omdat zijn beschouwingen nog eens ten overvloede demonstreren, hoe diep de moderne literatuurwetenschap in zin en betekenis van ook het moeilijkste woordkunstwerk vermag door te dringen en in staat is ook zijn duisterste achtergronden in een helder en overtuigend licht te stellen.

Groningen. TH. C. VAN STOCKUM.

SIR CONSTANTYN HUYGENS AND BEN JONSON

On Friday, June 12th, 1618, a young Dutchman on his first visit to London wrote a long letter to his parents at The Hague, telling them how very much he found himself "en son climat". After mentioning delightedly the Italian concert-parties at the Savoy Embassy he was already going to twice weekly, and adding that he had even been promised a chance to hear the Queen's Music, he continued:

> Pour ce Midi Monsr Caron est prié par Monsr Cecill à un festin qu'au nom de son Père le Conte d'Exiter fera au Roy en une sienne Maison à quelque quatre Lieucs d'icy. où j'auray occasion de veoir plus amplem[t] les grandeurs de la Cour d'Angleterre qui est superbe et magnifique au possible. [1])

"Monsr Caron" was the young man's host, Sir Noel de Caron, the Dutch Ambassador. "Monsr Cecill" was Sir Edward Cecil, the well-known Colonel of a regiment of English horse in the Low Countries. And the young Dutchman was Constantijn Huygens, the twenty-two year old son of the Secretary to the State Council of the United Provinces.

Constantijn Huygens is rarely mentioned in English literary histories and then only in connection with John Donne, as the latter's Dutch translator. It is usual to gloss over his exceptional place in Dutch literary history, and the question is hardly ever asked why a young man who grew up in a country the average cultural achievement of which was still largely conditioned by the spirit of the 'Rederijker', should suddenly have manifested a taste for something so strikingly its opposite as the English 'Metaphysical Mind'. Yet, what else did 'Rederijkerij' represent, but the spirit of the Guild-bound 'burgher-rhetorician' in letters and 'burgher-glorifier' in painting? There must have been an intermediate phase. Of course, the initial and decisive stage in Huygens' gravitation towards the Metaphysical style came through those contacts with English literary circles about which we are merely told that they dated from subsequent visits [2]). But what of the way in which they developed?

The key to a solution for our problem may be found in Huygens' own work. For the first poem Huygens ever translated from English, or indeed

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[1]) Huygens to his Parents, 16 June, 1618. (Printed in part from MS. XLIX, f. 32 in the 'Koninklijke Bibliotheek', The Hague, by Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, The Hague, 1907, nr. 46.

[2]) See Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), II, lxxvii; Keynes, *A Bibliography of John Donne* (Cambridge, 1932), 46 and 130; Evelyn Simpson, *The Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1948), 246.

Gosse, in *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe* (London, 1879). 252—3, and Grierson in *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century; Northern Europe* (London, 1906), 34—38, each give a brief outline of Huygens' life and letters.

The poems quoted here were first published as *Otiorum Libri Sex* (The Hague, 1625) and *Korenbloemen* (The Hague, 1658); the complete works reprinted in Worp, *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* (Groningen, 1892).

from any other modern language, was a poem of Ben Jonson's. The time was November 1619, the place The Hague, and the poem Epigram XLII, *On Giles and Ione*. In itself the piece may seem quite unimportant. The choice, however, both of the poem and of the poet, for this particular debut, was unprecedented. To account for it, we may reconstruct the following background.

A few weeks after that great occasion at Wimbledon when young Huygens was first introduced to the splendours of English Court Revels, he had felt compelled to write his characteristic *Doris oft Herderclachte*. In this 34-stanza poem he recalled the day he had met his spirited neighbour in the wooded outskirts of The Hague, their secret betrothal before his departure for the University of Leyden, and the lady's unexpected change of feeling toward him after they had been separated only a few months. Later, back in Holland, the jilted lover turned into the 'misogamos' he was to stay for many years [1]). Is it surprising that when casting about for suitable verses to match a bitter mood, his choice settled on Jonson's Epigram? Pondering, in the midst of a brave show of flippancy, about the frailty of women, he had been sure sooner or later to hark back to what he had seen, heard and felt in England. It is more than likely, besides, that at that time he already had in his possession the copy of the Jonson First Folio which was in his library at his death [2]).

Like his 'shepherd's lament' of the year before, the Dutch version of the epigram remained unpublished during his lifetime. But the manuscript has come down to us with a note in its margin reading "Paraphr. Ex Anglico Ben Johnson" [3]). A comparison of the Dutch and English texts will suggest how these five words may provide our first clue to Huygens' own notions about translating — and perhaps even more. For the substitution of "Piet" and "Trijn" for "Giles and Ione" shows that he felt he must cater to the common reader, and at the same time wipe out all traces of the poem's foreign origin. This remarkable attitude in one naturally attracted to an involved mode of expression sets the tone. At the very beginning he translated "Indeed poor Giles repents he married ever" [4]) literally into the Dutch equivalent of 'Piet curses the day he married the Pig'. After that he turned "And Giles would never by his free will be in Ione's company" into 'If Piet were granted his wishes, he would never come near his woman'. The next line, "No more would Ione he should" is hardly of the directness of 'Were Trijn to do as she wished, she'd never touch his body'. Whether 'Trijn's face' was meant to represent "harsh sights at home" may be debated. But "All this does Ione" certainly does not seem to imply 'Not to see Piet, Trijn would claw out her eye'. And, finally, is not "Oh, that this long-yearn'd life were quite out-spun" rather different in tone from 'Piet wished he lay long since a-rotting in the graveyard's bogs'? Although the rest of the poem is correctly translated and the epigram's sentiment rendered quite faithfully, the style, therefore,

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1) See his *Misogamos*, his *Anatomie de Chlorinde*, etc. (Otia. I, 6).

2) See item nr. 797 of the „Libri Miscellanei in Folio" in the auction-catalogue of the *Bibliotheca . . . Zuylichemiana* (Leyden, 1701). This catalogue, which is Constantijn the Younger's, must be combined with the *Catalogus Librorum . . . Christiani Hugenii* (The Hague, 1695), that of Huygens' second son, and his own *Catalogus Librorum Constantini Hugenii* . . (etc.) (The Hague, 1688), if we are to assess the true extent of Huygens' original library (See Leendertz' article in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal en Letterkunde*, xxiv, 197 ff.).

3) Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), MS. XL, f. 12.

4) See Herford & Simpson, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925), VIII, 40.

proves to have been thoroughly 'Dutchified'. That is to say, it has been made 'popular', coarsened even to the point of introducing the typical kind of physical outspokenness we find in the drolleries of Dutch genre-painting. In fact, that marginal indication of "paraphr." would appear to be more than justified.

But then, Huygens was to struggle for the rest of his life with the dilemma: to paraphrase or to translate. Where his originals are English, the term 'paraphrase' recurs only on the manuscript of his remarkable translation of Donne's "Extasie". There, we even read in the margin "παραφραστικώτερον hinc inde". But in the many references to the Translator's Task throughout his work Huygens' preoccupation with what is implied by 'paraphrase' may be clearly discerned, even where it is not acknowledged in print. And who would quarrel with so much artistic conscientiousness? Especially, when in the margin of his translation of "The Blossome" he wrote "Ex Angl. I. Donne. laxius", and in that of his translations from French psalms, "ten nauwsten", or "op 't nauste" (i.e. 'as closely as possible')! What counts is that in those days Huygens must have feared the hopelessness of his ever hitting on an adequate equivalent, in seventeenth century Dutch usage, for the amazing poetic expressiveness he found in England — no matter how proudly he was to speak of King Charles I's interest in his efforts, some twenty years later, in the introduction to that section of his *Korenbloemen* in which he published his translations from Donne.

It is not, however, with the latter that we are here concerned, but with what led up to them. Accordingly, we have now to consider his second English visit since in January 1621, after a few months as secretary of a Dutch political mission to Venice, Huygens was back in London.

This time he was no longer a student-tourist, but had come in the same official capacity he had held in Italy. And from the first day he again set foot on English soil, he necessarily surveyed the British scene with very different eyes — even if it was merely because now he felt himself an 'uomo politico' in every respect except in that of the professional immorality which had so greatly disgusted him in Venice [1]). His English assignment lasted three months. Up to the very hour when "Constantine Huggins" was presented with the "Chayne of Gold 45 l. valew" which was his share in the King's parting gift to the Dutch Commissioners [2]), life was extremely hard for him. After all, he had to hold his own, as an apprentice, in the world of diplomats as well as in that of men of letters — and in both as a foreigner to boot. He was not the first to have to learn that what has been smiled over in the grave adolescent is not always as readily applauded in the young officer. He was not the first, either, to develop a taste for satire as a result — with the capacity for detachment and unflagging observation which that implies.

The outcome, as far as we are concerned, is in the unprinted fragment of his commonplace-collection headed *In Nomine Domini CIↃ IↃCXXI. Cal. Jan.* [3]). This contains a few significant lines — to him, naturally, doubly significant — from the dialogue between Sir Politique Would-be and Peregrine about the project "to serve the State of Venice with red Herrings" in *Volpone*, IV, 1. Those lines are sandwiched in between a quotation from Lipsius and one from Boccalini, while the rest of the

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1) See his *Italia Decolor*. (Otia. 21, 1).
2) See Sir John Finett, *Philoxenis* .. (etc.), (London, 1656), 79.
3) KB. MS. XLVIII, f. 312 verso; the lines Huygens copied are 49—57.

page is filled with cynical quotations from what may be identified as six of Sir Thomas Overbury's "Newes-writers". But the dominant position of the *Volpone*-fragment is almost symbolic; and it is not the only reference to Ben Jonson in that period.

An indirect one occurs in the carefully worded letters to his parents. Although they have grown far more serious in tone, dealing in the first place, as they had to, with politics, these tell us that those very eyes which now appeared so 'ambassadorially' absorbed did not scorn to feast on the more enchanting sights offered in London. Thus, writing about "les passetemps de la Saison: qui sont Masques et Balletz" he informs us that

> Dimanche passé (*i.e. Shrove-Sunday*) j'en vis un très magnifique que M. le Prince de Galles presenta à Sa Majesté, où par la faveur de Monsr Cecill j'eus le bien d'entrer à mon aise quoyque la porte fust refusée à plusieurs personnes de qualité. [1]).

From the date and the particulars given, this Masque must have been the *News from the New World* [2]). On the Tuesday following, the entire Dutch mission saw another Masque presented at Court by the Gentlemen of the Middle Temple [3]).

Constantijn, moreover, did not become Jonson-conscious merely through what he saw. His friendship with that typical painter-inventor, the great Cornelius Drebbel, which also began at about this time, would have allowed him to see something of what went on in the workshop. Huygens' remarkable countryman had at one time produced mechanical effects and fireworks for theatrical performances and belonged to Prince Henry's "Artificers" [4]). He would have known Jonson's stage-designer, Inigo Jones, with whom Huygens proves to have been well acquainted [5]). And from the fact that, subsequently, Huygens was to place Drebbel almost on a level with Bacon, we may deduce how much he must have been taken with the picturesque manufacturer of microscopes, explosives, and other 'gadgets' which took the fancy of Court and people alike [6]). Would young Constantijn have been allowed to forget that the most famous Masque-writer of the day had twice alluded in his works to Drebbel's perpetuum mobile [7]), and once to the submarine he had constructed, in which he had travelled from Westminster to Greenwich [8]).

By the end of April 1621, Huygens was back at The Hague. But not for long, since early in December another political mission left for London, once more with its secretariat entrusted to Constantijn. And again it was a very different person who landed at Gravesend from the one who had embarked there some six months before.

He had not been idle. His first great poem had been completed and was about to be printed in a miscellany edited by Jacob Cats, his Zealand

[1]) Huygens to his Parents, 23 February, 1621 (KB. MS. XLIX, f. 128).
[2]) See Finett, o.c., 71, and Herford & Simpson, o.c., II, 311.
[3]) See Finett, o.c., 73/74, and Huygens to his Parents (l.c.).
[4]) See Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners* (London, 1865), 232—242.
[5]) See Huygens' letter of 21 November, 1637 (KB. MS. XLIX, f. 747).
[6]) See his letters of 3 January, 17 March and 13 April, 1622 (Worp, nrs. 120, 138 and 143), his *Sermones de Vita Propria*, II, 211—15, and Autobiography (*Bijdragen Historisch Genootschap*, 1897), 117—121.
[7]) See Morose in *Epicoene*, V, 3, and Epigram xcvii
[8]) See *The Staple of News*, III, 1—6.

friend, who, too, had known what it felt like to be a young Dutchman in England [1]). *Batava Tempe, dat is 't Voorhout van 's Gravenhage* was, perhaps surprisingly, not a satire, but a pleasant, descriptive poem about the different aspects presented in each of the four seasons by Holland's Thessalian valley, the avenue at The Hague in which Huygens lived. With his *Voorhout* he had produced something which was quite new in Dutch poetry [2]). Not only had he thereby successfully tested his powers but he had also attained to an audience among 'the Right People'; in the United Provinces, that is to say. What his newly acquired reputation was really worth must have been brought home to him soon enough, once he had settled down again in his London quarters.

It was his third visit and landmarks, both social and political, were becoming disconcertingly familiar. Indeed, consciously or unconsciously, Huygens was entering upon his most crucial experience in England, perhaps the most crucial experience of his whole life. For during the fourteen months of the Dutch mission's difficult and, more often than not, quite disheartening traffic with what had to them every appearance of being an utterly untrustworthy Court, Constantijn found himself establishing those unique contacts with the London world of letters which will prove to have set a very definite stamp on his literary scale of values. He came to feel, above all, that the difference between literary England and the analogous world in his own country was not one of degree, as he had hoped, but one of kind, as he had feared.

It is only natural that his new contacts should have been formed in the houses of such Englishmen as had already entertained personal links with the Low Countries: fighting there, making friends, and often finding wives. The astonishing part is merely the extent of these ties, formed on all social levels. More than one London house which had such a link with Holland developed into a center of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange: the houses of the Cecils, the Sidneys, the Winwoods, the Carletons — indeed there were any number of them. To Huygens, however, the most important was that of Sir Robert Killigrew and Lady Mary, Francis Bacon's niece [3]). It was there that he must regularly have met not only Donne, whom two years earlier he had probably heard preaching at The Hague [4]), but Ben Jonson, that other literary lion with the Low Countries in his record.

Whether, after his literary acquaintance had thus become a personal one as well, it ever developed into a real friendship is difficult to ascertain. In the end it must have counted for something that Jonson, like Donne, was fifty at a time when Huygens was only twenty-five. One is tempted to imagine, however, that young Constantijn was no stranger to The Tribe of Ben, since his library contained works of such friends and followers of Jonson as Carew, Randolph, Cartwright, Davenant, Shirley, Howell, Waller, Vaughan, Drayton and others [5]).

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1) See about Cats' first visit to England in 1610, Oud-Holland (1889) 243, and the *Admission Book* to Bodley's Library (Bod. MS. Wood E. 5, f. 88 verso).

2) See Te Winkel, *Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Haarlem, 1923), III. i. 360.

3) See the letters to his Parents and friends, 1621—24 (Worp, o.c.), and "Amici Londinenses" in his *Sermones* (*etc.*), II, 145—220.

4) On 19 December, 1619, Donne, on his way back from Germany with Doncaster's Embassy, preached before the States General (See Evelyn Simpson, o.c., 38 and 344).

5) See nrs. 441, 381, 255, 21, 276, 569, 89, 116, 331 etc. of the "Libri Miscellanei in Octavo" in the 1688-catalogue.

In January 1622, Huygens saw — again as a privileged private person — what must have been the *Masque of Augurs* [1]), and we can well believe that he would have been greatly interested in its exploitation of the Low Dutch speech. A few weeks later he dined with that great patron of the arts, the Countess of Bedford [2]), who had visited The Hague in the previous August. And shortly thereafter we find him writing poetry again. In spite of the press of his duties and the multitude of his rather solitary social engagements, he produced not only Dutch, but also Latin verse. Thus, in March, 1622, he completed his ΚΕΥΚUΡΙΑ ΜΑΣΤΙΞ, *Satyra, of 'tCostelick Mal*, and in September he wrote his *Academiae Oxoniensi Perpetuum Florere.*

The *Costelick Mal* was a carefully constructed Juvenalian satire in the form of a long letter-poem to Cats. Although well-established in England, the literary 'genre', once more, was an entirely new one to Holland [3]). As for its contents, after the *Voorhout*'s mild irony, we are here plunged headlong into the most savage mockery. The make-believe of clothes and the tyranny of fashion, touched upon only lightly in the poem written at The Hague, constitute the main theme of the London-born *Costelick Mal*. But Huygens' indignation is not, we feel, purely moral. There is something more personal about it, a certain admixture of spite. Both before and after the time when he wrote the poem we find letters in which he complains about his lack of proper clothes. Again and again he asks for the necessary funds, explaining that 'Valets in London are better dressed than Gentlemen at The Hague' [4]). And what seems really fundamental to it is the youthful author's complete perplexity when confronted — in London more than ever, apparently, and in fashion as in other things — with Woman's power over Man. In fact, on that count, too, he seemed predisposed to becoming a Jonsonian '*corrector morum*'. The poem's learned wit, besides, betrays a more than superficial acquaintance with the minds of Ben Jonson and his circle. Like Ben's friend, John Williams, for his sermon *Of Apparell*, Huygens had used for the *Costelick Mal* the same encyclopedia; Huygens actually quotes Williams several times and derives from the latter's sermon the 'English Compromise' which constitues the *Mal*'s rather incongruous end [5]). In that period Constantijn had evidently received some criticism from his parents about his "stile affetté" [6]); when the poem appeared, he hit back in a passage which, starting with "je me ris de la difficulté qu'on trouve en mes compositions", might have served as an apology for any Metaphysical author [7]).

In the note accompanying the MS copy of the *Costelick Mal* destined for his editor, Huygens called the poem, somewhat preposterously, "specimen pertinacis industriae" [8]). To what lengths a zealous pertinacity could in fact push him becomes apparent when we consider his next poem, the

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[1]) See Huygens to his Parents, 18 January, 1622 (KB. MS. XLIX, f. 185; Worp, 122). Finett, o.c. 92, and Herford & Simpson, o.c., II, 316.

[2]) See Huygens to his Parents, 14 February, 1622 (KB. MS. XLIX, f. 126; Worp, 125).

[3]) Te Winkel, o.c., III, ibid. See also Cats' commendatory poem about 'a Swann quite new with most uncommon Plumage . . .'

[4]) Huygens to his Parents, 4 November, 1622 (Worp, 193).

[5]) The sermon was printed in 1620, and the encyclopedia was Langius' *Florilegium Magnum sive Polyanthea*. See also J. Purves' article in the *Modern Language Review* (1918, 79 ff.).

[6]) See Huygens to his Parents, 3 January, 1622 (Worp, 120).

[7]) The Same, 8 June, 1622 (Worp, 155).

[8]) See Huygens to Cats, 22 March, 1622 (Worp, 140).

Elegy *Academiae Oxoniensi Perpetuum Florere* [1]). For there, in 180 carefully-chiselled — and sometimes not so carefully-chiselled — hexameters, he ventured to describe in Latin his feelings about the very seat of Latin scholarship which this time, to his regret, he would be unable to revisit. When his friends in the University had the poem printed as a broad-sheet, together with one of the laudatory epigrams it had provoked among the 'Oxford Muses' [2]) Huygens was delighted. He had achieved an ardently desired measure of literary recognition.

Social recognition followed. Only a few days after the completion of his Latin poem, Huygens was knighted by the King [3]). Oxford friends were quick to contrast this honour with the University's official indifference. And it is not impossible that in lines from their comments, such as "mirum: quod non dant Musae, dedit Aula merenti", or again "'tis not the Goune, But Worth makes knowne the Doctor from the Cloune", we have an allusion to Ben Jonson's honorary degrees which — through Huygens' friend and compatriot, Eduard Meetkercke of Christ Church, the Regius Professor of Hebrew — our sometime Leyden graduate may well have been felt to covet himself [4]). But then, the entire background of the poem is intimately bound up with Jonson and all that Jonson represented to the ambitious Dutch author. What evidence there is points to the fact that Huygens circulated it in the first place in those quarters where he would on no account be thought of as having only "small Latine"! Barely four weeks after he had blotted the last line — that is to say, as soon as he had been assured of the poem's favourable reception at Oxford — Huygens sent his *Academiae Oxoniensi* to Ben Jonson himself with the following covering letter [5]):

> Ambeo amicitiam tuam, celeberrime Janssoni, et necessitudinem, ea res faecit cur non nescire te ineptias meas tuâ interesse putaverim neque enim quantillus sim, latere non unquam amicos aequum credidi. quorum uti parcâ de nobis opinione non offendimur, sic amplâ praeter meritum non afficimur. Ubi fastidire quantum hic mei est coeperis et noris quam sit mihi curta supellex, autori, rogo remittendam cures, qui te valere jubet et seamare.
>
> Ben Ianssonio. Dom.mea. 28°. 8b. 1622.

From the *amicitia-necessitudo* climax, in the first sentence, up to the Persius-quotation in the last, the epistle is a perfect example of the feelings of a young writer who would gladly go out of his way to maintain a lasting link with an illustrious addressee.

Constantijn never became one of 'Ben's Sons'. We can now say, however,

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[1]) First printed as a broadsheet at Oxford; though even dated "Londini. 13 Cal. Octob. 1622," it has not been included in the *Short Title Catalogue* nor in Wing's *Supplement*.

[2]) See "Addidi Elegiam Academiae Oxoniensi ante menses aliquot dicatam, quam humanissimi ibidem literatores, viri sane eximij atque eruditi, salutationibus suis amoeboeis multifarijs candide exceperunt, non contenti typis Academicis cohonestasse insulsissimum carmen."
(Huygens to Heinsius, 2 March, 1623; KB. MS. XLIV, f. 57).

[3]) His "Diploma Equestre", dated 7 October, 1622, is kept in the British Museum (Add. Ch. 12. 777).

[4]) See Meetkercke's series of Latin Epigrams (BM. MS. Adds. 24. 212, f. 19 r. + v.), the long English elegy by Thomas Goffe (BM. MS. Adds. 28. 098, f. 45 r. + v and 46 r. + v), and Thomas Gall's Latin effusion (BM. MS. Adds. 22. 953, f. 47—51), all addressed to Huygens in London, early in 1623.

[5]) KB. MS. XLIV, f. 55 shows that "quantillus" had been added to replace and earlier "quantus". The manuscript is Huygens' own draught, a fair copy in a scribe's hand being preserved as KB, MS. XLV, f. 10 (see also Worp, nr. 190).

that he was more than a chance acquaintance. Could there have been any connection between the dispatch of the Oxford poem to Jonson with its accompanying letter, and the remarkable presence in Huygens' library of a quarto volume containing a manuscript of *The Gypsies Metamorphs'd* (sic) [1]? It would have been a fine gesture on the part of Jonson if that manuscript had been his return-gift. And what present could have been more welcome to one who must just have missed seeing this 'most popular Masque of 1621' between the visit when he saw the *New World* and the one when he saw both *The Augurs* and *Time Vindicated* [2]?

In the winter months of 1622, Huygens wrote his *Uytlandige Herder*. This notable poem with its fine translation of Psalm 79 was composed very much in accordance with the rules for a non-Italianate pastoral as so often repeated by Jonson. Ostensibly it deals with the sorrows which Holland's difficult resumption of the war against Spain was causing the exiled 'shepherd'. While he contemplated the waves endlessly ebbing away from the white cliffs of Britain towards his own troubled shores beyond the horizon, he felt that his lute was the only consolation left him. In reality, of course, the poem is about Constantijn himself and the perplexities of living — as a young Dutchman in Jacobean England.

He dedicated the poem to his family's universally applauded Latinist friend, Professor Daniel Heinsius. From his correspondence we see that Huygens no longer needed his father's bidding to consider Heinsius his most reliable judge where Latin poetry was concerned. Carleton asked Huygens especially to bring Bacon's latest book to the notice of his learned friend [3]. And "the honour at this present of the University of Leyden", as Sir Dudley called Heinsius [4], must more than once have been the subject of scholarly discussion in the Killigrew circle to which the English Ambassador belonged as well. In this connexion it is worth noting Huygens as a possible link between Jonson and Heinsius. Constantijn, as the only disciple of Heinsius in London, would certainly have welcomed any opportunity to discuss the *Ars Poetica* and *De Constitutione Tragoediae* of his former Director of Studies, which Jonson thought important enough to include among the extracts he put into the *Discoveries* [5].

In 1623 Heinsius had been informed of the reception of Constantijn's Oxford elegy and presented with a copy of the precious broadsheet. In 1625 Huygens dedicated to him his first volume of poetry which carried as a frontispiece that excellent engraving after the Mierevelt painting of our poet, and under it, the epigram in which Heinsius pays tribute to one "quem saepe Britannia vidit" [6]. The portrait dates from Constantijn's return, in 1624, after the last of his early English visits. And the fact that both book and portrait were in this way being linked with Heinsius may well be seen as a demonstration of renewed allegiance. After all, one of the concluding stanzas of Huygens' 'Expatriate Shepherd' carries in the margin of the manuscript "E coelo descendit Nosce Teipsum. Iuv." at the point where in the poem he urges Heinsius to join him in the prayer for 'Heaven's lesson' in the learning of which he was still 'so raw'. In few periods in his life would "Constanter" — as he always signed his poems —

1) See item, nr. 153 of the "Libri Miscellanei in Quarto" in the 1688-catalogue.
2) See Finett, o.c., 115—6, and Herford & Simpson. o. c., II, 316 and 319.
3) Huygens to Heinsius, 6 June, 1621 (Worp, 108).
4) See *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton* (London, 1775), 399.
5) See Herford & Simpson, o.c., I, 104, 336; II, 448; VIII, 642.
6) Huygens, *Otia (etc.)* (The Hague, 1625).

have felt so acutely the need for self-knowledge as in the years when he had to face conflict after conflict of loyalties — religious, political, social and even national — of which his position between Heinsius and Jonson was only one.

In the Autumn after his third and longest English visit — at the end of which that other great literary patron, the Earl of Pembroke, proves to have recognised him as a man "of worth" [1]) — Huygens produced his *Zedeprinten ofte Characteres*. With their "Gesant", their "Allgemeen Poëet", their "Alchemist", their two types of "Hoveling", their scathing "Rijcke Vrijster", and so on, they recalled in their treatment and form as keenly the Jonson who had portrayed the Humours of Every Man, as many of the hundreds of *Sneldichten* point to the Jonson who has been said to see and think and feel in terms of the Epigram.

In 1626, four years after he had craved the English poet's "necessitudo", Huygens mentions Jonson once more in his correspondence, though this time his own interests were not at stake [2]). Once more, too, Huygens was a changed man; for the end of his distaste for marriage was in sight. And his wedding in the Spring of 1627 to his sophisticated 'lodestar' is not without interest to us here, since — after having translated Jonson's Epigram xxxiii on their common friend, Sir John Roe [3]), in 1628 — he began in the next year both his *Daghwerck* and his Latin prose-autobiography. The former, the 'darkest' and the longest of his Dutch poems, was written at the express instigation of his wife, and in both works many an elaborate formulation of the poet's task and of the place of books and art in civilization reminds us of similar formulations by Jonson and his friends.

Again and again, we find ourselves recognising how threads wind back to the London circle where Huygens had met so many of his living models — the circle for the *Album Amicorum* of a member of which his only self-portrait was drawn. That, incidentally, is the oldest likeness which has come down to us. It is in the form of a small pen-sketch representing the poet at the height of his Jonson-infatuation, between the finishing of his great satire on fashion and the starting of his Oxford elegy. And the motto is again "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑUTON" [4]).

With the Autobiography, *Daghwerck*, and the contemporaneous portion of his *Sneldichten*, we have come to the end of our survey of Jonsonian echoes in Huygens [5]). What remains to be said, therefore, is that the 'Father of the Sons of Ben' had evidently prepared the way in Huygens' mind for that yet greater Englishman towards whose poetry, but for Jonson, "Constanter" might never have turned. For, although four quotations in the 1621-collection of commonplaces are from Donne's "Newes from the very Countrey", and the Autobiography contains extensive references to the preaching of the Dean of St. Paul's [6]), the direct

[1]) See Finett, o.c., 119.
[2]) See Oldisworth to Huygens, 27 April, 1626 (Worp, 315).
[3]) See Herford & Simpson, o. c., VIII, 37, and *Korenbloemen*, II, 523.
[4]) See *Oud-Holland* (1900), 185—6.
[5]) It is worth observing that Huygens also acquired the Quarto edition of Jonson's *Epigrams* in or after 1640 (item nr. 187 of the "Libri Miscellanei in Quarto" in the 1688-catalogue).
[6]) To be discussed elsewhere.

results of the acquaintance only appeared in 1630 with our author's translating nineteen of Donne's *Songs and Sonets*. These translations as-

sured for Sir Constantyn Huygens a central place in Anglo-Dutch cultural relations of the seventeenth century; a place which has too long been overshadowed by the more spectacular position held, in the eyes of the English-speaking reader, by that distinguished scientist his son.

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ROBINSONADES.

On April 25th, 1719, there appeared in London *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself With an Account how he was at last as strangely delivered by Pyrates. Written by Himself* Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* is perhaps the most popular publication in world literature. The book was translated into all languages, imitated and devoured.

It is not remarkable then, that literary scholarship felt obliged to retain as a genre all those stories which appeared throughout the world in imitation of the famous book. They were called *Robinsonades*, and numerous scholars and bibliographers contributed by collecting material for the complete history of this literary form. Before long, the central idea of the book, the building up of a new life in solitude, came to be traced back in literature. It was found to occur much earlier, and so the idea of *Robinsonades avant la lettre* was introduced.

The purpose of this essay is to contribute to the clarification of the literary term. We shall ignore, therefore, all that appeared after 1719, for the prototype of the genre was given in Defoe's masterpiece, and all that followed is an imitation of his work, or an imitation of an imitation.

The *Robinsonades avant la lettre*, however, have come to include much that does not deserve the name, and the idea is thereby confused and weakened. Our aim is, therefore, to discover the *Robinsonade in the narrower sense*, which led to the publication of 1719.

An example of the obscured meaning of the term is to be found in the construction of a classical Robinsonade, from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, about the figure of Philoctetes. In the first place, the island on which he stayed, was far from unknown. Moreover, he was not stranded as a result of shipwreck, but was purposely left behind on Lemnos for strategical reasons. His fame as an archer served in no respect whatsoever to provide him with food in his enforced isolation. Nor have later authors, such as Sophocles and Ovid, in any way tried to make him Robinsonesque in character.

The genre was more nearly approached by Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail, a Spanish Arab from Cordova, who appears to have been the teacher of the famous Averroës, and is known to have been dead in 1175. He relates how the child Hai Ebn Yokahan was abandoned by his mother on an uninhabited island paradise south of the equator, and was nurtured by a hind. When he grows older he provides himself with fire by rubbing dry twigs, clothes himself in skins, builds a little house and tames wild birds and asses. He becomes a student of nature and sees in all creatures a unity, a common origin, a creator. Later a hermit comes to his island and in him he finds a kindred spirit. They become engrossed in their