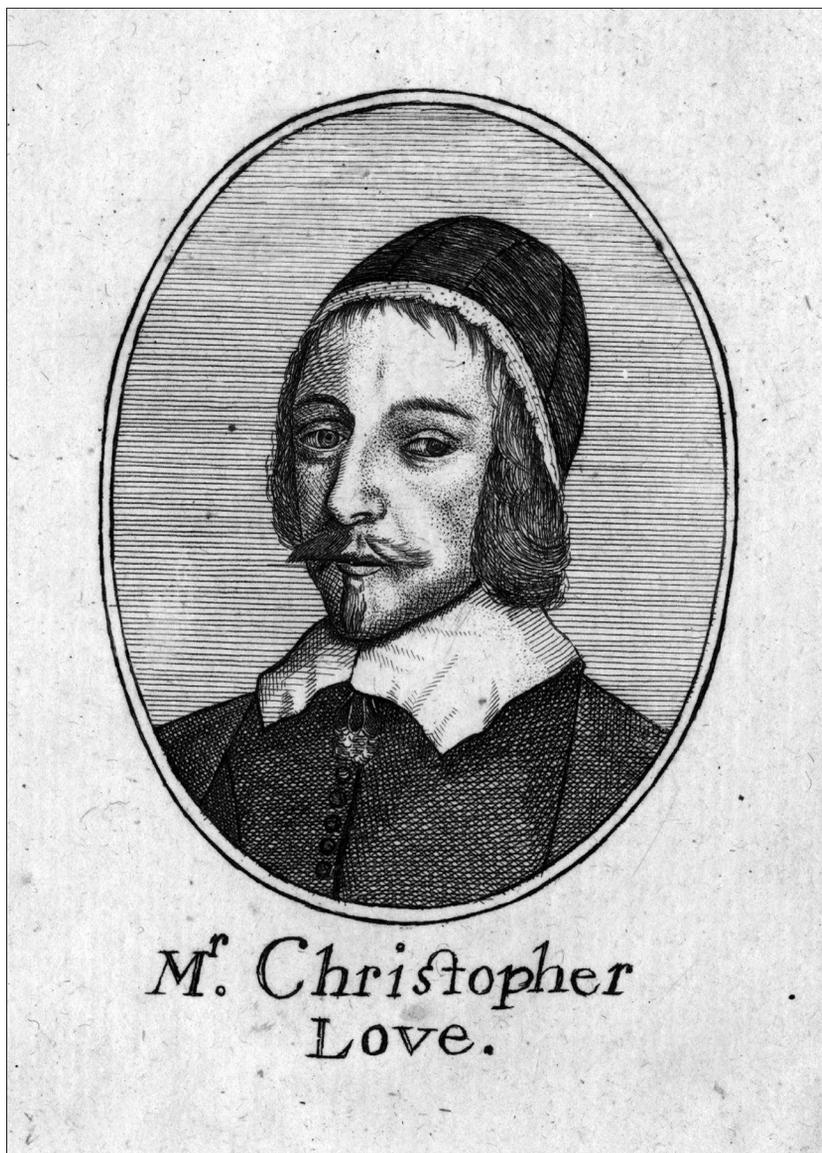


Nederlandse liefde voor Christopher Love (1618-1651)



Vroeg portret van Christopher Love.
Ets van onbekende kunstenaar, midden zeventiende eeuw.
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Nederlandse liefde voor Christopher Love (1618-1651)

Studies over het vertaalde
werk van een presbyteriaanse puritein

Studies onder redactie van W.J. op 't Hof en F.W. Huisman

Eindredactie F.W. Huisman



EON PERS AMSTELVEEN
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Engelse samenvattingen

1. F.W. Huisman, Het leven van Christopher Love (1618-1651)

Christopher Love was born in Cardiff, Glamorgan (Wales) in 1618. He was the youngest son of a father who had the same name and who worked as a merchant; his mother's name is unknown. The young Christopher was very proficient at playing cards and dice. He was studious from a young age. Although his upbringing was a completely secular one, he converted unexpectedly in 1633 when, out of curiosity, he went to listen to the new local minister William Erbury. This complete change in orientation led to his studying theology in Oxford in order to become a minister. In 1635 he was matriculated at the College New Inn Hall in Oxford. In Oxford he studied under the Puritan Dr Christopher Rogers. He acquired his BA on 2 May 1639 and his MA on 26 March 1642. Love was a confirmed Puritan and an adherent of the Presbyterian church government. Owing to his non-conformist views, he refused episcopal ordination.

He had already started his official ministry in 1639 as chaplain in the household of John Warner, the newly appointed Sheriff of London. This position placed him beyond the scope of the episcopal regulations. In the conflict between the English parliament and King Charles I, he chose the side of parliament. In the summer of 1642 in Tenterden in Kent, he preached about the lawfulness of a defensive war against the king. In late 1642 he was appointed parliamentary army chaplain to the regiment of the MP John Venn.

During the first English Civil War, the English parliament drew up the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1643) with the Presbyterian Scottish. In doing so, the two countries agreed to form a religious and political union. A direct result of this was the foundation of the Westminster Assembly that was to draw up the necessary reforms for the English church. These regulations were vigorously supported by a network of Presbyterian ministers in London and their noble protectors in other parts of England, and in parliament. The growth of this movement in London led to a Presbyterian organisation of the London church and the implementation of classes and a provincial synod, the London Provincial Assembly, which operated from 1646-1660.

Owing to the regulations of the Westminster Assembly in London, Love was ordained as a Presbyterian minister on 23 January 1645. As of May 1645 he was appointed lecturer to St Anne's Aldersgate and in March 1649 to the vestry St Lawrence Jewry. As a minister in London, Love participated fully in this Presbyterian network, which actively participated in the public debate and strived for radical social, moral and religious transformation of the English people.

The position of the London Presbyterians changed dramatically in December 1648 as a result of a coup d'état carried out by the army under the leadership of

Oliver Cromwell, which has since become known as the English Revolution. By the removal from parliament of many affiliated parliamentarians, the power base of the London church diminished. The intended trial and execution of Charles I caused a severe crisis of conscience among the presbyterians. In the *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643, a division of power between the king and parliament had been arranged. As a result of the English Revolution, the Covenant was unilaterally severed. After their unsuccessful written objections submitted to those in the new regime, Charles I was executed in January 1649.

Owing to their bond to the Covenant, for the Presbyterians there was no other option than to deny their support of the republican regime and to pray for the restoration of the monarchy. The church opposition to the new republic, the Commonwealth of England, not only existed in London, but was also reported in other parts of the country. Christopher Love was one of the ministers who also voiced his opinion about this in public. Shortly afterwards ministers were expressly forbidden to speak about political matters in public. A drastic step was the obligation to the *Engagement* in October 1649. All persons holding office were forced to commit themselves to the republican regime without a king or Upper House and a decimated parliament.

During regular private fasts in the homes of ministers or members of the congregation, various ministers preached and prayed for the restoration of the monarchy under the conditions of the Covenant. The Council of State deployed the poverty-stricken military captain Thomas Adams to attend these meetings and send back reports. Independently of the prayer meetings, the London manufacturer William Drake organised meetings in various public places in order to exchange relevant news about events outside England. The instigators of these meetings were the presbyterian-minded former London alderman James Bunce and the former major general Edward Massey. They lived in exile in the Netherlands and wanted to improve their position with the yet uncrowned Charles Stuart. By way of Drake they sought legitimacy for their actions.

As ringleader, and upon the request of those living in exile, Drake looked for support from among the presbyterians by promising them news from abroad. In this way he assembled a group of approximately thirty members of the congregation and ministers. In 1650 and in February 1651 the variably composed group met approximately seven times, usually in Love's centrally-located parsonage, and sometimes as the continuation of a private fast. Love's report shows that the leaders of the London group wanted to gain authorization in order to present themselves to Charles as representatives of the English presbyterians. Just as in a later request for funds for weapons, this was almost unanimously rejected by the Londoners. In February 1651, Love ended his participation in these conversations, which seen from the London perspective, were mainly idealistic, focussing on the restoration of the Covenant.

After the arrest of a royalist agent, the Council of State placed the London conversations in the context of the intended nationwide revolt in favour of the restoration of Charles Stuart. On 10 May 1651, Love was arrested with the rest of the group that was involved. Presumably owing to his high profile, Love was selected to appear before a judge. The trial before the High Court of Justice was carried out on the basis of a vague but broadly-formulated charge of high treason. Owing to contradictory witnesses and Love's extremely active input, it was a difficult trial. The skillful lawyer Matthew Hale concluded that no shred of evidence had been provided. However, Love was sentenced to death.

After the conviction, parliament received at least sixteen written petitions for

clemency. Both presbyterians as well as adherents to the Commonwealth of England strove to obtain clemency for Love. Research has shown that a group of people at the center of power, such as John Milton and Sir Henry Vane the Younger did everything they could to have the sentence carried out. The historian Vernon justly concludes that the trial was little more than a demonstration of the republic's brute power dressed up as legal sovereignty. The execution of Christopher Love on Tower Hill took place on 22 August 1651. The funeral took place in the night of 25/26 August in the church of St Lawrence Jury.

Ample documentation is available about Love and his case. The proceedings of the trial and the speech Love gave from the scaffold were noted in shorthand and published in full. Love himself wrote a report about the meetings held at his home, and a *Vindication*, also written by him, was posthumously published. His sermons were published by the only colleagues who were authorized to do so. His complete devotional work was available in a Dutch translation within ten years of his death. In October 1651 the other persons arrested were granted pardon after putting in a humble petition for clemency with parliament.

Translation by K.D. Houniet

2. A. Baars, Praktikale godgeleerdheid en de praktijk van de prediking bij Christopher Love

For a number of reasons it is not very easy to summarize Love's views on dogmatic and homiletic issues. First of all, he was executed when he was very young, only thirty-three years of age. This implies that his life-work has the character of a torso. Moreover, most of the writings of Love which were published during his lifetime or after his untimely death, were sermons.

Now it is definitely possible to learn very much about the theological stance of a person by studying his sermons. However, the scope of sermons is to a certain extent somewhat limited: for not all dogmatic themes are equally brought to the fore. This is especially evident in the works of Love. He is not so much interested in the speculative aspects of systematic theology, since the pre-eminent focus of his work is very practical. Therefore his sermons and treatises mainly deal with several aspects of the order of salvation, the question how a Christian may obtain assurance of his calling and election, the way in which the work of the Spirit is hindered or even quenched and the practice of holy living.

When Love deals with the assurance of election it is remarkable that he does not explicitly speak about God's decree of reprobation. This does not imply that he denies this doctrine as the Canons of Dordt speak about it, for instance. He merely wants to stress that man is totally responsible for the great sin of unbelief when he is rejected. A significant emphasis is also evident in the way in which Love treats the order of salvation. In his opinion the exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ is weightier than his sufferings and death on the cross. The implication is that he speaks much more extensively about the need of sanctification than of the justification by grace alone. Of course Love does not deny this central doctrine of the Reformation. But a certain shift in emphasis toward sanctification, is clearly noticeable in his writings.

When it comes to Love's homiletic views, he is clearly indebted to William Perkins and his trailblazing work, *The Arte of Prophecy* (1607). Love follows the main division of the sermon as proposed by Perkins in: explanation, doctrine and application. Like the majority of the other Puritan authors, he spends most of his

time in dealing with the final part, the application. His applications have a discriminating character. Love addresses different groups of hearers in his congregation: unconcerned and worldly people, seeking sinners, struggling, weak believers and as Christians that have come to a measure of assurance of faith. When Love preaches rather lengthy series of sermons on one singular text, the lengthy application is usually covered in more than one sermon. Another hall-mark of the sermons of Love is that he is very fond of expressive language. In his sermons we frequently find images, proverbial sayings, metaphors or examples that illustrate a certain doctrinal or practical point. The implication is that most of his sermons are characterized by a lively glow.

3. F.W. Huisman, De bibliografie van de Nederlandstalige werken van Christopher Love

This chapter gives a complete overview of all Dutch publications of his devotional works. The descriptions were made using *Pietas*, a digital resource providing extensive bibliographic information about all publications of Dutch reformed pietistic works. In this publication we present condensed descriptions from *Pietas* with general information about sources, translators and illustrations. In general only one reference is given, but all available data can also be found online at *Pietas Online* [<http://www.pietasonline.nl/pietas>].

The introduction to the bibliography gives an overview of the way in which the authorized English publications came in being and a list of the editions used by the Dutch translators. Research shows that two texts only exist in a Dutch translation. The source of one text for catechetical use (*Het mergh van de werckige godt-geleerdheid*, in English: *The sum or substance of practical divinity*) is at least mentioned in secondary literature, but a collection of meditations (*Stichtighe meditatie*) is completely unknown in English. It is also interesting that the Amsterdam publisher Baltus de Wild⁷ used the type-pages of his editions in the octavo format in 1659 for the production of a folio edition of the complete translated work under the title *Theologia practica*.

The bibliography of Christopher Love contains 90 publications. Most editions were published in the 17th century, but there was renewed interest in the second part of the 19th century and two new translations were published in the 21st century.

Translation by Jelle Huisman

4. F.W. Huisman, Illustraties in de Nederlandstalige werken van Christopher Love

Research based on data in *Pietas*, the digital bibliography of reformed devotional works, shows that at least 18% of the puritan devotional literature published in Dutch in the 17th century contains illustrations. The illustrations are often illustrated title pages or frontispieces, but illustrations can also be found in the text itself. 50% of the 17th century publications of Dutch translations of Christopher Love's works contain one or two illustrations. While the English editions only have portraits of Love, Dutch editions show a greater variety of illustrations. This is an indication of the Dutch interest in the person and work of Love.

The first illustration is an etching of the execution of Love at Tower Hill, which is published in 1651 on a plano sheet together with the translation of the scaffold speech. This might have inspired the Utrecht publisher Henrick Versteegh who started publishing Dutch translations in 1654. His first publication, with the programmatic title *Love redivivus*, contains the last sermons, the scaffold speech and correspondence but also a portrait of the author and a small emblematic engraving, taken from the *Emblemata sacra* of Bartholomeus Hulsius. In the Dutch translation of *The combate between the flesh en Spirit* Versteegh included an engraving of a 'Miles christianus,' based on a cartouche of a title page made by the English engraver John Payne for a similar work of John Downname (*The christian warefare against the devil, world, end death*, 1634).

According to the captions the portraits of Love are based on a drawing or painting by Cornelis Janson van Ceulen jr (1634-1715), but it is unclear whether this is correct. They look remarkably similar to an anonymous and undated English portrait and the composition resembles a portrait by the engraver Thomas Cross. By enriching his publications with pictures Henrick Versteegh has determined how Christopher Love was seen in The Netherlands for centuries.

Translation by Jelle Huisman

5. W.J. op 't Hof, De Nederlandse vertalers van het oeuvre van Christopher Love

This offering presents research conducted into the Dutch translators of the devotional works of Welsh Puritan Christopher Love. The research examines not only the identity of these translators but also the place that translations of Love enjoyed within the wider whole of each translator's published output, as well as any interrelations there may have been between the translators.

Introducing Love's works to the Netherlands was the initiative of Henrick Versteegh (1630-1673) of Utrecht, who did so both in the capacity of publisher and in that of translator. When just starting out in the publishing trade, Versteegh brought out two compendia of Love's sermons, in 1654-55. A total of six separate editions of these two books were forthcoming. Versteegh's texts later reappeared in the five seventeenth-century editions that there were of Love's *Theologia practica*. Versteegh also published in 1654 a pair of sermons by the Puritan Daniel Dyke in Versteegh's own translation.

Versteegh found a worthy successor as translator in the form of fellow Utrecht man Jacobus Koelman (1631-1695), at the time still a theological student and later to become a preacher of the Dutch Further Reformation. Koelman translated ten Puritan works for Versteegh, including five of Love's, which went through a total of 26 editions during the seventeenth century. A smaller work by Love was brought out by the Middelburg publisher Pieter van Goetthem in 1659 attributed to Koelman's translation, although it is questionable whether Koelman himself was involved, since the publisher states that the manuscript had not been intended for publication. This would also be Koelman's only translation of a French source-text. Even more intriguing here is that the original English text is untraced.

Koelman was a prolific writer, producing in all two reworkings of other authors' writings, 31 translations of English and Scots Puritan works, and no fewer than 43 works of his own, including many whose contents were of a pronounced Further

Reformation nature. Up until 1669, Koelman translated almost exclusively the works of English Puritans; from that year on, he concentrated predominantly on Scots Covenanters. Evidently, their strident theological stance appealed to him more than the cautious formulations of the English Puritans of his day. Koelman was a Further Reformation figure who not only was entirely Puritan-oriented but also adopted the Scots Puritans' eschewal of liturgies and the church calendar. His rejection of formularies became a vital matter, as it led to his expulsion from office in 1675.

Koelman's original works were in all cases limited to a single edition. Several translations of his, on the other hand, were so acclaimed that they had to be reprinted regularly; in some cases, down to the present day. The verdict of history is that this man, who in his own time was more railed against than almost any other in his land, has maintained a posthumous fame far exceeding that of any of his opponents!

Koelman formed the link connecting Love's first established publisher in Dutch, Versteegh of Utrecht, and the second of them, Abraham van Laren (1633-1679) of Vlissingen (Flushing). At least two and possibly three collections of Love's sermons were translated into Dutch by Van Laren himself in 1658 and 1659, and he also instigated one of his townsmen, Bartholomeus Reyniersen (b. 1626), to translate a further work by the Welshman, which Van Laren subsequently published. This Vlissingen duo had no less success with their translations of Love than the Utrecht men had enjoyed. Reyniersen's translation, and one of Van Laren's, required a second edition, and moreover all their translations were incorporated in the five seventeenth-century editions of *Theologia practica*.

Versteegh and Van Laren had three things in common: being publishers, being translators of Puritan works, and being church officers (deacon and elder). There was one aspect in which their translation work differed: Versteegh left translation practice behind him after these three translations at the start of his publishing career, whereas Van Laren carried on later in life, later translating three other Puritan works. In addition, Van Laren, unlike Versteegh, also compiled a work of his own: a thesis, in fact, on the reformation of the office of church elder. In this writing, he proved to be Koelman's loyal disciple. This work is ample grounds on its own to qualify him as a Further Reformer.

Reyniersen was an apothecary by trade. His début translation of a compendium of Love's sermons was the starting signal, just as it was for Koelman and Van Laren, for an extended series of translations of Puritan writings. He translated two more Puritan works, including *None but Christ* by John Wall. It was with this translation of 1660 that he achieved the most success. The seventeenth century saw fully six editions of the translation, and it has been reprinted frequently in subsequent centuries down to the present day.

The four translators considered above were links in a single chain of translation: Versteegh instigated Koelman, Koelman sparked Van Laren's interest, and Van Laren gave Reyniersen the crucial encouragement. Given that Versteegh, Koelman and Van Laren can unquestionably be reckoned as part of the Further Reformation, this network of translators and publishers is to be seen as largely, if not entirely, part and parcel of that Pietist movement.

The fifth and final seventeenth-century Dutch translator of Love, Petrus de Lange (1631/32-1716), however, not only had nothing to do with that network but in some senses was diametrically opposed to it. In contrast to his four predecessors, he was personally no devotee of Puritan reading matter: he was moderately against it, in fact. The reason why he nevertheless published works by Love was more prosaic:

he found himself obliged to translate to earn a living, becoming what is known in Dutch as a broodvertaler (bread-translator). Having graduated in theology and acquired his preaching licence, he found that no congregation called him, hence his decision to become a professional translator and compiler. Commissioned by Amsterdam publisher Baltus de Wild', he translated two separate works by Love in 1658-59. Four further translations by him of works by Love appeared in the first edition of the compilation *Theologia practica*, which he edited. When the second edition of it came out five years later – courtesy of a rival consortium of four Amsterdam publishers – it was supplemented with a seventh translation of Love, also by De Lange. Five of his translations were retained in the remaining three seventeenth-century editions of *Theologia practica*.

De Lange also collated a chrestomathy of William Perkins, produced a little dogmatic work in dialogue form, wrote eleven historical works of largely compilatory nature, and provided another historical book with a foreword.

It was only in recent decades that Love's work was again translated into Dutch, with three translators working afresh on books or extracts. None of the three was a theologian and they did not confer with each other regarding their translations. The first two of these recent translators of Love were both educationalists; the last was a political scientist. We can, then, summarise the chronology of Christopher Love in Dutch as being "from publisher to political scientist". Curiously, then, the translation history recapitulates the end of the author's life, for Love died a political death.

Translation by A.C. Thomson

6. W.J. op 't Hof, *De editiegeschiedenis van Christopher Loves werken in het Nederlands*

This contribution traces the editorial history of the Dutch translations of Christopher Love's piety literature. It was two obscure publications that started this still-ongoing appearance in Dutch of works by him. These were a pair of editions of the Dutch translation of Love's speech from the execution scaffold in 1651 and were most likely intended more for political than for devotional ends. Their publication must have been impelled by English Presbyterians and/or royalists resident in the Netherlands, and/or by Dutchmen outraged by the regicide of Charles I in 1649.

The Welsh Puritan's bold faith, as testified to in that speech, will in large measure have been what piqued the interest of Henrick Versteegh (1630-1673) of Utrecht in Love's person and work. Versteegh was, as noted in the previous chapter, just starting out in publishing; moreover, he had a command of English. Reading Love's sermons, Versteegh was so engrossed that he resolved to make the publication of them in Dutch the chief priority of his nascent business. To keep costs down, he himself undertook the translation of the first two editions of Love. Subsequently, Versteegh published five of Love's works in the translation of Jacobus Koelman (1631-1695). As soon as other publishers realised that Versteegh was on to a good thing with his Love titles, they were falling over themselves to produce bootlegs. First into the fray was Middelburg publisher Gerrit Wemmers, in 1657; hot on his heels in 1658 were Matthijs Rathel, of the nearby Zeeland city of Goes, and Amsterdam publisher Baltus de Wild'. The following year, another Middelburg man joined the bandwagon:

François Croock, Wemmers, Rathel and Croock published just one work of Love's each, with none of them enjoying much recompense for their pains. Their versions saw such sluggish sales that they had second thoughts about ever bootlegging another Love book and never reprinted their first editions, either.

De Wild', however, had more success with his pirated copies: he brought out six editions of Love books within the space of three years. One of these was a folio edition of the Welshman's collected works. What had earlier overcome Versteegh, also put paid to De Wild's business: before he could make any more profits with *Theologia practica*, De Wild' was knocked out of the market by the combined effects of four local competitors, each with a larger concern than his own, and three of which were motivated purely by financial gain. The folio sold so well that after the death of one of these four, Jan Hendrickszoon Boom, his widow and two of his sons had it reprinted three times. It is an historic irony that those Dutch publishers who made the healthiest takings from selling the works of this Welsh exponent of piety were those who had the least affinity with the content of his preaching.

One publisher of whom it is certain that he felt entirely in spiritual accord with Love's message was Abraham van Laren (1633-1679) in the Zeeland port of Vlissingen (Flushing). Just as with Versteegh, it was with good reason that this man applied himself to translate Love. In all, seven books by Love appeared in 1658 and 1659 with his name given as publisher. Like Versteegh, Van Laren had a measure of success with his Love titles: two of his seven editions were reprints. Also, like Versteegh before him, Van Laren was ripped off by De Wild', who had incorporated all Van Laren's translations in his collected works folio.

From this point on, editions of Love's work in Dutch keep featuring Koelman, and above all the province of Zeeland. In 1659, Middelburg publisher Pieter van Goetthem, having come into the possession of the manuscript of *Stichtige meditatie, ende godvruchtige resolutien* (Devotional Meditations and Godly Resolutions), which contained a Koelman translation of a work by Love, published that translation. Koelman had worked from a French translation; remarkably enough, neither the English original of Love's text nor that French translation is now known. Taking together the facts that this was one of Van Goetthem's first publications and that he was a publisher straightforwardly motivated by financial considerations, we are safe to conclude that Love's writings were by this time well-received in Zeeland.

A further proof of this came in 1661, when another Middelburg publisher, Adriaan Baldeus, ventured an edition that combined two works, the second of which had originally been translated by Van Laren. The combined edition bore the Dutch title: *Naackt vertoogh van den algemeenen, schrickelicken dagh des oordeels, tot waerschouwinge voor alle christenen, die haer ziele een zalige behoudennisse toe-wenschen. Met veel copere platen verciert. Noch een tractaetjen van den dienst der engelen*. The last sentence of this title refers to the subject of the Love tract, the 'ministry of the angels'. Unlike Van Goetthem, Baldeus had a particular publishing focus on devotional literature. It is also noteworthy that Baldeus went to considerable expense to make his edition as attractive as possible. He adorned his edition not only with a portrait engraving of Love on the frontispiece but also with twelve copper engravings interspersed in the text. Four years on, we find a third Middelburg man – Jacob de Later, another publisher with purely commercial aims – bringing out an entirely revised and expanded edition of the combined book with the Dutch title given above.

In subsequent ages, interest waned. The only eighteenth-century Dutch publisher of Love was Johannes Olingius (1723-1789) of Drachten, whose new edition

of Love's farewell speech was published in 1759. After this, it was nearly a full century before any further movement was made in the publication of Love's works in Dutch. The first renewed stirrings of interest in the nineteenth century were in his last speech, although the situation is complicated by the fact that no fewer than three separate publishers offered it to the Dutch reading public in three distinct pamphlets. What is more, around the same time – in 1852 – yet another publisher marketed an extract from *Den strijdt tusschen vleesch en Geest*.

It appears that a good number of readers had their appetites whetted by these little publications, for J. Campen of Sneek (Snits) in Friesland republished Love's complete works in 1857-60, as did J.J.H. Kemmer of Utrecht in 1861-63. Both publishers brought out their collections in instalments that could be subscribed to in advance. This lower-cost manner of publication is a strong indication that the intended readership was the less privileged, whom Abraham Kuyper later in the century would champion under the name of the *kleine luyden* (little folk). The Dutch reading public evidently did acquire a taste for Love's wider works: at the fin de siècle, a third *Collected Works* was published, but this time all at once. The publishers of this edition were the Hüge brothers, who concomitantly offered a book of Love's collected sermons. Moreover, four separate editions were produced by L. Dorsman of Rotterdam. The latter half of the nineteenth century, then, saw a vigorous reawakening of interest in the Welshman's oeuvre. This doubtless had to do with the two major schisms in nineteenth-century Dutch Protestantism whereby most of the more pietistically-minded left the Reformed Church: the *Afscheiding* of 1834, and, to a lesser extent, Kuyper's *Doleantie* of 1886.

This rejuvenated Dutch interest in Love rather petered out in the twentieth century. At the beginning of the 1970s, there were only seven Dutch editions of Love's last speech available from two publishers (and six of the seven were from one of them, Den Hertog), and the only other Love publications on the Dutch market were nine individually-bound sermons in the *Overjarig Koren* (Corn Left from Old Harvests) series of reprints of old preachers. It was only in 1971 that something more substantial came onto the market, and this due to was a remarkable one-off initiative. N.G.J. Schouten (1926-2001), an international business figure, had five Dutch translations of Love's sermons from Eens christens onderrichtinge updated in language, and presented his many staff with the resulting book. The publisher commissioned for this job subsequently sold off the rest of the print run commercially. A very limited edition of a photocopied reproduction of Eens christens onderrichtinge (1659) was published later in the century, which may well be causally linked with Schouten's initiative of 1971.

It is surprising against this background that not just one, but two collections of Love's sermons were published in the first decade of the twenty-first century: that is more in just ten years than the whole of the previous century could muster. Besides the quantitative leap, there has also been one in quality. The two publishers involved in the recent editions, Koster (of Barneveld) and De Groot Goudriaan (Kampen), had the seventeenth-century English texts of Love's sermons translated afresh to ensure the most accessible Dutch translations possible.

Whereas the seventeenth-century publishers of Love's works in the Netherlands were commercially-motivated businesses that stole a march on their more pietistically-minded rivals, those bringing Love's writings to the Dutch market since the eighteenth century have without exception been publishers that cater specifically to an experimentally Reformed readership. Some of them have even had an evident preference for piety literature from Britain above native Dutch productions.

We are left with the factual observation that publishers focusing on experimental theology have completely dominated the market for Love's works in Dutch in all the centuries since his own. This has plenty to tell us about the economic considerations of publishing the Welshman's works in the Netherlands. Since the close of the seventeenth century, Dutch publishers have not been able to make much money from Christopher Love, which explains the total lack of interest on the part of purely commercial businesses in republishing his works. The latter of the two most recent Dutch publishers of Love, De Groot Goudriaan, is in some ways a slight exception to this observation, since it would be fair to say that as a publisher it has a wider target audience in mind than the experimentally Reformed *sensu stricto*.

Translation by A.C. Thomson

7. J. van de Kamp, *De vertaalstrategieën van de Nederlandse vertalers van de geschriften van Christopher Love*

In this article several Dutch translations of Love's writings are compared with the source texts. Of all translators the first translation that appeared, is investigated. Some works have been translated by two translators. These writings have also been compared with the source text. For the analysis the model of the translation studies scholar Andrew Chesterman is used, which distinguishes three types of translation strategies: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic translations strategies.

Only two translators were not very well-skilled. Henrick Versteegh was acquainted with English pretty good, Petrus de Lange only at low average. The main reason for both to translate may have been a financial one.

The translators show different characteristics. Versteegh often used the strategy "double presence". Jacobus Koelman tended to reduce, paraphrase and to the use of synonyms. De Lange often leaved out information.

In addition to *Den dienst der engelen* probably also *Korte ofte laetste reden en Balzem Gileads* were translated by Abraham Van Laren.

In some cases a source text was translated two times. In some cases these translations appeared short after each other. In some cases the first translation appeared in the 17th century, the second translation in the 21st century. Notwithstanding that one should be cautious in drawing conclusions from the comparison between two translations that appeared in different times, it turns out that Koelman translated in a more free way than Johannis de Jager. The same applies to Evert-Jan Brouwer who translated the same work as Bartholomeüs Reyniersen.

If one compares the 17th-century translations with each other one can conclude prudently that De Lange and Koelman took most freedom in translating the source text. From the 20th and 21st-century translators De Jager sticked most close to the words, word order and syntax of the source text and Johannes Kooistra and Brouwer permitted themselves more freedom. The freedom in translating thus did not depend of the time but of the translator.

Most adaptations of the translators can be explained by general reasons like adaption to the Dutch language and culture and making the text more readable. In some cases the translator may have had specific reasons, like guiding of the image building, avoiding conflicts regarding hot political and confessional issues or difference in theological opinions. There seems to be a rising line in regard to the extent of the shift from syntactic to semantic and pragmatic strategies.

Several translators tried to make in divers way their translation accessible for a broad reading audience existing both of higher and lower educated people. From the seven 17th-century translators four (Van Laren, De Lange and two unknown translators) translated Bible texts into the Dutch Statenvertaling. The translators from 20th and 21st century however, all made use of the Statenvertaling. The translators who have followed the English source text may have done so for reasons of consistency with the surrounding text, the other translators may have used the Statenvertaling because of its authority within the Dutch Reformed church. The fact that not all 17th-century translators made use of the Statenvertaling, but that all translators from the 20th and 21st century did so, can be explained by the fact that this Bible translation during the 17th century was still in the process of fixing its authority.

8. W.J. op 't Hof, De receptie van Christopher Loves werken in de Nederlanden

The present offering considers first the overall reception of Christopher Love's works in the Netherlands before going on to look at the specific reception. All the seventeenth-century sources agree that translations of Love were particularly keenly read by the Dutch. Not only did the humble pious devour them; they were also read by theologians and professors. We even read that Utrecht professor Matthias Nethenus (1618-1686) was joyously welcoming of the translations of Love's works. An accusatory outburst to this effect made by Franciscus Burmanus (1632-1679), a fellow academic of his who was an adherent of the Coccejus camp of theologians, is evidence that it was not just adherents of Voetius who could appreciate Love's theology, but so – to some extent, at least – did the *Coccejanen*.

During the seventeenth century, Dutch editions of Love had an impact beyond the Republic of the Netherlands. In 1674, German Reformed lawyer Johannes Deusing brought out a compilation on Christian business practice, composed of seven chapters. Three of these draw heavily upon *Eens christens onderrichtinge*, Abraham van Laren's (1633-1679) Dutch edition of Love. This secondary influence of Love's works in the German states was even interconfessional. A Lutheran chamber musician at the Court of Saxony in Jena, Andreas Volprecht, was not only the translator of a work by English Puritan John Hayward but also appended to this translation Edmund Calamy's funerary address on Love's execution. This combined German publication appeared in 1664. Since Volprecht's translation of Hayward was made from the Dutch version of the English original, it is reasonable to assume that the same is true of his translation of Calamy's address. That German Lutherans had an appreciation for the Welsh Calvinist is also clear from the contents of their libraries.

A sarcastic novel by a pair of ladies who surveyed pious society with a disparaging gaze, *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1782) by Elizabeth Wolff-Bekker (1738-1804) and Aagje Deken (1741-1804), reveals to us that throughout the seventeenth century, Love's works in Dutch translation had still lost nothing of their popularity among advocates of experimental religion.

A passage written in 1852 by S.J. de Jonge, a publisher from Goes in Zeeland, allows us to conclude that the number of extant copies of Love's works in Dutch around the middle of the nineteenth century was no longer sufficient to meet demand. De Jonge not only noted this need but took action to resolve it. The success that he had with his edition was very slight but the subsequent complete-

works editions by Campen and Kemmer, which both followed hot on De Jonge's heels, vindicated his judgement.

In Rotterdam, L. Dorsman judged at the start of the twentieth century that Love's writings were 'still had in acceptance with the people of God', by which he meant Reformed Pietists. We see, then, that the clamour for Love's writings never actually went away in the intervening centuries. The difference between the seventeenth-century and twentieth-century situations is merely that in the seventeenth, Pietists were still represented in all tiers of Dutch society, whereas three centuries on, they were almost without exception clustered in the lower orders.

Moving on to consider the specific reception of Love, the first thing that strikes one is that the available data are exclusively from the seventeenth century. This indicates that Love's oeuvre was of only marginal significance in the following centuries. The second thing of interest to the researcher is that there were several distinct instances of the Welshman's writings being read in the Netherlands in the original English. Thirdly, we note that the number of contemporary quotations of and references made to Love is not particularly impressive, which tells us that Love was not of special significance to writers of his age. Fourthly, the sole exception to the above observation is that Samuel Scherphof (d. 1689) made several references to *Den strijd tussen vleesch en Geest* when adducing arguments in one of his writings. In Scherphof's case, we can understand why he cited Love: the material he was treating was comparable with Love's subjects. Fifthly, it was the aforementioned Dutch edition of Love's works that had the greatest reception, as attested to not only by Scherphof but also by Further Reformation ministers Guiljelmus Saldenus (1627-1694) and Johannes Quintius (d. 1701). Sixthly, from the data we have on a Pietist merchant of Harlem, Mattheus du Bois (d. 1695), we see that the record of Love in the form of quotations and references is minimal in comparison with the number of actual books of Love's that he had in his library overall. This will doubtless likewise have been the case with other predominantly devotional authors.

Seventhly, it is clear that the specific reception of Love in the Netherlands is to a huge extent accounted for by Further Reformation figures, and that this reception was limited exclusively to the social milieu of promoters of piety. There is one exception to this observation, which accordingly is the case to which we must pay the most attention: that of Burmannus. Due to his being named as one who gladly read Love in Dutch, we can, with a degree of caution, assume that Love's writings were appropriated and appreciated by the full spectrum of devotionally-minded Dutch Reformed readers: not only (although predominantly) by Voetianen but also by Coccejanen. Evidently, the content of Love's theology was such as to transcend those party lines.

Can we attach such a significance to the above data that we may regard them as indicative, or even as forming our impressions? In light of the scarcity of hard facts, one might be disposed to hold off from the latter altogether and to accept the former only very tentatively. Yet the circumstance that these facts accord largely or even entirely with the findings of the chapters in the present collection on the translators and on the publishers of Love, does make it tempting for us to assume at least an indicative significance for these data, if not to consider seriously whether they might even be strong enough to shape our judgement.

Translation by A.C. Thomson

9. J. van de Kamp, De internationale receptie van Loves geschriften

Loves works were most printed in Dutch (93 editions). This language is followed by English English (90) and – with a large interval – German (3), French (2) and Scottish Gaelic (1). If one compares the number of editions per title in several languages, there are striking differences. It is for example remarkable that the books about Love's execution, his scaffold speech and *Love's name lives*, were printed more times in Dutch than in English.

Translations of Love's writings first appeared in France and the Netherlands, in both countries in 1651. Germany followed (1664), then Scotland (1738), the USA (1792) and the Scottish Highlands (1848).

Love's writings were all translated by men with a wide range of jobs. The works of Love were printed, translated and read both by Reformed and Lutheran people. Reformed (Coccean) and Lutheran (orthodox) theologians, who criticized Puritan literature in generally, because they regarded these works as being too legalistic, made an exception for, among others, Love.

It seems that many of the translators, printers and readers of Love's writings were congenial with Puritan piety. However, not for all of these people data on their religious background has been collected, for which reason one cannot derive a general conclusion from this.

Love's writings were, apart from the Anglosaxon world, very popular in the Netherlands, but hardly in the French and German language area. Specific reasons for this fact cannot be found. The high popularity in the Netherlands may be declared by the tight interaction between the first four translators: Hendrik Versteegh, Jacobus Koelman, Abraham van Laren en Bartholomeüs Reyniersen.