 fields instead of 64, possibly not the result of a drawing error but of an early effort to suggest perspective.

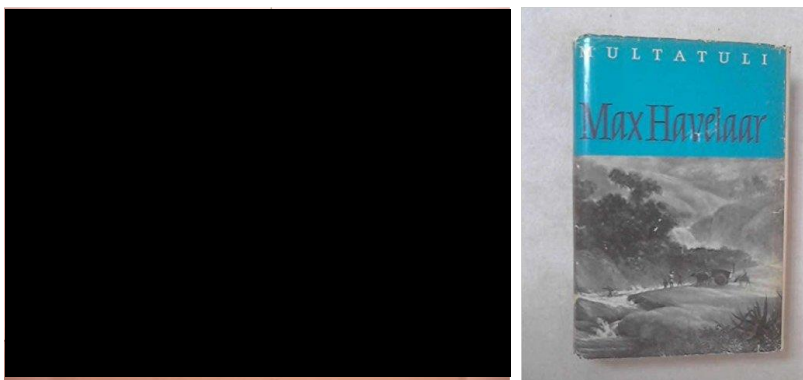


Figure 13: Het Dal van Tji-Soendari met de Berg Patoeha and *Max Havelaar* (1967)

The painting used for the front cover is *Het Dal van Tji-Soendari met de Berg Patoeha* (*The valley of Tji-Soendari with the mountain Patoeha*) which is in the Provincie Jawa Barat (Province of Java Barat) in Java, Indonesia). It was painted in 1827 by the Belgian artist



Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853). It is currently housed in the Museum voor Volkenkunde Leiden (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden and is oil on canvas and is 80 cm. x 110 cm. It is not currently on show but archived, see Figure 13.

### **e, A personal account: The relevance of the paintings and manuscripts used for the front boards**

Much work went into obtaining photographs for the front boards of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* rather than typographical or pictorial art work. The painting *Stadsgezicht (Townscape)* portrays mystery which is the central plot of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) where a dark secret hides a murder whilst the peasant in the painting *A Peasant in a Cap* relates to the protagonist Maarten Rossaart who undergoes a life of poverty and suffering ending in his drowning whilst attempting to save his dog. *De Intrigue (The Intrigue)* painting portrays people revealing rather than concealing the true face of the wearers which is what the protagonist Henry M. does in *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) where he submits his life of selfish sensuality to merciless dissection.

The *Lady in a Teagarden* painting used on the front board of *The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965) depicts a middle aged lady elegantly attired with a hat sitting alone in a tea –garden at a small table on top of which sits a tray with a tea set. This is a successful attempt at a dust jacket which goes some way to portray the story. It depicts the older lady, here Trix in a garden, where eventually a younger Nol, inspired by one of Souza's marches, will dance with her before a bemused group of adults. The love story and the tragedy of her death, however, at the end of the novel, are not depicted or even hinted at in the painting. In *Three Novels* (1965) *De Mosseleeters (The Mussel Eaters)* painting is used for the front board. The mussel eaters have nothing to do with events in the three novels but one of the diners is a Chaplinesque little man who appears to be the protagonist Laarmans who appears in all three of the *Three Novels* (1965).

The painting used for the *Max Havelaar* (1967) front board is *Het Dal van Tji-Soendari met de Berg Patoeha (The Valley of Tji-Soendari with the Mountain Patoeha)*. Although the date of the artist Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen is incorrect in the volume and should be 1792-1853 and not 1785-1853 as printed in the volume, the painting is a reflection of Java where the events of the novel take place. The dust jacket depicts a group of people with an ox-

pulled cart on the edge of a stream which is actually a blow-up of the lower centre area of the original painting and for this reason was difficult for the museum staff to locate as it is archived.

It is difficult to have a painting to portray more than one novel unless a character or theme runs through them such as in *Three Novels* (1965). For *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) *De Verliefden* (*The lovers*) painting is a fair portrayal of *Marriage* (1963) but not the second, *Ordeal* (1963). The two works of *Trouwen* (1933)/ *Marriage* (1963) and *Celibaat* (1934)/*Ordeal* (1963) were originally published separately in Dutch and placed together for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in one volume. These two titles are harmonious since *Marriage* and *Celibacy*, the Dutch translation of *Celibaat* work together as opposites in one volume. The problem is that this is lost with the translation of *Celibaat* to *Ordeal*.

*The Magdalene Reading* showing Mary Magdalene is used for *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) with its five novels although it does not depict any of the characters from the included works. *The Heerengracht met Huis Willet Holthuijsen* (*The Willet-Holthuijsen House on the Heerengracht*) painting is a worthy choice for *The House on the Canal* (1965) since it is in this property that the stories of its many inhabitants take place. *Alienation* (1965) which appears in the same volume, however, is not represented by the painting.

*Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature* (1967) comprises a collection of five stories, the main one being *Reynard the Fox*. There are numerous paintings of this character in existence and instead of using one of these, a manuscript of *Gawein, Walewein en het Zwevende Schaakbord* (*Gawein and the Floating Chessboard*) was used for a part story that forms only five pages of the volume.

A middle class, literary minded England and America was the target audience of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and thus the original dust jacket designs were mixed in their effectiveness with some relating more to the works than others.

## **ii, The back board**

In the majority of jackets, the back board is used for the advertising of other books in the publisher's stock. Sometimes, however, it is used for a list of other books by the same

author, perhaps with an appropriate blurb for each. The back boards of all ten published *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works were consistent and stated the same information to announce the rationale of the series which is a positive experience:

To enable people in other countries to read their works, men like Erasmus and Grotius had to write in Latin. The literature of the Netherlands, of the Dutch and the Flemings, has since those years remained comparatively unknown to the outside world because few spoke the language or knew enough about it to realize its translation. To break through the insularity created by this language barrier some writers learned and wrote in other languages. But the greatest books in the history of the Netherlands remained confined to its own people.

The Golden Age of painting in the Netherlands was quickly understood and appreciated throughout the world but its counterpart in literature, equally important, remained unknown abroad; or almost so, for it was for some time considered that Reynard the Fox had a direct influence on Goethe, and that one of Milton's sources was Vondel's Lucifer. The intention of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* is to give in translation to the English-speaking world the classics of Netherlands literature published throughout the ages. In addition to the sixteen volumes there will be a short history of Dutch and Flemish literature as a separate volume.

The joint publishers of the series are A. W. Sythoff in Holland, William Heinemann Ltd. in London and London House & Maxwell in New York.

### **iii, The spine**

Douglas Martin (1989, 168) states that there is no excuse for not blocking or printing a title on the spine. Good arguments may be advanced in favour of running up the spine as against running downwards, and these have persuaded continental Europe to opt for the former, in contrast to the de facto standardisation in the downwards direction that has occurred in English speaking countries.

Even the pope of modern book design, Jan Tschichold,<sup>68</sup> couldn't change matters; he imposed the continental version on Penguin Books, but shortly after his reign they saw that it was necessary to conform to 'home usage' even at the excruciating cost of having stocks of books reading in contrary directions during the change-back period! It is usually

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<sup>68</sup> Jan Tschichold (1902-1974): Typographer, Book Designer and Writer.

preferable for title and author to read across rather than down which is the case with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which is a positive experience.

Jennett (1956, 432) notes that on the spine the same information is given, rather more discreetly because of the exigencies of space; and similar elaboration by decoration or illustration is practised with the publisher's imprint printed on the spine. See Table 49 for publishing imprints used in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes.

<b>Sijthoff/Heinemann</b>	<b>Sijthoff/Heinemann/London House &amp; Maxwell</b>	<b>Date</b>
The Waterman		1963
Old People and the Things that Pass		1963
The Man in the Mirror		1963
Marriage/Ordeal		1963
	The Garden where the Brass Band Played	1965
	Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	1965
	The House on the Canal/Alienation	1965
	Three Novels	1965
	Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	1967
	Max Havelaar	1967

Table 49: Publishing Imprints used in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

In the case of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, Sijthoff only printed 'Sijthoff and Heinemann' and failed to mention the London House and Maxwell imprint until the fifth volume. An explanation of this is found in a letter from C. Dewees of London House & Maxwell to J. H. Landwehr representing Sijthoff on 28 February 1964:

Thank you for your letter of February 20 concerning the imprint on the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. However, if it is not too late I would definitely like to have the imprint to read 'London House & Maxwell. New York'. In your letter you quote only 'London House'. Would you kindly let me know by return mail whether this change can be effected on *The Man in the Mirror and Marriage and Ordeal*? If not, all future volumes should bear the 'London House & Maxwell' imprint.

J.H. Landwehr replied to this issue of lack of planning on 3 March 1964:

We regret it is too late as we started binding already. In future we shall use the 'London House & Maxwell' imprint.

This is a pessimistic experience because neither the London House or London House and Maxwell imprint appeared until the fifth volume in the series.

In a bookshop, the spine may only be the part of the book that tempts the buyer and *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* spines were neither alluring nor consistent in design for the whole series. Only eight of the volumes had a black upper case lettering title of the author followed by a white lower case title of the volume. The title of *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) was in lower case white lettering whilst on the *Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literatures* (1967) volume, *Reynard the Fox* is in lower case white lettering with the rest of the title in upper case lettering with a different script format. The black lettering that is used for the authors of the eight volumes is lost against the blue background in the upper third of the spine, especially when viewed from a distance. The black and white photograph of the front board continues over the spine and forms a non-descript and confusing backdrop for the lettering at the base of the spine.

Jennett (1956, 441) argues that picture jackets are frequently so designed that the picture spreads from the board over the spine, and this is a very good method provided that spine and board must be capable of being viewed separately without discomfort or any sense of incompleteness. A picture that cannot be divided into other than incomprehensible remnants must fail as an all-over jacket design. The only way of looking at such a picture is to view it whole and the bookseller is the last person to appreciate his customers taking off the jackets of his books to get the whole view. The spines offer a poor experience in this

respect in that the series' spines house a simple continuation of the black and white front board which are indistinctive and do not form separate entities in themselves.

#### iv, The front flap

Rosner (1949, 4-5) states that it was in the early 1890s that print began to appear more frequently on wrappers, but the idea of using these covers as an advertising medium was gradual in development, and there is little evidence of the general use of the pictorial wrapper up to the end of the first decade of the present century, and it was probably not until 1910 or thereabouts that any publisher made use of his wrapper to print on it a 'blurb' or advertisement having a direct bearing on the book covered and providing a synopsis of the contents. This practice, once inaugurated, however, rapidly caught on and by the outbreak of World War I the use of a pictorial jacket carrying both direct and indirect advertising material was firmly established.

Jennett (1956, 433) states that the front flap is by custom reserved for the blurb and Williamson (1966, 344) agrees adding that the blurb is best written to fit on the front flap alone since not every reader's enthusiasm for blurbs will send him hunting for the completion at the back. In all the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, the front flap presents a blurb, offering a synopsis of events which shows consistency and a positive experience.

Jennett (1956, 433) states that the front flap is by custom reserved for the price of the book and it was in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. In an undated, unsigned list of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, located at the Museum of Literature in The Hague, the following *suggested* prices were found annotated, see Table 50.

Volume	Shillings s	Guilders H fl	American Dollars \$
Old People and the Things that Pass	25	11.90	3.00
The Waterman	21	9.00	2.50
The Man in the Mirror	21	9.90	2.50
Marriage/Ordeal	25	12.90	3.00

The Garden where the Brass Band Played	30	14.90	3.50
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	35	14.90	4.00
Impersonal Recollections/ The Life of William Mertens – working title of The House on the Canal/Alienation	30	14.90	3.50
Three Short Novels- working title of Three Novels	30	14.90	3.50
Reynard the Fox	35	17.50	4.00
Max Havelaar	42	20.70	5.50

Table 50: Suggested Prices of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in Shillings, Dutch Guilders and American Dollars

For the actual published prices of my purchased copies, see Table 51.

Volume	Shillings s	American Dollars \$
Old People and the Things that Pass	No price printed	
The Waterman	No price printed	
The Man in the Mirror	21	
Marriage/Ordeal	25	
The Garden where the Brass Band Played	30	
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature		4.75
The House on the Canal/Alienation		5.95
Three Novels	30	

Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature	35	
Max Havelaar	No price printed	

Table 51: Prices of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in Shillings and American Dollars

*Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) and *The House on the Canal/Alienation* (1965) were priced higher for the American market than had been originally suggested. The average wage for UK earners in the 1960s was £700 per annum, around £58 per month, so the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes were expensive to the consumer, especially when one compares the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* to a similar series called the *Blue Passport* series, which was published in the early 1960s, see Table 52.

Volume	Shillings s
Next Stop-Paradis & The Graveyard (1961)	18
The Flowers are Fallen (1961)	15
Saturday to Monday (1961)	16
The Red-Head (1961)	16
Each in his Darkness (1961)	18
The White Stone (1961)	18
The Lightship (1962)	16
The Pursuer (1962)	18
You are Mine (1962)	No dust jacket
The Dark Room of Damocles (1962)	No dust Jacket

Table 52: Prices of the *Blue Passport* series in Shillings

The stated prices are inconsistent in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes in that in the first two, *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) and *The Waterman* (1963) and in the final printed volume, *Max Havelaar* (1967) no price is given. *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) and *The Waterman* (1963) were the first two volumes published and consequently the lack of planning had not included the price, whilst *Max Havelaar*, (1967) being the last in the series, may have encountered a rushed lack of attention to detail in its price omission.



On the back flap only of *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963), previously published novels are advertised with their prices in both pounds and Dutch guilders which illustrate inconsistency, see Table 53.

Volume	Prices
Old People and the Things that Pass	£00 25s / H fl 11.90
The Waterman	£00 21s / H fl 9.00
The Man in the Mirror	£00 21s / H fl 9.90
Marriage/Ordeal	£00 25s / H fl 12 90

Table 53: Previously printed published volumes with prices on the back flap of *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963)

The volumes were expensive especially when viewed against similar series of the time and suffered inconsistencies in price with some being more expensive than others. Some volumes did not have a price whilst others had two advertised currency depictions of previously published volumes. This shows a lack of planning and results in a poor outcome.

#### v, The back flap

The back flap has three roles:

Firstly, the back flap of the ten volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* advertised published volumes in the series and was inconsistent in its approach. Sometimes previously published volumes were advertised and sometimes not. In the initial two published volumes of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) and *The Waterman* (1963), no mention is made of each other's volumes. The first two published volumes of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) and *The Waterman* (1963) were initially advertised on the back flap of the third and fourth published volumes which were *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963). In the case of *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) and *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) each other's volumes were also advertised.

As the volumes entered the market, previously published works continued to be advertised; in the case of *The House on the Canal /Alienation* (1965), however, no advertisement is given at all of any previous works, probably because there was insufficient space on the back flap due to the information from two authors requiring more space. Elschot's *Three*

*Novels* (1965) has been completely omitted from the back flap of *Max Havelaar* (1967), even though it had been published two years previously illustrating perhaps a rushed and inconsistent approach or even an error.

Secondly, the back flap also offers a description of the artist and painting or manuscript used for the front board of the volume. There was inconsistency here which was unhelpful to readers because only six of the volumes had the description on the back flap with the other four offering this information on the front flap, see Table 54.

Front Flap	Back Flap	Comment
Reynard the Fox		Had less space on the back flap due to a longer list of previously published books.
Max Havelaar		Had less space on the back flap due to a longer list of previously published books.
The Garden where the Brass Band Played		
The House on the Canal/Alienation		
	Three Novels	
	Marriage Ordeal	
	The Man in the Mirror	
	Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature	
	Old People and the Things that Pass	
	The Waterman	

Table 54: Description of the Front Board and Back Flaps of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

Thirdly the back flap presents an overview of the author but regarding two mediaeval volumes, the authors' overviews are replaced by one concerning the translator, Colledge. This was acceptable for the first volume which was translated entirely by Colledge but in the second volume, the translations were shared by Colledge and Barnouw with Barnouw

translating *Reynard the Fox* (c.1225); Barnouw is regrettably only mentioned in the blurb on the front flap which highlighted disparity between the volumes.

## 7, The peritext

I am going to consider the sales effect of four paratextual elements which occurred in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and these are: chapter title headings, chapter headlines, notes and folios.

### i, Chapter title headings

The chapter headings in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes were not standard in that some of the chapters began with a written heading whilst others with a numbered one which illustrates inconsistency, see Table 55.

Works that have chapters with titled headings	Works that have chapters with numbered headings
	Max Havelaar
Soft Soap	
The Leg	
	Will-o'-The-Wisp
	Old People and the Things that Pass
The Waterman	
The House on the Canal	
Alienation	
The Man in the Mirror	
	The Garden where the Brass Band Played
Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature (each novel)	
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature (each novel)	
	Marriage
	Ordeal

Table 55: Chapter title headings of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

The problem of chapter headings was further exacerbated by inconsistency in that some of the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* had chapters which commenced on a new page whilst others had ones which did not which resulted in unevenness. To purchasers who were building up the whole series, this may have been an annoyance which affected their decision to purchase further volumes, see Table 56.

<b>Works that have chapters which start on a new page</b>	<b>Works that have chapters which do not start on a new page</b>
Max Havelaar	
	Soft Soap
	The Leg
	Will-O'-The-Wisp
	Old People and the Things that Pass
The Waterman	
	The House on the Canal
	Alienation
The Man in the Mirror	
The Garden where the Brass Band Played	
Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature (each novel)	
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature (each novel)	
Marriage	
Ordeal	

Table 56: Chapters of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which start/do not start on a new page

## **ii, Chapter headlines**

Jennett (1956, 272-274) states that headlines are mainly of three different kinds: running headlines; section headlines and page headlines:

### **a, Running headlines**

Running headlines consist of the title of the book, appearing either on both left- and right-hand pages, or else on left-hand pages only, the right-hand page having a section headline. Jennett (1956, 272-273) sees no sense in the running headline, and in his opinion not even the plea of decoration can justify its use. He makes the point:

If a reader needs to be reminded, at each opening, of the title of the book he is reading, he cannot be much interested in the book. It is habit; many people, publishers and printers never see headlines, and the running head is there because no one thought of omitting it. The only recommendation I have heard for it is that it serves as an advertisement, enabling your neighbour in train or bus to see what you are reading!

There were no running headlines in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes.

## **b, The page headline**

Jennett (1956, 272) notes that a page headline:

[M]ay appear on both left and right-hand pages or on one side only, in conjunction with a section headline on the other side. Its wording summarizes the contents of the page over which it appears.

The page headline is therefore different for every page and its value is doubtful ...the page headline cannot act as a guide, because it does not point the way in any direction. Some authors are addicted to page headlines as a mannerism, and it is a mannerism that costs them some time and trouble; indeed, no headline is as troublesome as this one. It cannot be provided by a mere instruction to the printer, as can others; each one must be written individually by the author. They cannot be written until the book is in page proof, and then their addition may make a revised proof necessary where otherwise it might not have been needed.

There were no page headlines in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes.

## **c, Section headlines**

Jennet (1956, 273) adds section headlines:

[C]onsist of the titles of whatever subdivisions (chapters, books, parts, etc.) the book may have. The section headline may be an invaluable part of a system of reference, a signpost on an involved network of roads and bypaths, directing the reader quickly and efficiently towards the place he is looking for.

There were no section headlines in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes which would have benefitted from this since five of the volumes consisted of more than one work and a reference to where one was in the volume would have proved beneficial. This was a poor choice by the publisher.

### **iii, Notes**

Newmark (1988, 92) discusses the positioning of notes within a text:

In translated texts, the use of paratexts in the form of notes is not uncommon, particularly when there is a need to supply additional information in the translation for the target readers. The additional information may appear in different places, for example, within the text itself, in page footnotes, chapter endnotes, or in notes or a glossary at the end of a book.

The location of these paratextual elements are varied and Pym (2004, 100) stresses that, 'notes can be at the bottom of the page, the end of a chapter, the end of a book, in a supplementary glossary or even in specialised dictionaries' whilst Kovala (1996, 125) highlights the fact that, 'notes are a means by which the translator or other mediators may bring the text closer to the reader'.

Hale (2008) argues that notes are frustrating to the reader, particularly endnotes, where flipping to the back of the book detracts from the reading of the volume. He adds that endnotes are becoming more common in order to keep typesetting costs down because if a footnote is added or deleted, many pages may have to be redone (since the spacing of the

main body of text will change) whereas if an endnote is changed, only a page or two will need resetting.

Martin (1989, 155) suggests that the options are to have notes on the page, at the ends of chapters, or at the end of the book. Writers through the ages have liked shoulder and footnotes because they can do things which notes appearing at the end of the book cannot. Notes at the end of chapters are maddening to locate and are unlikely to please anyone. Katharina Reiss (2000, 77) states that explanatory translations, which help the reader in the target language by keeping the foreign term but with a brief appositional supplement, are useful since footnotes are a nuisance, breaking the flow of reading and marring the effectiveness of the text in the target language. Landers (2001, 93) agrees that footnotes can destroy the mimetic effect; the attempt by fiction writers to create the illusion that the reader is actually witnessing, if not experiencing, the events being described.

Three of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes contain no notes of any description whilst seven volumes have some of the five different types of notes, see Table 57. This illustrates inconsistencies between the volumes and highlights a lack of forethought by the board.

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>Biographical notes on authors</b>	<b>Translator's preface</b>	<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
Max Havelaar				
The Waterman			Max Havelaar	
The Man in the Mirror				
	Three Novels			
	The House on the Canal/Alienation	Alienation		
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature				Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature
Reynard the Fox and other				

Mediaeval				
Netherlands				
Secular				
Literature				

Table 57: Paratexts in the form of notes used in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes

#### **iv, Folios**

The salient parts of a page may be said to be three: the text, including notes, the headline and the folio or page number. Jennett (1956, 276-277) notes that the position of the folio varies; but in most books it is placed either in the headline or at the foot of the page. At the foot of the page, it occupies a line to itself, and in most books it is centred on that line; but it may be set to one side, level with the edge of the type measure or beyond it, or indented within it. In all the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* this positive experience is reflected in the fact that the folios are at the foot of the page; to the left edge on the recto and to the right edge on the verso illustrating consistency and ease of location for the reader.

#### **8, Typesetting errors**

Saller (2009, 10) notes:

The publishers who hire copy editors obviously believe that it matters a lot. It matters because inaccuracies and inconsistencies undermine a writer's authority, distract and confuse the reader, and reflect poorly on the company. Discriminating readers look for reasons to trust a reader and not to. Inelegant expression and carelessness in the details are two reasons not to. The copy editor's job then is to ferret out the remaining infelicities in a manuscript.

Mclean (2000, 203) adds that a well- produced book is better than a moderately-produced book. The difference between the two is small. Is it worth the extra trouble? Will one point (one seventy-second of an inch) be noticed? Does typography matter? Assuming that anything matters, then certainly it matters how things are made and what they look like. Legat (1991, 90) continues that copy-editors can contribute very considerably to good, efficient publishing whose responsibilities go far beyond correcting the author's spelling and punctuation: they often check the author's facts, they remove inconsistencies, they may re-write phrases, sentences or even large parts of the book.



Dunham (2014, 145-46) states:

Copy- editing covers the details of writing, punctuation, grammar, capitalization, word choice, redundancy, repetitiveness, accuracy and consistency. Spelling and capitalizing words consistently makes reading easier and helps communication (totalled vs. Totalled, or Federal vs. federal). Copy-editing style generally involves choosing among two or more acceptable ways of spelling or capitalizing words. In copy editing, editors should also check arithmetic, verify bibliographical information when possible and keep an eye on details such as area codes, place names and dates.

Clark and Phillips (2008, 131-33) explain that the aim of a copy-editor, who may be the only other person other than the author and translator who reads the book before publication, is to ensure that the text is clear, correct and consistent for both the printer and the ultimate readers. The copy-editor's prime task therefore is to identify what is missing, what has not been done well, and what is excessive. Derricourt (1996, 112-113) agrees that the copy editor is the only person who will have read every word of the book with care since he is required to read and weigh every letter, number and punctuation mark. His aim is to help you communicate with your readership but not to convert hopeless style to golden prose.

Typesetting errors were caused by the lack of attention to detail by the copy editor in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes and Jennett (1956, 88-89) highlights the importance of the copy editor's role:

When proofs are returned corrected from the author, it is the reader's job to incorporate the author's corrections with his own, and if necessary to convert the author's markings (which may be very queer indeed) into something that can be more easily understood. The qualifications required of him are extensive. He must have a sharp eye and an alert mind to recognise at once the subtlest of misspellings. He must be able to spell almost anything without referring to a dictionary. He must be able to read the most crabbed and illegible hand-writing, and read it correctly- and authors, like doctors, possess notoriously, untidy and unreasonable fists.

Davies (2011, 171) argues the case for accuracy in the case of spelling mistakes and usage stating that there can be no question that good editing does add to the value of a book and to the reputation of its author and publisher. Conversely a book with mistakes in spelling will probably alienate its readers. Listed below are the typesetting errors which occurred in

the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which would have affected the overall quality of the volumes and may have, as Davies (2011, 171) states, alienated its readers, see Tables 58.

<b>The Waterman (1963)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
9	disap-pearing	Disappearing...on one line
19	he was	He was
23	dike	dyke
25	door-way	doorway
26	candle-light	candlelight
26	coffer-dam	cofferdam
58	wood	wood
93	were they lay	where they lay
96	goaled	gaoled
96	bread's	bread
97	choco-late	chocolate
141	As he stood looking the maid from the opposite house	As he stood looking, the maid from...
143	unt ie	untie
144	fore-sail	inconsistency
151	foresail	

<b>Old People and the Things that Pass (1963)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
14	eveningpaper	evening paper
60	b oth	both
114	Two candelabra	Strictly speaking, the Latin word candelabrum (a multipartite candle holder) is singular, with candelabra as

		its plural. However, in English, 'candelabra' is widely used in the singular, leading to what pedants consider the false plural candelabras.
128	o s	so
146	with the result hat	with the result that
160	pleas-a ntly	pleasantly
165	al ways	always
174	slaver	saliver

**The Man In the Mirror (1963 but was not published until 1964)**

<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
16	mueh	much
33	Nuncle Erasme	Uncle Erasme
57	Mijnheer/mijnheer	inconsistent
59	A down	spacing
77	I was	spacing
90	Henr	Henri
90	threati	threat
154	goodday	good day

**Marriage/Ordeal (1963 but was not published until 1964)**

<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>Marriage</b>		
15	. They	spacing
18	wal	wall
24	In Alseberg Steen acker's youngest sister	In Alseberg, Steen acker's

		youngest sister
25	mother	mother
45	posses-sion	on two lines
56	wit's end	spacing
74	steen-hackers	on two lines
83	un- expectedly	on two lines
83	mous-tache	on two lines
85	aren'they, Papa	spacing
93	weak-ness	on two lines
93	hypno-tize	on two lines
112	discus-sions	on two lines
<b>Ordeal</b>		
119	? stream of	a stream of
121	twousers	trousers
121	bird's feawer	bird's feather
121	fief	thief
147	businees	business
202	beech tress	beech trees
204	confort	comfort
208	Danke schon	Danke schön

<b>The Garden where the Brass Band played (1965)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
21	god	God
56	He spole first	He spoke first
154	sarcely	scarcely
201	caffein	caffeine
207	ingored	ignored

<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature (1965)</b>		
<b>Page</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>

<b>Number</b>		
<b>There are seven manners of loving</b>		
13	leass	less
<b>Letters</b>		
43-44	Your- self	Word is split between two pages
<b>Beatrice</b>		
129	speake	speak
153	bec ut	be cut
<b>Mary of Nijmegen</b>		
194	I would rather seeing you	I would rather see you
195	aff lict	afflict
203	rumney	rumney
210	to her uncle the parson's	to her uncle the parson.
223	Maestricht	Maastricht

<b>The House on The Canal /Alienation (1965)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>The House on the Canal</b>		
28	doubel	double
28	danger	danger
28	Cathedrale	Cathedral
29	comedi	comedy
30	quaij	quai
30	Egijpte	Egypt
30	colde	cold
32	Bade Bade	Baden Baden
33	1 ½ Hours	one and a half hours
36	catch Cold	catch cold
36	12 flor	125 guilders
37	I ask has the post arrived?	I ask, has the post arrived?
37	a half Hour	a half hour

37	3rd	third
41	wife, Offspring, People, Fatherland	wife, offspring, people, fatherland
53	bride, Young Wife, Mother	bride, young wife, mother
101	protagonist	protagonist
<b>Alienation</b>		
123	notli sten	not listen
185	well aware o what was going on	well aware of what was going on

<b>Three Novels (1967)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>Soft Soap</b>		
63	One-six three-0-five	1,6,3,0,5.
67	Archi-tectural	split between two lines
131	has refused accept delivery	has refused to accept delivery
<b>The Leg</b>		
163	clamouring for unction	clamouring for action
166	worse then irresponsible	worse than irresponsible
201	in hisright senses	in his right senses
<b>Will-o'the-wisp</b>		
212	my newswife	my new/s wife
217	strictures	structures

<b>Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Netherlands Secular Literature (1967)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>Charles and Elegast</b>		
19	bor e	bore
<b>The story of Reynard the Fox</b>		

96	nom atter	no matter
----	-----------	-----------

<b>Max Havelaar (1967)</b>		
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Typesetting errors</b>	<b>Comment</b>
36	turkeycock	turkey cock
49	Alfuro s.	's and.' are raised after Alfuro
51	Cert..n	'ai 'missing
139	belovéd	beloved
144	On change for twenty years	no comma at end of phrase
162	six-and- thirty thousand seconds	six-and thirty-thousand seconds
179	NATAL	why in capitals?
180	Had 'nt	Hadn't
311	artriving	arriving
335	Your right noble severe	Your right noble servant
21	stiver	Dutch word : stijver (5 cents of a guilder coin)

Table 58: Typesetting errors which occurred in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes

For the total typesetting errors in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, see Figure 14.

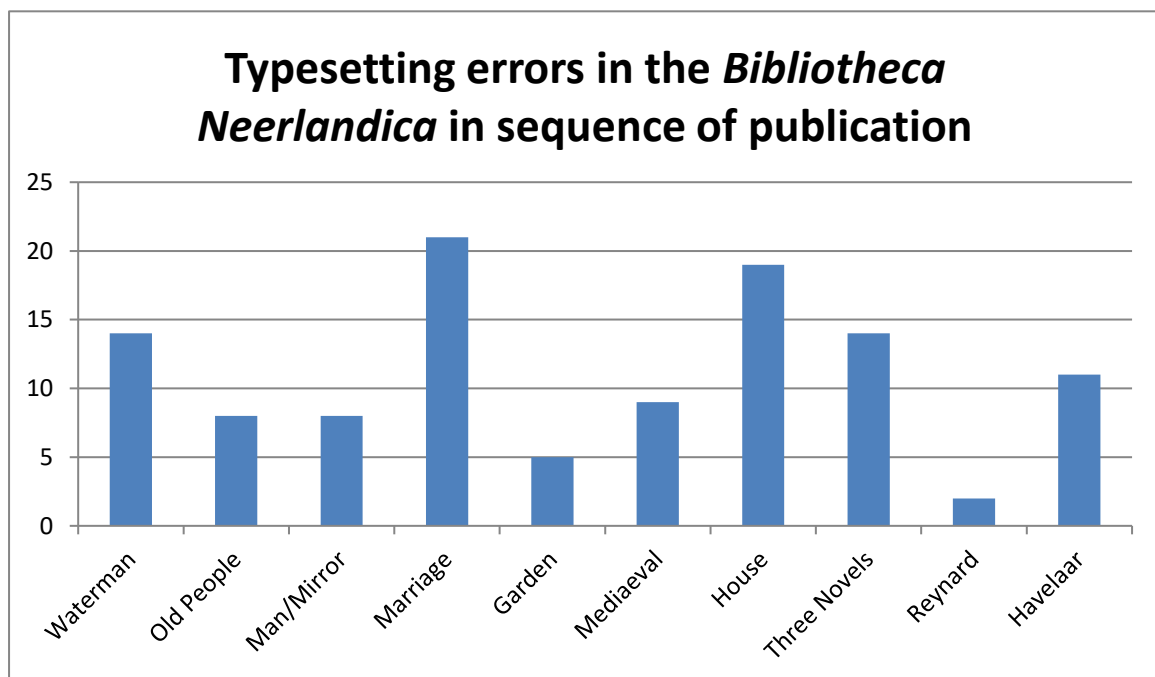


Figure 14: Total typesetting errors in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in sequence of publication

I considered whether there would be depreciation in typos as the volumes were published but this was not the case.

### **The Effect of choosing Sijthoff on the export of the canon of Dutch literature**

Part of my research question in this chapter considers the effect of choosing Sijthoff on the export of the canon of Dutch literature. In fact all of the works found in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were found to be canonical because they are mentioned in the two literary histories that I have chosen.

The board did, however, consider a pictorial/artist jacket design because on 5 October 1961, Alewyn Birch, representing Heinemann wrote to Gilbert de Flines at Sijthoff; ‘Under separate cover today I am sending you copies of our jackets in the *Blue Passport Series* (see Appendix 8) which we discussed at our meeting in your offices’.

There were ten volumes in the series, see Table 59

Next Stop-Paradise &The Graveyard (1961)
The Flowers are Fallen (1961)
Saturday to Monday (1961)
The Red-Head (1961)
Each in his Darkness (1961)
The White Stone (1961)
The Lightship (1962)
The Pursuer (1962)
You are Mine (1962)
The Dark Room of Damocles (1962) (missing cover)

Table 59: *Blue Passport Series*



Eight of the series used pictorial/artist designs and one used a photograph (*The Pursuer*, 1962) which was in fact the chosen format for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*'s front board, see Figure 15.

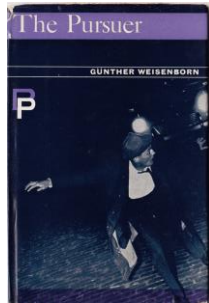


Figure 15: Front Board of the Pursuer (1962)

I contend that the poor choice of front boards could have had an effect on the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*'s book sales as they were unattractive and unappealing with their drab blue and black format. Furthermore, inconsistent paratexts between the volumes coupled with typos may have dissuaded potential buyers wishing to buy more of the series.

## Conclusion

My third line of enquiry has incorporated the results of the enterprise, i.e., the experiences of the experiment and how they came about. I initially explored how Oversteegen searched for publishing companies for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and sent Dutch literature to them. Many publishers warned the board of the 'gloominess' of Dutch literature which it chose to ignore even though there was a plethora of Dutch authors at the time who were producing work more conducive to an Englishman's taste. Oversteegen realised as early as 1954 that there was little enthusiasm for Dutch literature abroad and as such travelled to book fairs in Europe and sent out works to foreign publishers to ascertain their suitability for translation. The problem was that many of the works had no English translation at the time and predisposed knowledge of Dutch from the publisher. In 1960, Heinemann appeared to be the only English publisher interested in coming on-board with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and agreed to receive the translations.

The Foundation may have perhaps fared better if they had enlisted a publishing company such as Penguin whose series of classics had begun in 1946 with the translation of Homer's *Odyssey* (n.d.) by E. V. Rieu, the first editor of a series which involved translations of well-known classics from over 25 languages. Indeed Meijer, who wrote the rejected *Literature of*

*the Low Countries* (1971) for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series, highlighted Penguin histories of French and Italian literature when he wrote to Oversteegen on 29 March 1965:

Ik vind het jammer dat het op die cultuur- geschiedenis moet afspringen, en ik heb het idee dat jullie die waarde van een cultuurhistorische situering overschatten. Ik ben niet tegen 'cult-gesch.' maar in een boekje dat in de eerste plaats een litt. gesch. moet worden, zou ik er niet teveel van willen hebben. Je moet nog eens kijken naar de 'Pelican histories' van Franse en Italiaanse literatuur; daar staat geen word cult. gesch. in en het zijn toch veel bruikbare boekjes.

(I find it a pity that you have to focus on cultural history and I have an idea that you are overestimating the value of a cultural history situation. I am not against this but in a small work which concerns itself primarily with literary history, I would not want to place too much emphasis on this. You ought to look again at the Pelican<sup>69</sup> histories of French and Italian literature where no mention is made of cultural history despite them being very usable).

I presented a hypothesis as to why Oversteegen chose both a Dutch and English company for the delivery of the series and suggested it may have concerned sharing translation corrections and distribution rights across the globe. I then dealt with Heinemann, its effect on the export of the Dutch canon and the issues concerning the contract.

In 1960, it became apparent to the board that Heinemann was experiencing financial difficulties that had clung to out-moded markets, had made ill-advised acquisitions and had insisted on maintaining its costly hard-back printing press at Kingswood instead of adjusting to the paperback revolution which rival publishers were doing. In order to address this financial problem, the company pursued a policy of smaller print-runs and gradual elimination of commercially peripheral publishing which may have affected the withdrawal of Heinemann from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in 1966. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was probably made a smaller print-run series because of this new philosophy and at the same time fell into area of the 'commercially peripheral publishing' in that it related to a niche audience of middle class readers with an interest in foreign literature. This consequently brought the series under attack by Heinemann in 1966, which terminated their relationship

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<sup>69</sup> Pelican Books is a non-fiction imprint of Penguin Books that publishes inexpensive paperbacks of academic topics intended to reach a broader audience. The imprint originally operated from 1937 to 1984, and was relaunched in April 2014

with the board. This historical backdrop of Heinemann not moving with the times was disappointing because eventually the company was forced to withdraw from the venture which meant that the seven volumes of the series which contained canonical works were not included and so resulted in three fewer Dutch canonical works being exported.

The cost of rewriting the translations was used by Heinemann as an excuse to withdraw from the series and had admittedly caused Heinemann financial sacrifice but one has to consider who in fact was responsible for these redrafts. Part of my third line of enquiry related to the contract and in 1961, a draft memorandum was drawn up between the Foundation, Heinemann and Sijthoff which was amended to become the contract between them the following year. The problem was that the contract was ambiguous in stating who exactly was responsible for the translations in the final instance before being sent to the press. Statute Six states that the translator, Heinemann and Sijthoff were responsible for passing the proofs. Therefore, there was a shared responsibility for the translations. Gant, Heinemann's editorial manager, however, in 1965 had made it clear in his letter to Oversteegen that it had to be subject to Heinemann's final approval. Here, the onus was on Heinemann to have the final say over the proofs even though this was not made clear in Statute Six.

In an undated report between the board and the judicial advisor, it firmly stated that the Foundation would not be responsible for the quality of translations. The responsibility was shown not to lie with the board. This was a poor decision because the board had, or at least had access to, expertise to check and redraft the translations which Heinemann may have struggled with. There should have been a shared responsibility in proof reading the translations.

I offered a hypothesis of what occurred which centred on the fact that although Heinemann was responsible for the final version of the manuscript of the translation which would go to Sijthoff to be typeset, they expected the translations from the translators to be 'persklaar' (ready for the press) which they were not. Heinemann improved major errors in the translations to maintain their reputation, but at cost to themselves, however, they still needed further work. It may have been that Heinemann lacked the expertise to correct the proofs or had limited time and resources. Heinemann would have sent the proofs for

printing to Sijthoff which resulted in a yo-yo effect with the two publishing companies repeatedly sending the proofs back and forth to each other. I believe that eventually Heinemann simply got tired of this process and walked away from the venture. The contract was ambiguous in that it did not firmly establish the shared responsibilities of the publishing companies and board.

The effect of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the canon of Dutch Literature was twofold in that the ten published *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes contained 22 works which were all located in the literary histories of Knuvelde (1961) and Meijer (1971). Therefore, Heinemann published a series of works, all of which had canonical status. Secondly, 17 volumes were planned for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series but as Heinemann withdrew from the agreement in 1966 after publishing only ten volumes, a further seven were not published. These seven volumes contained ten works; all of which were also discussed by Knuvelde (1961) and Meijer (1971) which meant they had a canonical status. Therefore, the second effect of choosing the Heinemann publishing company on the export of the Dutch canon was that it failed to publish an additional ten canonical works which had been chosen by the board.

Production of the volumes was the responsibility of Sijthoff and I concluded the chapter by critically engaging with a wider range of paratexts and typos to establish whether they could have had an effect on book sales. The coloured paintings and manuscripts selected for the volumes were rendered into drab black, white and blue covers which would not have been attractive to buyers; the paratexts were inconsistent in the volumes, although that would only have risen as an issue if readers were buying more than one volume, and typos were prevalent.

The venture terminated in 1967 after Heinemann refused a revised model for the series from Oversteegen and in 1969 the final stock was sold to the board at cost.

Of the seven planned volumes which were not published because of the abrupt termination from the venture by Heinemann some would enjoy their own destiny, see Appendix 6. This was not, however, quite the end of the story because the published works enjoyed press and academic review coverage which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

## PART FOUR

### RECEPTION

#### THE EXPERIENCES OF THE *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA* ON THE MARKET PLACE

##### CHAPTER 7

###### Introduction

Publishers choose novels for different reasons: Whyte (1928, 28) notes that William Heinemann, the founder of the company, stated that, 'whether a novel is good or bad or indifferent, a publisher has only got to think of one thing: is there money in it for him?' whilst Maschler (2005, 282) holds a less aggressive view:

I have often been asked to define what makes one decide on a particular book. The choice is so personal, so subjective. There are no rules. I can say that for me the selection of a book and an author is rarely for commercial reasons. To publish well the publisher must be passionate about the book for its own sake. For me to be so I must truly care about the book and for me I must admire it for its quality. That is my only rule.

This chapter will address part of the second line of my enquiry which considers how the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fared in the market place. In order to do this, I will consider the following two issues: firstly, sales figures of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and secondly its reception in the market place. The first section of the chapter will look at the sales figures and then offer reasons to explain them. These will include the purchase of volumes by the Dutch government and Belgian Academy and the consequent lack of advertising, the demise of bookshops at the time, book competition and rival publishers of Dutch literature. The second section considers the reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and is divided into three areas; the Dutch-speaking reception of translated literature before the series was published; the English, Dutch and American reception of the individual *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works after publication and finally the English reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as a complete series.

## 1, Sales figures and analysis

Title	Print run	1964	1965	1966	Total
Old People	3000	2319	103	43	2465
The Waterman	3000	2390	89	43	2522
Marriage/Ordeal	3750	2771	68	11	2850
Man in theMirror	3750	2743	90	23	2856
The Garden	4000	1969	553	231	2753
Mediaeval Literature	3500	1892	370	21	2283
House on the canal	3500	-	1948	466	2414
Three Novels	3500	-	1978	488	2466
Max Havelaar	3000	-	-	-	-
Mediaeval Secular Lit.	3000	-	-	-	-

Table 60: Sales figures for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: 1964-1966<sup>70</sup>

There is a problem here in that *The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965) was published in 1965, and so could not have had sales figures in 1964. The same issue occurs with *Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature* (1965) which was published in 1965 and so could also not have had sales figures in 1964. The sales figures are in keeping with previously published volumes and thus the volumes may have been published before the print date. If a book is scheduled to be published towards the end of the year, publishers sometimes assume that delays will occur and print the following year's date.

Birch's comments made in 1966 relating to a fall in sales figures were correct in that there was an average fall in sales from the first to the eighth volume of roughly 10% from 82% to 70%, even though Vanderauwera (1985, 54) notes that the first four volumes sold most of their print run. Indeed, the end of year report 1 January 1963 - 1 January 1964 confirmed that *The Waterman* (1963) and *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) had sold most of

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<sup>70</sup> There was no sales data given for the last two volumes which were printed in 1967 which leads me to suggest the sales document was produced after 1965 when the first eight volumes had appeared but before 1967. This table is copied exactly from the archive at the Museum of Literature in The Hague.

their complete print run which was not quite true as can be seen from the sales figures of the first eight volumes in Table 61.

Title	Print run	Total sales	% of volumes
	1963	1966	sold
Old People and the things that Pass (1963)	3000	2465	82
The Waterman (1963)	3000	2522	84
The Man in the Mirror (1963)	3750	2856	76
Marriage/Ordeal (1963)	3750	2850	76
The Garden where the Brass Band Played (1965)	4000	2753	69
Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature (1965)	3500	2283	65
The House on the Canal (1965)	3500	2414	69
Three Novels (1965)	3500	2466	70
Reynard the Fox and other Mediaeval Secular Literature (1967)	3000	No sales data for these two volumes since this document was produced before these two volumes were printed	
Max Havelaar (1967)	3000		

Table 61: Print run sales figures and percentage of *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes sold during the period 1964-1966

The minutes of 11 September 1961 showed that the series was to be aimed at an academic public as well as writers and critics. It would appear this middle class English speaking public with an interest in Dutch translated literature would be finite and would reflect the sales figures after the first print run since the potential market would then be exhausted. Nevertheless, for the time, the print runs of around 4,000 were high for time and should be seen as being successful especially when compared with the sales figures.

I wondered what a successful print run might have been for the 1960s and Fenoulhet, (although she and I acknowledge that she is not an expert on the history of publishing) professor Emittera of Dutch studies at UCL and author of over 100 volumes, informed me that today her volumes moved into the field of paperback publishing if more than 500 copies have been sold in hardback. All of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes had sold



more than that, certainly in their first print run and if one looks at Mansell's data (2020, 126) on page 277 then *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* print runs and sales were more than satisfactory.

I wanted to compare these sales figures with other publishing series of the time, particularly from Heinemann. Unfortunately, the records from Heinemann have been absorbed into many take over companies and its archive in Reading only houses its educational works. However, Heinemann did produce a series of ten translated volumes for the English market from a variety of nations into English between 1955 and 1962 entitled the *Blue Passport* series, see Appendix 8.

The volumes were produced in hardback, had attractive coloured front boards and certainly appeared more attractive and were cheaper in price to a purchasing public than the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*; see Figure 16 for a depiction of the Front boards of the *Blue Passport* Series.



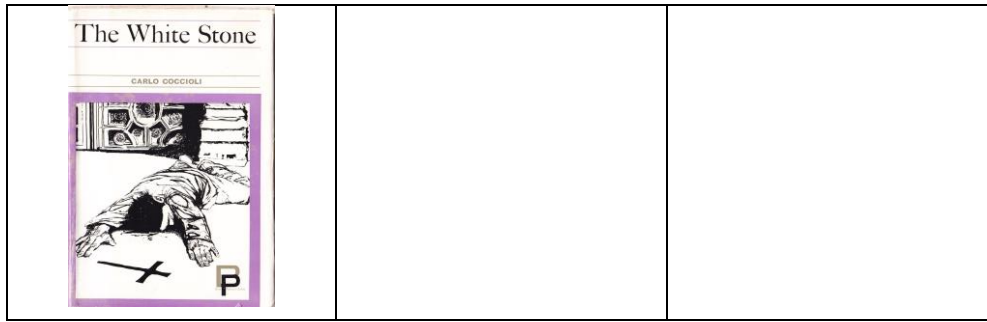


Figure 16: Front boards of the *Blue Passport Series*

Heinemann had produced these volumes and not in collaboration with another publisher. I was not able to establish sales figures for reasons previously given but it is unlikely that a series of ten literary translated volumes working within the guidelines of periphery publishing would have reached such a number if not 'relatively' successful. Two of the volumes were reprinted in paperback and soft cover form which indicates successful sales although I can not establish whether other volumes in the series had paperback reprints: Green, Julian (1961) *Each in his Darkness* (which became *Each Man in his Darkness*) and Lenz, Siegfried (1962) *The Lightship* became available in paperback format. If we accept Fenouhlet's 500 sales figure as being the trigger for reprinted paperbacks then we can assume a success with this series.

These print runs reflected the new printing guidelines of Heinemann which I discussed in the last chapter. I will now consider possible reasons for these sales figures.

### **i, The purchase of volumes by the Dutch government and Belgian Academy and the consequent lack of advertising**

The minutes of 11 September 1961 state that:

Voor alles wordt het aantal exemplaren ter sprake gebracht, en vastgesteld wordt dat gemiddeld een 3000 à 4000-tal exemplaren gedrukt zullen worden, waarvan 1000 afgenomen door de Nederlandse regering en de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Van Ardenne-Diephuis (2011, 81) notes that this irritated Oversteegen since the distribution of these purchased volumes cost him much time and effort. This resulted in Joost van de Wit being employed as his assistant in 1964 to help primarily with *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* concerns.

(The number of copies was initially discussed, and it was established that on average between 3,000 and 4000 copies would be printed, of which 1,000 would be taken by the Dutch government and the Royal Flemish Academy).

The Dutch government and Royal Flemish Academy had each agreed to purchase 500 of each *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* volumes which made the sales figures of the volumes appear higher than they actually were. This leads me to believe that Heinemann became complacent with regards to marketing the volumes through advertising as they were assured of 1,000 sales of each volume. Vanderauwera (1985, 124) offers an explanation and highlights that the Dutch government and Royal Flemish Academy, 'are expected to buy a fair number of the books published as part of their financial support for the publication', but agrees that 'this is not without repercussions'.

Vanderauwera goes on to say (1985, 126-127) that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* did receive reviews but that they were few in number:

The Foundation itself is able to promote the translation and publication of Dutch works, but it has little or no control over the actual distribution. It may well be that its financial support sometimes has a reverse effect on the publisher's promotional endeavours; there is no great incentive to activate potential reviewers and buyers if the money problem is discretely solved.

This was at the heart of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* sales problems because this meant that there was little reason for Heinemann to promote the volumes seriously through advertising and a lack of advertising may have contributed to lower sales figures because the public were not made aware of the existence of the series. Conversely, advertising was not always seen by publishers as the answer to author's prayers as can be seen by the following comments by Stevens and Unwin (1939), Mann (1971) and Bingley (1972).

Reviews, whether good or bad, do advertise books and bring them to the attention of the public. Stevens and Unwin (1939, 18) state that one is told that when a book has sold well it is because it has been so extensively advertised; the truth is that it has been extensively advertised because it has sold well. Mann (1971, 13) notes that one of the major difficulties in informing the public about books is the enormous number of them that exist and advertising is a means of doing this although Bingley (1972, 136-137) adds that advertising is believed by few publishers to be of much positive help to sales. Advertising in the national

press is undertaken as much to content authors and to impress literary agents as out of any firm belief in sales effectiveness.

Mann (1971, 35-38) notes that a publisher's advertising of books is almost entirely restricted to the quality papers which devote more space altogether to books than do the popular press. The quality press reviews can thus be pitched at a higher level and one literary editor described his imaginary review reader as being, 'at about the intellectual level of the bright sixth former or undergraduate'. Mann (1971, 47) continues that advertising of books is a difficult activity since many books of a specialised type are not intended for a general readership and a sale of 3,000 over a period of two or three years may be quite acceptable. This was the case for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which had a specific audience of those interested in foreign translated literature.

Richardson (2007, 30) states that the professional middle class is a distinct minority, comprising no more than about 20% of the population, but a minority that dominates the pages of the press. This 20% of the population is the target audience for half of the British national daily newspapers and thus this target audience formed the base of potential *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* readers which were from the middle classes with an interest in foreign literature.

Stevens and Unwin (1939, 99-100) note that a book by an author who has written previous best sellers is easier to start: an audience is ready made by the sales of the earlier book. It is easier to advertise a new book by a well-known author, and the advertising will be more immediately effective. But the final effectiveness of advertising depends on the response of the public to other stimulants. Advertising sells books only if they are already selling. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was a new venture to bring translated Dutch literature to a professional middle class and had little reputation upon which to build.

## **ii, The demise of bookshops**

Joy (1974, 13) notes that, 'Bookshops are the publisher's showrooms... They do more than meet demand, they create it'. There were fewer bookshops for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* to be sold in the 1960s and Joy (1974, 15) continues that, from the 1950s to the 1960s, a reduction in the number of good stock-holding bookshops caused publishers great concern

because a number went out of business, and these were by no means all small, unimportant concerns. This was unfortunate because once a bookshop closes much of the trade is lost, since every bookshop increases business in books simply by being there and every good book service encourages interest in books and stimulates sales. Joy (1974, 1) continues that the main reason for the demise of bookshops over the years, especially in the 1960s, was largely their failure to move with the times, in particular as regards business methods since they did not concentrate on improved window and interior displays. Joy (1974, 7) adds that many members of the public think that unsold books can be returned to the publishers but such is not generally the case. The bookseller must buy and pay for his stock and anything left on his shelves too long is ultimately dead stock.

### iii, Book competition

Unwin (1960, 53) states:

‘Fewer and Better Books’ is one of those American slogans that sound so well, but upon examination mean so little. If the phrase were ‘Fewer and Better Novels’, which is what many people intend, there would certainly be a good deal to be said for it, except that it is not usually the *best* novels which are most wanted by the public.

Stevenson (2010, 2) mentions that, before 1900, less than 5000 new titles were published per year from about 120 publishers but by 1947 this rose to around 15,000 new titles. Hill, (1988, 153-154) adds that this expansion continued with UK book sales doubling in the decade 1950-1960. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* had therefore to contend with increased book competition. Norrie (1982, 220) lists book sales in this period, see Table 62.

Year	New Books	Total, including new editions
1900	5670	7149
1950	11638	17072
1955	14,192	19,962
1960	17,794	23,783
1965	21,045	26,358

Table 62: Total number of titles published in the UK 1900-1965

#### iv, Rival publishers of Dutch literature

In 1961 two English translated Dutch volumes caused concern for the board because they were going to be published outside the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* umbrella. The first was *De Donkere Kamer van Damocles* (1958) translated by Roy Edwards as *The Dark Room of Damocles* (1962) which was published by Heinemann.<sup>72</sup> *The Dark Room of Damocles* (1962) formed part of a series also issued by Heinemann at the same time as the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* called *The Blue Passport* and contained ten volumes of translated literature into English from Japanese, Polish, German, Norwegian, French and Dutch authors, see Appendix 8. Edwards was already working as a translator for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and would translate Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1967) for the board. The second volume causing concern was Vestdijk's *Rumeiland* (1940) which was published by John Calder publishers in 1963 as *Rum Island*. There appears to be a conflict of interests here between translators and Heinemann, which caused concern for the board in 1961 and in addition Heinemann did not appear to have a plan of which translated literature works should appear in which series. This meant that translated Dutch literature was appearing in a variety of vehicles with Heinemann actually publishing a Dutch work in another series leaving potential buyers with too many choices. Let us now consider the reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

#### 2, The reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

McMartin (2019, 24) states that:

The field of reception is the province of readers and includes the social sphere in which readers give meaning to a published book through their evaluations of its quality and their interpretations of its relatability to their (reading) lives. Readers are the last 'makers' involved in a book's lifecycle<sup>73</sup> in that they do the work of making sense of a book upon its exit from the field of production. The field of reception can be divided into professional readers (critics) on the one hand and the wider reading public on the other.

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<sup>72</sup> *De Donkere Kamer van Damocles* was retranslated again in 2008 by Willem Hermans

<sup>73</sup> For a comprehensive account of a book's lifecycle see: Childress (2017).

Stevens and Unwin (1939, 64) ask:

What starts the book off? Sometimes, but most irregularly, reviews will start a book; the reviews must be superlatively enthusiastic, they must be prominent, and even then they may not work.

I will consider three reception types; the Dutch-speaking reception of translated Dutch literature before the series was published; the English, Dutch and American speaking reception of the individual *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works following publication and the English reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as a complete series.

### **i, The Dutch-Speaking reception of translated Dutch literature before publication of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

Oversteegen (1999, 188) notes in his memoirs that:

‘De Engelsen’ zei Lehmann, ‘interesseren zich niet voor hun eigen literatuur, laat staan voor die van andere naties’. (‘The English’, said Lehmann [of the London Magazine], ‘are not interested in their own literature, let alone that of other nations.’)

This rather pompous statement reflects the publishing world’s perception of translated literature on the English market at the time and the probable difficulties of it finding a readership. The arrogance and self-confidence of the English could have been perceived as a national phenomenon of their literature on the world stage which was a pleasure that Dutch and other minority cultures did not enjoy.

In Chapter Two I discussed whether Dutch was a world language, but it is worth just reminding ourselves of how Dutch writers consider themselves in this context. Since World War II, there has been an acceptance by Dutch writers that their literature has suffered because it is not a world language and the following statements from three writers highlight this issue. [Please refer back to Flaxman’s (1968, 141) quote which opens Chapter Two].

James Holmes, in document (n. d. [c. 1960]) obtained at the Museum of Literature in The Hague entitled, *An English-Language Review of Dutch-Language Writing; A Mini-Memo in lieu of a memorandum* agrees with Flaxman:

For writing from the Netherlands and Flanders to become properly known and appreciated abroad, it is not enough to strive after the publication of Dutch language books in translation. For those books not only to be published but to catch the eye of critics, scholars, and readers, there first needs to be an awareness that important things have been and are being written in this part of the world.

Before the publication of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, the Dutch and Flemish press at the time consequently expressed a favourable interest in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Such a series would help break down the language barrier and offer an international literary arena for a series of volumes by Dutch and Flemish authors' works to perform and I will cite three here:

The *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*<sup>74</sup> on 22 February 1958 highlighted the problem of Dutch literature abroad:

De handicap voor Nederlands werk in het buitenland is immers dat de taal zo weinig bekend is. Als er geen concrete bewijs van de waarde van een bepaalde werk is te leveren, kijkt de buitenlandse uitgever alleen naar oplagecijfers en die zijn voor literair werk belangrijk werk zelden verbluffend.

(The handicap for Dutch literature abroad is after all that the language is little known. If no concrete proof of the value of a specified work can be supplied, then the foreign publisher looks at the print-run figures and these are seldom staggering for literary works).

The *Standaard, Brussel* stated on 11 January 1962 under its title, 'Export van onze Lettteren' (Export of our Literature):

Een lief Amsterdams grachtenhuisje huisvest een merkwaardige stichting met een lange naam: Stichting tot Bevordering van de Vertaling van Nederlands Letterkundig Werk, die sinds anderhalf jaar ook de Vlaamse letteren vertegenwoordigt en die met alle denkbare middelen poogt de grenzen van ons taalgebied wat te verruimen.

(An endearing Amsterdam canal building houses a remarkable Foundation with a long name: The Foundation for the promotion of Dutch translated literary works, which for one and a half

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<sup>74</sup> The *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* was an influential Rotterdam based daily newspaper published between 1844 and 1970. It merged in 1970 with the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in 1970 to form the *NRC Handelsblad*.



years has incorporated Flemish literature and with all imaginable means attempts to expand the borders of our language area).

The *Algemeen Handelsblad*<sup>75</sup> on 13 December 1962 wrote of the series:

Volgend jaar zullen de eerste delen verschijnen van een belangwekkende reeks Engelse vertalingen van Nederlandse en Vlaamse literaire werken. Reeds lang deed het feit dat de Nederlandse literatuur slechts in een beperkt taalgebied werd gelezen zich als een groot gebrek voelen. Door de samenwerking tussen Sijthoff en Heinemann is het mogelijk dat de serie over de hele wereld zal worden verspreid. De heer Oversteegen gaf te kennen dat hij verwachtte dat de *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in het buitenland zeker belangstelling zal trekken. Mocht de serie een grote aftrek vinden dan zullen verdere stappen gedaan worden nog meer vertalingen de wereld in te sturen maar dat is nog heel verre toekomstmuziek.

(Next year the first works will be published of an interesting series of English translated Dutch and Flemish works. It has been a fact that for a long time that a shortcoming of Dutch literature is that it is read only within an isolated language area. Through the collaboration of Sijthoff and Heinemann it is possible that the series will be distributed all over the world. Oversteegen stated that he certainly expected the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* to attract much interest abroad. If the series found a market, then further steps would be taken to translate more, but that is as yet 'pie in the sky').

The preceding three quotations acknowledge the issue that Dutch is little known outside its borders but hopes that this new project of bringing translated Dutch literature to the English speaking world would open up its borders; sadly the reviews following publication were not as positive and were mixed in experience.

## **ii, The English, Dutch and American speaking reception of the individual *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works following publication**

Following publication, the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* received reviews, although limited from the press and academics, see Table 63.

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<sup>75</sup> The *Algemeen Handelsblad* was an Amsterdam-based daily newspaper which published between 1828 and 1970.

<b>The Garden where the Brass Band Played</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
There are moments of poetic concentration in the writing, but the relentless and generally unselective piling up of physical detail palls over long stretches.	October 28, 1965	Bergonzi
<p>‘Dutch Life’</p> <p>In the original the prose of <i>De Koperen Tuin</i> was clearly simple and swift; the translation is simple enough, but slow-moving and dull. There is too much dead wood in too many paragraphs with occasional infelicities in the sentence construction:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">I had grown into a fresh-cheeked, healthy young man, broad shouldered, deeply attached to my mother, whose rosy complexion was not what it once had been, and endowed with a pronounced degree of self-control and patience.</p> <p>But the story, although it fails in the tragic effects of the original, preserves a certain charm and sadness.</p>	July 8, 1965	Times Literary Supplement
<p>‘The Path to Tragedy’</p> <p>The novel is regarded as one of Vestdijk’s outstanding works; through its highly complex blending of the themes of small-town hypocrisy, obsessive love, and the inescapability of personal fate, it is an achievement to be placed somewhere between Thomas Hardy and Thomas Mann.</p> <p>The density and variety of the novel</p>	January 1, 1993	Times Literary Supplement

<p>makes it a difficult but rewarding book. Despite occasional lapses into clumsiness, A. Brotherton's translation succeeds in conveying the full range of Vestdijk's writing.</p> <p>[Did the translation mellow with time between 1965 and 1993 or did the target audience become more accepting of a Dutch society struggling to shake off the shackles of war since Vestdijk had written the work in 1950, or was it simply a case of a more favourable critic?]</p>		
<b>Trouwen/Celibaat</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
By using a different, always captivating style for the narrative (usually violent captivating episodes) and conversation, and by his analysis of the main figures, Walschap has again shown his mastery.	1963	Scheltema (1963)
<p>'Locked in the Prison of Self'</p> <p><i>Marriage and Ordeal</i> are a pair of short novels about village life presented very much in the round, like a sophistication of peasant art.</p> <p>And there's a rich humanity about this writing that might well provide our own fiction with a blood transfusion we could very well use.</p>	June 19, 1964	Manchester Guardian
Brotherton's work is natural and graceful.	January, 1967	Colie (1967)
<b>The Man in the Mirror</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
<p>'Conscience Reveals Ugly Truth'</p> <p>This novel, written by one of the greatest</p>	July 7, 1964	New Castle News, Pennsylvania

<p>contemporary Flemish authors is published in the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> series. The <i>Man in the Mirror</i> is an extraordinarily impressive characterisation of a consummate egoist whose hypocrisy and selfishness operate under the immunity he enjoys as a banker of great wealth.</p> <p>The Mirror in the title is actually Henri's conscience, as the portrait was Dorian Gray's conscience in Wilde's famous work.</p>		
<p>'Locked in the Prison of Self'</p> <p>The <i>Man in the Mirror</i> is Herman Teirlinck's first book to appear in English. This fact is a reminder that the true English vice is a deadly lack of curiosity or worse: an almost aggressive unconcern about our nearest neighbours. The joint publishing enterprise that brings us this book is to be welcomed.</p> <p>Teirlinck's interesting novel, elaborate but perfectly straightforward in technique, unconsciously points the moral by making spiritual isolation its theme.</p>	<p>June 19, 1964</p>	<p>Manchester Guardian</p>
<p>Men prees de schrijftuur, maar vond het boek niet meer interessant, aangezien ze en thema behandelen en een densiteit vertegenwoordigen die uit de mode is. (The writing was praised but the book was not found to be interesting given that it concerned a theme and defended a subject area which is out of fashion.).</p>	<p>1966,</p>	<p>Jonckheere (1966)</p>

<b>Old People and the Things that Pass</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
<p>'Invitation to Experience'</p> <p>A translation that slightly skews from the original.</p>	<p>January, 1967, 112</p>	<p>Colie (1967)</p>
<p>I was surprised that no editing had been done to the aged translation and questioned whether such felicities as, 'een beste jongen'/'a capital fellow' and 'kerel'/'old chap' really served the basic aim of making Dutch authors known to a present-day audience. [Her conclusion was that, 'one would expect extra care to be paid to metaliterature by translators' from a notionally prestigious series].</p>	<p>1985, 53</p>	<p>Vanderauwera (1985)</p>
<p>'Low County Literature'</p> <p>Teixeira de Mattos's translation, which is said to have been greatly admired when it first appeared forty years ago, now strikes one as having suppressed much of the stylistic savour both pleasing and not so pleasing; one example of this is the title itself, whose literal translation would be, '<i>Of Old People, the Things that Pass</i>' giving a tentative impression that one is sorry to be sacrificed. The emotional atmosphere, however, is still there, nearly all of it concerned with the experience of old age.</p>	<p>December 19, 1963</p>	<p>Times Literary Supplement</p>
<b>The Waterman</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
<p>'Low Country Literature'</p>	<p>December 19,</p>	<p>Peerenboom (1963)</p>

It is not an easy book to read, yet it is worth some effort on the part of the reader. In its own way it is impressive, and certainly not in the least soothing.	1963	
<b>Max Havelaar</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
Because of the lapse of time, and in line with the prevailing trend in translation practice, Edwards has emancipated himself from the now slightly archaic source text more than any of the previous translators.	1982, 118	Vanderauwera (1982)
Like other volumes of the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> , <i>Max Havelaar</i> (1967) received hardly any attention in the press.	1985, 120	Vanderauwera (1985)
<b>Mediaeval Netherlands Religious Literature</b>		
<b>Review</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Publication</b>
The translations are quite poor. In the case of <i>Beatrijs</i> , this is irksome since a translation by Barnouw already exists, which shows far more subtle awareness of linguistic and philological nuance than the present version.  [The original translation was: Barnouw, A.J. (1914) <i>Beatrijs A Middle Dutch Legend</i> . Oxford University Press, Oxford who was employed by the board to translate <i>Reynard the Fox</i> (c. 1225)].	January 1967, 112	Colie (1967)

Table 63: Reviews of the individual translated works of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in the English, Dutch and American Press

Vanderauwera (1985, 128) states that although, 'the sheer number of reviews of translated Dutch fiction is low, short, misinformed, or downright bad reviews are always better than none'. The English-speaking reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* which advertised the series was mixed, with some criticising the author's style such as Bergonzi (1965) and others such as in *The Times Literary Supplement* (1965) criticising the translator. Scheltema (1963) and *The Manchester Guardian* (1964) were both positive towards the author Walschap, as was *The Times Literary Supplement* (1993) towards Vestdijk. Jonkheere (1966) went so far as to question whether *The Man in the Mirror* (1963) would be out of fashion for an English speaking audience. whilst Colie (1967) and Vanderauwera (1985) both questioned the choice of the 50 year old translation of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) which had undergone no editing. It may be interesting to offer an explanation to Vanderauwera as to why the board used an old translation for the first of the planned published volumes and did not appear to be worried about printed mistakes.

The minutes of 1963 highlight that translation errors were brought to the attention of the board but they decided that, 'een paar foutjes moest men dan maar op de koop toe nemen' (One has to accept that a few errors are part of the course). In 1963 particular criticism was raised regarding de De Mattos' fifty year old translation of Couperus' *Van Oude Menschen de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1906) which was translated as *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) and it was agreed to add an explanation to show that a previous translation had been used in the second print run [although this was not done]. This shows that the board accepted the fact that they had erred on using a fifty year old translation or that it needed positioning as a historical translation. In the minutes of 22 May 1964, where de Mattos' translation was again discussed by the board, it was agreed that, 'In een dergelijk geval zou het beter zijn om de bestaande vertaling integraal af te drukken met eek kort voorwoord' (In a similar case it would be better to print the unabridged translation with a short introduction). Flaxman (n.d.) highlighted this in his lecture stating that, 'Since this is a new series, it would have been a good opportunity for new, up-to-date translations. Instead, some [actually only one translation] of the translations are forty years old or more'. There was some agreement then that the board had erred with a fifty year old translation.

In my research from the minutes from the board, reviews of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were not prevalent. The reason De Mattos' translation caused an issue was that it was the

first planned one of the series to be published and was going to set a precedent for the following volumes. It also required no work by the board as it was simply a reprint from the original 1919 published translation and therefore could easily be put on the market at very little cost. There were no issues in dealing with translators and editing the translation which made it cheap to produce in contrast to the other volumes. The issue is that the purpose of the newly established quango, the board, was to provide a series of quality translations for the English reading market and not simply to borrow from previous attempts.

### **iii, The English and American reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as a complete series**

Unwin (1960, 311) notes the importance of a series of works:

Series have advantages as well as disadvantages. Some have grown out of a successful book whilst others are planned and carefully thought out from the start, but many of the most pretentious schemes of that kind have come to an end with the failure of the first half-dozen titles. The existence of a series gives the publisher opportunities of publishing books which, issued by themselves, would be foredoomed to failure. It is a very great temptation to a publisher to include a volume in a series, even if it is not entirely suited to it, because by doing so he knows he will be giving the book a better start. Probably this is partly responsible for the deterioration there is in almost every series.

This is what indeed happened with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in that on the one hand canonical works used the series as a delivery vehicle whilst other lesser known works were given an opportunity for recognition. Let us now look at what was said about the volumes as a series:

Peereboom from The Times Literary Supplement (1963, 19 December) states:

Dutch literature looks like a provincial cousin, who rarely goes anywhere, except on coach tours to international conferences. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* can be regarded as an attempt on the part of Dutch literature to improve its status. Some recognition for Dutch literature abroad, apart from being a gratifying thing in itself, would also inspire more respect for it at home; and Dutch novelists have long been thinking that, if the practice of translating their works became established on a wider scale, some of them at least could live in greater comfort. The present series is designed to lay the foundations for a new wing to the building of 'world literature'.



World literature has been used as a concept since the time of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe when he used the term 'Weltliteratur' in several of his essays in the early decades of the nineteenth century to describe the international circulation and reception of literary works in Europe, including works of non-Western origin.

Damrosch (2003, 121) notes that the purpose of World Literature was then, as it is now, to broaden reader's horizon's through the encounter with cultural difference'. He (2003, 324) helps the reader understand that a piece of literature changes when it stops being a national work and becomes an international work. Literature is transformed, he says once it crosses the border from one country to another.

There is wide debate about the term where some refer to it as the canon of all of the great literature of the world, represented by texts such as Homer's *The Odyssey* and the plays of Shakespeare. At other times it has been referred to ethnic minority authors such as Amy Tan and Sherman Alexie.<sup>76</sup>

Colie (1967, 116-118) referring to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* states:

After the war, when it was so difficult to travel across frontiers, and after people had been penned in one place, often one prison, one house, one attic, or cellar, for so long, Hollanders and Belgians were mad to get away, anywhere to see something else. The smallness, the closedness of that society may have been well-explained by this particular choice of novels. Perhaps these books were done by too-professional translators quick at giving the sense of a text but not its literary shadings. Of Oudshoorn's contorted style nothing remains and in Teirlinck's novel, gross lapses occur too often. One might ask for more careful, or more enlightened, or more lucid translations for future volumes.

Regarding Colie's comment on the translators being too-professional, I would suggest that the translators chosen by Oversteegen were in fact qualified for the task at the time by virtue of their experience gained in previous published translated works. I discussed this issue when referring to Jones (2018) in Chapter Five.

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<sup>76</sup> For interested parties, a module concerning World Literature will be available at SOAS starting In March 2024 in the department of School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics.

Colie (1967, 117-118) notes:

On balance, these books are very valuable, and it is in a way better to have them available, in this era of frantic comparative literature, than not to have them at all. The eighteenth century is totally unrepresented, though it is a remarkably international period for Dutch literature. It would be interesting to know what man or board had made these selections too, so that perhaps they could be appealed to about further choices; the anonymity of the operation is noticeable, and I cannot quite believe that the publishers, or the translators, thought up the list by themselves.

Flaxman (n.d.) reviewed the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in a lecture for the American market entitled, 'The Opportunities for Dutch Literature' in The United States who is damning of the American publisher, stating:

This is a series of some scope, and the works have been chosen from literary periods that range across the centuries. The series began with joint publication in Leiden, London and New York. As has happened so often in the past, no one really took the American audience seriously. While Sijthoff was the Dutch publisher, and Heinemann the British [one], the American publisher was Maxwell,<sup>77</sup> an obscure little company which no one had ever heard of. It could hardly be expected to do anything at all for the book in the United States, and within a few months the connection was broken off altogether so that an important series of translations of Dutch literature into English had no publisher in The United States. This is typical of the missed opportunities in introducing Dutch literature to American readers. The argument that these important translations into English are still available through the British publisher is hardly convincing, for as far as the American reader is concerned, the London edition is a British book, and is, therefore, available only by special order. Heinemann does hardly any advertising here, and the American reader is unlikely ever to hear about the books in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

The publishing genre to which the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* belongs is called the 20<sup>th</sup> century publisher's series which is an online archive to which I have contributed. It defines this

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<sup>77</sup> London House & Maxwell was the publishing house chosen to represent American interests. I found little mention in the minutes of the selection of this publishing house. It has been taken over so many times that research into this publisher proved uneventful.

genre as an affordable option for building a cheap home library. Its 20<sup>th</sup>-century publisher's book series included reprints of classics and publisher's back catalogue titles as well as commissioned titles. A few series dominated such as Everyman's Library<sup>78</sup> and the Modern Library<sup>79</sup> but there are many others. See <https://seriesofseries.owu.edu/bibliotheca-neerlandica>

These comments provide a mixed experience in that they are critical of Dutch literature but they do hope for success in the future even though the American market was disadvantaged in having a small unknown publisher in the form of London House and Maxwell.

## Conclusion

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<sup>78</sup> The Everyman's Library is a series of classic literature, primarily from the Western canon. It is currently published by Random House.

<sup>79</sup> The Modern Library was founded in 1917 by the publisher Boni and Liveright to provide American readers with inexpensive reprints of European modernist titles. It is currently published by Random House.

In 1966, Birch named two reasons for Heinemann's withdrawal from the series: falling poor sales figures and the cost of rewriting the poor translations. I would like to comment on Birch's remark concerning poor sales figures. The print run of 4,000 along with additional print runs for the first three volumes was a success by today's standards particularly if one considers that volumes usually go to more successful paperback prints after sales of 500 copies according to Fenouhlet which the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* never did. Although one must take into account that sales were artificially boosted by purchases of volumes from The Dutch government and Flemish Academy (which is still a practice operated by the Norwegian government today) these were still successful sales.

I discussed that this angle taken by the Foundation of obscurity of Dutch translated literature was perhaps misguided due to Heilbon's findings of an increase in Dutch translated literature in the period 1900-1909 to 1950-1957 and that therefore Dutch translated literature was not as obscure as considered by the Foundation. The issue concerned more a planned model of translation export which it in some ways achieved and a quality end product which it was largely successful in. The Foundation also considered the fact that previous translations had been inferior by the Dutch PEN and Commission for Translation Matters. The issue here was that the PEN and Commission for Translated Matters were inefficient in their working practices in having no plan for translation export and that the end quality product was at times poor.

Having already discussed the issues of clarity connected to an ambiguously written contract in the last chapter which relate to Birch's comments, this chapter has developed part of the second line of my enquiry which has considered both how the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fared in the market place through sales and reception, and which other factors could have impeded its growth which resulted in a 10% fall in sales between 1963 until 1965. Sales figures of the first eight volumes from the archive show an average sale of 2,500 copies for each volume at the time of the undated document which are successful. The Foundation sought literary capital by exporting its literature through international cultural diplomacy but this was artificially engineered by governmental intervention of book purchasing.

Mansell (2020, 126) highlights the fact that the English-language market is renowned for its resistance to translation:

In the UK in 2014 only 247 translated books sold more than 1,000 copies; only 340 sold more than 500; only 464 more than 250; only 678 sold 100 or more; 911 sold 50 or more; 1,279 sold 25 or more; 2,030 sold 10 or more. That means that out of the top 100,000 fiction titles sold in the UK in 2014, there were 1,194 translations that sold fewer than ten copies. This does not include the approximately 150,000 other titles sold in the UK that year that sold two or fewer copies.

Bearing in mind Mansell's data, sales figures of roughly 2,500 per copy [admittedly with government purchasing] were favourable, plus the fact that this was a pioneering first attempt at placing a series of translated works on an English speaking arena. Despite Oversteegen stating in his 1963-1964 Report that he was seeing saturation in the market of classical works there was only a limited middle-class English academic market for which the series was targeted; the finite audience would buy the volumes when initially published which produced reduced sales figures in following years. There were four factors which may have contributed to these poor sales figures:

- 1, The Dutch government and Royal Flemish Academy purchased 1,000 copies of each volume which, whilst artificially increasing sales figures caused an issue with the actual readership, since these institutions had not considered where their purchased volumes should go. Oversteegen was left in a dilemma with what to do with these volumes which resulted in Joost van de Wit being employed to tackle this problem. The English reception was mixed with limited reviews according to Vanderauwera (1985) who made the valid point that agreed purchasing of volumes by governments removes incentives by publishing companies to advertise despite advertising being of limited value according to such authors as Legat (1991), Richardson (2007) and Bingley (1972). Colie (1967, 112) stated that the series was valuable to an English speaking public and Flaxman (n.d) was pleased with the range of literary periods chosen for the series but was critical of the poor marketing in the United States which would not bring the series to the American public.

- 2, There was an increase in the number of books being published at the time and a number of rival publishers who were publishing Dutch translated literature. Indeed, the board was not only involved with the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* but also with translations of volumes into other languages. From 1963 when the first volume *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) was published up until 1967 when the tenth volume of the

*Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series, Max Havelaar, (1967) appeared, a total of 52 translated volumes were published with help from the board. The board was perhaps overreaching itself given that it only had a few members who met on average three or four times a year who had to discuss potential works and find translators for other volumes which were published in the 1960s. This would lead one to suspect that this small group of members could not devote all of their energies solely to the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

3, There were fewer bookshops where the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* could be sold in the 1960s since many had gone out of business which consequently afforded fewer opportunities for the volumes to be sold to the public.

4, Other publishers were placing translated Dutch literature on the market whilst Heinemann was producing another series, 'the *Blue Passport* series', see Appendix 8 which highlights a Dutch translated volume. This may have flooded the market and detracted those interested in buying Dutch translated literature from purchasing works in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series.

I isolated the reception of the series into three areas: the Dutch-speaking reception of translated Dutch literature before publication of the volumes, the English, Dutch and American-speaking reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* works following publication and the English and American reception of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as a complete series. It was generally agreed by the Dutch-speaking press that Dutch literature had suffered because it was not a world language and that the publication of a series of Dutch and Flemish volumes in translation would be welcomed.

There were few reviews of each work which were mixed in content with some criticising the translator and others the author. There were mixed reviews of the series where it was generally agreed that it would improve the status of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature and that it was better to have them than not at all, but there were misgivings that the eighteenth century was not represented.

There were successes in Dutch and Flemish literature outside the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Heeresma's (1962) *Een Dagje naar het Strand (A Day at the Beach)* (1962) became a literary and commercial success. Brockway, the translator who translated for the *Bibliotheca*

*Neerlandica*, had thought the short length of the work would make it difficult to find a publisher but it found itself in a then relatively new paperback series of poetry and short fiction as the London Magazine Edition of the Spectator (1967) wrote, 'It recommends itself as a work of genuine merit from a writer never before published in Britain.' The small work also drew attention to its own format with The Sunday Telegraph on 28 May 1967 praising its length, 'It's extremely short, a mere 117 pages, but within its limits a tour de force of such intensity that its horror is almost unbearable'. The Sunday Times on 11 June 1967 wrote, implicitly praising its brevity, 'short though *A Day at the Beach* is, it contains more wisdom, and art, than many novels self-consciously worked out at full length'.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series is now out of print and the only way to obtain it is through second-hand book shops and deleted library copies. Other translations from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series found themselves appearing later in other series such as Couperus' English translation of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) in 2008 which was published by the Dodo publishing company, Vestdijk's *The Garden where the Brass Band Played* (1965) in New Amsterdam Books in 1989 and Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1867) in Penguin classics in 2005. *Reynard the Fox* (c. 1225) was retranslated and published again in 2009 by Bouwman and Besamusca in an adult version and by Simpson in 2015 in a children's edition whilst Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (1860) was retranslated by Ina Rilke and David McKay in 2019 by New York Review Books.

## CONCLUSION

### CHAPTER 8

#### Introduction

This conclusion will consider the favourable outcomes and lack of success regarding the export of Dutch classics in the 1960s as well as addressing the relationship of the works chosen for *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* with the canon of Dutch literature. In my thesis I have considered my two overarching research questions: 'How successful was the export of Dutch classics in the 1960s. And, how did the works selected for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* relate to the canon of Dutch literature?' These were based on three lines of enquiry which were:

- i, The canon of Dutch literature: What exactly was the Dutch canon of literature and what role did it play regarding international cultural diplomacy?
- ii, The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*: What was its micro-history which includes its creation and formation of selected translated volumes for export and how did it fare in the market place? What was the delivery method chosen to export Dutch literature and what was the suitability of this method?
- iii, The results of the enterprise: What were the experiences of the experiment and how did this come about?

Throughout my thesis I have addressed these lines of enquiry and the purpose of this conclusion is to answer the twin questions: firstly, what original thought has been achieved by my research and, secondly, how much my thesis has moved professional discussion along. To answer this I shall compare across the chapters and pull together their themes grouping together the key issues under three broader labels, which include internal strategic and organisational issues, planning issues, and an unfavourable historical dimension. I shall then consider the current situation regarding Dutch translated literature and offer some viable directions in which future research might go where my work leaves off.

Although only peripherally applicable to my project in that it concerns the theatre, a letter on 19 January 1983 to Max Stafford-Clark, Royal Court Theatre, Artistic Director from



Margaret Ramsey<sup>80</sup> (2018, 101) highlights the necessity for everything to be in place when embarking upon a new enterprise:

Before I was an agent I ran a theatre. A mistake over the choice of director, designer, play, actors and lighting was crucial. In fact the major thing I learnt was that a play is a success or failure on the first day of rehearsal, and when one sat at a dress rehearsal a mistake in one of the ingredients simply shattered one.

And in the case of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, everything was not.

In my published chapter in *Exporting the Canon: The Mixed Experience of the Dutch Bibliotheca Neerlandica* (2020, 105-106), I highlighted three concluding themes that manifested themselves during the lifetime of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*:

Should we, then, conclude that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was a total failure, brought down by three themes: its internal strategic and organisational shortcomings, a lack of planning, and an unfavourable external context?

Since writing this chapter, I have reflected and provided a more balanced view of both negative and positive issues regarding the board and as such have softened my three conclusive headings. I shall consider the term 'failure' when addressing Vimr's (2020, 59) comments later on but for now I wish to highlight these three themes and note how they relate to my central research questions set out at the beginning of the thesis.

## **1, Internal strategic and organisational issues**

As noted in Chapter Three, under the subheading, 'the board', the board had been the first organisation to seriously promote Dutch literature abroad and took a first step in unknowingly institutionalising a foreign literature policy. However, the members were scholars or writers, influenced by Minderaa who lacked experience with the publishing world and the needs of the foreign market. It was therefore not suitably equipped to satisfactorily complete the task from the outset. The composition of the board particularly lacked business acumen in the publishing field because although it had a representative

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<sup>80</sup> Peggy Ramsey (1908-1991) was the foremost play agent of her time. She briefly ran the west London Q Theatre, one of the capital's leading theatres, and there developed her interest in new plays while demonstrating a rare ability to judge a script on a page.

from the Dutch publishers association, it failed to obtain one from the English press where it had no influence. It was geared towards production rather than reception in the foreign market which indicates that this was a reason for the little press coverage given to the published works which I discuss later.

The roots of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* difficulties may be traced to the organisation of its board, which is discussed in Chapter Two under the subheading, 'suitability of a committee'. Here, I focus on whether a committee was a suitable vehicle to decide upon the works for the series because although they are large enough to represent all interests, this often results in them being slow to fulfil their brief. I conclude that a division of sub-committees to deal with different literary periods from the outset would have been beneficial which was suggested by the board in 1965 when it was proposed that the work for Meijer's rejected literary history volume be shared amongst four historical specialists.

Chapter Four considers the chair of the board, under the subheading, 'Minderaa', who was a literary academic with cultural and symbolic capital, and approaching retirement, whilst the director of the Foundation, Oversteegen, was in his twenties without a higher degree and lacking in experience for the position. Although governance today prefers a range of ages and a clear demarcation between the executive and chair indicating some forward thinking, I conclude that these opposing characteristics caused conflict between the chair and director. This conflict manifested itself in the decision of whether to use target or source-based approaches in the selection process of the volumes and in Chapter Four, I discuss this issue under subheading 'target and source-based strategies'. Oversteegen preferred a target-based approach whilst Minderaa, a source-based one, which was flawed because what had been well-received in the Netherlands, was not necessarily suited to British tastes. Indeed, many British publishers discussed in Chapter Six under the subheading, 'a lack of enthusiasm for Dutch literature from foreign publishers' warned the board of the unsuitability of Dutch literature for an English audience but it chose not to heed its recommendations. Despite these warnings concerning the length, style and formulaic nature of Dutch novels, the board pressed ahead without planning. Other alternatives were at the disposal of the board as noted in Chapter Seven under the sub heading, 'published series', such as *The Dutch Library* in the 1920s but only the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* was mentioned by Minderaa in meetings in 1960 and it had collapsed before completion due to

its poor translations. This portrayed a lack of research for the project which was available to the board, with its members therefore considering its own personal likes and interests for the choice of works above the needs of an English speaking readership.

Published documents usually concentrate on achievements rather than problems, unless they are the results of an enquiry and indeed, in three published booklets,<sup>81</sup> produced by the Foundation between 1964 and 1979 which discussed its history and achievements, little mention is made of obstacles it encountered [The board did, however, mention issues in Chapter Three under the subheading 'aims of the board' concerning the difficulty in recruiting Italian translators]. This might have been an opportunity to have offered transparency to some of the difficulties the Foundation discovered during the lifetime of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as well as showing how it had dealt with them. For example, in Chapter Seven under subheading 'reception', in 1963 on 22 May 1964, the board stated that it was aware of the errors in *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963)<sup>82</sup> and agreed that it would have been better to have printed the unabridged translation with a short introduction but this was not highlighted in the published booklets. I believe that there should have been a retranslation of the work since it was the first planned volume of the series and was to set a precedent for future volumes in the series.

I wondered whether there was a shared desire to complete the exercise from all members, but my research highlighted Minderaa under subheading 'Piet Minderaa' in Chapter Four as being the driving force behind the project. Oversteegen had a full time contract with the Foundation, Minderaa, to my knowledge did not, although he was the chairman of the board from 1956-1961 and the other co-opted members had two or four year tenures. Whilst the chair had no say in the formation of the co-opted members which might be considered good governance today as it prevents the chair from creating a board in its own image and promotes a change in personnel, I conclude that these short tenures created a feeling of not being a part of the team in the selection of works for the *Bibliotheca*

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<sup>81</sup> The three published booklets were: *Tien Jaar Stichting voor Vertalingen* (The Foundation's Ten Years of Translations) (n.d. [c. 1964]), *Stichting voor Vertalingen 15 Jaar 1954-1969* (The Foundation's 15 Years of Translations 1954-1969) (1970) and *Stichting voor Vertalingen 20 Jaar 1954-1974* (The Foundation's 20 Years of Translations 1954-1974) (1975).

<sup>82</sup> The Sijthoff edition of *Old People and the Things that Pass* (1963) had six more typos than the original 1919 version.

*Neerlandica*. Minderaa was therefore able to use this members' silence to allow him a free reign in the selection of works. The minutes reflected few instances in Chapter Four of suggestions for the works from co-opted members but clearly show two occasions where Minderaa specifically named the titles for series based on his personal preferences which did not favour modern works of the time. Committees are fact finding vehicles and the purpose of this committee was to discuss works for translation but Minderaa, in my opinion, played a decisive role in the selection of works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as shown under subheading 'titles chosen by Minderaa' in Chapter Four.

Three works were chosen for retranslation which produced a missed opportunity to introduce new works. *Max Havelaar* already existed in two English translations by Nahuijs (1868) and Siebenhaar (1927) [even though Oversteegen (1962, 145) had said they were, 'disappointingly bad' in Chapter Four under the subheading 'shortcomings in production']. *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c. 1225) had been translated by Muller in 1914 and *Beatrijs* (c. 1374) had been translated by Barnouw in 1914. By contrast, the volume that launched the series, *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan* (1907) reprinted a 1919 translation by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos without editing and in fact increased its number of typos. This was a poor choice because although it saved the board translator's fees, the point of the organisation was to translate Dutch literature.

Under subheading 'shortcomings in production', Chapter Four highlights the composition of the volumes. Only half of the volumes contain a single work and whilst *Three Novels* (1965) has works which relate to each other through the central character, Laarmans, and one could also argue the *Marriage/Ordeal* (1963) worked well as a pair of opposites, *The House on the Canal* and *Alienation* (1965) are unrelated and have been put together without forethought. Advertisements in earlier published volumes referred to the novel *Alienation* (1965) by its working title, *The Life of Willem Mertens* suggesting disorganisation which could later cause confusion.

The weaknesses in production practice in Chapter Four are epitomized by the two mediaeval volumes which contain an eclectic selection of five works, of which some are extracts: *Letters* (1965) contains only 20 of the original letters, while *Gawein* (1965) comprises just five pages of the original and is therefore difficult to put into context. Some

of the works were transposed from verse to prose, possibly to make it easier for an English audience to understand whilst others have been left in their original format but no mention of this change was given to the English readership. It is likely that there were in fact too many works in these volumes and as a premier introduction of Dutch translated literature to an English market, a simpler series of volumes each housing just one work may have been easier for an English audience.

The board, however, functioned in an organised fashion in that regular meetings were scheduled each year in venues in the Netherlands and Belgium with recorded typed minutes which illustrated the transparency of the proceedings. This showed that the board was honest in its findings and did not attempt to disguise the methods it used to select works for the series. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was only one of a number of projects which the board was involved in and worked incredibly hard to produce a total of 69 translated volumes<sup>83</sup> in a range of languages (including the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*) in the period 1956-1967. I conclude that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* programme would have been instrumental in furthering the careers of the translators as this was an opportunity for them to illustrate their literary translating ability. The invitation and integration of the Fleming contingent to join the board in 1960 discussed in Chapter Three under subheading 'events leading to Belgium joining the Foundation in 1960', was a positive experience in that it brought a fresh and new expertise to the organisation which would have benefitted Flemish literature within the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* programme; in fact three of the published volumes housed Flemish literature. The board was a pioneer in the field of literary translation and did generate Dutch literature a modest position on the world literary stage which included all its canonical published works of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

## **2, Planning Issues**

The Foundation had thought that there was an obscurity in the translation of Dutch translated literature even though Heilbron (1995, 230) had shown that Dutch translated novels rose in the period 1900-1909 from 127 in 12 languages to 701 in 28 languages in the

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<sup>83</sup> For the total number of translations the Foundation engaged with, refer to: *Lijst met literair werk dat met behulp van de Stichting voor Vertalingen in het buitenland werd ondergebracht 1954-1990*, (n.d. [c. 1995]) (List of translated works which appeared abroad with assistance from the Foundation in the period 1954-1990, (n.d. [c. 1995])

period 1950-1957. The Foundation may have misjudged the international market somewhat but nevertheless recognised the misgivings and ad-hoc approach to the amateurish PEN and Commission for Translation Matters. It did this successfully with a print run of 4,000 in some cases and sales of around 2,500 per volume with some volumes. Some volumes even had additional print runs. These are successful figures especially when compared to Mansell's (2020, 126) data. Compulsory purchasing of volumes by the Belgian Academy and Dutch government did put into question who would read these purchased volumes but even sales figures of 1,500 are high by today's standards.

A fall in sales figures was discussed as perhaps being blamed on a rise in published volumes at the same time coupled with demise in bookshops. Other publishers were also engaged in placing translated Dutch literature on the market in competition with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

In Chapter Four, under subheading, 'similar series after World War II' the absence of other series is explained. The board was forward thinking in pioneering its literature into other languages as I found no other projects operating in small European nations after World War II. Scandinavia's Art Ministries had not then been established; the Eastern Bloc was suffering Soviet oppression which did not favour English whilst the small nation's languages of Spain were outlawed by President Franco.

A series of volumes is much more complex to arrange than a single volume and requires procedures to be organised. In Chapter Six under subheading 'the beginning of the end', a lack of familiarity with the processes in publishing translated literature is highlighted which became evident through the exercise. Even in 1961, Alewyn Birch, sales manager for Heinemann, did not want to commit to 15 titles for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* [it became 17 later], saying it was better to be non-committal about actual numbers for the series which meant that the board was not able to plan for costs relating to translations. In fact, it appears as though the board made it up as they progressed with the exercise. Indeed, production was intermittent and sometimes late as was shown in 1962, when four volumes a year were planned but in 1963 two of the planned volumes, *The Man in the Mirror* and *Marriage/Ordeal* were delayed until 1964.

There had been a lack of planning with these processes in the publishing world from the outset. Firstly, there never was a comprehensive time-plan for the translated novels and even when production was underway, discussion still continued about the series' composition right up until the final volumes. Indeed, five years of discussion took place from 1956 until 1961 when the final volumes for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were finally decided.

The board worked tirelessly to allow 'less' central languages access to enter the world arena and become informed about Dutch literature even though this caused problems in finding translators, particularly in Italian where they had to be relayed via English.

Under subheading 'the contract' in Chapter Six, the contract between the publishing companies and the board is discussed. This had not been planned effectively and resulted in an ambiguous document whereby it was not made clear who had responsibility for the proofread version of the printer's proofs which would then go to press. The Statutes seemed to suggest that all literary participants (translators, board, and publishing companies) were responsible for the translations before being sent to press but Heinemann had made it clear that it had the final say for the final version of the manuscript of the translation which would go to Sijthoff for printing. Furthermore, the board had been clear that it did not want responsibility for the quality of the translations which was a poor decision because it had the expertise to check and redraft the translations which Heinemann may have struggled with in having limited access to Dutch translators.

I offer a hypothesis in Chapter Six under subheading 'my 'hypothesis' as to what may have happened regarding the ownership of the translations. The lack of understanding of processes was exacerbated by the fact that although Heinemann was responsible for the final version of the manuscript before being typeset at Sijthoff, they expected the final manuscript from the translators to be ready for the press which they were not. Sijthoff did not have the technology of today which necessitated all volumes being manually type-set with Dutch copy editors but their interest lay only in developing a blue print and seeking out crude errors. I contend that Heinemann improved major errors to save face but at a cost to themselves and that they still needed further work. Heinemann may have lacked the expertise to correct the proofs and final manuscript or had limited time and resources and consequently sent the translations to Sijthoff. Sijthoff, however, would only deal with major

errors since their copy editors were Dutch which resulted in a yo-yo effect between the two publishers. I conclude that Heinemann tired of this situation and decided to walk away from the project.

I discuss the events leading to the Flemings joining the board under subheading, 'a chronology of events' in Chapter Three, where planning did not include the Flemish contingent in the original plans when the Foundation and its board were founded in 1954 even though it joined the project in 1960. This may have upset the harmonics of the Dutch (Netherlandic) contingent of the board and caused friction between the members. The Flemings were considered the underdog in Belgium to the French Walloons, and had been mistrusted after World War II because of historical alliances to Germany.

In Chapter Six under subheading, 'two companies for one venture', I questioned whether the publishing houses chosen for such an enterprise were a sound choice for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and whether there was a lack of planning for such a large initiative but Heinemann and Sijthoff were the only applicants for the project to my knowledge. Oversteegen liaised with many companies in the 1960s and probably decided to take two publishing companies on-board (a third small American company, London House & Maxwell, came on board for US sales) because Sijthoff would have been unknown outside the Netherlands and lacked expertise in the English market. It was agreed that Heinemann would have distribution rights for the Commonwealth and America whilst Sijthoff would look after its Dutch speaking market but this bi-publishing approach caused problems with the final proof ownership due to an ambiguous contract.

Sijthoff was responsible for the production of the volumes and I critically engaged with a wide range of paratexts including dust cover images and flap texts. I showed that the evolved drab black, blue and white dust cover images would not have been alluring to a purchasing public whilst inconsistent peritexts and typos amongst the volumes would have been annoying to purchasers, especially those buying more than one volume.

Top billing was given by the Dutch press for the series before its release as noted under subheading 'Dutch-speaking reception' in Chapter Seven, but the individual volumes received poor mention in the press after publication. In effect, what was happening here was that the Dutch government was exporting its translated literature to create cultural



diplomacy with the English speaking market but by buying a large amount of each print run endangered its success. The board, through lack of knowledge, had not developed a strategy of what to do with the purchased volumes and when De Vit was appointed to assist in this matter, he simply offered them to universities and libraries. The Foundation sought literary capital by being pioneers in exporting its literature through cultural diplomacy but this was artificially engineered by governmental intervention of book purchasing.

According to Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) in Chapter Three, under subheading, 'cultural diplomacy' cultural diplomacy is now a one way strategic action which does not require a reciprocal import of other nations' translated literature. The Dutch government, however, had already imported much literature especially from the English and American markets. Van Voorst (1997) discusses this in her volume, *Weten wat er in de wereld te koop is*, where she shows how the international flows developed in the period 1945-1970.

The issue with all of these planning failures was that these problems could have and should have been addressed if the board had called for expertise from the book trade. This failure suggests that the English-target audience was underestimated and lacking in respect.

I was interested to know how the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fared in the market place and discovered that the reviews that had appeared in the press and in academic journals were few and mixed. This was set against a backdrop which saw an increase in published books in the 1960s coupled with a decrease in bookshops as well as other rival publishing companies producing translated Dutch literature. In reality, only between 1,200 and 1,800 of each of the volumes were sold after the compulsory purchasing contracts which meant that each print run had a buyer but not necessarily a reader. Chapter Seven considers these two factors under subheadings 'the demise of bookshops' and 'book competition.' Moreover, Sijthoff, according to Vanderauwera (1985, 54), never tried to reach a potential English-speaking audience in the Netherlands and Belgium which would have increased sales.

Fenoulhet (2013, 52) pertinently addresses this issue:

What if a translated text fails to sell and therefore remains for the most part unread? Is it still part of the target community simply because it has been translated into the community's language?

Fenoulhet (2013, 52) offers a solution in that the debate about successful translated works is now shifting from simply being published to actually being read.

These sales figures were high by publishing standards of the time for what was designed to attract a niche market encompassing an educated urban middle class. This relates to the first part of my research question which asks how successful the export of Dutch classics was in the 1960s which paved the way for Dutch literature to find a place in the English market. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* as a series has never been reprinted even though some of the works found themselves in other literary series.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was initially a 17 volume project involving many genres and time periods but after Birch withdrew from the project, only ten volumes had been published. The anthologies were never published, see Appendix 6, even though much work had gone into their production and Oversteegen never found translators for the 17 century volumes of *Granida* (1615), *Lucifer* (1654), *De Spaanschen Brabanter* (1618) and *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653). This was possibly because of the difficulty of the translation although *Lucifer* (1654) was independently translated in 1990 outside the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* umbrella and an English translation of *De Spaanschen Brabanter* (1618) appeared in 1982 although H. David Brumble, the translator, stated that he made no money from the play even though it was performed in Texas and Amsterdam. Of note is the fact that Meijer's (1971) volume was published by Stanley Thornes and became a seminal work in Dutch departments in universities across the world which may not have occurred had it been produced in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series. The board did not always choose works which have stood the test of time in that only two works *Max Havelaar* (1860) and *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c. 1225) have been retranslated since their English translations in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

The board was focused on translating and publishing as many works as it could into a variety of languages. It had control over production but not distribution and appeared to be keen to place as much translated literature on the market as possible in the shortest time and never appeared to spend time on reflection to improve on future projects.

### 3, An unfavourable historical dimension

Heinemann was the English publisher chosen to work alongside Sijthoff for the project but, unbeknown to the board until too late because the board did not develop access to English publishing expertise, it was not forewarned about Heinemann's financial difficulties. Under subheading, 'the beginning of the end' in Chapter Six these issues are highlighted and show that Heinemann's solution to its fiscal problems was to pursue a policy of smaller print runs and gradually eliminate peripheral publishing. This is what it did with the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* in that by withdrawing prematurely from the exercise it reduced a peripheral publishing project (a niche series of works for middle class readers with an interest in foreign literature) from a print run of 17 volumes to ten. This had the effect of curtailing the project prematurely and preventing further volumes and canonical literary works from appearing on the English speaking market which relate to the second part of my research question concerning the canonical works of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*.

Referring to Chapter Four where I address the canon under subheading, 'the canon of Dutch literature', I would like to consider the canonical issues.

All of the works chosen for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were mentioned in the literary histories of Knuvelder (1961) and Meijer (1971) and can therefore be regarded as being canonical. One can reflect that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* gave rise to a 'mini-canon.'

The board was responsible in the field of international cultural diplomacy to successfully place 22 literary translated works into the English speaking market, all of which would later form part of the canon of Dutch literature. One can conclude that the board achieved two things regarding pioneering international cultural diplomacy: firstly, successfully selecting canonical Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literary works and secondly, perhaps being pioneers in sowing the seeds for a canon. Indeed, the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was perhaps the first example of a canon of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature represented in print. It was also the first time that Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature were treated equally in the series which occurred when Belgium joined the project in 1960.

Ultimately, Oversteegen was ahead of his time in his pioneering recruitment methods of translators by giving them literary translations within a limited time frame. They displayed

professional standing and produced translations of 'dedicated expert status' as discussed in Chapter Five under subheading, 'using dedicated expert status' by virtue of their expertise and long term involvement with Oversteegen as editor despite the relatively low funding they received. My analysis of how the translators dealt with the titles of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* complemented Jones' (2018) study and I contend that, for the most part, they were successful.

I addressed the issues of foreignisation and domestication and concluded that the use of foreign vocabulary within the novels was acceptable because the Dutch vocabulary used concerned mainly street names. The other main two languages used were French and German which would have been taught to previous often middle class Grammar school pupils from which the series largely drew its readership.

Vimr (2020, 59) highlights the concept of supply-driven translated literature which is applicable here because there was little demand for it by English speaking markets. It was simply 'drip fed' into them. Vimr (2020, 59) commented on my initial findings (2020, 105):

Wolter's discussion of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* gives multiple answers as to why a supply-driven translation project may fail, including book design, and the choice of works that may well represent the source country's canon but not appeal to the target audience.

Returning to this view of 'failure' by Vimr (2020, 59) from the onset of my conclusion, this is rather harsh because the project was a pioneering attempt at international translated literature promotion. Fenoulhet, emerita professor of Dutch studies at UCL with sales in over 100 published volumes informed me that today sales of over 500 per hardback print run would be enough to generate a print run of the work in paperback format. Sales figure for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* far exceeded this and should be considered a success.

Chitnis and Stougaard-Nielsen (2020, 1) note that, 'the unequal dynamics of the translational publishing market are felt especially in smaller European nations, since their literatures rarely find their way to readers in larger nations.' When they do, however, Norris (2020, 9) notes that, 'the literatures of small European nations are dependent on their larger and more visible neighbours to facilitate their introduction and acceptance in an international literary context. They are therefore in meaningful ways subordinate to their more significant others.' I conclude that the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* fell into this brief.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* was the delivery method for the export of Dutch (Netherlandic) and Flemish literature and its canon, and was an example of cultural capital which attempted to put Dutch literature on the map. It furthermore highlighted a pioneering attempt of marketing a literature from a small culture when there was no guide book to do this. There was a plan of operations but it lacked a plan of attack, a distribution of tasks and a list of criteria. My research provides an example of how the micro-history of this venture reads primarily as a cautionary tale for smaller literatures, in which inexperience, incoherent planning and organisation, inconsistent production values and circumstances beyond the Foundation's control combined to undermine its ambitions. It particularly reveals the tensions between the interests of source and target cultures and different parties in the process, including the state, academics, translators and publishers. Nevertheless, The Foundation did produce 10 classical volumes in English translation which housed 22 canonical Dutch works which had successful print runs for a niche market and I contend that this was a success.

The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* venture was hampered by internal and external difficulties, some of which it had control over and some of which it did not. This micro-history has been written for interested parties in the field and shows that all components need to be present and in sound working order for overall success, and sadly they were not. I conclude that a co-opted member from a British publisher bringing business acumen and a redrafted more definitive contract may have altered the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* destiny.

#### **4, The current situation regarding Dutch translated literature**

The Foundation provided a first step in professionalising and institutionalising a foreign literary policy where it remained until 1989 when it was abolished due to financial problems whilst working with Belgium. Both countries then went their own way to develop their own literary policy. In 1990, the Nederlands Literair Productie-en Vertalingsfonds (The Dutch Funding Agency for Literary Production and Translation) was established to promote Dutch literature and in Belgium, foreign literary policy was brought under the auspices of The Ministerie van Cultuur en de Vlaamse Gemeenschap (The Ministry of Culture and Flemish Community). The Dutch contingent is now called the Nederlands Letterenfonds (Dutch Foundation for Literature) and in 2019 launched a high-profile promotional campaign to

promote Dutch writing in translation in the UK and Ireland and to nurture the next generation of translators. One of its recently promoted Dutch translated books was Herman Koch's (2019) *The Ditch*, Sam Garrett (trans.) which appeared in the Financial Times books of the year 2019 illustrating success within the organisation. Fenoulhet (2020, 285) warns of the transition of literature from one language to another:

Publishing books in translation which were originally written in a less well-known language is a risky business. It is never guaranteed that success in one culture will be repeated in the English speaking world.

Whilst Dorleijn (2017, 40) paints a more pessimistic view of the portrayal of Dutch writings:

The image of Dutch literature in the world remains fragmented, unfocused or even quasi non-existent. In the final analysis, Dutch literature maintains its peripheral or at best semi-peripheral status and its visibility in the world system of cultures is negligible.

But Wilterdink and Fenoulhet are more positive in their approach to current developments in the literary translation field. Wilterdink (2017, 45) notes that foreign interest in contemporary Dutch literature has grown since the 1980s, as can be inferred from the number of book translations, the number of reviews and the content of some of these reviews:

A few Dutch novelists made it into English in the early 1990s with the scholarly Cees Nooteboom at their head. And, over the past couple of years, a growing stream have been breaching the dyke: Hugo Claus, Renate Dorrestein, Anton Grunberg, Tessa de Loo, Margriet de Moor, Marcel Möring, Harry Mulisch and Connie Palmen may not be brand names to British readers, but at last some of their work is available in English.

Wilterdink (2017, 51) cites this wave of authors, and cultural globalisation as reasons for a spurred international attention for Dutch literature as well as giving prominence to the Foundation's successor:

A particularly important role in the spread of Dutch literature has been played by the government -subsidized Foundation for the Translation and Production of Dutch Literature (NLPVF, founded in 1991 as the successor of the 'less active' Dutch Foundation for Translations)

[I questioned Wilterdink's comment as the Foundation was very active in their lifetime and he agreed he may have been unwise in his 'less active' comment].

Fenoulhet (2020, 287) highlights the 2016 English translated Dutch novels, *Joe Speedboat* (*Joe Speedboot*) (2005) and *A Beautiful Young Wife* (*Een Mooie Jonge Vrouw*) (2014,) both written by Tommy Wieringa and translated by Sam Garrett which received very positive receptions. Nicholas Tucker in the Independent, 26 August 2009 notes that, ' *Joe Speedboat* was expertly translated and offers a rewarding journey into the unfamiliar' whilst Julie Myerson (2016), reviewer of *A Beautiful Wife*, praises Wieringa's, 'often excruciatingly honest prose [which] brilliantly conveys the break-up of a relationship.' Fenoulhet (2020, 288) concludes:

[Myerson] is clear that she is reading Dutch literature in translation, and completely accepts that Dutch writers are on a par with any other European writer. This is a relatively new attitude to Dutch fiction which confirms the sense that there has been an important shift in favour of literature originally written in Dutch. In short it is finally time to say that Dutch literature has arrived.

## **5, Future research**

I would like to propose three areas of research which could be continued from my thesis. The *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* initiative was the first series of volumes which the Foundation became involved in. Subsequently it engaged in three more series of Dutch translated literatures:

### **i, Three series which followed the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica***

Firstly, a series for the French market consisting of 20 planned but nine published translated Dutch literature volumes called *Pays Bas/Flandre*<sup>84</sup> which appeared between 1966 and 1975.

Secondly, *The Library of Netherlandic Literature*,<sup>85</sup> a series of 30 proposed but only 12 published volumes for the American market which appeared between 1972 and 1979.

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<sup>84</sup> For a complete list of the volumes in *Pays Bas/Flandre* series see: Appendix 3.

<sup>85</sup> For a complete list of the volumes in the *Library of Netherlandic Literature* series see: Appendix 10.

Vanderauwera (1985, 55) notes that the series was mainly source orientated [like the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*] with the exception of two volumes *Chapel Road* (1972) and *Memory and Agony, Dutch Stories from India* (1979).

She (1985, 55) notes that *Chapel Road* (1972) (*De Kapellekensbaan*, 1953) may be, 'too local and contain too many references to Belgian situations and sensitivities to be consumed with reasonable ease by target readers' whilst *Memory and Agony, Dutch stories from India* (1979), 'meets American interests in Third World Literature with its careful introduction to the Dutch East Indies and its literary tradition'.

It would be interesting to research whether the board had learned from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica's* source-based approach especially after reading Meike Emmelkamp's paper (2011, 94) where her findings on the fate of *The Library of Netherlandic Literature* would indicate otherwise.

Thirdly, *The Library of the Indies*,<sup>86</sup> produced for the American market, was published between 1981 and 1990 in which eleven titles were published, including a reprinting of Roy Edwards' 1967 translation of the colonial classic *Max Havelaar* in 1982. Vanderauwera (1985, 55) is positive with regards to this third series, 'The Foundation itself would seem to have shifted its policy more and more from source-orientated selection to a better-balanced combination of its metaliterary purpose with target interests.' This movement from source-based to target-based selection would make fascinating research to establish how and why the Foundation had changed its vision for foreign readership.

## **ii, Two non-published volumes of *Het leven en de Dood in de Ast***

Of interest to me for future research are the novels, *Boerenpsalm* (Peasant Hymn) (1935) by Felix Timmermans and *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (Life and Death in the Kiln/Oast House, 1926) by Stijn Streuvels which were both translated by Edwards for *the Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, but not published. I have been unable to locate the original translation of *Boerenpsalm* (1935), although library records show that it was at the Letterfonds (Dutch

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<sup>86</sup> For a complete list in the *Library of the Indies* series see: Appendix 9.



Foundation for Literature) in Amsterdam until 1966. It could now be in Antwerp in the José de Ceulaer collection who was the former president of the Timmermans' society.

I was more successful with the original English translation of Streuvel's *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (1926) and located it in an archive in the Letterfonds in Amsterdam, untouched since 1966, its last library entry. In addition, the Stijn Streuvels' society informed me of a privately published new translation of this work by Omer Vandeputte in 2016; a member of the society with the English translated title, *When the Wheel Turns its Circle*. I corresponded with Vandeputte and asked him questions seeking to establish his translation methods, see Appendix 5.

A comparison of these two translated works could lead to further research and I asked Jane Fenoulhet to offer her comments on the two translations. She stated that in her opinion this was a demanding work to translate but that both translated versions were commercially unpublishable in their present condition. The texts admittedly contain much Flemish idiom and pose challenges to the translator as stated on 11 January 1962 where the minutes recorded that translating Streuvels would be difficult:

Een bijzonder moeilijkheid zal te verwachten zijn bij de vertaling van werk van een auteur als Streuvels waar de uitzonderlijke kleur van de taal, en de sterk dialectische woordkeuze niet door iedere vertaler weergegeven zal kunnen worden. Opgemerkt wordt dat een Oostvlaams Idioticon van Isidoor Teirlinck (1886) bestaat, terwijl voor het Westvlaams het werk van De Boo [sic Bo] geraadpleegd zal kunnen worden.

(Translating an author such as Strijvels poses an expected difficulty where the exceptional colour of the language and the strong choice of dialect will not be translatable by every translator. It should be noted that an East Flemish dictionary is available by Isidoor Teirlinck (1886) whilst for West Flemish a dictionary by De Bo [1892] is recommended).

Fenoulhet continues that Edwards' translation lacks the element of an epitext introduction to set the scene which would have placed the working class Flanders at the time in an understandable context for readers. Edwards makes a fine opening to the translated work and deals well with the backdrop but the narrative between the peasants is poor with the tenses simply copied and not transposed to an often better past continuous tense [a tense which does not occur in Dutch]. He has remained too faithful to the narrative and has

translated the work on a word to word basis, occasionally making mistakes, and keeping the same sentence length to the original. The novel has many events going on at the same time and Edwards has not offered any paratextual support to guide the reader. Fenoulhet was under the impression that although it was not rushed, it was not thought-through and would only be redeemable if the peasant rhyme and dialogue issues were dealt with. Vanderauwera (1985, 107) supports this by stating that, 'Roy Edwards is moreover an interesting case of a translator who very visibly leaves his stamp on translations without really making any sensational departures from the source texts'.

Vandeputte again offers no epitext support in the form of an introduction but he makes for a punchier style making it more accessible to the reader. He misses out pieces in his translation and is more adventurous; however, it then perhaps becomes a 'short story' and not a novel. Vandeputte is Flemish and used English native speakers to correct his text which may be seen as an incorrect translation method. His new title, *When the Wheel Turns its Circle* (2016), is symbolic and although not being what the author had written, works better than Edwards' *Life and Death in the Kiln* which was not liked by Meijer (1971, 284) who translated it as *Life and Death in the Oast House* (an indigenous word of the county of Kent). Fenoulhet notes that although Edwards adheres more to the tone, the problem of both pieces is that of the need to unravel the backdrop scene from the narration of the players to present a clearer image; only then would the two translations have a chance of finding a publisher.

It would be interesting to consider the recent phenomenal success of Scandinavian crime fiction in the UK where Stougaard-Nielsen (2017, 207) highlights writers such as Henning Mankell and Stieg Larsson as having being central to the global popularization of a Scandinavian crime 'scene' over the recent decades with widely translated bestselling crime series around the world having been adapted for television. Why has this small nations' translated literatures found unprecedented success with its non-canonical literature whilst the Dutch belles-lettres have not?

My research question concerned the success of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* and, how this related to the canon of Dutch literature. Following various lines of enquiry, I established three concerns: Firstly, internal strategic issues which showed that academic authority was

stronger and vested in fewer initiated individuals than it is today. Indeed, Minderaa's standing, power and influence, due to his role as a professor of literature, wielded significant power in the making of literary reputations and recognition of literary belles-lettres. I contend that the Foundation itself, served by the board, was of minor importance in practice, merely functioning as an extension of Minderaa's overall gatekeeping activities. Secondly, planning issues, which failed to produce a satisfactory contract; this meant that no one knew who had responsibility for the final translated proofs before being sent to press, which led to the early demise of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*. Thirdly, there was an unfavourable historical dimension in which Heinemann suffered fiscal misfortune. Nevertheless, I deem this venture to have been a success with 10 translated classical volumes placed on the market for a niche group of middle class readers who had an interest in translated literature. In addition, the volumes contained 22 works, all of which when related to literary historians of the time were found to be of canonical status.

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**MATERIAL OBTAINED FROM THE ARCHIVE OF THE FOUNDATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE TRANSLATION OF DUTCH LITERARY WORKS HELD AT THE LETTERKUNDIG MUSEUM (MUSEUM OF LITERATURE) IN THE HAGUE. TO LOCATE THESE ITEMS, THERE IS A CATALOGUE WITH REFERENCES TO 'NOTULEN' (MINUTES) WHICH ARE BOXED IN DATE ORDER AND CAN BE REQUESTED FROM THE LIBRARIAN IN CHARGE OF THE COLLECTION.**

**1, MINUTES AND REPORTS IN DATE ORDER**

**2, BROCHURES AND LEAFLETS**

**3, LEGAL CHARTER**

**4, DRAFT MEMORANDUM AGREEMENT**

**5, DUTCH CONTRACT (11 JULY 1962) WITH STATUTES**

**6, *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA* SOURCED WORKS WITH THEIR PLANNED 17 VOLUMES**

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**5, DUTCH CONTRACT (11 JULY 1962) WITH STATUTES**

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1		
ACADEMIC	INSTITUTION	COMMENT
Dr. Andreas Hedberg (Swedish)	University of Uppsala, Department of Literature, Sweden.	I have not found any proof of such a series being launched in Sweden. However, at roughly the same time, the Swedish Arts Council (the State) started funding translations of Swedish fiction, so there is evidence of the same kind of thinking.
Dr. Martin Ringmar (Swedish)	University of Lund, Centre for Languges and Literature, Sweden.	As far as I know there was no similar thing going on in Sweden in the 1960s.
Professor Yvonne Leffler (Swedish)	University of Gothenburg, Department of Literature, Sweden.	I do not know of anything similar happening in Sweden. On the one hand, the Swedish Government has never taken an interest in promoting Swedish literature in English; on the other hand, Sweden was neutral during WW II and therefore not as eager to defend their national culture as many other nations in the 1950s and 60s.
Ellen Kytör PhD student (Danish)	UCL London, Department of Scandinavian Studies, UK.	I do not know of any series but Denmark's Ministry of Culture was not established until 1961.
Dr. Gauti Kristmannsson (Icelandic)	University of Reykjavik, Faculty of Icelandic and Comparative Cultural Studies, Iceland.	Iceland has promoted its literature institutionally for some time now. At first there was a kind of public relations office (one woman show) which sent someone (the same lady) to a few major book fairs. This office also supported a few translations

		<p>into foreign languages every year.</p> <p>This changed a few years ago when The Icelandic Literature Center was founded by the merger of the above mentioned PR office, Menningarsjóður (a state cultural fund, supporting Icelandic academic work) and Þýðingarsjóður, the translation fund (which supported translations to Icelandic).</p>
Dr. Ildikó Annus (Hungarian)	Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, Hungary.	This had to be quite an impossible affair for Hungary in the 1960s – the Soviet realm was too near to us geographically as well as ideologically which means that any kind of translation or publication had to be accepted (or suggested) by the government – and English wasn't exactly the most privileged language in Hungary.
Dr. Zsofi Domsa (Hungarian)	Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, Budapest, Hungary.	I doubt that there were any projects like this in Hungary... mostly because of lack of money.
Dr. Anikó Szilágyi (Hungarian)	University of Glasgow, Senior Library Assistant, UK.	There was not a single project like this in Hungary but a new publishing house, Corvina, was founded in the 1950s with the promotion 'the right image' of Hungarian literature abroad. This was a communist enterprise which mostly published poetry until the change of regime in 1989.
Dr. Małgorzata	University of Wroclaw, Erasmus	I'm not aware of any activities of the

Dowlaszewicz (Polish)	Chair of Dutch Philology Department, Poland.	Polish Government to promote Polish literature/culture that would be similar to the <i>Bibliotheca Neerlandica</i> . This was a period when if something like that were to have happened here, it would have been forced onto us and as such been a success, as it was all the time!
Dr. Karolina Drozdowska (Polish)	University of Gdansk, Scandinavian Studies Department, Poland.	Poland's situation in the post years was different from those of a western European country. We ended up in the Eastern Block and from about 1948 to 1956, it was the Stalinist Government that decided what did and did not get published in our country. After 1956, the rules were less strict, but many authors were still frowned upon. I have never heard of a series of Polish literature prepared for translation by a governmental organisation.
Dr. Ursula Phillips (Polish)	School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), Department of Polish, UCL, London.	I do not recall any systematic attempts to publish a series of classical works covering all periods for Polish works in the 1950s. There has never been funding for this kind of project.
Dr. Arzu Akbatur (Turkish)	Boguzici University, Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies, Turkey.	There was not a similar organisation in Turkey in the post war period. And there has never been such a series of Turkish literature translated and published in English. The grant programme here in Turkey started relatively recently in 2005 called

		<p>TEDA:</p> <p>[TEDA is a grant program intended to foster the publication of Turkish literature as well as works about Turkish art and culture in languages other than Turkish. Run by the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism, it is a subvention program for translation and publication, providing incentives to publishers abroad who wish to publish Turkish literature and works on Turkish art and culture in foreign languages.</p> <p>The TEDA Program, which began in 2005, allows foreign readers to access Turkish literature, and as well as the opportunity to read about Turkey's vast cultural wealth, in their own respective languages. In this way the Program increases the visibility of books by Turkish authors in the global book market.</p> <p>The TEDA Program, which is run by the Ministry of Culture, provides funding for applications approved by the TEDA Advisory and Evaluation Committee, with the aim of fostering greater circulation of Turkish literature worldwide].</p>
Dr. Miren Santisteban (Basque)	EHU, University of the Basque Country, Department of Philology and Basque Studies,	For Basque translations, the 1960s were years of censorship for literature and translation in the

	Leioa, Spain.	Basque area. For us, the turning point had been the end of Franco's regime in 1975. There followed an increase in Basque literary production as well as in translations into Basque; Basque translated literature came later.
Jenny Arnold PhD student (Catalan)	University of Birmingham, Department of Modern Languages. UK.	Spain was in the middle of the strongest part of the Franco regime and the Catalan language and culture was pretty much outlawed in public- people did write and publish Catalan but it was very much clandestine and often abroad. Therefore translation from the language was non-existent in terms of being published.
Dr. Richard Mansell (Castilian/Catalan)	University of Exeter, College of Humanities, Modern Languages and Cultures, UK.	I'm afraid that in the 1950s Catalan literature was concerned with survival at best, owing to Franco's dictatorship- during the 1940s and 1950s translations into Catalan were outlawed in Spain, and it was difficult to get anything published in Catalan, translation or not. This meant that Catalan literature was disparate and mostly published in exile, and there was not any sort of uniting force or body that could try to promote Catalan literature abroad. Things changed in the late fifties (and particularly 1962) as Spain became a little more open (a condition of US investment).
Dr. Olga Castro	Warwick University, Coventry,	Between 1935 and 1975 Franco's

(Castilian/Galician)	School of Modern Languages and Cultures, UK.	dictatorship in Spain made it almost impossible for Galician literature to be promoted and as such. Galician, along with Catalan and Basque, were forbidden with Castilian Spanish being the only official language of the regime. We could not speak of attempts to enter the world literary stage. In the Galician case most books published in Galician came out in Argentina, Cuba and Mexico; countries to which intellectuals had fled following the coming to power of the fascist regime. It was not until the beginning of the eighties that the Galician book industry started developing.
Olivia Hellewell PhD student (Slovene)	University of Nottingham, School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies, UK.	Most of the translation efforts between the 1950s and 1970s were concentrated on inter-Yugoslav translations but I have not come across anything in English yet. The focus on making literature reach a wider European audience came in the late 80s and 90s when Slovenia declares independence and re-asserts itself as an independent nation. Socialism certainly created a set of circumstances which were peculiar to Yugoslavia during that period.
Professor Marko Juvan (Slovene)	Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies, Research Centre of the Slovenian	The Slovene Writers Association (in association with the Slovene Centre PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists)

	Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia.	and Translator's Association) launched the journal 'Le Livre Slovene' in 1963. which was devoted to systematic promotion of Slovene literature in foreign languages. It was published until 1991, when it was renamed 'Litterae slovenicae'.
Dr. Antonija Primorac (Croatian)	University of Rijeka, Department of English Studies, Faculty of Humanities, and Social Sciences, Croatia.	There were very few English translations of Croatian classics (advertised as Yugoslav) published in this period in the UK and USA. Of note is a collection of poems: Dragutin Tadjanović (1955) <i>My Sister Carries Milk to Town</i> , Vivian de S. Pinto (trans.). Nottingham.

Table 64: Academic responses to the creation of a translated literary series of volumes after World War II from delegates of the Bristol conference, 'Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations', held on 8-10 September 2015 at Bristol University.

#### APPENDIX 2: THE *BIBLIOTHECA FLANDRICA*

The six volumes in the *Bibliotheca Flandrica* series published by Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Düsseldorf were:

Walschap, Gerard (1941) *Jan Houtekiet (Jan Houtekiet)*, Martha Hechte (trans.).

Woestijne, Karel van de (1952) *Einsame Brände (Flames in Solitude)*, Heinz Graef (trans.).

Anonymous, (1951) *Altflämische Frauenmystik: Vom Göttlichen Reichtum der Seele (Old Flemish Female mysticism: From the Divine Wealth of the Soul)*. An anthology containing: *Brieven (Letters)* (c. 1240) by Hadewijch; *Visioenen (Book of Visions)* (c. 1240) by Hadewijch, and *Seven Manieren Van Minne (There are Seven Manners of Loving)* (c.1235) by Beatrijs van Nazareth. Joseph Otto Plassmann (trans.).

Anonymous (1954) *Rauschendes Lied (The Rustling song)*.

Cordon, Wolfgang (1950) *Altflämische Spiele (Old Flemish Plays)*. An anthology containing *Jedermann (Everyone)* (c. 1490) (*Lancelot und Sanderein (Lancelot and Sanderein)* (c.1400) and *Mariken von Nieumeghen (Mary of Nijmegen)* (1585) all from unknown authors. Cordon, Wolfgang (ed.)

Elsschot, Willem Käse (1952) (*Kaas*). Agnes Kalmann-Matter and Gerd Busse (trans.).



### **APPENDIX 3: THE KNICKERBOCKER SERIES: A HOLLAND-AMERICA LIBRARY**

The nine volumes in the *Knickerbocker* series, all having no translator mentioned and published by Eerdman-Sevenma Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan were:

Idsardi (1919) *Pretty Marie*.

Hoekenga, P. J. (1920) *Things of the Spirit, Meditations of Spiritual Life and Prayer*.

Hoekesma, Herman (1919) *Dominee Kouwenaar: of Zedelijk Dualisme* (Minister Kouwenaar or Moral Dualism).

Knap, J.J. (1919) *In de Velden van Efratha* (In Efratha's fields).

Kuiper, B. K. (1919) *With all my Heart*.

Kuiper, B. K. (1919) *Met Hart en Mond* (With all my Heart).

Nieland, Dirk (1919) *Yankee-Dutch Humouristische Schetsen uit het Hollandsch-Amerikaansche Volksleven* (Yankee-Dutch humorous sketches taken from Dutch American people's lives).

Noordewier, J. (1920) *Een Tachtig-jarige: iets uit het Leven van Jacob Noordwie* (An Eighty year Old: something from the Life of Jacob-Noordwie).

Schmidt, Gerhardus (1919) *Hij die staat...of, uit het Leven van een Predikant* (He who stands...or, from the life of a clergyman).

### **APPENDIX 4: THE DUTCH LIBRARY SERIES**

The four volumes in the *Dutch Library* series published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague were:

Anonymous (1923) *A Beautiful Play of Lancelot of Denmark: How he fell in love with a lady who waited upon his mother*, P. Geyl (trans.) (Lanceloet van Denemerken) (c. 1400).

Anonymous (1924) *A Marvellous History of Mary of Nimmegen who for more than seven year lived and ado with the devil*, Harry Morgan Ayres (trans.) (Mariken van Nimwegen) (1485).

Anonymous (1927) *The Tale of Beatrice*, P. Geyl (trans.) (Beatrijs) (c. 1374)

Anonymous (1924) *An ingenious play of Esmoreit, the king's son of Sicily*, Harry Morgan Ayres (trans.) (Esmoriet) (c. 1500).

### **APPENDIX 5: OMER VANDEPUTTE'S REPLIES TO MY QUESTIONS ON HIS TRANSLATED WORK WHEN THE WHEEL TURNS ITS CIRCLE (2016)**

#### **Why did you decide to translate the volume into English?**

I did not gain my interest in Stijn Streuvels' literary works from school or home; neither from continued education in Greek and Latin from 1946-1952. At that time we mainly read extracts of Flemish writers, amongst others *De Veeprijskamp* (The cattle contest) by Streuvels. My lack of interest in Streuvels was probably attributed to the fact that this story, relating to social demography, was too close to home; I was actually born and grew up on a farm.

But to get to the point; in September 1963 I inherited a study pack of Hubert Lemeire who became a

lecturer at the Kortrijk department of the University of Leuven. His doctoral thesis concerned *De Taal van Stijn Streuvels*, (The language of Stijn Streuvels) an explanatory dictionary of nine volumes. For several years Lemeire had used the novella *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (Life and death in the Oast House) as compulsory reading in his Dutch lessons during the introductory year of advanced study. In the meantime, I read more of Streuvels' works but not his novellas.

#### **Anecdote**

At the start of January 1964 my wife had to go to maternity. I knew from experience that a baby will arrive at a time of its own choosing and in order to take my mind off the proceedings I sat in the maternity waiting room and began to read... not *Kerstvertellingen* (Christmas stories).. But you have guessed it! That night I became engrossed in *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (Life and death in the Oast House). I read this novella dozens of times on my own and discussed it dozens of times with students following a 'Read and Enjoy' course on three occasions. One day it occurred to me that Streuvels' *Het Leven en de Dood in de Ast* (Life and death in the Oast House) and his other prose works were in need of translation. I also taught English as well as Dutch and I enjoyed translating. With pension in hand in 1993, I began to turn my dream into reality.

#### **Why did you translate the volume into other languages?**

Because the publication of the English translation had given me much satisfaction.

#### **Why did you publish the volume yourself?**

'Daring, pretentious, irresponsible and impossible' was the reaction which I received. Streuvels' language is dialect, old fashioned and is littered with poetry'. But even poetry and old mediaeval texts can be converted to present-day language. The biggest drawback was that languages belong exclusively to native speakers. I wished to, 'take the bull by the horns' and continued as follows: I wrote a draft translation, gave the pro forma to colleagues for correction of grammar and then obtained the literary finishing touches from a group of English speaking correspondents. (see: page 4 of the volume). The same work methods were used for the Afrikaans, German, French and Spanish translations. (There existed a German translation but I deliberately did not read it).

#### **Did you attempt to find a publisher?**

I sought contact with publishers, amongst others with Lannoo in Tielt where I had held the position of editor in chief for the *Gids voor Vlaanderen* (Guide for Flanders) in the 1995 and 2007 editions. But I was under no illusion. Their argument and that of other publishers was that authors such as Streuvels were 'no longer in the market' and I could not argue with that. The Stijn Streuvels Society of which I was, and still am a member, was of the same opinion for these and other reasons. The result? A company specialising in limited print-runs, such as in dissertations, published a few dozen of each translation. A few books were sold, others were given to those involved in the project and I gave some

to my children.

**An addition**

My urge to translate developed over the course of time in challenging Dutch speaking academics who know Streuvels and his works with the question, ‘why did they not provide a means to translate his highly valued novellas?’

**APPENDIX 6 : THE SEVEN PLANNED UNPUBLISHED VOLUMES OF THE *BIBLIOTHECA NEERLANDICA***

During the meetings from 1955 to 1966, seven other English translated volumes for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* were advertised on their back inside flap pages which would have made a series of 17 volumes. Due to the fact that Heinemann had prematurely terminated its contract, these volumes did not form part of the series but discussion and time had been spent on them and some would enjoy their own destiny, see Table 65.

TITLE	DATE OF PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATES
Lucifer	1654	Joost van den Vondel	1587-1679
Granida	1615	Pieter Cornelisz Hooft	1581-1647
The Spanish Brabanter	1687	Gebrand Bredero	1584-1617
Trijntje Cornelis	1653	Constantijn Huygens	1596-1687
Life and Death in the Oast House	1926	Stijn Streuvels	1871-1969
Peasant Hymn	1935	Felix Timmermans	1886-1947
An Anthology of Short Stories			
An Anthology of Essays			
An Anthology of Poems			
A Short History of Dutch and Flemish Literature	1971	Reinder P. Meijer	1926-1993

Table 65: Unpublished but planned translated works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*

***LUCIFER/GRANIDA***

Joost van den Vondel’s *Lucifer* (1654) was initially mentioned as a possible candidate for the series in the minutes of 7 January 1960, and later that year on 16 June, it was proposed that it would appear

along with Pieter Hooft's *Granida* (1615), another 17 century volume. According to the board on 21 November 1963 an old *Lucifer* (1654) translation was available but its quality was in question; in fact three translations existed at the time by Leonard van Noppen (1898), Jehangir Mody (1942) and Watson Kirkconnell (1952). The minutes of 21 August 1964 show that Heinemann had approved an existing translation of *Lucifer* (1654) although the minutes do not mention which of the three available ones at its disposal it had selected. Two years later on 15 December 1966 in an attempt by Oversteegen to stimulate the series due to the warning bells from Heinemann he suggested using *Lucifer* (1654) without Hooft's *Granida*, (1615) as no translator could be found for it. Hooft's *Granida* (1615) has never been translated into English. *Lucifer* (1654) was translated again into English 1990 by Noel Clark for Oberon Books, London and was performed as a play in workshop conditions at the Tara theatre, London on 9 September 2015 with Henriette Rietveld as the assistant director.

#### **DE SPAANSCHEN BRABANDER/TRIJNTJE CORNELIS**

The minutes of 7 1960 January show that Gebrand Bredero's *De Spaanschen Brabander* (1617) was discussed and Michiel de Swaen's *De Gecroonde Leersse* (1718) was suggested as the work to accompany it in one volume, but it was replaced by Constantijn Huygens' *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653). During the meeting of 16 December 1960, Minderaa asked whether Albert Westerlinck, a Flemish author, who represented the Vereniging der Letterkundigen (Professional Organisation of Writers and Translators) and was vice chairman of the board from 1960-1968, had chosen a work by Guilliam Ogier of Antwerp which was another suggestion to appear in the same volume as Bredero's *De Spaanschen Brabander* (1617). Minderaa suggested that Ogier's *De Hooveerdigheyt* (1644) would be a good representative of his work but would not be suitable as a partner for Bredero's *De Spaanschen Brabander* (1617). The work finally scheduled to appear with Bredero's play was actually Huygens' *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653). '*Trijntje Cornelis*' (1653) is actually handwritten by Minderaa on the edge of the minutes next to the discussion indicating his preference for this title. On 17 January 1966, the minutes showed that problems in getting translators for Bredero's 17 century work, *De Spaanschen Brabander*, (1617) and *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653) remained and on 15 December 1966, the minutes highlight that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series whereby both works be removed. *Trijntje Cornelis* has still not been translated into English.

Bredero's *De Spaanschen Brabander* (1617) was, however, translated in 1982 by H. David Brumble III, now retired Professor of mediaeval English at Pittsburgh University for The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at State University of New York at Binghamton. Brumble informed me that the volume was funded by the Foundation and that his English translation of the play was performed twice at the Kimbell Museum of Art, Fort Worth in Texas by the Hip Pocket Theater (a professional troupe) between November 1982 and January 1983, being favourably reviewed by the Dallas Times

Herald on 23 November 1982 by Dan Hulbert who stated it was, 'a comic masterpiece and a feast for the senses'. It was also performed by the English Theater Troupe at the Schouwburg in Amsterdam in the summer of 1985. Brumble unfortunately bemoaned the fact that he received very little profit from translating the play which was standard as translators may receive a fixed fee, with or without a share of the box office or royalties.

#### **HET LEVEN EN DE DOOD IN DE AST/BOERENPSALM**

The minutes of 7 January 1960 suggested Stijn Streuvel's *Het Leven en Dood in de Ast* (1926) which had an incomplete working title of *Life and Death in de Ast* since the translation of *Ast* meaning an Oast House had not been fully considered. On 16 December 1960, Oversteegen put forward Streuvel's *Het Leven en Dood in den Ast* (1926) and Timmermans's *Boerenpsalm* (1935) to be translated into English as Peasant Hymn, which were accepted. Nearly three years later on the 21 November 1963, the minutes recorded that it was hoped that Edwards' translations of Streuvel's *Het Leven en Dood in den Ast* (1926) and Felix Timmermans's *Boerenpsalm* (1935) would shortly arrive, as they had been translated, despite Edwards, the translator, having recently changed jobs to move to Brussels. On 15 December 1966, the minutes show that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series whereby *Het Leven en Dood in den Ast* (1926) and *Boerenpsalm* (1935) be used for the series as they were already with the publisher. I sadly could find no reference to the translations in the Museum of Literature in The Hague nor the Sijthoff Special Collections archive at Leiden University but did locate Edwards' archived unpublished translation of *Het Leven en de Dood in den Ast* (1926) in Amsterdam at the Dutch Foundation for Literature.

**AN ANTHOLOGY OF SHORT STORIES**

The activities report shows that on 1 September 1955, discussions took place concerning a Short Story Anthology (suggestions), see Table 66.

TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATES
De Zoon van Fokje Wallinga (Fokje Wallinga's son).	1953	Jacob van Hattem	1900-1981
Onder de Canadassen (Under the Black Italian Poplars).	1949	Antoon Coolen	1897-1961
Drie Vaders (Three Fathers).	1949	Simon Vestdijk	1898-1971
De Fantasia (The Fantasy).	1948	Simon Vestdijk	1898-1971

Table 66: Short Story Anthology (suggestions): 1 September 1955

Not until five years later on 7 January 1960, were other authors discussed including Cyriel Buysse, Van de Woestijne and Slauerhoff. The board considered them too important to omit but there were too many for a publisher and so it was agreed to place examples of their work in the anthologies. Later that year on 29 April 1960, the works for the Short Stories that had been put on the 'not sure' list had now been upgraded to 'definite', see Table 67.

TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATES
De Rit (The Race).	1927	Filip De Pillecijn	1891-1962
De Overjas (The Overcoat).	1932	René Berghen	1901-1988
De Bende van de Stronk (Stronk's Gang).	1932	Paul van Ostaijen	1896-1928
De Verschijning te Kallista (Kallista's appearance).	1953	Raymond Brulez	1895-1972
Mijnheer Albéric (Mr. Albéric).	1943	Maurice Gilliams	1900-1982
De Moeder en de Drie	1939	Andreas Claes	1885-1968

Soldaten (The Mother and the Three Soldiers).			
Mur Italien (Italian Wall).	1935	Marcel Matthijs	1899-1964

Table 67: Short Stories (definite): 29 April 1960

A few months later on 16 December 1960, discussions continued with the following Short story Titles (definite), see Table 68.

TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATE
De Nuchtere Minnaar (The sober Lover)	1954	Lode Baekelmans	1879-1965
De Tweede Fluit (The Second Flute).	1918	J. van Oudshoorn	1876-1951
De Jazzspeler (The Jazz Player).	1928	Maurice Roelants	1895-1966
Het Ongure Huissens (The Sinister Huissens).	1935	Ferdinand Bordewijk	1884-1965
De Uitvreter (The Scrounger).	1911	Nescio (pseudonym) Jan. Grönloh	1882-1961

Table 68: Short story Titles (definite): 16 December 1960

Westerlinck and Walschap proposed Flemish writers for the anthology to include: Cyriel Buysse (pseudonyms Louis Bonheyden, Prosper Van Hove and Robert Palmer), Paul van Ostaijen, Filip de Pillecijn, Raymond Brulez, Andreas Claes, and Marcel Matthijs whilst Minderaa proposed Dutch writers to include: Adriaan Holst Aart van der Leeuw Theun de Vries, Emmy van Lokhorst and Jeanne van Schaik-Willing.

Minderaa proposed that the anthologies should be of 375 pages in length with 400 words per page and because of this, Albert Hellman's (pseudonym, Lodewijk Lichveld,) *Mijn Aap Schreit* (My Ape Weeps) (1928,) and Cola Debrot's *Mijn Zuster De Negerin* (My Sister, the Negress) (1935), were excluded from inclusion since otherwise the short story anthology would be too long. Walschap mentioned that

Roelants's *De Jazzspeler* (The Jazz player) (1928), should be omitted due to its poor quality.

The minutes in February 1961 continued discussions on the anthology. Van de Woestijne's, *De Boer die Sterft* (The Farmer who dies) (1933), was suggested and when asked whether a translation existed for this work, Angèle Manteau offered an alternative. Manteau, (1911-2008) according to the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts, was the main Flemish literary editor of the twentieth century owning her own publishing house, A. Manteau NV in 1938. From 1938 to 1970 the Manteau list included such Flemish writers as Hugo Claus, Karel van de Woestijne and Herman Teirlinck.

Manteau stated that Georg Hermanowsky (1918-1993) was writing *Die moderne Flämische Literatur* (1963, Modern Flemish Literature), a German volume of 105 pages divided into three main time periods of 1837-1915, 1916-1944 and 1945-1963 with a short conclusion relating to Flemish literature abroad. Hermanowsky made three references to Van de Woestijne in his volume on pages 12, 22-24 and 100, but did not, however, offer a translation of the suggested work. Hermanowsky was a Dutch scholar and during his lifetime translated many works into German from Dutch including *Het Boek Alfa* (1963) by Ivo Michiels in 1965 as *Das Buch Alpha* (Book Alpha) which also appeared in English in 1979 as part of the *Library of Netherlandic Literature* series. Hermanowsky (1963, 100) was, however, in agreement with the board of the role in the world of Flemish literature:

Obwohl die Flämische Literatur heute bereits Übersetzungen in 31 Sprachgebiete aufweisen kann, spielt sie innerhalb der Weltliteratur doch eine recht bescheidene Rolle. Die Literatur eines knapp 5 Millionen Volkes hat es schwer, sich durchzusetzen.

(Although Flemish literature can already boast translations in 31 countries, it still enjoys a rather shy role within world literature. The literature of barely five million people has difficulty in gaining recognition).

On 9 February 1961, Minderaa presented his list of works that were for inclusion in the Short Story Titles (in question), see Table 69.

TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATES
Extract from De Afspraak (Extract from The Appointment).	1925	Adriaan Holst	1888-1976
De Derde Dood (The Third Death).	1946	Theun de Vries	1907-2005
Phil's Laatste Wil	1923	Emmy van Lokhorst	1981-1970



(Phil's last Wish).			
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Table 69 : Short story Titles (in question): 9 February 1961

On 11 January 1962, Minderaa stated that he had not wanted authors to appear more than once in the series and therefore the short story anthology would now not include Van Oudshoorn's *De Tweede Fluit* (The Second Flute) (1918), because of his *Willem Mertens Levensspiegel* (The Life of Willem Mertens) (1914,) nor Vestdijk's short story *Het Veer* (The Feather) (1959), because of *De Koperen Tuin* (The Garden where the Brass Band played) (1950). On 15 December 1966, the minutes show that it was suggested that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series whereby the Short Story Anthology would remain but with modern stories.

[see: Penguin's *The Penguin Book of Dutch Short stories* (2016) edited by Joost Zwagerman, who offers a collection of 36 Dutch short stories which includes amongst others *De Binocle* by Couperus and translated by Paul Vincent as *The Opera Glasses* which initially appeared in *de Haagse Post* in 1920 although Couperus had written it around 1897].

#### **AN ANTHOLOGY OF ESSAYS**

In June 1957 titles for the essay anthology were mentioned but not discussed again until 16 June 1960 and again on 30 January 1961. At the following month's meeting Karel Jonckheere, Albert Westerlinck, Luc Indestege, René Lissens, Urbain van de Voorde and Geerten Gossaert's were authors suggested with Vestdijk's *Het Pernicieuse Slot* (The pernicious lock) (1934), and *Lucretius Lucretius* (n.d.), being highlighted. The minutes of the following year on 2 April 1962 stated that the anthology was to contain ten essays, each having 5,000 to 10,000 words and being 12 to 25 pages in length. On 27 September 1963 essays were suggested by the board, see Table 70.

TITLE	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR	AUTHOR'S DATES	REMARKS
Swinburne (Swinburne).	1910	F. Carel Gerretsen, (pseudonym) Geerten Gossaert	1884-1958	The director considered it too long.
De Rerum Natura (The Nature of Things).	n.d.	Titus Lucretius Carus	99 BC -c. 55 BC	Van Vriesland, the chairman, questioned whether it was dangerous to offer the English

				public an essay about Lucretius which had been written long ago.
Dagen te Rome (Days in Rome).	1950	Arthur Cornette	1880-1945	
Notities over Antwerpen from De Man voor het Fenster (Notes concerning Antwerp from The Man in front of the Window).	1943	Maurice van Gilliams	1900-1982	Indestege suggested this.
Het Wezen der Romantiek (The Essence of Romanticism).	1925	August Vermeylen	1872-1945	Manteau suggested this.
James Ensor: Aspecten (James Ensor: Aspects).	1928	Van de Woestijne	1878-1929	Minderaa suggested this.
Aan Het Einde Van De Schoolstrijd (The school struggle's finale).		Kuypers (pseudonym) Karel J.Timmermans	1892-1967	Walschap suggested this as being perfect for a foreign audience

Table 70: Essay anthology (suggestions): 27 September 1963

Westerlinck mentioned that there were few, if not any, literary figures in the anthology. The Flemish essays of Elsschot were removed since his *Three Novels* (1965) would appear in the series. It was agreed that each essay would be 15 pages long and publication date would be 1965. On 15 December 1966, the minutes show that it was suggested that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series whereby the Essay Anthology be removed.

#### **AN ANTHOLOGY OF POEMS**

This anthology was not mentioned until 7 January 1960 when four poetry anthologies were suggested

to include volumes on mediaeval poetry, renaissance poetry, an anthology of poetry (1880-1940) and an anthology companion but it was agreed that so many would lead to problems with the publisher. Later that year, on 16 June 1960, Minderaa stressed that he did not want the poetry anthology to focus on famous poems but rather to be representative of a number of poets. On 29 September 1960, works for the poetry anthology were requested with no strict rules as yet per inclusion although volume length and their representative character were highlighted as being important. A list of existing English poetry translations was requested from Oversteegen on 16 December 1960 and in the following year in Leiden on 29 September 1961, Minderaa stressed the urgency for considering the contents of the poetry anthology before him leaving as chairman.

On 21 November 1963, the minutes recorded that the poetry anthology still needed to be done and it was recommended that an advisory sub-committee be set-up with Albert Bachrach and James Holmes who had spent many years translating Dutch poetry. Pieter van der Merwe wrote an obituary for Bachrach in *The Independent* on 5 February 2010 where he praised his translation of Shakespeare's sonnets into Dutch whilst James Holmes was a key figure in the discipline of Translation Studies having won the Martinus Nijhoff Prize for translations from Dutch into English in 1956, one year after the publication of his successful anthology of modern Dutch poetry. Whilst some of the board did not want to give Holmes the final say in the anthology's composition and doubted his indispensability, they did require his expertise. Suggestions from the board included poetry from Vondel, Hooft, Bredero and Gorter. On 15 December 1966, the minutes show that Heinemann be presented with a new model for the rest of the series whereby the Poetry Anthology be removed.

The board, did, however, pursue an interest in poetry and ten years later produced an edited volume in 1976 by Daniel Weissbort called *Modern Poetry in Translation-nr. 27-28*.<sup>87</sup> Weissbort was a figure in Translation Studies and along with Ted Hughes co-edited a Translation Studies Reader called *Modern Poetry in Translation* from 1965 for forty years.

An undated and unheaded document from The Hague archive highlights the board's continued interest in poetry in the publication of an anthology:

To study the history of the world's art without considering Dutch painting – from Rembrandt and Vermeer to Van Gogh, Mondrian, and Karel Appel – would be madness. How strange then, that so little is known of

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<sup>87</sup> Weissbort (1976): This contained works by Paul van Ostaijen, Gaston Burssens, Hendrik Marsman, Martinus Nijhoff, M. Vasalis, Gerrit Achterberg, Leo Vroman, Hans Lodeizen, Cees Buddingh, Adriaan Morriën, Lucebert, Gerrit Kouwenaar, Sybren Polet, Remco Campert, Hugo Claus, Hans Andreus, Ben Cami, Hugues C. Pernath, Paul Snoek, Gust Gils, Gerard Reve, Jaap Harten, J. Bernlef, K. Schippers, Judith Herzberg, H.C. ten Berge, Hans Verhagen, Patrick Conrad, Riekus Waskowsky, Rutger Kopland, Hans van de Waarsenburg, Mark Insingel, Eddy van Vliet and Sjoerd Kuyper.

what the Dutch have achieved in most other art forms. In the case of poetry, at least, it is an unwarranted ignorance. Perhaps this anthology will help to ameliorate the situation. During the course of this project, advice was sought from a number of poets and critics in the Low Countries, among whom special mention should be made of Gerrit Borgers, Gerrit Kouwenaar, Eddy van Vliet, and above all Cees Buddingh. The end result of this consulting was a list of 43 poets who can, we hope, be considered representative of the best that has been written in the Netherlands and Flanders since World War II. We received unstinting help and support from the Foundation of the Translation of Dutch literary Works and the Colombia University Translation Center.

This published volume relating to post-war poetry did not, however, contain works by Borgers and was published in 1984.<sup>88</sup> Recently, Vincent, Paul and John Irons (2015) have published works on Dutch translated poetry.

#### **A SHORT HISTORY OF DUTCH AND FLEMISH LITERATURE**

The minutes of 4 February 1957 show that first mention was made of a cultural history work from the 17 century to the present day; *What Happened in History* (1942) by Vere Gordon Childe published by Penguin-Pelican was suggested. Professor Childe was an Australian archaeologist and philologist who specialized in the study of European prehistory and archaeology, spending most of his life working as an academic for the University of Edinburgh. He wrote 26 books including *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925) published by Kegan Paul, London at the start of his career and *The Prehistory of European society* (1958) published by Penguin, a year after he committed suicide in his native Australia. The paperback of 256 pages concentrates on civilisation and is divided into 12 chapters including Palaeolithic Savagery, Neolithic Barbarism and The Early Iron Age which made it unsuitable for the board's needs.

In June 1957, Johannes Brandt Corstius (1908-1985), a later professor of comparative literature at Utrecht University from 1960 to 1975 was approached regarding his cultural-history work which he was in the process of writing. The volume was called *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur* (History of Dutch Literature) (1959), and published by Prisma Utrecht/Antwerp. He was a specialist on Gorter and had written *Herman Gorter, de Mens en Dichter* (Herman Gorter, the Man and Poet) (1934), published by Contact, Amsterdam which was adapted from his PhD thesis entitled, *Herman Gorter, een bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven en werk* (Herman Gorter, a contribution to understanding his life and work) of the same year. The 278 page paperback was divided into nine chapters each dealing with literature

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<sup>88</sup> Holmes, James and Smith (1984): This contained works by by: Pierre Kemp, Gerrit Achterberg, Leo Vroman, Adriaan Morriën, Hans Lodeizen, Lucebert, Gerrit Kouwenaar, Bert Schierbeek, Remco Campert, Sybren Polet, Jan G. Elburg, Paul Rodenko, Jan Hanlo, Hans Warren, Hans Andreus, Cees Nooteboom, Hugo Claus, Gust Gils, C. C. Hugues. Buddingh (ed). Colombia University Press, New York.

from the 12 to the 20 centuries but concern was expressed regarding its suitability for the foreign market since it was being written for a Dutch audience. Two years later on 12 March 1959, Oversteegen asked the members to consider the volume again which they still found unsuitable for foreign distribution.

The minutes of 7 January 1960 showed that discussions continued regarding Corstius' literary history which was considered too superficial for the series and members were asked to consider other authors for the volume. Jean Weisgerber, who had gained his PhD in 1952 on the English poet Wystan Auden and now resident at Brussels University, was suggested since he had published a Flemish literary history in Italian with Antonio Mor, entitled *Storia delle Letterature del Belgio* (History of Belgian Literature) (1958), published by Nuova Academia Editrice, Milan. This edition belonged to a series of 50 foreign language volumes translated into Italian called *Storia delle Letterature di tutto il Mondo* (Histories of World Literature) and published between 1951 and 1963.

This paperback of 361 pages which lacks a contents page is divided into two sections: The first section by Mor concerns Belgian literature of French speaking Belgium whilst the second section by Weisgerber traces the development of literature in Dutch speaking Belgium. Mor's (1958) section would have been of no interest to the board but Weisgerber's (1958) section of 175 pages contained a first section of three chapters concerning literature from 1150 to 1550; a second section which continues into the 16 and 17 centuries and a final section of three chapters which takes the journey from romanticism to the present day. Weisgerber had already published *De Vlaamse Literatuur op onbegane Wegen: Het Experiment van 'De Boomgaard', 1909-1920* (Flemish Literature in Untrodden Paths: The Orchard Experiment 1909-1920) in 1956, published by C. de Vries-Brouwers, Antwerp which was not raised by the board.

The minutes of 29 September 1960 show that Minderaa mentioned that the Parisian academic Professor Pierre Brachin who was resident at the Sorbonne from 1952 until 1979 was working on a Dutch literary history; *La Littérature Néerlandaise* (Dutch Literature) (1962), and that he should be approached. The paperback of 194 pages has nine chapters and charts the development of Dutch literature from mediaeval times through the Golden Age (1600s) and the 20 century to the inter-war years. It lacks a contents page but many of the authors of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* are considered. On 29 September 1961 discussions took place regarding a literary history volume and Professor of Dutch, Theodoor Weevers from Bedford College London<sup>89</sup> was contacted to supply the volume. Woods (1992) wrote:

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<sup>89</sup> Bedford College, London, former home of the Dutch faculty, before moving to UCL in 1983 where it has remained.

Weevers was a Dutch literary historian who was synonymous with Dutch studies and Bedford College for forty years. He saw the Dutch Department expand from a single lecturer with an average of just one Honours student per year and few others to a significant centre for Dutch Studies within the University of London with a teaching staff of five and several dozen students.

In the following year on 11 January 1962, a literary history was finally agreed for the series and a further request was made to contact Weevers to write the 200 page literary history volume. In the minutes of 2 April 1962, the literary history was again raised with Johannes Goris, (pseudonym Marnix Gijzen) being mentioned who had *written Klaagheid om Agnes* (1951) which was translated into English in 1975 as *Lament for Agnes* forming part of the *Library of Netherlandic Literature* series see Appendix 10; I could, however, find no literature history written by him.

On 2 April 1962 Reinder Meijer, future professor of Dutch at Bedford College London was also mentioned, and on 18 September 1962, with the literary history volume still having no author, Meijer, then resident in Melbourne, was again suggested. Meijer had studied Dutch literature and English at the University of Amsterdam between 1945 and 1950 and had completed his studies at the University of Melbourne, where he worked as a lecturer, achieving his PhD in 1958 on the poetry of Gerrit Achterberg. He was planning to visit the Netherlands in June 1963 for a year where he submitted a draft chapter for the volume.

The minutes of 29 January 1965 show that Meijer's literary history draft for the first chapter had been read by three of the board's members : Victor van Vriesland, a Dutch writer and critic and present president of PEN International, Hugo Corstius, Dutch writer and columnist, and Luc Indestege, a Flemish writer who wrote his doctorate on the Dutch poet Henriette Roland Holst. They all agreed that it had been conventionally written, requiring a broader outlook of the historical, cultural and social background which would have been useful to a foreign audience.

Meijer replied to Oversteegen on 29 March 1965 concerning their dissatisfaction of his handling of cultural history:

Ik vind het jammer dat het op die cultuur- geschiedenis moet afspringen, en ik heb het idee dat jullie die waarde van een cutuurhistorische situering overschatten. Ik ben niet tegen 'cult-gesch.' maar in een boekje dat in de eerste plaats een litt. gesch. moet worden, zou ik er niet teveel van willen hebben. Je moet nog eens kijken naar de 'Pelican histories' van Franse en Italiaanse literatuur; daar staat geen word cult. gesch. in en het zijn toch veel bruikbare boekjes.

(I find it a pity that you have to focus on cultural history and I have an idea that you are overestimating the value of a cultural history situation. I am not against this but in a small work which concerns itself primarily with literary history, I would not want to place too much emphasis on this. You ought to look again at the

Pelican histories of French and Italian literature where no mention is made of cultural history despite them being very usable).

His reply was not well received and the board broke contact with him. Heinemann's editor, Patricia Newnham, was also not enthusiastic about the volume stating in a letter to Oversteegen on 25 June 1965 that, 'It was too sketchy and somewhat carelessly assembled'. [It may have been a submitted draft that could have quickly revised with a successful outcome] but the board now had to start all over again with finding an author for the volume.

The minutes 16 September 1965 show that it was agreed to share the work for the literary history among three or four specialists, each of whom would be responsible for one of four areas: mediaeval, early renaissance and the 17, 18 and 19 century, and modern times from 1880. Edmund Colledge, translator of most of the mediaeval works for the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica*, Annie Romein-Verschoor, Dutch author and Cees Buddingh, Dutch poet were invited to do this but the board was unhappy with Romein-Verschoor's submission which Van Vriesland found prejudiced:

Ik respecteer de figuur van Annie en politiek sta ik zeer dicht in haar buurt; je moet achter mijn verzet tegen haar dus niets persoonlijks zoeken (...) Ik ben ook niet principeel tegen goede tendens litteratuur en bewonder sterk een hartstochtelijke geëngageerde litteratuur. Maar de benepen, kleingeestige en ik zou bijna zeggen kleinburgelijke wijze waarop Annie Romein buiten een uitgesproken sociale geïnteresseerde of met tendens behepte belletrie geen enkele andere litteraire uiting kan goedkeuren maakt haar volstrekt ongeschikt voor ons doel.

(I respect Annie as an individual and politically we are similar; you must therefore not look for anything personal in my protest (...) I am also fundamentally not against good tendentious literature and really admire it when it is passionate and engaging. But the small, narrow-minded and if I may say petit-bourgeois manner in which Annie Romein refuses to appreciate any other form of literary expression, apart from when it lies within her declared socialist interests or when it tends towards tendentious fine literature, makes her completely unsuitable for our goal).

The minutes of 30 November 1965 show that it was now agreed to ask Albert Bacharach, who had been asked in 1963 to assist with the poetry anthology, to write the literary history. On 17 January 1966, the minutes reflected Bacharach's agreement in principal to write the literary history volume and he submitted his draft for this later in the year to the Belgian writer Marnix Gijsen.

On 8 May 1968 It was agreed that the literary history would be written either as part of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica* series or as a volume in its own right. The minutes of 5 June 1969 reflect that Bacharach was to be given a contract for the literary history as it was noted that Meijer's literary history was to be

published by van Gorcum in 1971; Bacharach had asked if there could be duplication and eventually withdrew from the project. It is interesting to note that the accountants for The Foundation, Segall, Van Beek & Co. maintained 5,000 guilders (£31,092 today) on account for the literary history to be published until 1970.

#### **APPENDIX 7: THE PAYS BAS/FLANDRE SERIES**

The nine volumes of the *Pays Bas/Flandre* published by éditions universitaires were:

Couperus, Louis (1973) *Vieilles Gens et Choses qui Passent*, S. Roosenburg (trans.). (Van Oude Mensen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan) (1906). (Old People and the Things that Pass) (1963).

Emants, Marcellus (1969) *Une Confession Posthume*, S. Marguerron (trans.). (Een Nagelaten Bekentenis) (1894). (A Posthumous Confession) (1976).

Fagne, Henry (1975) *Anthologie de la Poésie Néerlandaise de 1850 à 1945*, Henry Fagne (trans.). (A Dutch Poetry Anthology from 1850 to 1945).

Multatuli (1968) *Max Havelaar*, Roland Garros (trans.). (Max Havelaar) (1860) (Max Havelaar) (1967).

Ruysbroeck, L'Admirable (1966) *L'Ornement des noces Spirituelles* Maurice Maeterlinck (trans.). (Gheestlike Brulocht) (n.d.). (The Book of the Sparkling Stone) (1965).

Slauerhoff, J. (1975) *Écume et Cendre*, S. Roosenburg (trans.). (Schuim en As (Asch) (1930). (Froth and Ashes). I have found no English translation of this work.

Teirlinck, Herman (1971) *Autoportrait ou Le Dernier Repas*, Germaine Paulan (trans.). (Zelfportret of het Galgemaal) (1955) (The Man in the Mirror) (1963).

Walschap, Gérard (1968) *Célibat* Guido Eeckels (trans.). (Celibaat) (1934). (Ordeal) (1963).

Wouters, Liliane (1973) *Bréviaire des Pays Bas. Anthologie de Littérature Néerlandaise du 13e au 15e Siècle*, (A breviary of the Netherlands : An anthology of Dutch literature from the 13 to the 15 century). Lilliane Wouters (ed).

#### **APPENDIX 8: THE BLUE PASSPORT SERIES**

The ten volumes of the *Blue Passport* series published by Heinemann, London were:

Andersch, Alfred (1961) *The Red Head* (Die Rote) (1960). Michael Bullock (trans.).

London. Carlson, Camilla (1962) *You are Mine* (Du er Likevel Min) (1960). Evelyn Ramsden (trans.).

Coccioli, Carlo (1961) *The White Stone* (La Caillou Blanc) (1958). Elizabeth Sutherland and Vera Bleuer (trans.).

Green, Julian (1961) *Each in his Darkness* (Chaque Homme dans sa Nuit) (1960). Anne Green (trans.)

Hermans, W.F. (1958) *The Dark Room of Damocles* (De Donkere Kamer van Damocles) (1962). Roy Edwards (trans.).



Hlasko, Marek (1961) *Next Stop Paradise and The Graveyard*. (Następny do Raju and Cmentarze) (1958). Norbert Guterman (trans.).

Lenz, Siegfried (1962) *The Lightship* (Das Feuerschiff) (1960). Michael Bullock (trans.)

Rehmann, Ruth (1961) *Saturday to Monday* (Illusionen) (1959). Catherine Hutter (trans.).

Shiina, Rinzo, (1961) *The Flowers are Fallen* (*Ai No Shogu*) (1955). Sydney Giffard (trans.).

Weisenborn, Günther (1962) *The Pursuer* (Der Vervolger) (1961). Paul Selver (trans.).

#### **APPENDIX 9: THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIES**

The twelve volumes of the *Library of the Indies*, published by the University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst were:

Alberts, A. (1983) *The Islands* (De Eilanden) (1952). Hans Koning (trans.).

Beekman, E. M. (1981) *The Poison Tree: Selected Writings of Rumphius on the Natural History of the Indies*. E.M. Beekman (trans.) (ed).

Beekman, E. M (1988) *Fugitive Dreams: An Anthology of Colonial Literature*. E. M. Beekman (trans.) (ed).

Breton de Nijs, E. (1982) *Faded Portraits* (Vergeelde Portretten) (1954). Rob Nieuwenhus, Donald and Elsje Sturtenvert (trans.).

Couperus, L (1990) *The Hidden Force* (De Stille Kracht) (1900). Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (trans.).

Daum, P. A. (1987) *Ups and Downs of Life in the Indies* ('Ups' en 'Downs' in het Indische Leven) (1892). Elsje Qualm Sturtevert (trans.).

Dermout, Maria (1983) *The Ten Thousand Things* (De Tienduizend Dingen) (1955). Hans Koning (trans.).

Du Perron, E. (1984) *Country of Origin* (Land van Herkomst) (1935). Francis Bulhof (trans.).

Multatuli, (1982) *Max Havelaar* (Max Havelaar) (1860). Roy Edwards (trans.).

Nieuwenhuys, Rob (1982) *Mirror of the Indies: A History of Dutch Colonial Literature*. Frans van Rosevelt (trans.) E.M. Beekman (ed).

Vuyk Beb and H.J. Friedericy (1983) *Two Tales of the East Indies: 'The Last House in the World' and The Counselor'*, (Het Laatste Huis van de Wereld) (1939) en (De Raadsman) (1958). André Lefevere, Hans Koning (trans.).

#### **APPENDIX 10: THE LIBRARY OF NETHERLANDIC LITERATURE**

The twelve volumes of the *Library of Netherlandic Literature* published by Twayne publishers, New York were:

Blaman, Anna (1974) *A Matter of Life and Death* (Op Leven en Dood) (1954). Adrienne Dixon (trans.).

Boon, Louis Paul (1972) *Chapel Road* (De Kapellekensbaan) (1953). Adrienne Dixon (trans.).

Eeden, Frederik van (1975) *The Deeps Of Deliverance* (Van De Koele Meren des Doods) (1900).  
Margarat Robinson (trans.).

Emants, Marcellus (1976) *A Posthumous Confession* (Een Nagelaten Bekentenis) (1894). J. M. Coetzee  
(trans.).

Gijsen, Marnix (1975) *Lament for Agnes* (Klaaglied om Agnes). (1951) W. James-Gerth (trans.).

Krispyn, Egbert (1972) *Short Story Anthology: Modern Stories From Holland And Flanders*. Egbert  
Krispyn (ed).

Lampo, Hubert (1974) *The Coming of Joachim Stiller* (De Komst van Joachim Stiller) (1960). Marga-  
Emelyn Jones (trans.).

Michiels, Ivo (1979) *Book Alpha and Orchis Militaris*, (1963) (Het Boek Alfa) (1963) en (Orchis Militaris)  
(1968). Adrienne Dixon (trans.).

Nieuwenhuys, Rob (1979) *Memory and Agony: Dutch Stories From Indonesia*. Adrienne Dixon (trans.)  
Egbert Krispyn (ed).

Ruyslinck, Ward (1978) *The Depraved Sleepers and Golden Ophelia* (De Ontaarde Slapers) (1957) en  
(Golden Ophelia) (1966). R.B. Powell and David Smith (trans.).

Schierbeek, Bert (1977) *Shapes of the Voice (Epic and Lyric Themes of a Dutch Poet)*. Charles McGeehan  
trans.

Streuvels, Stijn (1976) *The Long Road* (1976) (Langs de Wegen) (1902). Edward Cranhshaw (trans.).