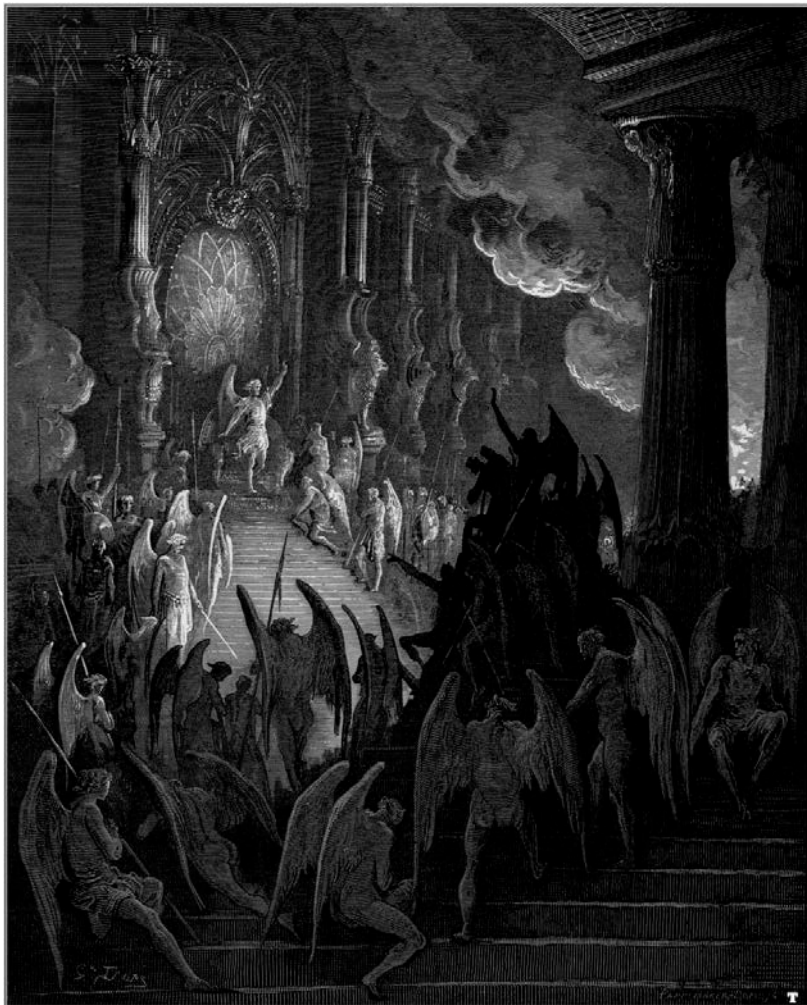


“Human Left from Human Free”:
Monarchy in Dutch Eighteenth-Century
Translations of John Milton’s
Paradise Lost

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	2
Chapter 2: Methodology	5
Chapter 3: The <i>Spectator</i> the Translations.....	20
Chapter 4: Politics and Monarchy in <i>Paradise Lost</i>	34
Chapter 5: The Stadholderate in the Eighteenth Century.....	40
Chapter 6: “The theological parts are best”: The 1728 Translation.....	46
Chapter 7: “Milton awed Paludanus, but not into silence”: The 1730 Translation.....	55
Chapter 8: The Batavian Revolution and the Dutch Republic.....	59
Chapter 9: “Not determined by metrical form”: The 1791-1811 Translation.....	62
Chapter 10: Conclusion.....	72
Bibliography.....	77

Chapter 1

Introduction

John Milton's (1608-1674) prose and poetry have survived through the centuries because his work has been studied and read, not just in the Anglo-American literary sphere, but worldwide. Most famous, probably, is his epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667, 1674), a theodicy that contains a number of Milton's personal views on religion and politics. These personal views, or religious and political understandings, have been vigorously debated by scholars in the Anglo-American tradition. The prime focus of Miltonic reception studies has always been the 'Anglo-American Milton' but through the years some research has also been done to uncover the reception of Milton in Europe, and more specifically in the Dutch Republic/the Netherlands. This thesis aims to contribute to the research done to reconstruct what might be called the 'Dutch Milton'. The Dutch Republic, and from 1815 onwards the Netherlands, received and reflected upon Milton's works in ways that differ from Milton reception in the Anglo-American world. The difference in reception between the Anglo-American and the Dutch Milton is partly due to the fact that Milton's originally English works needed to be translated into Dutch before they could be distributed. Therefore, Milton's reception in the Dutch Republic (which is the focus of this thesis) has depended upon translators and their versions of Milton's works. These translations, in turn, provide a good opportunity for me to further investigate the relations between the choices made by translators of *Paradise Lost* on the one hand and the cultural, social and political context in which their translations took shape on the other.

My focus is on the three Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost* which appeared during the eighteenth century, respectively by Jakobus van Zanten, Lambertus Paludanus and Jan Hendrik Reisig. Both Van Zanten and Paludanus translated Milton in verse, and they

translated Milton's mostly iambic pentameter, unrhyming lines to a verse they considered suitable for the epic poem. Reisig, by contrast, translated *Paradise Lost* in prose and in this way avoided the complications of translating verse altogether. The choices made by the translators in adapting Milton's seventeenth-century English into eighteenth-century Dutch tie into the debate within Milton scholarship regarding the adaptation Milton's original works. Although in Milton scholarship the main focus has been on modernisation of spelling and form, the critique is also applicable to translations. Both the editors of an English edition and of an edition in a different language come to face dilemmas regarding the adaptation of Milton's original seventeenth-century English. The choices they make will steer the reception of the reader. In his article 'Editing Milton: the Case Against Modernisation', Stephen Dobranski notes that he wishes "to show, most simply, that form matters: the edition in which readers experience Milton's poetry can influence their interpretations" (482), before noting that every editor "must create their editions within their own collaborative circumstances" (491). Although Dobranski is specifically referring to modern adaptations, the same critique may be applied to translations, which are similarly influenced by the translators circumstances and will, as becomes clear in the analyses later on, affect the reception of the work itself.

This thesis will focus especially on the role of the Dutch monarchy in eighteenth-century Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost*. I will first provide a theoretical framework (in the following chapter) before providing an overview of previous Dutch Milton studies, followed by an historical overview of the time in which each translation was published. This historical overview of the early and late eighteenth century will be limited to the office of stadholder and the public opinion thereof. Finally I will offer an in-depth analysis of the role of the monarchy, divine right and predestination in each translation in the hope of uncovering in what ways the different circumstances of each translator were influential in their translational choices. My aim is to show that the first translation by Jakobus van Zanten

(1728) portrays the monarchy more favourably than the second translation by Lambertus Paludanus (1730) due to Van Zanten's favouring the stadholderate, an institution closely resembling a monarchy. The third translation by J.H. Reisig (1792) is a prose translation, most likely to have been translated for aesthetic purposes.

Chapter 2

Methodology

To comprehend the ways in which the eighteenth-century Dutch translations of Milton's epic poem reflect and shape political and religious values of the time, this thesis will first outline different approaches to reception studies, before moving on to translation theory. Reception Studies is a diverse field primarily divided into two main approaches: the reception by an 'individual' reader, and the reception by a group, society, or culture. Amongst those who believe it is possible to study the reception of the individual reader is the German literary scholar Wolfgang Iser. Iser's theory ventures to demonstrate the role of the reader in interpreting the text. Reading, according to him, is a methodological process that happens in the mind of the reader. Although his theory aims at the 'individual', and this thesis will not, the process he describes is applicable to a larger group of readers as well. The American scholar Stanley Fish and the German scholar Hans Robert Jauss, on the other hand, argue that reading is an independent activity, but the way the reader interprets the text is conditioned by the reader's background. Every reader physically reads alone, and the process of reception that takes place, as theorized by Iser, is solitary. The interpretation of the text, however, is shared by all readers who share a cultural background. This shared interpretation ensures that a reading of a literary text will provide an insight into the culture that produced it. Simultaneously, the text holds the potential to actively shape the way it will be interpreted by its reader. By applying the theories of Iser, Jauss and Fish to the eighteenth-century Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost*, this thesis will offer an insight into the Dutch culture of the time. To further enable this insight, this thesis will also draw upon Literary Translation Studies, and, more specifically, on the concept of cultural translation. Both Reception Studies theories, and Literary Translation theories will be discussed below, to provide a

methodological framework on which the analyses of the role of the monarchy in the Dutch translations will be based.

According to Wolfgang Iser, reception studies are an individual affair and its main focus is exploring the interaction between author, text, and reader. He argues that

It is difficult to describe this interaction, not least because literary criticism has very little to go on in the way of guidelines, and, of course, the two partners in the communication process, namely, the text and the reader, are far easier to analyse than is the event that takes place in between them. (Iser 1525)

Translations are perfect for the analyses of “the event that takes place in between them”, for they reflect the translator’s interaction with the original text. Iser further comments that “As the reader passes through the various perspectives offered by the text, and relates the different views and patterns to one another, he sets the work in motion, and so sets himself in motion, too” (1524). He realizes that texts need not necessarily be monologues told from a single perspective. Instead, there is potential for what he calls “dynamism” in the text, where the reader gets the opportunity to interpret the literary text according to his perception of it. Iser goes on to explain that the reader’s interpretation of the text reflects the different social and cultural factors he has been exposed to. It is in translations that the reader’s interpretation becomes measurable. The translators do not merely translate the text, they also shape it to fit it to their personal and cultural interpretation of the original. A translation, therefore, provides the opportunity to explore the interaction between author, text and reader.

Opposing Iser’s theory of the ‘individual’ reader, is Hans Robert Jauss who is introduced in the *Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* as follows: “Jauss stressed how the expectations that we bring to reading govern our response and aesthetic judgement” (1403). Where “Iser focuses on the response of the individual reader when confronting a text,

... Jauss stresses the cumulative experience of historical readers” (1403). What Jauss calls the ‘cumulative experience’ captures the main focus of this thesis:

It is only through the process of its mediation that the [literary] work enters into the changing horizon-of-experience of a continuity in which the perpetual inversion occurs from simple reception to critical understanding, from passive to active reception, from recognised aesthetic norms to a new production that surpasses them. (1407)

The Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost* provide an ideal insight into this process of critically understanding the text before actively turning it into a new production. Although by ‘new production’ Jauss does not specifically refer to the literal production of a new text, the translations are the physical evidence of the process he outlines. On this reading, the translators, in a process that is largely subconscious, first read the original text by Milton before critically understanding it, after which they alter it to fit their own aesthetic and ideological norms. These aesthetic norms differ, not only in time (the seventeenth and eighteenth century respectively), but also in place (England and the Netherlands). However, rather than disregarding Milton altogether because of the ‘mismatch’ in aesthetic norms, the translators went through great lengths to adapt the text for a Dutch audience. This also supports Jauss’s argument that “we never see a text on its own, but always in the context of its reception by others” (1522). The reader of the translations technically reads the reception of the translator. Although both the translator and the reader are conditioned by the same cultural norms, the reader will invariably have a different reception from reading the translation, than the translator had upon reading the original. This means that the translator is both the reader who critically engages with the original text, as well as the writer of the new product which will go on to critically engage readers with the same cultural conditioning. The translator, therefore, shapes the reader’s critical understanding by acting as a mediator between the

original text and the adaptation he produced to accommodate the cultural norms of himself and his readership.

In the same line of argument as Jauss, Stanley Fish in 'Interpreting the *Variorum*' gives a more detailed explanation of what he terms the 'interpretive communities'. The theory behind interpretive communities corresponds to Jauss's theory that a text can only ever be read in the context of its reception by others. The main idea behind Fish's interpretive communities is that readers who share a range of external circumstances such as upbringing, education, interests, and other cultural values, will invariably read a text in the same way. Fish summarises the role of the reader in the following way:

The reader's activities are at the centre of attention, where they are regarded not as leading to meaning but as *having* meaning. The meaning they have is a consequence of their not being empty; for they include the making and revising of assumptions, the rendering and regretting of judgements, the coming to and abandoning of conclusions, the giving and withdrawing of approval, the specifying of causes, the asking of questions, the supplying of answers, the solving of puzzles. In a word, these activities are interpretive – rather than being preliminary to the questions of value, they are at every moment settling and resettling questions of value – and because they are interpretive, a description of them will also be, and without any additional step, an interpretation, not after the fact but of the fact. (1982)

In other words, the reader and the interpretation he renders from a text, are, in Fish's view, the most important area of study. It is the reader who constructs meaning of the text, but he will do so in a way that is conditioned by external factors. This interpretation is shared by those who belong to the same interpretive community, which again, the reader is unaware of, for he experiences his interpretation as belonging only to him. This is where Fish and Jauss differ greatly from Iser, who argues in favour of the individual interpretation, whereas according to Fish and Jauss, purely individual interpretation does not exist.

Besides Reception Studies, this thesis will also make use of Translation Theory, and in particular of Cultural Translation Theory. The combination of Reception Studies and

Translation Theory is not novel, yet there are few studies that apply the combination. A good example is Stuart Gillespie's book *English Translation and Classical Reception* (2011), in which he argues that "the eighteenth-century literary world is a translating culture" (13). According to Gillespie, it is only logical to combine Reception and Translation Studies because:

Just as we are becoming used to reception moving towards the forefront of the study of...literatures, my view is that translation should move towards the forefront of the study of reception. (1)

In other words, Gillespie's aim in his book is to combine the two and apply them to the study of the classics such as Homer and Virgil. He argues that translations reveal a great deal about the culture of the translators. To support his point, Gillespie quotes James Ruoff who argues that "the English translators brought their own cultural values with them" (20). Gillespie's aim is to uncover the English translators underlying personal motivation and cultural point of view by analysing the way they translated the epics. This thesis provides a similar study, and it is likely that Ruoff's comment applies to the Dutch translators as well. Gillespie further goes on to argue that Translation Studies should be applied in combination with Reception Studies more often, for the simple reason that he is convinced it provides a more accurate way of analysing the reception of a given translation. It will become clear that, at least in this thesis, the combination of the Studies is indeed productive because the three Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost* both serve as a means to show how the translator compromises his "own cultural values", whilst simultaneously reflecting on their eighteenth-century cultural environment.

The imposition of cultural values upon a translated text is otherwise known as 'cultural translation'. Although there is no strict line to indicate where linguistic translation

ends and cultural translation begins, Peter Burke in his article ‘Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe’ explains the concept of cultural translation as follows:

Translation implies ‘negotiation’, a concept which has expanded its domain in the last generation, moving beyond the worlds of trade and diplomacy to refer to the exchange of ideas and the consequent modification of meanings. The moral is that a given translation should be regarded less as a definitive solution to a problem than as a messy compromise, involving losses or renunciations and leaving the way open for renegotiation. (9)

Burke implies that a ‘negotiation’ exists between the original text and the translator. The final product of this negotiation is by no means the only, or indeed, the best solution. The “messy compromise” that is the translated product is simultaneously the result of cultural translation. Burke defines the term as that which “describe[s] what happens in cultural encounters when each side tries to make sense of the actions of the other” (8). As will become clear, this is exactly what happened when the Dutch translators translated *Paradise Lost* into Dutch. Milton’s cultural ideas, regarding politics, clashed, to some degree, with the Dutch culture; forcing the translators to adapt their translation both in language and in cultural aspects to accommodate their audience. Geoffrey P. Baldwin supports this idea in his article ‘The Translation of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe’ when he writes:

There is no simple way to bridge the gap between a history of political ideas, and a history of political culture... Looking at translation can give us an opportunity to bridge this gap... It is therefore important to see what could be translated from one culture to another, and how that which was translated could be adapted and packaged in order to suit its new context, because this could change the nature and significance of the text. (102-3)

Translations give insight into the culture of the translators. Although both Burke and Baldwin are not very specific about the extent of this insight, they have a valid point by claiming that cultural translation can aid both literary scholars and historians. The way a text is translated,

and what is included or excluded in the process, tells us the concerns, priorities, and struggles that were ongoing in the translator's cultural environment. The concept is summed up by Maria Lucia Pallares-Burke, when she comments that "translation between languages is a form of translation between cultures, and the modifications that a text undergoes in translation are not the result of linguistic factors alone" (148). The non-linguistic modifications are what allow us to analyse the cultural bridges that needed to be built and crossed by the translators. Yet, although cultural translation mostly takes place across cultures, it can also be found within the same culture. To demonstrate the difference, and possibly account for some of the modifications also found in the Dutch translations, this thesis will briefly look at Milton's cultural translation of the 'Anglo-American Milton'.

John Leonard's massive work on Milton's reception in the Anglo-American tradition is very helpful for providing an overview of the dominant views in the field. *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of 'Paradise Lost', 1667-1970* was published in two volumes in 2013, and provides a complete overview of literary criticism surrounding *Paradise Lost* from its first print up to the twentieth century. Each volume examines different themes, with the first volume primarily dealing with style and genre and the second volume with interpretative issues. Leonard opens his work with the statement that "*Paradise Lost* has provoked controversy since the time of its publication" (3) and both volumes offer the wide range of criticism that this controversy inspired. Although Leonard's study is presented as a complete history of the reception of the epic poem, it focusses solely on Anglo-American criticism without even hinting at a Miltonic reception elsewhere in the world. Nevertheless, *Faithful Labourers* is invaluable for any scholar of *Paradise Lost*'s reception, simply because it offers the reception from a variety of angles and from different points in time, yet it is presented in an understandable way without becoming too dense or overwhelming to comprehend it. To limit the overview offered by Leonard and to keep more in line with the

topic of this thesis, I will focus specifically on his analyses of criticism in the eighteenth century of the Anglo-American Milton.

“What kind of poem is *Paradise Lost*?” Leonard poses the question at the beginning of his section on ‘*Paradise Lost* and Epic’ before answering it as follows:

Eighteenth-century critics saw it as essentially the same kind of poem as the *Iliad* and the *Aenied*, though they had difficulty in making it conform to their expectations. Nineteenth-century critics had fewer difficulties for they had fewer expectations. (1 266)

The suggestion here is that, though *Paradise Lost* was unquestionably referred to as an epic, the critics of the eighteenth century were not entirely comfortable with this classification. *Paradise Lost* was heavily debated in the eighteenth century, both in England and in the United States of America. One eighteenth-century critic discussed by Leonard is Richard Bentley, who “set himself the task of purifying Milton’s text – and made himself a laughing-stock. The laughter still echoes today” (21). Bentley’s attempt at making *Paradise Lost* a little more reader-friendly was considered hopeless, yet some of his revisions to the text are still in use today (‘swelling’ became ‘smelling’ in Book 7, line 321, and ‘soul’ was replaced by ‘fowl’ in Book 7, line 451) (Leonard 1 21). Bentley’s desire to purify Milton also demonstrates that minor ‘translations’ of Milton’s work were ongoing in the eighteenth century. Although Bentley was not nearly as successful as Joseph Addison was in his criticism of Milton (to be discussed below), “some of Bentley’s criticisms are indeed ‘judicious’, and even when they are not, they have an uncanny ability to make us see things we might not otherwise have seen” (Leonard 1 21). Bentley’s attempt at adapting *Paradise Lost* is interesting in light of the topic of this thesis because it shows that changing and fitting the work for an audience was not restricted to the translators of the poem into a foreign

language; it also happened within the English language under the motto of making the text available to a larger public.

Anne-Julia Zwierlain in her article ‘Milton Epic and Bucolic’ states that

by the mid-eighteenth century, so well established was Milton’s position as the national poet that William Lauder’s fabricated attack against the ‘authenticity’ of *Paradise Lost* was rebuked nearly unanimously as an attack against the nation. (674)

In addition, the editor of the *Spectator* Joseph Addison had “transformed *Paradise Lost* into a classic by cleansing it from all suspicions of political and religious bias [by] organizing his essays around notions of ‘politeness’ and ‘refined taste’, the new values of the burgeoning British middle class” (Zwierlain 672-3). Therefore, “the eighteenth-century Milton had metamorphosed from a republican regicide into a symbol of Britishness under the restored monarchy of a new ‘Great Britain’” (Zwierlain 671). In short, Milton had made a comeback in the eighteenth century, but not on terms he would have agreed with. This adaptation of Milton in England is comparable to the adaptation of Milton in the Dutch Republic.

Adapting *Paradise Lost* is not restricted to the English and the Americans. John Hale, in his article ‘The Significance of the Early Translations of *Paradise Lost*’, demonstrates that from its first publication, translators have been at work in several languages to adapt the epic for a different audience than the seventeenth-century English. The article mainly discusses translations in Latin, German, and Italian by comparing the translations of the first sentence of the poem. The Dutch translations are mentioned, yet Hale comments that “because the tradition of the Dutch translations is less full and later than the German, indeed repeats the pattern of development in German” he will “not give it a detailed analysis” (38). According to Hale, then, Dutch translations were modelled after a German tradition although he offers no further information on whether or not the Dutch translators were aware of this. However, Hale

has some interesting remarks regarding the art that is translating Milton. Early on he notes that “the translators who never got beyond Book 1 will seem wiser than those who endured to the end” (33), and by the end of the article it has become clear that for Hale, there is no such thing as a good translation of *Paradise Lost*. Though the poem lends itself to be translated into Italian relatively successfully, he is quick to note that the changeability of the Italian language in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century made any translation soon seem outdated (Hale 45). Additionally, Hale argues that “a translation cannot attain fidelity of spirit simply by fidelity to the individual words of the original, nor to its word order, nor yet by ignoring the spirit of the language of the translation” before posing to hypothesize “that a good translation must express the personalities both of the original and of the translator” (38). The article is largely focussed on the translations themselves, and not on the readership of the translations. Therefore, it becomes first and foremost a value judgement based only on the translation of the first sentence in each language. Nevertheless, it offers a broad overview of early translations of the epic poem and the reasons for undertaking the translations in the first place.

With regard to Milton in the Dutch Republic/the Netherlands, prior to the twenty-first century three independent studies have been published that discuss Milton’s reception based on the translations of his works. These studies each discuss the translations in terms of their aesthetic success and they primarily cast value judgements rather than considering the cultural insights the translations offer. They are Wilhelmina Niewenhous’ ‘*Paradise Lost* in Dutch’, published in 1930, which covers every translation up until the time of publication, Herman Scherpbier’s PhD dissertation *Milton in Holland: A Study in the Literary Relations of England and Holland before 1730*, published in 1933, and Piet Verhoeff’s 1990 article titled ‘Justifying the Ways of God to Men in a Target Language: Some Early Dutch Translations of *Paradise Lost*’. Additionally, W.A.P. Smit spends some time on Milton in the Netherlands in his book *Kalliope in de Nederlanden: Het Renaissancistisch-Klassicistische Epos van 1550-*

1850, published between 1975 and 1983. Most recently, Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen submitted an article on Milton in the Netherlands, which will be published in a collaborative volume later this year.¹ This is the extent of research done regarding the Dutch reception of Milton, and *Paradise Lost* in particular. Though most sources are outdated, I will occasionally refer to specific remarks made by the authors in my analyses. First, I will offer a brief overview of each study so it becomes clear what has already been discussed in the field.

Wilhelmina Nieuwenhous makes the following statement in her article, which aims to provide a history of Dutch translations of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. She notes that:

The treatment of the poem varies with and, to some extent, reflects the conditions of Dutch Literature, for, as if dependent upon prevailing taste for their success, most of the translations disappeared as rapidly as that taste changed. (Nieuwenhous 89)

The taste Nieuwenhous refers to is primarily the use of rhyme in the translations, or, when it became fashionable, the translation into prose (105). Nieuwenhous is quick to note that “it would be unprofitable to go into the mistranslations that occur in transferring *Paradise Lost* into another language” (96). Although it is indeed unprofitable to write an article pointing out all the parts where translation does not follow the original, it could be argued that mistranslations are the result of a “messy compromise”, a concept coined by Peter Burke as discussed above. These mistranslations, then, may not be nearly as unprofitable as initially assumed. Nieuwenhous’ article provides a complete overview of the Dutch translations up until the year of publication (1930), yet it lacks in-depth analyses because of its broadness. The synopsis of each translation is mainly based on their use of the literary fashion of the time of the translation’s publication, their readership (through lists of subscribers), and occasionally

¹ The collaborative volume on the international reception of Milton is edited by Angelica Duran, Islam Issa, and Jonathan Olson and will be published by Oxford University Press.

the paratextual material is used to provide a background to the translator's motivation for translating Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

The second study on Milton's reception in the Dutch Republic is a PhD dissertation by South-African scholar Herman Scherpbier. His study, titled *Milton in Holland*, is far more specific than Niewenhou's article. His focus is exclusively on translations prior to 1730, and he begins by discussing the first Milton translation into the Dutch language *The Second Defence of the English People*, which was printed in the Republic in 1651, before moving on to the first two translations of *Paradise Lost*. Interestingly, it is unclear whether Scherpbier considers 'Holland' to encompass the whole of the Dutch Republic or only the state Holland; his analyses suggest both, which weakens the overall argument because it makes a difference in the eighteenth century whether the whole Republic is taken into consideration or not. Scherpbier's outlook is somewhat sceptical, for though he opens with the following statement "The history of Dutch literature would lead one to expect a warm welcome for Milton in Protestant Holland" (1), he concludes that "It is clear that the two Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost* were recognized as failures" (153). One of the reasons Scherpbier concludes this about the first two Dutch translations is that his study mainly compares the Dutch to the English version leading him to decide that "the [first] Dutch version is disappointing" (144) and that in the second version "The attempt to take away one of the obstacles of popularity, by changing...wooden blank verse into smooth popular alexandrines, was perhaps in itself a good idea, but the result was disastrous" (146). In conclusion, Scherpbier paints a very bleak picture of the Dutch translations before 1730, and although his research does not extend beyond this year, his final note states that "The attitude of the Dutch towards Milton practically never changed" (206).

Sixty years after the first two studies on the Dutch *Paradise Lost* emerged, Piet Verhoeff published his article titled ‘Justifying the Ways of God to Men in a Target Language’. The objective of his research is clearly stated in the text:

It has by now been fairly generally accepted that, although *equivalence*, be it in the strictly logical or in the more loosely common-sense meaning of the word, between source text and target text is out of the question, yet, in order to make a discussion of translation-oriented problems at all possible, it ought to be practically feasible to compare translated texts with their originals with reference to 1. syntactic, 2. semantic, and 3. pragmatic aspects. Under the optimal interpretation of this *credo*, this means, not only that we, the ideal readers of the texts, should judge the products coming from the hands of translators on these three counts, but also that serious translators, after making a careful stylistic analysis of the source texts, should embark on their translatory task bearing these three criteria in mind, anticipating criticism, and aiming at the best possible results in all three fields. (Verhoeff 179-180)

Verhoeff is ambitious, and his linguistic analyses show that each complete translation of *Paradise Lost* up to 1990 fail in one way or another, and most often in more ways than one. Yet Verhoeff distinguishes himself from the previous studies because unlike the other two, he has a fixed strategy from the onset of his research. He treats each text equally, describing only the failures and successes of each text, and without giving too much of his personal opinion. Verhoeff’s conclusion is unsurprising after reading the article: there is no good translation of *Paradise Lost*, and he does not believe it possible that there ever will be. Verhoeff suggests that if a well-subsidised team takes on the project of translating *Paradise Lost*, it might have a chance at success, though he concludes that even then it would be a “totally impossible but delightful job” (194).

The most recent Milton in Dutch translation study by Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen who takes a radically different approach. Instead of offering another value judgement, his article shows the progress of the poem through translation into Dutch; how the early translations were struggling not just with the form of poem but also with the subject matter, a feature that

faded away in the translations after 1900 when form became a priority over the politico-religious content of *Paradise Lost* (Van Dijkhuizen 23-4). Instead of discussing whether or not the poem could ever successfully be translated into Dutch, Van Dijkhuizen outlines the history of the Dutch translations from 1728 up to 2003 by discussing both form and historical context. This leads him to conclude that “the history of *Paradise Lost* in Dutch is characterized, first of all, by an unresolved formal struggle with Milton’s blank verse” (23) as well as the shift in focus of the translator from aiming to convey the politico-religious tensions in the poem to “presenting the poem instead as a timeless and self-contained work of literary genius” (24).

Hopefully, it has become clear that the reader reads, and experiences the text on his own, but interprets it as he is conditioned by his background. Readers with a similar background will interpret the text in the same way, therefore, their readerly experience is the same. To the reader, the reading experience and the interpretation of the text may feel as something private, individual and special, but this sense of ‘owning’ the reading experience is false since it is shared by a far larger audience. A translator is simultaneously a reader and an author, for he works from the original but produces a product that is based on his interpretation. A translation is a new text and may, at times, be only loosely based on the original. Translations, then, show us how the translator perceived and interpreted the original. The *Paradise Lost* translations will demonstrate the liberty their translators granted themselves in adapting their work to their audience. This thesis will focus on the cultural reception of the poem’s translations. It will demonstrate how the translators (and by extension their translations) reflect their own interpretation of the original, as well as the ways in which they shape the reading experience of their audience. This thesis will compare the cultural reception between the three translations of the eighteenth century. By contrasting the way each translator deals with the monarchy, it will become clear there is a significant difference

between the cultural reception of each translator. Its aim is not to provide a judgement of aesthetic value, but to demonstrate the socio-politico insights offered by the 'mistranslations' in each translation.

Chapter 3

The *Spectator* and the Translations

One of the most prominent figures in eighteenth-century criticism is Joseph Addison, who also plays a part in the translation history of Milton in the Dutch Republic. John Leonard remarks about Addison that his “eighteen *Spectator* papers on *Paradise Lost* have had more influence, and been reprinted more often, than any other work of Milton criticism” (1 16). Primarily, Addison’s criticism of *Paradise Lost* brought the epic to a wider readership, particularly in England. Addison’s *The Spectator* has also been influential in the rise of the Dutch translations of the eighteenth century. Maria Pallares-Burke describes this periodical as follows: “The fortunes of the English *Spectator* (1711-14) and its followers, in Europe and elsewhere, may be said to represent one of the most successful enterprises of both literal and cultural translation in the history of printed communication” (142). This is partly the reason why Pallares-Burke takes the periodical as the main object for her study regarding European periodicals. *The Spectator* was translated into French and Dutch, but initially these translations did not include the comments on *Paradise Lost*. However, “Dutch readers could still have learned about Milton from Addison’s famous comments on *Paradise Lost* – with their praise of the beauty of Pandemonium – in the final paragraph of *Spectator* No. 417 (28 June 1712), which was published in Dutch in 1724, in the fourth volume of *De Spectator, of Verrezenne Socrates* [*The Spectator, or Risen Socrates*]” (Van Dijkhuizen 1). Both Van Zanten and Paludanus refer to Addison’s essays in the introduction to their translations, and it appears that it was one of the reasons Van Zanten decided to begin his translation of the epic.

The preface to the first Dutch translation (1728) by Van Zanten outlines “hoe groot eene achting de vernuftige Schryver voor dit werk van den Schranderen Milton heeft” (3) [trl. ‘the high regard the sharp-minded Writer has for this work of the shrewd Milton’]. It was

Milton's reputation, as portrayed in the *Spectator*, “dat de lof en toejuyching daar aan gegeven, in my eenen lust ontstak, om het zelve met aandacht een en andermaal te doorlezen, en my zynen Schryftrant, wat hard, en hoogdraavend, eenigsins gemeen te maaken” (3) [trl. ‘that the praise and acclamation aroused in me a lust to attentively read it through, and to adjust his penmanship, which is tough, and stilted, to a more common style’]. Van Zanten was so impressed with *Paradise Lost*, that he ventured to make the work understandable for a wider Dutch audience. Van Zanten was the first in Dutch history to decide that Milton's epic had to be read by the non-English reading people of the Dutch Republic, though translation was going to enable it.

The three translators of *Paradise Lost* in the eighteenth century all agreed on at least one thing: John Milton was a poet who would arguably surpass even Homer and Virgil. Van Zanten's conventional admiration of the original is echoed in the edition that appeared two years later, translated by Lambertus Paludanus. Paludanus starts the preface to his translation with: “Zie hier de beryming van het alleruitmuntendste, verhevenste en volmaakste Dichtstuk, dat ooit het licht, in onze taale, zag. De Maaker is in de Engelsche taale de Heer *John Milton*” (3) [trl. ‘See here the rhyming version of the superberb, loftiest and most perfect Poem, that ever saw the light in our language. The Maker is, in English, Mister *John Milton*’]. From the start, Paludanus makes it clear that he regards *Paradise Lost* as a poem of high quality. He further remarks that Milton “alle andere Dichtgeesten van alle plaatsen en eeuwen overtroffen heeft” (5) [trl. ‘has surpassed all other Poets of all places and all times’]. Like Van Zanten, Paludanus greatly admires Milton's epic and reasons that Milton's greatness is of such stature that he can but hope to translate it after his fashion. Though these glorifications were conventional at the time, they do show the translators' appreciation of the original. Contrastingly, the translator of the third translation, Jan Hendrik Reisig, continues the glorification of Milton in a different way than his two predecessors.

Reisig published his edition in four instalments between 1791-1811. The instalments were later bundled into a single volume that contains very little paratextual material. Apart from a short poem serving as its preface, the book contains only the poem. In the short poem, however, Reisig comments on “Miltons Godlyk kunstvermogen” (ii) [trl. ‘Milton’s Divine artistic capability’] which was “De bron van [z]yn vermetelheid” (ii) [trl. The source of his audacity’]. Reisig makes a conscious distinction between his translation and Milton’s original, and sees the two as separate works. He comments:

Dit zoet herdenken aan die dagen,
 Heeft my den stouten stap doen wagen,
 Die voor de vriendschap open staat,
 Met haar durft myne ziel zich streelen,
 En dus myn Milton u beveelen,
 In Nederduitsch vernieuwd gewaad. (ii)

[trl. ‘This sweet remembrance of those days / Urged me to take the daring step / That is open to friendship / With her I dare to caress my soul / And so recommend my Milton to you / In renewed Dutch garment’]

In context of the short preface, “myn Milton” indicates that it is Reisig’s reception of Milton that has been translated. This is further supported by the fact that Reisig started the translation out of sentiment. Where Van Zanten and Paludanus claim their translations are merely governed by admiration of Milton’s verse which inspired their need for creating a Dutch version that might be read more often, Reisig started his translation from nostalgia for a time when he had first read Milton. All three translations are ultimately generated from the initial reception of the translator, but Reisig is the only one to point this out to the reader. By calling his work “myn Milton”, he claims that his version of Milton differs from any other. He states that the translation the reader is about to enjoy is how he perceives Milton, and the way he has translated him accordingly. In short, although all translators are in awe of Milton’s genius, it

is Reisig alone who indicates there is a difference between his Milton and any other, including the original. What this difference entails exactly will become clear in the analyses later on.

Apart from bestowing conventional praise on Milton, Van Zanten and Paludanus also comment on the lack of rhyme in *Paradise Lost*. Van Zanten remarks the following about the process of translating Milton:

Tot dat ik eyndelyk besloot eene kleene proeve te neemen, hoe de maat van zyne vaersen in onze Neederduytse taale klinken zou. Ik ondernam't, en 't scheen my niet kwaalyk te gevallen, des ging ik van tyd tot tyd voort, en bracht het zoo ten eynde. Niet echter met dat voorneemen, om 't zelve ooyt of ooyt ter drukpersse te beveelen. (3)

[trl. 'Until I finally decided to test how the meter of his verses would sound in our Dutch language. I undertook it, and it appeared to me to be not too bad, so I went on from time to time, and so concluded the work. However, not with the intention to ever have it recommended for print, or have it printed myself']

Inspired by the original, Van Zanten decided to try his hand at translating the epic and found he could do so. Van Zanten used the 1667 edition of the poem (in ten books) as his source text, and seems to have been unaware that a revised edition in twelve volumes had been published in 1674. Paludanus confirms this in 1730 when he remarks: “ziende, dat de Heere van Zanten, door onkunde, dat ‘er meer als een druk van dat werk in de waereld was, zich in zyn vertaaling bediend had van een der eerste drukken, waar in de Goddelyke Dichter zyn werk in tien boeken had begreepen” (4) [trl. ‘seeing that mister Van Zanten, by ignorance, there was more than one print of the work in the world, based his translation on one of the first prints, where the Divine Poet had divided his work in ten books’]. Although Van Zanten did not use the most recent edition as the foundation for his translation, he did honour the poet’s intention of keeping *Paradise Lost* in unrhyming verse. Van Zanten is aware of his audience’s preference for rhyming poetry when he writes:

den welken ik niet meerder te berichten heb, als dat het den Heere Pieter Langendyk gelust hebbe, den inhoud van yder Boek te berymen, 't geen moogelyk sommige Leezers wel zal doen wensen, dat zyne of diergelyke pen het ganse werk naar dien trant opgesteld en voleyndigd had. (6)

[trl. 'the like of which I had no more to comment on, for that it pleased mister Pieter Langendyk to rhyme the argument of every book, this may make some Readers wish that it had been his or a comparable pen who took it upon themselves to translate, compose and complete it']

The only rhyming parts in the translations are the Arguments, and even those are first presented as a short prose summary, followed by a short, rhyming poem that recaps the prose summary. The rhyming poems are not by Van Zanten, but by his friend Pieter Langendyk, who was also the one encouraging Van Zanten to take the translation to print. He knows that the Dutch audience might have preferred a wholly rhyming translation, but Van Zanten quotes Milton's own argument in favour of unrhyming verse:

De Maat is Engels Heldendicht, gelyk die van Homerus in 't Grieks, en van Virgilius in 't Latyn: Gemerkt het Rym geen noodzaakelyk byvoegsel of rechtschaapen Sieraad van een Gedicht of goed vaers is, voor al in Werken van eenen langen aadem, maar de Uytvinding eener woeste Eeuwe, om eene armhartige stoffe met lam rym af te zetten... Des heeft men dit verzuym van 't Rym, wat ook gemeene Leezers daar van moogen oordeelen, zoo weynig voor een gebrek te houden, dat men 't eerder achten mooge, als 't eerste Voorbeeld in de Engelse Taale, waar door de aaloude Vryheyd voor het Heldendicht van de lastige en heedendaagse slaaverny van Rymen verlost en ontslaagen word. (4-5)

['The Measure is English Heroic Verse without Rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and Virgil in Latin; Rhime being no necessary Adjunct or true Ornament of Poem or good Verse, in longer Works especially, but the Invention of a barbarous Age, to set off wretched matter and lame Meeter; ...This neglect then of Rhime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar Readers, that it rather is to be esteem'd an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recover'd to heroic Poem from the troublesom and modern bondage of Rimeing.' (Milton 301)]

Equating Milton to Homer and Virgil is, as pointed out above, hardly new. Yet, this time it is not strictly Van Zanten who equates Milton to them, rather it is Milton himself who equates

his work to that of the epic poets. In ‘The Verse’ Milton uses Homer and Virgil as a means to justify his decision to write *Paradise Lost* in blank, unrhyming verse. Van Zanten translated this and added it to his preface as a way of allowing Milton to justify himself. Van Zanten claims impartiality by stating “Hoe veel of hoe weynig alle deeze aanmerkingen kunnen of moeten gelden, laat ik oover aan het oordeel van den bescheyden Leezer” (6) [trl. ‘How much or how little value these remarks can or should have, I leave up to the judgement of the modest Reader’]. Although Van Zanten includes Milton’s ‘The Verse’, it is at odds with the suggestions voiced in the rest of the preface. This demonstrates Van Zanten’s negotiation between his own ideas and those of the original work. One of his suggestions is that perhaps one day, some other poet might want to translate the poem into rhyme, for he fears his incompetence would do it no justice:

Had eene pen, zoo wel gesneed, als de zyne (Pieter Langendyk), dit heldendicht, naar zynen trant berymt, ’t zou ongetwyfeld by de meesten eenen dieperen ingang gevonden hebben. En wie weet, of niet schier of morgen, iemand, die deeze stof niet mishagt, de hand aan ’t werk zal slaan, om dezelve het rymgewaad eens aan te trekken. (4)

[trl. ‘If a pen as well-cut as his [Pieter Langendijk], had put this heroic poem to rhyme according to his own manner, it would doubtless have made a deeper impression on most readers. And perhaps, though not in the very near future, someone who does not dislike this material, will make an effort to clothe it in the garb of rhyme.’]

Van Zanten, then, encourages others to try their hand at rhyming *Paradise Lost*, even though he was aware of Milton’s own intention of not rhyming the epic. Because the inclusion of ‘The Verse’ is so at odds with the rest of the preface, Van Zanten appears to mention Milton’s argument for the sake of including all the material he found in his source text. His wish for a different ‘pen’ to translate *Paradise Lost* into rhyme, was realized two years later.

Paludanus took it upon himself to translate the epic poem in rhyme, being inspired by Milton’s subject matter. His edition was based on Van Zanten’s and an anonymous French

prose translation of *Paradise Lost*, most likely *Le Paradis perdu de Milton. Poème heroique, traduit de l'anglois, avec les remarques de Mr. Addisson*, published in 1729 and commonly attributed to Nicolas-François Dupré de Saint-Maur (1695–1774) (Smit 280). *Het Paradys Verlooren* became an epic, rhyming poem in twelve books. In Paludanus' case, the term 'translator' is particularly questionable. His inability to read English prevented him from ever reading the original. His 'translation' is therefore solely based on two other translations, that, in themselves, are interpretations as well. According to the preface, Paludanus did not keep track of which parts he copied from the French, and which parts he copied from Van Zanten, although he indicates that he tried to stay true to Van Zanten's edition and that he “zomtyds woordelyk [het] heb gevolgt” (3) [trl. 'sometimes followed word by word']. In fact, Paludanus' primary goal appears to be introducing rhyme to *Paradise Lost*. He comments that, “Dewyl ik dit werk al te zwaar voor myn gering vermoogen, dat niet verder strekt dan om te rymen, oordeele te zyn. Ik heb het echter volvoerd, doch hoedanig, laat ik u oordeelen, Leezer” (4) [trl. 'Since I judged this work to be too heavy for my limited potential, that goes no further than to rhyme. I have, however, completed the task, though how accomplished, I leave you to judge, Reader']. Paludanus completed the rhyming and asks the reader to judge how successful he has been in doing so. He emphasises how challenging the conversion from blank verse into Dutch rhyming verse has been when he writes: “myn gering vermoogen, dat niet verder strekt dan om te rymen”. As will become clear later on, Paludanus did a great deal more than adding a rhyme scheme to his translation of *Paradise Lost*.

The 1791-1811 edition, with its little paratextual material, does not comment on the decision to have the translation rhyme, in part because his translation is in prose. Reisig only remarks that the text is “In Nederduitsch vernieuwd gewaad” (ii) [trl. 'In renewed Dutch garment']. This, in itself, indicates little, other than that it is a new, Dutch version of Milton's epic. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, the use of the word “gewaad”

to refer to the text is not peculiar: “Figuurlijk zegt men van een schrijver die vertaald wordt, dat hij in een ander *gewaad* wordt gestoken, en bij overdracht wordt diezelfde uitdrukking ook toegepast op zijn werk” [trl. ‘Figuratively, a writer is said to be fitted in a new garment when he is translated, and by extension, this term also applies to his work’] (*WNT*). Van Zanten, in his edition, makes use of the word as well when he invites his readers to try their hand at translating, and rhyming, Milton (“En wie weet, of niet schier of morgen, iemand, die deeze stof niet mishaaft, de hand aan ’t werk slaan, om dezelve het rymgewaad eens aan te trekken”).

However, translating English verse into Dutch is challenging, and at times, words, concepts, and ideas that are present in the original, are lost in the process of translation. To outline the differences there are between the original and the translation, the rest of this chapter will analyse Eve’s sonnet in Book 4. Through these ‘mistranslations’, it becomes clear that the translators shape the reception of their work by choosing to add or subtract material in their translations. Eve’s sonnet is a good example because it is one of Milton’s most straightforward pieces in the poem. The sonnet provides a very strong position for Eve, who, in light of the poem’s historical setting, composes the first sonnet in the history of all mankind. The sonnet is set apart from the text by its structure of sixteen lines in iambic pentameter (apart from the first foot, which is a trochee (“Sweet is | the breath | of morn | her ri | sing sweet”). The sonnet is cleverly constructed as an extended chiasmus, where the elements presented in the first nine lines are repeated with the reversed effect in the final seven lines. In Dutch, however, this structure is largely lost.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton takes care to portray Eve as competent, of high status, and as a person capable of reasoning. She takes her task, naming the plants, very seriously, as she does her role as a wife to Adam. Susan Wiseman notes that “Milton’s representation of Eve is complicating and multi-layered” and that she “is a female reasoner” who “is in charge of the

narration” when it comes to a subject matter that is related entirely to herself (such as seeing her reflection in the water right after she was created). Wiseman further notes that it was “her faulty reasoning [that] leads her to transform Satanic fancy into sinful reality through the crucial act of disobedience” (544). Milton’s Eve, then, is not presented as completely dependent on Adam for making decisions or for going about her daily business. In fact, she frequently points out throughout *Paradise Lost* that it is her own choice to follow Adam’s lead, and that she prefers hearing important news from him instead of from the angel Raphael.

In the Dutch translation by Van Zanten the original structure of the sonnet is completely lost. Instead of creating a sonnet-like structure within the larger framework of Eve’s speech, Van Zanten presents the ‘sonnet’ incorporated into the text, in twenty-five lines. Rather than beginning the sonnet on a new line, Van Zanten begins with “Zoet” at the end of the previous line, even though “Zoet” is originally the start of the sonnet. Without the clear-cut sonnet structure, the reader will not recognize it as such and a part of its meaning is therefore lost. Eve is no longer the first human to compose a sonnet within the context of *Paradise Lost*, she is simply saying something nice to her husband. By analysing the sonnet, the liberty Van Zanten took in translating Milton becomes evident, and it also demonstrates that these liberties may affect the reader’s reception of the text.

Nearing the end of the sonnet, Milton writes “With this her solemn Bird, nor walk by Moon, / Or glittering Starr-light without thee is sweet” (4.655-6). In Van Zanten’s translation, these lines become “Met zyn gewoonen Voogel, noch by ’t licht / Der Maane, of by het schitterend gestraal / Der Sterren te spanseeren door den Hof, / Is zonder u niet zoet. —” (145). Apart from the fact that, in Dutch, the two lines are doubled in length, Van Zanten also includes an element in his translation which is not present in the original. “Door den Hof” has no English counterpart, and although it is obvious in the context that Van Zanten means to provide a location for the stroll under the moonlight, it is partly due to this addition that he

changes Milton's syntactic flow. In Milton's original, the verb "walk" is complimented by the phrase "by Moon, / Or glitterering Starr-light". Whereas in Van Zanten's version, the verb "spanseeren" ["to walk"] is complimented by "door den Hof". Van Zanten creates a far longer clause with the addition of "door den Hof", and as a result, the inherent resolution of the English verse is lost. In the sonnet, Eve makes a statement, which especially nearing the end gains in power by the short, successive repetition of the elements introduced in the first half of the chiasmus. Yet by stretching, in particular, the final two lines out into four lines and adding an element that was not introduced before, the Van Zanten translation loses the power of Eve's statement. In short, the reader of the translation will not realize he is reading a sonnet, nor will he be struck by the precise and powerful construction of it. The status Eve gains through the sonnet, in her position as first poet in history, does not come across in the translation. As a result, the reader will receive Eve's character differently than when he reads the original poem. It also affects the reader's reception of Eve throughout the poem, in which she plays a significant role, since the reader's judgement of her fall, to some extent, depends on his perception of Eve's character on the whole. This different reception of Eve is by not necessarily bad. It is simply indicating a different reception of the character of Eve, and so it shows the effect of different choices in translating.

Besides adding an element to the text, Van Zanten also translates "solemn Bird" (4.655) into "gewoonen Voogel". The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* defines 'solemn' as "Fitted to excite serious thoughts or reflections; impressive, awe-inspiring" and "sacred, having a religious character" (*OED*), which in the context of the sonnet reflects how important Adam is to Eve. For, without him, she explains, nothing is as good as it is with him, including the fact that the solemn bird would no longer be as "awe-inspiring" or "sacred". Van Zanten, however, translates 'solemn' into "gewoonen". The adjective "gewoonen" denotes a completely different meaning from 'awe-inspiring'. According to the *Woordenboek*

der Nederlandsche Taal, “gewoonen” means something that is “algemeen aangenomen” [trl. ‘generally accepted], or “waaraan men gewend is” [trl. ‘that which a person is used to’]. In other words, the bird is no longer awe-inspiring to Eve (or the reader), it is just a plain bird. This takes away from the effect of Eve’s sonnet, which aims to demonstrate that all the best, marvellous, and sweetest in the universe would mean nothing if Adam is not there. By supplementing the weightier “solemn” for “gewoonen”, the sonnet loses a part of its value.

Although, like Van Zanten’s, Paludanus’ translation of the sonnet does not correspond to the sixteen line sonnet, it does have a discernible metre and form. Paludanus’ twenty-seven lines long ‘sonnet’ is rhyming and trochaic, and although the first four lines are heptameters, the rest of the piece varies in meter. The significantly longer sonnet has also been equipped with several rhetorical techniques. Paludanus repeatedly makes use of alliteration (“*kimmen komt*”, “*hemels heldren*”, “*bloezems, bloem en boom...en bladen*”), assonance (“*hooren...vog’len door ‘t geboomt*”), and anaphora (“‘t Is zoet... / ‘t Is zoet...”, “Noch... / Noch... / Noch...” (135-6). The use of these techniques in combination with its form, rhyme and metre, gives the reader the impression he is indeed reading a poem. Paludanus also repeatedly adds elements to the poem that are not present in Van Zanten’s translation. For example, “blad’ren” in: “En bloezems, bloem en boom en blad’ren, kruid en vrucht” [trl. ‘And blossoms, flower and tree and leaves, herb and fruit’] and “Noch reuk naa regenvlaag, zo duur door ons geächt” [trl. ‘Nor smell after rain, deemed so valuable by us’] where “zo duur door ons geächt” is neither in Van Zanten, nor in Milton. Because Paludanus’ translation is not solely based on Van Zanten, but also on a French source, it is possible the additions have been copied from the French. Paludanus made the effort to translate Milton into verse, and sometimes, to fit the rhyme scheme, he has added some elements. In the case of adding “blad’ren” and “zo duur door ons geächt”, Paludanus was motivated by fitting the poem in his AABB rhyme scheme. By adding words or phrases in a translation, Paludanus inevitably

introduces extra concepts to the reader. “Zo duur door ons geächt” is Paludanus’ way of indicating the value of the sweet smell after the rain, which is not a concept present in the original poem. With this addition, Paludanus guides his reader to put a greater emphasis on the concept of the smell after the rain, which may divert his attention from the message Milton intended to convey. In itself, this small example does not appear to be significant, especially not when the aim is analysing the reception of a complete work, religiously, politically, or otherwise. But, by considering that these additions were made for the sake of the rhyme scheme, it is important to understand the willingness of Paludanus to change or introduce new concepts to the poem. This, above all, affects the reader’s reception of the translation, and changes like these enable scholars to study the reception of a literary work. The length Paludanus went through to make *Paradise Lost* work in rhyme, is an indication of the importance of rhyme in the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth century. Paludanus is willing to sacrifice Milton’s original concepts and structures to provide his audience with the type of work they expect, and he evidently found Milton’s epic to be important enough to translate into rhyming verse.

Unlike Van Zanten and Paludanus, Reisig translated *Paradise Lost* as a work of prose. Eve’s sonnet, therefore, is lost in the text. Ironically, the prose translation of the sonnet comes closest to the original, both in length and in meaning. The prose ‘sonnet’ is eighteen lines long, and syntactically remains close to Milton’s original. For example, Reisig translates the first line as “Lieflyk is de adem van den vroegen morgen; zyn lieflyk ryzen” (158) as compared to Milton’s “Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet” (4.642). Apart from Reisig’s addition of “vroegen” [trl. ‘early’], his changing the pronoun “her” to “zyn” [trl. ‘his’], and his putting the adjective before the noun (“zyn lieflyk ryzen”), the line is syntactically the same. Overall, the translation remains close to the original. Yet, because it is not in verse, blank verse or other, a part of the meaning is inevitably lost. Milton’s concepts

come across through Reisig's prose, but the beauty of the sonnet, its importance for the character of Eve, and any other poetic rhetoric have gone. This poses the question as to what is more important in a translation. Van Zanten and Paludanus maintained the poetic form, be it adjusted to Dutch and in Paludanus' case in rhyme, but Reisig maintains the conceptual meaning of the original. Ideally, the two would be combined to create a translation that is exactly like the original. But, because of the differences between Dutch and English, it is unlikely this ideal will ever be realized.

The three Dutch translations are each presented to the reader differently. While Van Zanten is conservative to Milton in preserving the original's blank verse (although his conservatism would, to the eighteenth-century Dutch audience, have appeared as rather radical), Paludanus presents his translation as having altered nothing other than rhyme, although it is evident he alters sentence structures and concepts in order to make the rhyme scheme work. Yet Reisig, in his short introductory poem, merely outlines his high regard for Milton as well as his personal motivation for translating him, without commenting on his choice to translate it into prose. Van Zanten's and Paludanus' translations are both from the first half of the eighteenth century, 1728 and 1730 respectively. Both translations were printed during the Second Stadholderless Period (1702-1747), which means that the political allegiance of the translators will have influenced their choices regarding their translations. In 1747, the stadholder was re-installed and would remain until the political situation in the Dutch Republic changed drastically at the end of the eighteenth century due to the Batavian Revolution (concluding in 1795). Reisig's translation was published during the Batavian-French era (1795-1813). As with any revolution, it took some time to reach its conclusion, and political tension was rising in the years leading up to the conclusion of the Batavian Revolution. Therefore, I hope to show that Reisig's translation greatly differs from Van Zanten's and Paludanus', and that Reisig's translation will reflect and shape the ongoing

events of his time. The following chapters will analyse all three texts to demonstrate that a difference in political circumstances can indeed be found in the translations.

Chapter 4

Politics and Monarchy in *Paradise Lost*

Paradise Lost is inherently an anti-monarchical and pro-regicide text. The epic, primarily meant as a theodicy, harbours a range of references to Milton's points of view regarding monarchy or an institution similar to it. The extent of Milton's politics has been debated in Milton scholarship for decades. Some scholars argue that Milton attempts to separate heavenly and earthly monarchy, whereas others argue that Milton divides monarchy into good monarchy (embodied by God) and evil monarchy (embodied by Satan). In short, there is no unanimous consensus regarding Milton's representation of monarchy in *Paradise Lost*. This chapter will briefly outline the different ways in which the epic reflects Milton's view on monarchy by outlining the vast amount of scholarship devoted to monarchy in the poem. Finally, it will conclude that Milton made a definite divide between earthly and heavenly monarchy in *Paradise Lost* and that it even expresses Milton's pro-regicide convictions.

Before diving into the politics of *Paradise Lost*, it is important to note that these politics "are those of the seventeenth century and not those of today" (Dzelzainis 548). A common approach to discuss the epic's politics is by using modern concepts to describe the events in *Paradise Lost*. Yet, as Martin Dzelzainis argues in 'The Politics of *Paradise Lost*', by neglecting the circumstances of the time it was written in, the poem loses its political value. In fact, Dzelzainis notes, "much of what Satan says and does is simply unintelligible without an understanding of what went on at the heart of the regime to which Milton devoted a decade of his life" (568). The regime Dzelzainis refers to is the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell where Milton served as the secretary of foreign tongues from March 1649 onwards. Dzelzainis further argues that the political circumstances are discernable in the poem because:

In the opening two books, we are assured, Milton procedurally and rhetorically reproduces the parliamentary process from summons to debate to final vote, and shows it being manipulated at every stage by Satan and Beelzebub. (549)

By replicating the procession of parliament, Milton instantly links his theodicy to the political tidings of his day. David Loewenstein, too, corroborates that *Paradise Lost* is inherently political, and that the politics displayed in it are anti-monarchical and pro-regicide as befitted Milton's seventeenth century circumstances. He comments that "Milton most likely composed *Paradise Lost* between 1658 and 1663, a period of great political turmoil and transition during which this godly republican writer strenuously resisted the oncoming Restoration and lamented the inevitable realization" (Loewenstein 348). The epic, then, served as Milton's way of continuing his political radicalism. Published in 1667 in ten books, and again in 1674 in twelve books, the epic both reflects Milton's cultural and personal circumstances as a socially excluded, blind man holding on to his own convictions regarding politics and religion. Milton remained a fierce republican but had to temper the public display of his ideologies for fear of persecution. *Paradise Lost*, though a theodicy, is one of the ways through which Milton continued to advocate his anti-monarchical disposition.

Milton's anti-monarchism has been a topic of debate in Milton scholarship with at its heart the question: what does Milton's anti-monarchism mean? John Rogers in his article 'The Political Theology of Milton's Heaven' argues that "critics of the last forty-five years have tended rather to argue for the sheer incommensurability between earthly and heavenly sovereignty" (68). He proceeds to claim that in *Paradise Lost* there is no such clear divide between divine and human monarchy. Rogers does so by touching upon one of the major issues the reader finds in the epic poem:

Readers of *Paradise Lost* have long struggled to understand the apparent tension between Milton's uncompromising commitment to a non-monarchic politics, as evidenced in the regicide tracts, and the decidedly monarchic

structure of what seems to be exemplary polity of the poem's Heaven. (Rogers 68)

It is indeed striking that the anti-monarchical Milton created a Heaven which depends upon a monarchical structure with God at its head. Although Rogers recognises that the general consensus separates earthly from heavenly monarchy, with God as the only justified monarch, he also argues that this divide is too simplistic. He notes that Michael Bryson and Peter C. Herman are "right to reject any assertion of the incommensurability of Milton's heavenly and earthly representations" (70). Rogers concludes his article by stating that in "reconceptualis[ing] the link that connects a sovereign to a state, Milton takes a tie that had always and everywhere been seen as natural and necessary and decrees it artificial and contingent" (81). This reconceptualisation, according to Rogers, presents an absolutist rule by God as ultimately enabling human freedom. In other words, Milton's separation of sovereign and God fails in *Paradise Lost* because it is too unnatural and too contradictory due to the fact that he maps a postlapsarian political system (of kingship and hereditary rule) onto the prelapsarian political system of Heaven. By presenting God as monarch, Milton strengthens the link with earthly monarchy rather than weakening it. Consequently, Rogers seems to imply that subjection to a monarchy is the natural state of affairs. To Rogers, Milton's attempt at separating sovereignty from divine anointment is too controversial and does not work well in the epic. He also warns that scholarship has treated Milton's writings as representative of seventeenth-century political radicalism, whereas Milton was, in fact, an anomaly. Yet, as noted by Rogers himself, there is approximately forty-five years of scholarship available to refute this argument, including various articles by David Loewenstein.

Loewenstein demonstrates in his article 'The Radical Religious Politics of *Paradise Lost*' that "God's kingship is unlike any other kind of kingship and certainly does not resemble an earthly Stuart monarchy" (354). One of the reasons Loewenstein (and with him

many others) is convinced that *Paradise Lost* is deliberately designed as political text is the fact that Satan's rhetoric contains a political register. As argued above, the council of the fallen angels in the first two books follow the proceedings of parliament, and the reflection of Milton's politics is even more explicit in the character of Satan. Loewenstein convincingly notes that "Ambiguous in all his doings, Satan too is a master of verbal and political equivocation himself, as he usurps and manipulates the rhetoric and ideology of political resistance and skilfully simulates the role of radical revolutionary" (350). The radical revolutionary is, of course, equated to Milton, but as argued by Stanley Fish in *Surprised by Sin* (1967) this straightforward equation is misleading and should not be possible because any argument Satan brings forth must by definition be distrusted. By offering his readers arguments that closely resemble his own, they are more trusting of Satan as a character, a fault which Milton points out time and time again. This further supports Loewenstein's point that through the character of Satan, it becomes evident that Milton intentionally laced *Paradise Lost* with political rhetoric. Throughout the epic, Milton's political ideology is repeatedly displayed, and are complimentary to his views regarding the monarchy.

Milton's political preferences were anti-tyranny and pro-regicide, and he believed that all monarchies would eventually become tyrannical absolutist rulers. Loewenstein argues that Milton's republican side is particularly notable in Book 12 when "Adam's rejection of Nimrod's usurping politics reveals his instinctive republican values rather than kingly ones — in accordance with Milton's antimonarchical polemics against arbitrary powers — and Michael promptly confirms the rightness of Adam's judgement" (358-9). Adam, as first human created, bears weight as representative of humanity on the whole. By specifically having Adam reject Nimrod's monarchy and consequent usurpation of God's power, Milton makes the statement that people were created to be free-born republicans, a point further underlined in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1650) and, *Areopagitica* (1644).

Furthermore, the Son's elevation through merit rather than birthright is "a crucial detail reminding us that the politics of Milton's heaven differ from the hereditary divine right politics of Stuart kingship" (Loewenstein 354). The present-day reader of *Paradise Lost*, however, has to bear in mind that Milton was not a republican in any modern sense of the term. In fact, Dzelzainis notes that "the non-democratic aspect of republicanism necessarily followed from the principle of differential rationality; majorities are defined qualitatively not numerically so that those who possess wisdom and virtue will [be a majority]" (559). In other words, Milton's republicanism went as far as rejecting the monarchy but replacing it only by a system depending on a council of well-educated men (as explained in more detail in *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660)). Milton "believed those who were naturally superior should rule" (Dzelzainis 556), and this naturally excluded uneducated men, and all women.

Milton's anti-monarchical ideals included the regicide, which he defended and supported. In *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1650), Milton defends the decision to execute Charles I in 1649. To Milton, there was no such thing as God's anointed leadership in any way, shape or form. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton advocates complete separation between earthly and heavenly monarchy, as discussed above. His epic is known for the inherent anti-monarchical and pro-regicide message it harbours, in his view there could not be a good absolute ruler. Although Milton is known for being anti-monarchical, in effect, he was not anti-monarchical per se. He was anti-tyranny, and anti-leadership which could potentially allow for tyranny. In short, he was against absolutism, and it just so happened that it was the monarch who fulfilled the role of absolute ruler. Therefore, Milton's main focus point was on the monarchy in seventeenth-century England and how they needed to be rid of it. Yet, when reading the *Readie and Easie Way*, it becomes evident that this anti-absolutism included any other type of leadership that could potentially become absolute or tyrannical. Leadership in

the form of the stadholderate, therefore, would not have been approved by Milton, who would deem it too similar to a monarchy and too close to absolute rule.

Chapter 5

The Stadholderate in the Eighteenth Century

The stadholderate in the Dutch Republic did not originate in the eighteenth century, although it did become the prime topic of debate throughout this era. To say that what follows in this chapter will be a complete historic account of England and the Dutch Republic during the eighteenth century would be inaccurate. Rather, I will explore briefly where the two opposing attitudes towards the office of stadholder originated by looking at the seventeenth century before continuing to explore the opposition regarding monarchy and the stadholderate in the eighteenth century. The eighteenth century is one of conflict and debate with the stadholderate at the centre. Unlike Milton, the Dutch were not at all at ease with regicide, or the notion that earthly leadership was not derived from God. God's anointed was not a monarch in the Republic, but this did not entail that there was no ruler anointed by God. This tension between Milton's and the Dutch Republic's general disposition stems from the seventeenth century and remained throughout the eighteenth century; a tension that proves most interesting in the translations of *Paradise Lost* by Van Zanten and Paludanus.

In 1648, the Dutch rebellion against Philip II of Spain came to a conclusion and resultantly their republic began. In 1649, the English Civil War led to the execution of king Charles I, and so too began the republic in England. It seems logical that the two newfound republics, which had always been religious allies, would grow towards each other. Instead, however, the Dutch Republic abhorred the regicide and massively supported Charles' son, Charles II, despite the English's rather desperate attempts to win their neighbour's public opinion. In *The Royalist Republic*, Helmer Helmers "demonstrate[s] the various ways in which British political and religious parties and factions sought to control Dutch public opinion" (33-4). Amongst these various ways was also the Dutch translation of Milton's *Pro*

populo Anglicano defensio (1650) printed in Amsterdam by Johannes Janssonius in 1651. It is interesting that the tract was printed in Amsterdam, since Amsterdam was (and remained) *Staatsgezind*. The city of Amsterdam, and with it the States of Holland, were even willing to negotiate with the regicides, something the other States were unwilling to consider (Helmets 150). Because Amsterdam was against any form of monarchical government, including the stadholderate, it hoped to find potential republican allies in England. This anti-monarchical (and by extent anti-stadholderate) attitude remained throughout the eighteenth century, and is even discernable in the *Paradise Lost* translation printed there (Velema 34). The unease with the regicide that prevented the two countries from becoming allies is due to “[t]he question of whether it was justified to revolt against an anointed monarch, and to take government away from him [which] was also at the heart of the Dutch Republic’s new identity as an independent state” (Helmets 14). Regicide in the Dutch Republic was simply a step too far and therefore Dutch sympathies lay with the exiled son, Charles II who would be restored to the English throne in 1660. In the Dutch Republic, meanwhile, there appeared a further divide when Orangists established a difference between Orangism and royalism, a divide that remains significant in the eighteenth century (Helmets 13).

During the eighteenth century, the main struggle was between the *Staatsgezinden* and the Orangists. The *Staatsgezinden* professed themselves anti-stadholderate and wanted the office of stadholder abolished, whereas the Orangists supported, the main stadholder family from the House of Orange. Yet, both *Staatsgezinden* and Orangists agreed on one thing: the Dutch Republic would not have a monarch. To support both their arguments, the *Staatsgezinden* claimed that the office of stadholder came too close to a monarch and should be abolished, yet Orangists would defend the stadholderate by pointing out that it was preferable to have a stadholder in a unique Republic as opposed to having an impoverished monarch ruling a very small kingdom, therefore Orangism separated from royalism in defence

of the stadholder (Velema 1). And indeed, the Dutch Republic presented a unique political system in Europe.

Within the Dutch system there were two main governing institutions: the stadholder (embodied by a man) and the States General (embodied by an assembly of men from the upper class). Of these, only the States General were elected. In theory, the stadholder would be appointed by the States General which would in this way maintain some measure of control over the office lest it should escalate to an absolute rule. In practice, however, the system did not quite work: it was the stadholder who appointed men from prominent families to take seats in the States General. In addition, the stadholder commanded all military forces of his Province, and with this tool of power behind him, it hardly ever happened that a stadholder was either refuted or re-chosen. It also remains debatable what the stadholder's limitations were, and what he was actually expected to do. Velema describes the role of the stadholder as follows:

[The position] was based on an ill-defined assembly of special rights, privileges, usurpations and informal influence. Despite or because of the opaque nature of their position, the stadholders, elected by each province separately, succeeded in accumulating a considerable amount of symbolic and real power on both the national and the provincial level. Particularly important in this respect was the fact that their function combined substantial political power and the supreme military command in one and the same person. (33-4)

By applying this description of Velema to eighteenth-century Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost*, it becomes possible to distinguish between a pro-stadholderate, and anti-stadholderate translation. This will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

The system described above was in place in all seven Provinces of the Dutch Republic, but of the seven stadholder positions, five were usually occupied by the same man of the House of Orange. The other two would most commonly be occupied by one of his nephews or other close relatives. In practice, then, the stadholder possessed a monopoly

position of power, with enough tools to force cooperation should he be opposed. The stadholderate was also hereditary, even though it was the task of the States General to actually appoint the stadholder. The link to a monarch is easily made because of the Stadholderate's military power, its possession of a majority of power positions, and it being an hereditary position. As remarked by Mark Meuwese "Because the same individual served as the stadholder for five of the provinces, the office gradually attained pseudo-monarchical characteristics" (45). The uniqueness of the Dutch Republic regarding their political system is evident, and they were thoroughly aware of this unique status within Europe throughout the eighteenth century.

Velema argues that defining republicanism in the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth century is almost impossible since there was no general consensus about its political agenda. The only agreement the people of the Dutch Republic found was their anti-monarchism and their distinct opposition towards regicide. So, although they were not keen to return to monarchy, they were not willing to do away with an office that displayed strong monarchical tendencies. The Dutch Republic actively sought to identify itself with the rest of Europe, of the present and the past, to try and understand their own political position:

While their hostility to virtually all types of monarchy and their own form of government evidently placed the Dutch in the company of other republics ancient and modern, they found it quite difficult to see more than a rather general family resemblance in [other] states. Indeed, although the eighteenth-century Dutch made every effort to compare their own history and political arrangements to those of other European republics, they generally concluded that theirs was a unique case. (Velema 11)

This uniqueness, furthermore, was cause for instability within the Republic as shown by several weighty conflicts in the eighteenth century. The Republic saw its Second Stadholderless Era when William III died in 1702 without direct male heir, and most provinces (led by Amsterdam and the States of Holland) decided not to appoint a new

stadholder, much to the dismay of the Orangists (Velema 43). Politically, little changed, there was still the system of regents in the largest cities, and there was still the ongoing division between Orangists and the *Staatsgezinden* and their conflict continued throughout the eighteenth century:

the opponents of the stadholderate argued their case by equating the stadholder with a monarch...the adherents of the stadholder were careful not to present him as a monarch, but as one of the indispensable elements in a republican system of mixed government. (Velema 34)

Yet, there was also some sense of unity due to the freedom the Dutch people enjoyed in their unique Republic.

Other Europeans of the time were awed and inspired by the freedom generally enjoyed by the people of the Dutch Republic (Velema 1-55). Velema argues that “[r]egardless of all their differences, the notion of being ‘free-born republicans’ bound the eighteenth-century Dutch together and constituted a large part of their sense of identity” (2). Foreigners visiting the Republic were perplexed by the fact that the people could freely discuss politics in cafés without fear of prosecution (Velema 18-9). Particularly French scholars visiting the Dutch Republic frequently pointed out the dangers of having an institution that resembled a monarchy so closely as the office of stadholder did. France was, in this period, concerned with eliminating absolute monarchy, more so than other European monarchies, which is reflected in French responses to the stadholderate. The French philosopher Denis Diderot (1713-1784) “advised the Dutch immediately to get rid of this ridiculous office [of stadholder], for in a well-ordered society positions should never be held on the basis of the hereditary principle, but only on the basis of talent” (Velema 20). Milton would have shaken hands with Diderot had he still been alive, since Milton believed leadership should be warranted from merit rather than birth-right. The Dutch, however, retained their more

conservative approach towards leadership by holding on to the concept that leadership (in any form) was anointed by God. Even though this meant that the stadholder was God's anointed according to the Orangists, it simultaneously meant that any other body of government was equally God's anointed according to the *Staatsgezinden*. This will be a recurrent theme in the translations by Van Zanten, who had Orangist views, and Paludanus, who was more in tune with the *Staatsgezinden*.

Chapter 6

“The theological parts are best”: The 1728 Translation

Regarding Van Zanten’s translation of *Paradise Lost*, Herman Scherpbier remarks the following:

Yet, in spite of [its] prosodic correctness, the Dutch version is disappointing... One reason – undoubtedly the chief – is that the Dutch version is not musical. It is wooden, harsh. Another reason is the occurrence of discrepancies in the meaning of the text, sometimes only very slightly, that spoil the point of the thought and make the passage[s] flat and uninteresting. (144)

According to Scherpbier, ‘meaning’ in the epic poem is partly conveyed through the musicality of the verse. In failing to capture the musicality in his translation, Scherpbier argues that Van Zanten’s translation loses appeal and the ability to make an impact on readers due to his “wooden” and “harsh” Dutch verse. It is one of the many remarks about the successfulness of the first translation. Though, according to Scherpbier, “the theological parts are best, as might have been expected from a theologian” (140) and “from this first translation one could get a fair idea of the original” (136), the translation is “recognized as [a] failure” because “the translator had no clear idea of the cosmological structure of the Universe of *Paradise Lost*” (140). Yet, Wilhelmina Niewenhous argues that Van Zanten’s translation “made an overwhelming impression on its first readers in Holland, for in the early eighteenth century admiration for an epic was still in proportion to the amount of learning it contained” (89). Though both scholars discuss Van Zanten’s edition in terms of his success as a translator, neither focus on the insight his translation offers into his time, culture and political preferences. I would argue that Van Zanten’s translation, published in 1728 in Haarlem, presents the fictional universe of *Paradise Lost* as organized in a manner analogous to the

stadholderate. Although Van Zanten was an Orangist, he was not pro-monarchy and this affects his translation of the epic significantly. Where Milton separates church and state to the extent that he denies that rulers were anointed by God, Van Zanten presents *'t Paradijs Verlooren* as a work advocating a ruler's appointment by God. Van Zanten's inversion of Milton's politics offers an opportunity to explore the political struggles of the eighteenth century outlined above. In the translation, it becomes clear that even though the stadholder was believed to be anointed by God, there were limits to the power he was granted. Van Zanten's policy, then, was not identical to that of the royalists of seventeenth-century England who argued that king Charles I was within his right to claim absolute power because he had succeeded the throne through patriarchal succession as part of the bloodline anointed by God. Instead, Van Zanten presents God as granting a limited amount of power to the stadholder. This becomes especially evident in the character of Satan who represents what happens when the stadholder (or any ruler) attempts to exceed these limits. In the Arguments and parts of the translation discussed below, it becomes clear that Van Zanten uses his translation to reflect his political standpoint, and simultaneously employs the translation to shape the political views of his readers.

In the Arguments, Van Zanten uses the term 'Vorst' to refer to Christ, Satan, Adam and Eve. This equality in titles is striking since Milton never hesitates to underline the fact that Satan is not on equal grounds with humans, and humans (even in their prelapsarian state) are not equal to Christ. Yet, when in Book 9 Satan is named "Vorst" (353) after returning from his successful voyage to tempt mankind, and in the Argument to Book 5 Eve is named "De Paradysoorstin" (162) [trl. 'the female ruler of Paradise'] and Adam is referred to as "De Vorst van 't Paradyso" (162) [trl. 'the male ruler of Paradise'], and Christ in Arguments 7 and 10 is called "Vorst Messias" (243, 403), the four characters appear to be brought together in the same rank. The term 'Vorst' is most commonly used to refer to a monarch, yet this is

not the only definition of the word. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, the meaning of ‘Vorst’ may differ from implying a sovereign leader, to masculine leader of a specific area of land, or an independent ruler of people and it may refer to both military and non-military leaders. The equation of the four characters to ‘Vorst’ becomes less problematic in this light since all four characters fit within the definition of ‘Vorst’ as well as within the description of the stadholder as provided by Velema in the previous chapter.

Van Zanten seems to present Christ, Satan, Adam and Eve as stadholders to advocate his own pro-stadholderate convictions. Each of the characters is governor of his/her own dominion and, consequently, is responsible for it too. Christ, as the Messiah, governs humanity, for which he takes full responsibility when he offers to sacrifice himself for their redemption. Satan naturally governs Hell where he is presented as sitting “High on a Throne of Royal State” (2.1) ruling over the fallen angels. Adam is responsible for naming the animals in Paradise, and thereby becomes the governor of that dominion, whereas Eve is assigned the plants. Each of the four characters has responsibilities within their dominions and ultimately they answer to God who assigned their dominions in the first place. God created Hell and cast Satan in it to fulfil the part of the devil, a role from which he cannot escape within Milton’s poem.² After creating Adam and Eve, he assigned each with their tasks and so ensures they have a purpose in life. God’s appointment of Christ as the redeemer of humanity differs in that it was a task Christ chose to do. Although God is all-knowing and knew that Christ would offer himself as a sacrifice for humanity, it seems to be a vacancy rather than an obligation. Milton advocated that leaders should be elected by merit rather than birth-right and by presenting Christ as a volunteer to govern humanity, he ensures that Christ is elected through merit instead of solely through being the Son of God. As governors of their dominions, the four characters are presented as equally powerful with an equal amount of

² As argued by John Carey in his article ‘Milton’s Satan’

responsibility. The position of their characters seem to resemble that of the actual stadholders who served the United Provinces.

Additionally, the four characters either have a symbolic, military, or privileged status. Satan, of course, symbolizes temptation and sin, and Christ symbolizes forgiveness and compassion. Both Christ and Satan are the leaders of legions of angels (fallen and not-fallen alike). They possess military power, whilst simultaneously enjoying political power in terms of their position. Satan, seated on a throne as the leader of Hell, is by definition in a political setting. Christ is given the status of heir to God's throne, as His only Son, in Book 5. They embody the combination of political and military power in "one and the same person" as described by Velema in the previous chapter. Adam and Eve, however, do not possess military power as such, which according to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* is not necessary to be a 'Vorst', since the term was also used for non-military leadership. Although both hold solitary reign over their domains (beasts and plants respectively), neither commands a great military force. They do, however, enjoy the unique and privileged position of being protected by God's angels in Paradise. This special privilege bestowed by God is in accordance with Velema's description of the stadholder position. To further support the argument that the meaning of 'Vorst' links the four characters to the stadholderate is the fact that Milton, in his Arguments, never refers to either one of them in monarchical terms. This adjustment must, therefore, be the result of the cultural negotiation by Van Zanten as a translator, since he was familiar with the original.

If the four characters are indeed representations of stadholders, Van Zanten also provides his reader with the repercussions for the stadholder who exceeds his granted authority. Satan's famous monologue at the beginning of Book 4 depicts a Satan who momentarily seems to consider repentance. Yet the monologue also comments on his reasons for his rebellion in the first place. Part of his reasoning revolves around the notion that he

could not subject himself to God because he was himself highest in rank of all the angels. Satan's monologue addresses the issue of kingship by casting Satan as the one who attempted to usurp the power of God and in this way become 'the absolute monarch' himself. Anyone familiar with Milton's anti-monarchical disposition recognises the fundamental difference between the kingship of God and Satan's aspired kingship. For, being divine and the only just ruler, God holds the sole right to be a monarch. Anyone claiming that title for himself on earth therefore attempts to usurp God's power. By attempting to rise above his appointed rank, Satan exceeds the limits of the power he had been granted. Satan sought rule over his equals, a rule, he claims in Book 5, that was passed undeservedly to the Son of God which inspired his rebellion against God. Van Zanten uses this concept to indicate the effects of overstepping the boundary imposed by God on a stadholder's power.

In the translation, Satan comments that he is reminded of his life as exalted angel "tot trotse hovaardy / en erger Staatzucht [hem] ter needer wierp" (120) [trl. 'until proud haughtiness / and worse a will to power threw him down']. In effect, 'hovaardy' in itself can also mean 'pride', which implies that Satan was somehow doubly proud. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 'Staatszucht' can mean both ambition for political power and a violent desire for honour and status. In Dutch literature from the seventeenth century onwards, however, 'Staatszucht' is almost exclusively used politically (WNT). Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen argues that Van Zanten's use of the word is due to the influence of Joost van den Vondel's play *Lucifer* (1654). In *Lucifer*, Satan is presented as a prefiguration of rebellion against earthly monarchy, a concept that is adopted by Van Zanten because of his use of the word 'Staatszucht'. Satan's rebellion against God due to his ambition for power may be a foreshadowing of rebellion against an earthly monarch, but it may also serve to demonstrate the repercussions for a stadholder who exceeds his power-limits.

Satan comments in his monologue that: “Een stap hoger, dacht ik, maakt / My allerhoogst” (120) [trl. ‘One step higher, I thought, would raise me highest of all’]. His commentary resembles the general fear that, since the stadholder was already powerful and like a monarch in all but name, the stadholder might decide to take that last step and raise himself to the status of king. Van Zanten makes it clear that he opposes this idea by translating Milton’s phrases quite closely and so he brings across Milton’s original opposition as well: “geen toemeloze hoop / Had myne Staatzucht opgevyzeld” (121) [trl. ‘no unbridled hope would have raised my ambition’], and by describing the only result which ‘Staatzucht’ yields as follows:

Terwyl zy my aanbidden op den Troon
 Der Hell, met kroon en septer steyl verhoogd,
 Val ik te laager; De Opperste, eeniglyk
 In ramp: dat is de vreugd, die staatzucht vind. (122)

[trl. ‘Whilst they worship me on the throne of Hell, with crown and sceptre raised up high I fall the lower; The Superior, only in disaster: that is the joy found by ambitious will to power’]

In other words, attempting to overstep the boundaries of the power granted by God results in disaster, for the higher Satan is exalted, the deeper he falls in despair. This is further corroborated by Satan’s description of his mental state in *Paradise Lost*:

Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav’n (4.75-8)

Ambition for power, then, results in a supreme state of misery, one that nobody could come close to in comparison. By first aligning the characters of Christ, Satan, Adam and Eve to stadholders and then demonstrating the effects of overstepping the authority granted by God,

Van Zanten does not merely reflect his pro-stadholderate views. He also criticises and warns his reader for the consequences of a stadholder with ambition for more power.

Unlike Satan, Christ, Adam and Eve, God is primarily likened to a monarch. Van Zanten is seemingly careful to distinguish between the stadholders and the deity when he refers to Him as “‘s Heemels Vorst” (126) or “Dien Heemelvorst” (120) [trl. ‘Heaven’s Ruler’]. Furthermore, the angels have “Gods Majesteyt beleedigd” (84) [trl. ‘offended God’s Majesty’] and he is depicted as “zittende op zynen troon” (83) [trl. ‘seated on his throne’], before being called “De Hoogste Majesteyt” [trl. ‘The Highest Majesty’] in the rhyming section of the Argument. Van Zanten’s representation of God as monarch is in line with Milton’s representation and aligns with the principle that there is only one true monarch: God. Yet, it is interesting to note that Van Zanten only uses ‘Majesteyt’ when God is mentioned in close textual proximity to the stadholder characters. If God is present in a passage where either one of the four characters is present as well, God is elevated to Majesty and the others remain ‘Vorst’. Yet, when God is presented on his own, Van Zanten uses the term Vorst to refer to Him instead of using Majesty. Van Zanten was probably familiar with the wide scope of the term ‘Vorst’, a term often associated with Vondel’s *Lucifer*, and how it may refer to sovereignty or leadership in general. Because God is referred to as a monarch throughout the poem, it seems likely Van Zanten uses the monarchical sense of the word in reference to God whereas he uses the general leadership sense for the other characters. This difference between ‘Vorst’ and ‘Vorst’ is also signalled by Van Zanten’s use of ‘Heemel’ in combination with ‘Vorst’. God is not just any ‘Vorst’, He is the Heavenly ‘Vorst’, and so different from the other characters who are assigned the status of the non-monarchical connotation. God is deliberately distinguished as Majesty when he is close to other characters to signal his elevated status. This distinction is also discernible in other parts of the poem, for example at the end of Book 5 when Abdiel rejects Satan’s offer to rebel.

Throughout Abdiel's rejection of Satan, Van Zanten remains liberal with monarchical terms. Where Milton refers to Christ as leader of Heaven through being an extension of God (5.841), Van Zanten turns Christ's reign into a kingdom. "Zyn Kooningkryk zal ons / Van onzen glans geensins berooven" (199) is Van Zanten's version of "nor by his Reign obscur'd / But more illustrious made" (5.841-2). Although 'Reign' is most commonly associated with the ruling period of a monarch, it may also indicate "The period for which someone holds a specified position of authority" which may be in church, government or elsewhere (*OED*). Thus, 'Reign' has a wider scope of authoritative meaning than Van Zanten's "Koningkryk" which can only ever refer to monarchy. Considering that Van Zanten was a theologian, the 'mistranslation' is explicable. In the Bible, Matthew 6:10, reads "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as *it is* in heaven" (459), which explains Van Zanten's choice to use "Koningkryk" even though it invokes a different image than Milton's 'Reign'. Van Zanten, therefore, purposefully sets Christ up as heir to a kingdom, where he will succeed his father, God, as the good monarch when the time comes.

Apart from God, Christ, Satan, Adam and Eve, Van Zanten finally also uses different titles to refer to other characters. Michael, for example, is referred to as "Veldheer" (2, 404) [trl. 'General'] in the Arguments to Books 1 and 10, which is a military term denoting the highest ranking-commander. This, of course, corresponds to Michael's status of leader of the archangels. Surprisingly, none of the other angels in the Arguments receive a title at all. Both Uriel and Gabriel are mentioned a number of times, but without any elevating title. The fallen angels are named "de helse Vorsten in den Raad" (2) [trl. 'the hellish leaders of the council'], referring to Satan's council consisting of his right-hand associate Beelzebub, Moloch, Belial, and Mammon, who speak up in Book 2. Van Zanten is modest in his distribution of titles (monarchical or otherwise) which means the times he uses the terms he does so consciously to signal his disposition towards the stadholderate. By stressing the fact that God is a good and

just monarch and Satan as being only in the “waan van Majesteit” (2) [trl. ‘the delusion of Majesty’], Satan is depicted as the bad monarch, the one who overstepped his rights to power, a bad example of absolute rule which he continues in Hell. Van Zanten, then, provides the reader with an example of both good and bad monarchy; a comparison he will not have made unconsciously. For, like Satan, Eve too sought to exceed her limit of power by eating of the Tree of Knowledge and she is not used as an example of bad monarchy/leadership. Van Zanten’s primary focus is on God and Satan, while simultaneously using them and the other characters to portray the Dutch political circumstances of the time.

Chapter 7

“Milton awed Paludanus, but not into silence”:

The 1730 Translation

Wilhelmina Nieuwenhous comments that “the rimer is the true poet and, therefore, he who translates an unrimed poet into a riming one is greater than the author of the original” (104). Though in this statement she does not seem to include Lambertus Paludanus for “how Paludanus expected his rimes to acquaint the readers with Milton it is difficult to conceive” (Nieuwenhous 100). Scherpbier, too, does not consider Paludanus to be greater than the original author, for he notes that “the attempt to take away one of the obstacles to popularity, by changing Van Zanten’s wooden blank verse into smooth popular alexandrines, was perhaps in itself a good idea, but the result was disastrous” (146). Nieuwenhous further argues that Paludanus’ chief reason for translating Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, regardless of the fact that he read no English, was Paludanus’ admiration of “Milton’s learning, rather than his poetry” (100). Finally, Nieuwenhous adds that “Milton awed Paludanus, but not into silence, for, having paid tribute to superior knowledge, he indulges in a little display of his own and compares his rash attempt to those of Phaeton and Icarus” (100). Again, the observations of both scholars remain focussed on the successfulness of Paludanus’ translation. Yet, like Van Zanten’s translation, Paludanus’ translation reveals a political preference, and the translation, titled *Het Paradys Verlooren*, uses Milton’s epic to propagate his anti-stadholderate views yet does not go as far as to renounce God’s anointment of political leaders. Printed in 1730 in Amsterdam, the city known as *Staatsgezind* from the seventeenth century onwards³, and based on both Van Zanten and a French translation, it seems likely that Paludanus drew heavily from his anti-stadholderate cultural surroundings. Though not as radical as Milton, the

³ I do not mean to imply that everything that was printed in Amsterdam was *Staatsgezind*, but since the city was known for its *Staatsgezinden* sympathies, it is possible Paludanus was influenced by this, and that his translation will reflect this.

views advocated in the translation are closer to him than those of Van Zanten. It is interesting to see how Paludanus struggles with the radical side of *Paradise Lost*, the side that approves of regicide and voices a preference for a government that separates church and state completely. Because Paludanus had not read the original, it is almost expected that his translation closely resembles that of Van Zanten, but it does not. Instead, Paludanus focuses on portraying Satan as the monarch/stadholder and God as the (primarily) religious head, political only in appointing republican leaders.

Paludanus was particularly imaginative in giving titles to Satan. He is referred to as “Grootvorst Lucifer” (1) [trl. ‘Grand sovereign Lucifer’] , “De Helvorst” (37) [trl. ‘the sovereign of Hell’], “den Vorst des afgronds”, “Prins der Hel” (77) [trl. ‘the sovereign of the abyss’ ‘Prince of Hell’], “een der helsche Goden” (109) [trl. ‘one of the hellish Gods’], “D’Aardsvyand Lucifer” (186) [trl. ‘The archenemy Lucifer’], and “De Slang” (267) [trl. ‘The Snake’]. Mostly, Satan is announced as a monarch, or a character closely resembling a monarch, such as prince. Interestingly, he is also likened to God, when he is “one of the hellish Gods”. The terminology leaves no doubt for the reader to regard Satan as an evil monarch. By monarch, Paludanus means stadholder since, as argued above, the office was portrayed as pseudo-monarchical by those who opposed it. Christ, Adam and Eve, who in Van Zanten are deemed ‘Vorsten’ are no longer titled as such. There is but one instance, namely in the Argument to Book 8, that both Adam and Eve are titled ‘Vorst’. Besides this single reference, there is no other and it therefore carries no weight to balance Satan’s status as ‘Vorst’. Paludanus strongly emphasises that leadership bearing monarchical traits are linked to the devil, a connotation that most likely suited the audience of Amsterdam in the eighteenth century.

By almost exclusively linking Satan to monarchy, Paludanus does more than merely state monarchy is bad. He also strengthens Satan’s position in the poem. Satan is the onle one

to enjoy the status of royalty and so he does not need to share his power with anyone. In Van Zanten, Satan has the same rank as Christ, Adam and Eve, and he seeks to raise himself above his peers by exceeding his God-given power. In Paludanus, however, he does not seek to step away from the rank he shares with others, instead he seeks to equal himself to God. This attitude towards leadership is recognisable, as king Charles I refused to call parliament on the grounds that he was God's anointed and so was not obligated to share his authority with anyone. Charles claimed to be closer to God and that excused his tyrannical rule. In Paludanus' translation, Satan is in the same position, he has nobody to answer to and seeks to overthrow God, the only character with power greater than his own.

Like in Van Zanten's translation, Satan initially fell from heaven because of his pride and ambition, yet Paludanus dramatizes it by stating it was "dolle staatzucht" (111) [trl. 'mad will for power']. By adding the adjective 'dolle' Paludanus emphasises the insanity behind both rebelling against God, and aspiring to kingship. Satan is not merely presented as a king, he is positioned as an emperor in Paludanus' translation: "my aanbidden met ontzag op mynen thron, / Versierd met scepter, staf, en Keizerlyken kroon" (113) [trl. 'worship me with reverence on my throne, decorated with sceptre, stave, and Imperial crown']. 'Keizerlyken' indicates the power Satan enjoys in Hell, even though he suffers for it.

Although Satan is displayed as a political character, God is conspicuously neutralized as political party, and almost exclusively portrayed as the religious head. At first, Paludanus, like Van Zanten, seems to introduce God as a monarch. God sits on a "verheven thron, een luister veeler throonen" (111) [trl. 'exalted throne, a throne more splendid than others'], yet is not likened to a 'Vorst' throughout Satan's monologue in Book 4. Instead, God becomes the "Zegenaar van 't goed" (112) [trl. 'Blessor of all good'], "Godheid" (112) [trl. 'deity'], and "'s Hemels Opperheer" (113) [trl. 'Heaven's Overlord']. In short, Paludanus seems to liken God to a deity and less to a monarch. The only item connected to God that

appears to be leaning towards monarchy is the throne upon which he sits, which, though part of the setting, is not part of his character. Once again God appears to be a monarch when Paludanus places Him on his “gezalfde thron” (183) [trl. ‘anointed throne’]. Yet because Paludanus specifies that God sits on His *anointed* throne, his emphasis lies on God’s role as the divine leader, rather than portraying him as a political head. Since the word anointed is associated with a human monarch who is said to be God’s anointed, it seems odd that God would anoint Himself to sit on his anointed throne (a throne only He could even anoint) as monarch. Perhaps then, ‘gezalfde’ is a reference to earthly monarchy but as it is used to indicate God’s leadership, Paludanus further complicates God’s role as monarch. God is not, like in Van Zanten, seen as the ‘good’ example of monarchy, since there is little textual evidence that suggests that God is meant to exemplify good monarchy on earth at all. Yet there is plenty of textual evidence linking monarchy to Satan. If Paludanus had meant to portray God as the good monarch, it seems logical he would spent at least as much effort into likening God to a monarch as he did likening Satan to a monarch. Presently, the text reads with a heavy emphasis on the evil of monarchy/stadholderate and the positivity of God as the religious head.

Although Paludanus appears closer to Milton in the way he rejects the stadholderate and by extension monarchy, he is not willing to go as far as to say that earthly leadership does not derive its legitimacy from God. By representing monarchy as closely linked to Satan, Paludanus actively propagates his dislike of the stadholderate. This point is driven home even more by the fact that it is only Satan who is likened to a monarch. Paludanus attempts to neutralize God’s role in the poem by focussing primarily on his divine leadership rather than offering the possibility to simultaneously consider God as a political head.

Chapter 8

The Batavian Revolution and Republic

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, tension was rising between the Orangists and the Patriots (the progressed version of the *Staatsgezinden*). With a less positive political status in Europe and an increase in enlightened political thinking, the Dutch Republic felt that change was imminent and, indeed, necessary. Yet the Orangists envisioned a change that preserved the existing system, including the stadholderate, as opposed to the Patriots, who predicted that if the Dutch did not rigorously change their governing system, the republic would be ruined. Both sides, the Patriots and the anti-Patriots (or Orangists) launched rhetorical attack upon rhetorical attack to convince the public of their ideas. The anti-Patriots, defending the stadholderate, “were faced with a difficult task [for they had] to deal with the rather awkward problem that William V was hardly the most ideal embodiment of the blessings of the stadholderate” (Velema 118). Apart from this difficulty, there was also the “extraordinary popularity of Patriotism” (Velema 118) in the Republic which added complications. This does not imply that the anti-Patriots were unsuccessful in winning favour from the public. On the contrary, they managed to change the course of the revolution in the decades before 1795 by successfully “accus[ing] their opponents of doing exactly the sort of things they reproached the stadholder for” (Velema 134). Furthermore, “it is indicative of this late eighteenth-century debate that [they] did not base [their] arguments on the Bible” (Velema 131). In sum, starting approximately two decades before 1795, the Republic was in a state of continuous debate. Finally, with the departure of William V on January 18, 1795, the stadholderate officially saw its end.

Responsible for the end of the stadholderate was the start of the Batavian Revolution. In 1795, the “French-Batavian troops marched over frozen rivers leaving the Dutch Republic defenceless, upon which revolutionaries all over the Netherlands took control and proclaimed the Batavian Republic” (Van der Burg 153). The revolution was partly possible because the “Dutch patriots who had unsuccessfully tried to reform the Republic during the 1780s, and had afterwards gone into exile in France, had devoted themselves to exporting the Revolution to their homeland”, where they seized control of the governing system and sought to establish a more effective form of government (Van der Burg 153). Yet the Patriot’s reform was not easy. “The Franco-Batavian alliance was a marriage of convenience” and was marked by continuous quarrels over the political course of action for the Batavian Republic (Van der Burg 153). It was precisely “due to the political upheaval [that] more and more inhabitants had lost their revolutionary enthusiasm” (Van der Burg 154). This did not mean, however, that the young Republic began to lean towards monarchy again. On the contrary, “the Dutch nostalgically revived old republican traditions to hold on to, including anti-monarchism” (Van der Burg 154). Neither were the Dutch the only ones to lose enthusiasm over republicanism since, as remarked by Martijn van der Burg, “[t]hose Europeans who still regarded the republican state as the ideal system of government realised that it was becoming obsolete at a great pace due to Napoleon’s imperialism” (152). I will not discuss the influence Napoleon had on the Dutch in the early nineteenth century since that is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is important to understand however, that Reisig’s political circumstances whilst translating *Paradise Lost* were vastly different from Van Zanten’s and Paludanus’ political circumstances.

Reisig’s translation was published in four instalments between 1791 and 1811, a time-span of two decades, which was characterised by a continually shifting political atmosphere. Even amongst the Patriots there was no consensus, and more often than not did they quarrel

over the Batavian Republic's constitution. In fact, "[t]he legislature struggled to draw up new legislation for the Batavian Republic, its members being divided into various factions, ranging from federalists to unitarists on the one hand, and from moderate Batavians to radical democrats on the other" (Van der Burg 153). More so than in the early eighteenth century, the late eighteenth century saw a greater divide within the political sphere. The Dutch political ways of thinking had changed, the insecurity surrounding the rebellion against Philip II that concluded in 1648 had receded, and the fear of rebelling against a leader anointed by God had evaporated. Their anti-monarchism was primarily based on the idea that a monarchical figure was unsuitable for a reformed political system. Having distanced themselves from a monarchy for well over a century, the Dutch had grown comfortable with the idea of remaining a republic. Yet even though the connection between stadholder and monarch is easily made, to most of the Dutch of the late eighteenth century it was not the same concept. According to Velema, after the last stadholder William V fled from the Republic, even the Patriots who favoured a reformed republican system were unwilling to disregard it entirely:

the Patriots acknowledged that the highly decentralized and particularistic structure of the Dutch state needed the presence of such a figure, albeit one whose functions are clearly and meticulously limited through explicit and unambivalent instructions. (129)

In short, the Batavian Revolution and following Republic were marked by intense struggles in establishing a new political system free from monarchy. Ironically, in the end, the Republic would make way for a monarchy in 1806, when Napoleon founded the Kingdom of Holland, declaring his brother Louis king, and consequently ending the republic altogether.

Chapter 9

“Not determined by metrical form”: The 1791-1811 Translation

Unlike Van Zanten and Paludanus, Reisig did not translate *Paradise Lost* with a political agenda in mind. Instead, Reisig appears to have translated the epic primarily for aesthetic purposes. This is supported by the fact that “it became fashion to translate foreign poets into prose” since “according to the new theory poetry had no relation to, or was at least, not determined by metrical form” (Nieuwenhous 105). Furthermore, conceptual accuracy in translation was given priority over accuracy in form. The translation follows Milton’s *Paradise Lost* closely, which results in an accurate translation of Milton’s politics. Because Reisig’s translation is not modelled to accommodate political preferences, it is interesting to note that the translation does show variation from Milton’s original in terms of divine right but not in terms of predestination. In his translation, Reisig initially does not seem to struggle with Milton’s politics, since most politically loaded parts are translated conceptually accurate. However, Reisig’s translation does not escape the dilemmas Milton’s politics often pose to translators.

Reisig’s *Het Paradys Verlooren* was published primarily as an aesthetic work, and not as a political representation of his time. As argued above, Van Zanten’s and Paludanus’ translations had the potential to be used as tools to convince opposing sides of their political arguments. Both Van Zanten’s and Paludanus’ translations were published as a complete work in which they managed to consistently weave their own political arguments into the text. Reisig’s translation, however, was published in four instalments over the course of twenty years and so it seems less likely his translation was created for the purpose of advocating his political point of view. Although it seems contradictory that Reisig would translate Milton aesthetically, and so as closely to the original as possible without adopting the verse form, it is

in accordance with the fashion at the time for Reisig to consider Milton's original concepts as the priority, and the form is seen only of secondary importance. Reisig also avoids potential problems with the translation of verse by translating *Paradise Lost* entirely into prose. Although this causes Reisig to step away from the epic format, it allows him to translate Milton accurately on a conceptual level, without being forced to depart from the source text for the sake of the metre or rhyme. Although Reisig does not comment of his decision to forego verse appears to have been well-considered.

Before going into the translated versions of Milton's position regarding predestination, I will first briefly outline Milton's view on it. In his article 'Milton and Puritanism', N. H. Keeble argues that, above all, "Milton was certainly no Calvinist" (135), which is an important point. Calvinists in the seventeenth century believed that God had selected those who would gain access to Heaven from the very beginning of time. A person's election, therefore, did not depend on their own deeds and actions, but was entirely dependent on God. Milton, as advocate of a human's free will⁴ could not agree with the Calvinists' doctrine of predestination. Milton makes this explicit in *Of True Religion* where he writes "the Calvinist is taxt with Predestination, and to make God the Author of sin" (1152). Keeble explains Milton's statement as follows:

This predestination theology exalted the sovereignty of God by attributing entirely to his inscrutable will the salvation or damnation of every person. It denied that corrupt humans have the capacity either to deserve, or even choose to co-operate with, divine grace effecting their salvation. (134-5)

Milton's denial of the effect God's predestination might have on humans is also seen in *Paradise Lost*. In Book 3 of the epic, God explains to his Son that He is not responsible for the Fall when He says

⁴ See Milton's *Areopagitica*, and *Of True Religion*, as well as Peter C. Herman's article "'Whose fault, whose but his own?': *Paradise Lost*, contributory negligence, and the problem of cause' for further reference.

As if predestination over-rul'd
 Thir will, dispos'd by absolute Decree
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
 Thir own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault. (3.114-8)

It is evident that Milton denies God's responsibility for the Fall, and he convincingly argues that the Fall happened solely because Adam and Eve disobeyed God. Although rooted in Calvinism, Milton uses predestination with a different purpose; namely to indicate that God's foreknowledge does not take away a human's free will.

During the Dutch Golden Age (1588-1702) "the Calvinist Reformed church was known as the 'public church' – it had the monopoly on religious worship" (Pollman 87). Although the Calvinist church was "the most privileged among many other minorities" they were "expected to offer prayers for the nation, and to take the lead on days of public penance or thanksgiving" (Pollman 87). In short, the Calvinist doctrine with its belief in predestination was at the fore-front of the religious scene at the time in which Van Zanten began his translation of Milton's epic. Van Zanten himself was a minister of the Mennonite Church in Haarlem (Scherpbier 133). Mennonites believe in salvation through baptism, and they believe that salvation is available for all who accept Christ's sacrifice. This is opposing Calvinism's predestination, and therefore it is logical to expect Van Zanten's translation to stay close to Milton's anti-predestinarian stance. Yet, this is not the case.

In a monologue in Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, Milton's God dismisses the idea of predestination. Rather, humans have an innate free will, meaning they themselves are solely responsible for their actions and none of their actions are pre-determined by God. It is a core argument in Milton's defence of free will: God cannot be held accountable for the Fall, it was never his doing, even though he foresaw the event. Milton is very explicit in his use of the religious terminology, leaving no doubt he is referring to Calvinist (double) predestination:

As if predestination over-rul'd
 Thir will, dispos'd by absolute Decree
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
 Thir own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown. (3.114-19)

When comparing Milton's original to Van Zanten's translation it becomes clear that the latter is struggling with the outright anti-predestinarian stance:

Als of een voorbestemming hunnen wil
 Geperst door onweerstandelyk besluit
 Van Voorgezicht had ooverdwarst. Neen, zy
 Beslooten zelf hunn' weederspanningheid,
 Niet ik. Voorweet ik 't, die voorweetenschap
 Gaf geen en drang tot 't schendig wanbedryf

[trl. As if a preordainment, pressed by the irresistible decree of foresight, had hindered their will. No, they themselves decided their rebellion, not I. If I foreknew, that foreknowledge did not give any urge to commit the violating misdemeanour]

As rightly noted by Van Dijkhuizen in his article '*Paradise Lost* in Dutch, 1728–2003: Form, Politics, Religion', Van Zanten's use of the indefinite article 'een' ['an/a'] in combination with 'voorbestemming' ['preordainment'] weakens the direct link to Calvinist predestination. Regardless of the fact that Van Zanten, as a Mennonite minister, does not believe in predestination, he remains hesitant to translate the passage as an outright opposition to the belief. In fact, Van Dijkhuizen argues that since the translation no longer overtly refers to Calvinist predestination, the passage is no longer opposing the belief at all. This is supported by the fact that Van Zanten translates "predestination" not as "predestinatie" but as "voorbestemming" even though the former term was available at the time of the translation.

Paludanus retains Van Zanten's use of "voorbestedding" rather than changing it to "predestinatie" in his translation. His translation reads as follows:

Of voor-besteddinge hun vryen wil en zin,
 Door onweêrstaanelyk besluit van voorgezichte,
 Had overdwarst. o Neen. Zy feilden in de plichte
 Van hun gehoorzaamheid, door hunnen wil alleen,
 Niet ik. Voorweet ik 't, die voorwetenschap gaf geen
 Aanvoering ofte drang, om 't wanbedryf te pleegen,
 En af te stappen van den weg van heil en zegen,
 Dat echter zeker ging, schoon nimmer voor gekend.

[trl. 'if a preordainment had hindered their free will and reason, by irresistible decree of foresight. Oh no. They failed in their duty of obedience by their own will, not by mine. If I foreknew, that foreknowledge did not give incentive or impulse to commit the crime and step away from the road of salvation and blessing, which they were set to follow, regardless of foreknowledge']

Like Van Zanten, Paludanus does not translate God's monologue as overtly against Calvinist (double) predestination. Though it may be that Paludanus is unaware of the original reference to Calvinism in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (due to the fact that his translation was not based on the original), his translation does perpetuate the misconception that Milton's God is not against Calvinist (double) predestination.

Contrastingly, Reisig translates Milton accurately when it comes to the concept of predestination. The passage quoted above is translated in *Het Paradys Verlooren* as follows:

te regt dan waren zy zodanig geschapen en kunnen hunnen Schepper, noch hunne schepping, noch hun noodlot, als of voorbeschikking hunnen wil door een volstrekt raads-besluit of voorwetenschap bestierd, overweldigt had, met grond beschuldigen. Zy zelf besloten hunnen eigen afval, niet ik. Myne voorwetenschap, die haar vooruit zag, had nogthans genen invloed op hunnen mislag. (96-7)

[trl. 'Rightfully they were created as they were and they cannot blame their Creator, nor their creation, nor their fate, as if predestination had steered their will with an absolute decree or foreknowledge, overwhelmed, with grounds for accusations. They themselves decided their own demise, not I. My foreknowledge, that foresaw it, had no influence on their disobedience']

The word ‘voorbeschikking’ directly translates into ‘predestination’, and, according to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* it originated as an indigenous term alongside ‘predestinatie’. Both ‘voorbeschikking’ and ‘predestinatie’ denote God’s ability to foresee a person’s fate, although ‘predestinatie’ is more commonly used in Calvinism (*WNT*). Reisig further translates Milton’s original passage with the same inherent concept: God is not responsible for the Fall of mankind. Because Reisig uses the same concepts in his translation, Milton’s message, that there is no predestination, comes across with the same intensity. By contrast, Van Zanten and Paludanus both diminish the passage’s message by translating ‘predestination’ to ‘voorbestedding’.

Van Zanten and Paludanus both seem unwilling to use the term ‘predestinatie’ or ‘voorbeschikking’ in their translations. Van Zanten translates it as “Als of een voorbestemming hunnen wil / Geperst door onweerstandelyk besluyt / Van Voorgezicht had ooverdwarst” [trl. ‘As if a preordainment could have overruled their will through irresistible decree of foresight’]. Similarly, Paludanus translates the beginning of the passage as “Of voor-besteddinge hun vryen wil en zin, / Door onweêrstaaneyk besluit van voorgezichte, / Had overdwarst.” [trl. ‘or preordainment had overruled their free will through irresistible, foreseen decree.’]. Both translators do not create the direct link to Calvinism, meaning the passage loses its original purpose. Considering that Van Zanten and Paludanus both shied away from translating Milton’s statement that earthly rulers were not appointed by God, it may be they were both equally uncomfortable with directly referring to Calvinism. Reisig, on the other hand, is not afraid of establishing the direct link to Calvinism, which shows his capability of translating Milton’s theological view conceptually accurate. However, Milton’s political views still prove to be difficult to translate, even for a translator as accurate as Reisig.

Reisig does not shy away from Milton's politics. He translates Satan's address to the Sun/Son "Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God / Of this new world" (4.33-4) as "gelyk de / God dezer nieuwe waereld van uwe alleenheersching neder-ziet" (129), which, in meaning, is very close to the original. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 'alleenheersching' means "De onverdeelde heerschappij in handen van één persoon, het gebied van een vorst die met onbeperkte oppermacht regeert" [trl. 'the undivided rule in the hands of one person, the area of a ruler who rules with unlimited power'], which is the same concept as Milton's "sole dominion" (*OED*). Furthermore, in his monologue, Satan says "Evil be thou my Good; by thee at least / Divided Empire with Heav'ns King I Hold / By thee, and more then half perhaps will reigne" (4.110-12). Because Satan claims he cannot repent, God does not offer him repentance, and Satan accepts this by claiming that his evil will replace the good that is no longer in his life. Milton's point is that this replacement is a poor one, and that Satan will live in eternal misery together with his fallen angels. In Book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, the reader learns that Satan convinced one-third of Heaven's angels to rebel. His claim, therefore, that he "more then half perhaps will reigne" is an overstatement signalling his desperation for any good that came from his rebellion. As seen before, Reisig's translation, though in prose, is accurate, his translation of this particular moment in Satan's monologue is remarkable: "boosheid, strek gy my tot eenen God! door u mogelyk zal ik het ryk met den koning des hemels verdeelen, en mogelyk meer dan de helft daarvan te regeeren" (132) [trl. 'evil, serve as my God! because of you I shall divide the empire between the king of heaven and me, due to you I rule possibly half of them']. It is interesting that Reisig translates 'good' into 'God', which intensifies the meaning. God, as the symbol of all that is good in the world, is a proper replacement for the term 'good', and if anything only adds weight to the translation.

Additionally, Reisig translates Abdiel's speech at the end of Book 5 as follows:

Doch gesteld, het ware onrecht dat gelyken over huns gelyken als *opperheer* geboden; gy dan, hoe groot en heerlyk gy ook zyn moogt, durft gy, durft de natuur der engelen in eene eenige vereenigd, zich gelyk te stellen met den eenig geboren Zoon? Door hem schiep de almachtige Vader als door zyn woord alle dingen en ook u; door hem wrocht hy alle geesten des hemels tot hunne blinkende waardigheden; kroonde hen met heerlykheid, en bepaalde tot hunnen meerderen luister de tronen, vorstendommen, heerschappijen en zelfstandige krachten onder hen; door zyne regeering zullen dezelve niet verduisterd maar veeleer luisterryker worden; hy het *opperhoofd* onzer heïren wordt een onzer leden; zyne wetten worden de onzen, en alle de eer hem aangedaan, valt op ons terug⁵

[trl. ‘But suppose that it is unjust that equals rule over equals as overlord; you then, however glorious you may be, do you dare, do angels united dare, to equate themselves with the only born Son? Through him the almighty Father created as through his word all things and you as well. Through him he wrought all spirits of heaven to their glorious dignities, crowned them with magnificence, and decreed to them all their thrones, principalities, rules and independent forces amongst them; through his rule we shall not be eclipsed but rather more illustrious made. He, the overlord, our heir will become one of us, his laws will be ours, and all honour done to him will reflect on us’]

Reisig’s use of the word ‘opperheer’ is particularly interesting, especially after comparing his translation to the original version by Milton:

—But to grant it thee unjust,
That equal over equals Monarch Reigne:
Thy self though great and glorious dost thou count,
Or all Angelic Nature join’d in one,
Equal to him begotten Son, by whom
As by his Word the mighty Father made
All things, ev’n thee, and all the Spirits of Heav’n
By him created in thir bright degrees,
Crownd them with Glory, and to thir Glory nam’d
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,
Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscur’d,
But more illustrious made, since he the Head

⁵ My emphasis

One of our number thus reduc't becomes,
 His Laws our Laws, all honour to him done
 Returns our own. (5 831-45)

This part of Abdiel's speech, delivered in Book 5 as he disproves Satan's argument that God rules as a tyrant, is an important part of Abdiel's overall argumentation. Satan's claim that God is equal to them all and so may not rule over them is refuted by Abdiel who reminds both the angels and the reader that God is not their equal, but far more exalted than they. Both Van Zanten and Paludanus follow Milton by using the Dutch 'Monarch' in their translations: "Dat een Monarch zal heersen oover hen, / Die neevens hem Monarchen zyn (Van Zanten), and "Dat het niet billyk zy, dat een Monarch, 't gezag / Voere over hen, die men Monarchen noemen mag" (Paludanus). Since the original and the two previous translations use 'Monarch', it seems logical that Reisig would use the term as well. Instead, he uses 'opperheer' twice, a term that is more commonly associated with God (*WNT*). The consequences of this deviation are significant. The term 'Monarch' invokes the image of an earthly ruler, a human who stands above his fellows⁶ by divine right, whereas the term 'opperheer' [trl. 'overlord'] invokes the image of a divine ruler. In Reisig's translation, then, the equal does not rule as monarch over his equals, but as an overlord, a divine leader, or, by extent, as God. This shows that Reisig, too, is not exempt from uneasiness in translating a key element in Milton's politics. For Milton, divine and earthly leadership are completely separated, which is explicit in the original passage quoted above. Reisig, however, attempts to depoliticise the passage by translating the political term 'Monarch' to the religious term 'opperheer'.

Of the three translations, Reisig remains closest conceptually to Milton, which supports the idea that Reisig translated Milton with a different purpose than the preceding

⁶ This is the image to which Satan seems to object at the start of his rebellion, momentarily 'forgetting' that Christ was never on the same level in the heavenly hierarchy as him and the other angels. Christ, as God's only begotten son, is by definition ranked above all the angels, making Satan's argument that an equal would reign over equals redundant.

translators. Reisig translated Milton for aesthetic purposes, giving priority to conceptual translation over verse form, and preventing his politically tumultuous time from influencing his translation. This shows that, although a translation can potentially reflect and shape the cultural and political circumstances of the time, it does not necessarily have to do so. As a result, Reisig translates Milton in such a way that his readers are presented with a text that conveys the same content as the original, apart from the blank verse. The fact that it took twenty years to be completed also indicates that Reisig took his time to translate *Paradise Lost*, and whether that was on purpose or because he had other occupations, remains unclear. In the end, Reisig's translation proves to be the most literal and accurate translation of *Paradise Lost* of the eighteenth century, and shows that not all translations were employed for propagating a political agenda. Regarding divine right, Reisig's translation shows the reader that a monarch does not rule over his equals as an earthly monarch, but attempts to rule over them as an 'overlord' or as a God, which differs from Milton's original. Although Reisig deviates from Milton in his translation of the concept of divine right and seems to try and depoliticise the concept altogether, he remains remarkably accurate regarding Milton's view of predestination. Reisig does not shy away from the inherently Calvinist term, translating it into 'voorbeschikking', and so keeping Milton's anti-Calvinist views in the epic poem.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed several passages of the eighteenth-century Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost* trying to demonstrate the workings of cultural translation, and the way it shows the translators' reception of the epic poem. The primary focus has been on the Arguments, Satan's monologue in Book 4, Abdiel's rejection of Satan in Book 5, and the Nimrod passage in Book 12. Each of these passages contain Milton's political points of view, and are fundamental to *Paradise Lost* on the whole. Because of its controversial nature Satan's monologue has been severely debated: Satan appears to seek repentance and for the first time seems to take responsibility for his error to rebel against God. Yet the monologue ends with Satan's renewed resolve to do evil, taking away any doubt the reader might have had regarding the nature of Satan's evil. In Book 5, Abdiel has often been associated with Milton himself, or with Milton's prototypical Christian, and in Book 12 the Nimrod passage, likewise, is considered to be Milton's prime commentary on the monarchy. These passages are but a few moments in the poem where Milton expressly advocates his own political and, in Abdiel's case, religious points of view. This made these passages ideal for analyses because the translators could not escape the potential dilemma between Milton's more radical political views in contrast to their own. It therefore became possible to see if they differentiated from Milton's politics and how the changes correspond to their own political circumstances.

In this thesis I approached the translations in a different way than the previous studies have done. Rather than providing a value judgement of the translations, I gained an insight into the culture and politics of the translators through the analyses of what Nieuwenhouw termed 'mistranslations'. This shows that analysing translations can shed light on the political

and cultural environments at the time of their production. Ultimately, this may lead to a better understanding of the historical period and the culture at large. Naturally, for such a thing to happen, there needs to be a study of more than three translations from the eighteenth century. Yet, as mentioned by Gillespie, translation has not been on the foreground of literary analyses even though it offers new ways to research a particular period of time. Studying translations is valuable precisely because it comes relatively close to showing the process of communication between text and reader, and so to understanding the reception of a text by its readers. Of course, studying translations is not enough to do so, but through contextualizing translations the text's reception becomes a little more accessible.

The significance of the alterations made by the translators have been shown in the analysis of Eve's sonnet where it became apparent that the reception of the character was altered by the translators' choices. Instead of presenting Eve as a capable woman of high status, she becomes a far less valued character whose fall from Paradise is less dramatic and so takes away from the weight her fall has in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In the original, the reader retains hope for Eve to choose not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge because the poem has proven to the reader that Eve is capable of making such choices. The sonnet attests to her status as the first poet in human history, and inspires a sense of admiration for her character. The more Eve is admired by the reader, and the more the reader is convinced of Eve's capability to reason and choose, the more dramatic and shocking her fall becomes, which is Milton's aim. By translating Eve's sonnet not as a sonnet but as a poem either incorporated in the text (as in Van Zanten's translation), or by greatly lengthening its structure (as in Paludanus' translation), or by translating it into prose (as is the case in Reisig's translation), the character of Eve is no longer as capable and her fall is no longer as shocking, meaning the Dutch reader's reception of Eve will be significantly different from the reader's reception of the original.

Van Zanten and Paludanus translated *Paradise Lost* to reflect their political circumstances. As a result, Van Zanten's 1728 translation appears to lean towards Orangist views, whereas Paludanus' 1730 translation seems *Staatsgezind*. The fact that these two translations from the same part of the century display such differences allows us to observe the cultural translation described by Peter Burke in *Cultural Translation in Early-Modern Europe*. The cultural translation of *Paradise Lost* reflects and simultaneously shapes the political understanding of the translator. In particular the translations by Van Zanten and Paludanus could have been used to encourage the readers who held the same views, or persuade those who did not.

The translations do not only reflect the translator's political views; they also show the reception of Milton in the Dutch eighteenth century. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, advocating Milton's radical views, posed a challenge for the Dutch translators who were anti-monarchy, but who did believe in divinely anointed leadership and were abhorred by the regicide of Charles I in 1649. Yet despite this relatively fundamental difference in political views, the translators still went through the trouble of translating the 10,565 lines of *Paradise Lost*. Their reception of the epic can be understood by analysing the changes they made to the original text, where they weakened Milton's anti-monarchical argument, or where they added an emphasis on the more republican passages. This is why Van Zanten's translation presents the reader with a stadholderate-like system, with Christ, Satan, Adam, and Eve as 'Vorsten'/stadholders, whilst he emphasises that God is the good type of monarch to balance Satan's status of evil monarch. Van Zanten's translation, dedicated to Willem SIX of the regent family of Haarlem, therefore displays an Orangist reception of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Paludanus, on the other hand, takes a different approach altogether. Although he did not base his translation on the English text, but rather on Van Zanten and the French translation, the translation reflects his political views whilst showing the reception of two

older receptions of Milton. A translation, after all, in part shows what Iser termed “the communication process [between] the text and the reader [and] the event that takes place in between them” (1525). A translation based on two other translations then, shows the reception of two other receptions, and in Paludanus’ case, his interpretation is very different from Van Zanten’s. Paludanus’ translation attempts to neutralize God’s status from political monarch to a primarily religious monarch. Satan’s evil monarchy, however, is emphasised throughout the translation, whereas Adam and Eve are not assigned a special title or status at all. Considering that the *Staatsgezinden* in the early eighteenth century tended to equate the stadholder to a monarch (to strengthen their argument in favour of abolishing the institution), it is likely that Paludanus’ translation supports the *Staatsgezinden*’s views by portraying the monarch/stadholder as purely evil with no good example, such as God, to balance this view on monarchy.

Unlike Van Zanten and Paludanus, Reisig’s translation does not align itself with either the Patriotic or Anti-Patriotic views of the late eighteenth century. Rather, the translation seems to be primarily meant for aesthetic purposes. The translation is close to Milton’s original, except that it was translated into prose, and took twenty years to be completed and published. It is for this reason that Reisig’s translation is an unlikely text to have been used, like Van Zanten’s and Paludanus’ translations, to advocate one particular political stream. Instead of using his translation of *Paradise Lost* for his own political propaganda, Reisig maintained Milton’s intended political message. Reisig does not struggle with translating Milton’s more radical political points of view, nor with his concept of humanity’s free will, which becomes clear in his translation of God’s predestination. Reisig translates *Paradise Lost* without employing it to empower his own political statement. Because of this, Reisig shows that, although translations may be good sources to explore cultural and political views of the time of their creation, a translation’s suitability for such a study depends upon the

purpose the translator had in mind. For Van Zanten and Paludanus, the purpose was to use *Paradise Lost* as a way to convince readers to agree with their political disposition (Orangist or *Staatsgezind*). For Reisig, however, it was to translate a work he personally considered a masterpiece (which he mentions in his short preface-poem), into his native language so others could read it too. Ultimately this shows the versatility of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which lends itself for both purposes.

Additionally, I looked at predestination in all three translations. Both Van Zanten and Paludanus show their discomfort with translating the Calvinist term 'predestination' into 'predestinatie' or 'voorbeschikking'. Instead, they translate it with the broader 'voorbestedding', which ultimately weakens the link to Calvinism. Though Paludanus may not have been aware of the original use of 'predestination' by Milton, Van Zanten was aware of it but remained hesitant to oppose the Calvinist belief as directly as Milton did. Contrastingly, Reisig shows no hesitation in his translation for he translates 'predestination' as 'voorbeschikking' and so maintains the direct link to Calvinism, and Milton's anti-predestination message in *Paradise Lost*. Milton is careful not to equate God to an earthly monarch, and so keeps divine and earthly leadership firmly separated from one another. Van Zanten and Paludanus follow Milton's example and their translations use the term 'opperhoofd' to refer to God. 'Opperhoofd', with its religious connotation, opposes the term 'Monarch', which is associated with an earthly leader, and so corroborates the divide between these two forms of leadership. Reisig, however, does not translate 'Monarch' in Book 5 as 'Monarch' but as 'opperheer'. In Reisig's translation, then, there is no evident opposition between divine and earthly leadership, but rather one who aspires to rule over equals, aspires to rule over them as God instead of as Monarch. This changes the meaning of the passage in Book 5 significantly.

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