The Translation of Historical Experience: Johan Huizinga's Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen

Wouterse, Myrte

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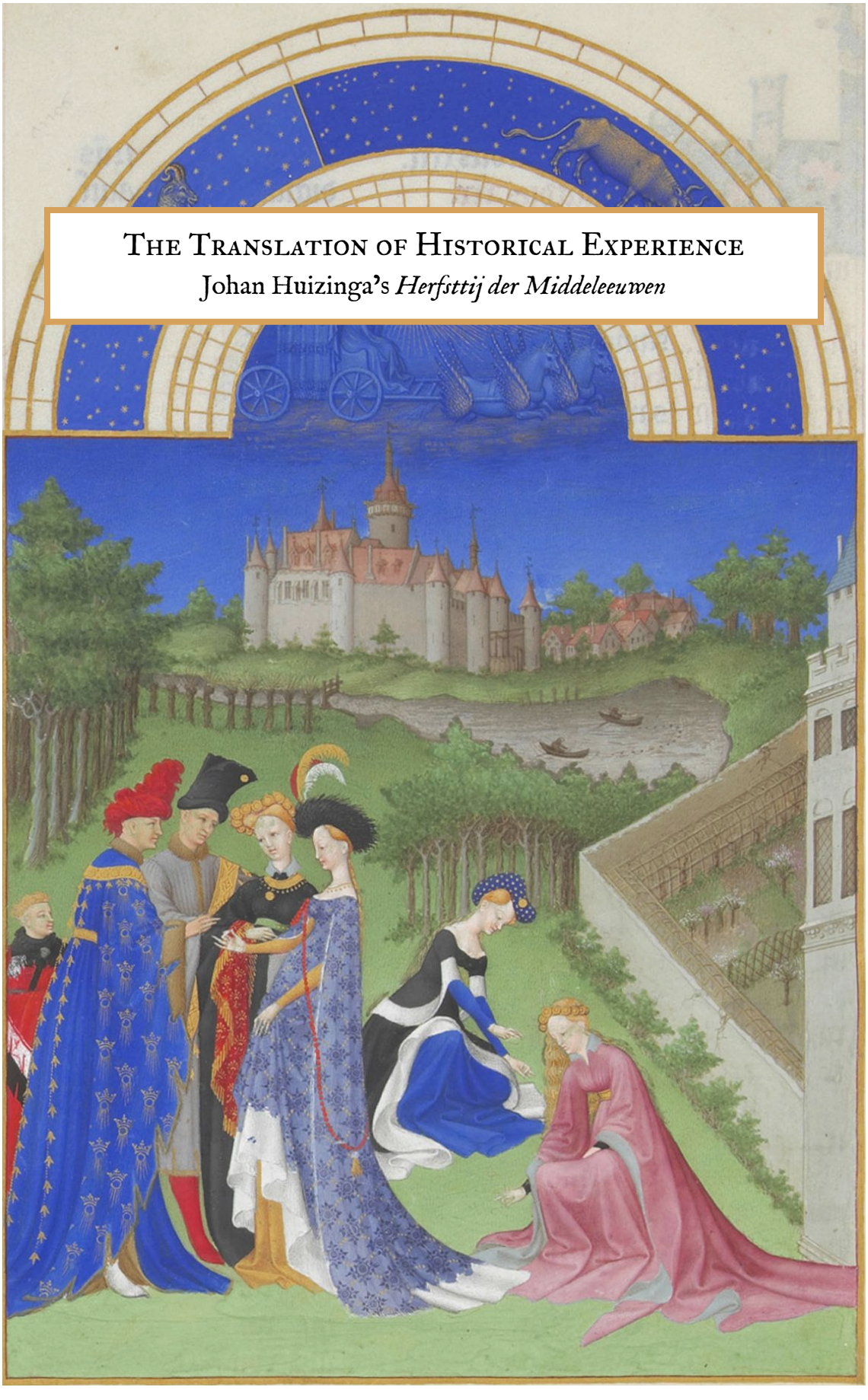
Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*



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ResMa Literary Studies
First Reader: Dr M. S. Newton
Second Reader: Dr M. P. O'Donnell

MA Linguistics: Translation in Theory and Practice
First reader: Drs K. L. Zeven
Second reader: Dr E. Haddadian-Moghaddam

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Introduction

"Het leven had in menig opzicht nog de kleur van het sprookje."
(Huizinga, 1949, p. 14)

When we read a book of history, we produce a mental image of the past we read about. That mental image is informed by the text. Sometimes, when we read a book of history, the text is so vivid, the descriptions so penetrating, that we are left with more than an image: emotion, thought, realisation. The text has affected us. This act of communication, the communication of 'historical experience,' is the focus point of this thesis. To explore this fascinating concept, the main case study is Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*. The choice for this work is twofold: one, Johan Huizinga is the first person to introduce the concept of historical experience, which he called *historische sensatie*; two, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* is a work of history known for its affective use of language. Focussing on those textual elements that drive historical experience, this paper will explore how *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* is able to convey this affect of the (imagined) past. Further, the Dutch source text will be compared to the three English translations to see how historical experience transfers in a translation process.

Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, and historical experience

Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) was a Dutch cultural historian who became a renowned scholar in his own time and is still widely appreciated today. He studied comparative linguistics at the university of Groningen, where he took classes in Dutch literature as well as in Sanskrit. His love for languages exerted a significant influence on his later career as a historian. His initial proposal for a doctoral dissertation on the study of light and sound in poetry was rejected, but in 1897, he finished his dissertation on the figure of the jester in Indian drama (Otterspeer, 2006, p. 39). After obtaining his doctoral degree, Huizinga took a job as a teacher of history in Haarlem. This was the start of his career as a historian, which would take him to Groningen University where he was professor of general and Dutch history, and finally to Leiden, where he became professor of general history and *rector magnificus*.[1]

Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen[2] appeared in 1919, and "the strangest thing about the book, perhaps, is that it is a preface that outgrew itself" (Otterspeer, 2010, p. 46). Huizinga was working on preliminary research on seventeenth-century Dutch

[1] Three excellent books have been written about Johan Huizinga's life: Wessel Krul's *Historicus tegen de Tijd: Opstellen over Leven en Werk van J. Huizinga* (1990), Anton van der Lem's *Johan Huizinga: Leven en Werk in Beelden en Documenten* (1993), and Willem Otterspeer's *Orde en Trouw* (2006).

[2] Henceforth abbreviated to *Herfsttij*.

civilization, when inspiration struck and its preface grew out into a work of its own. In order to understand the seventeenth century, Huizinga wanted to know more about a number of themes, the research of which led him to the study of earlier decades. The intended book on Dutch civilization in the seventeenth century would not appear until 1941.

Herfsttij was published by H. D. Tjeenk Willink, whose father had befriended Huizinga when he was still a teacher at the H.B.S. in Haarlem. Huizinga used to dine with the family fairly regularly. Herman Diederik Tjeenk Willink, the son, is said to have been very selective in what he published (Tadema, 1946, p. 162-3). He published educational and law texts, as well as works by great literary authors like Potgieter and Verwey (Tadema, 1946).

For his *Herfsttij,* Huizinga received the D.A. Thieme-prijs in 1920, an award granted to an outstanding contribution to publishing or an outstanding Dutch book (D.A. Thieme-prijs, n.d., para. 1). In Germany, the book was translated after the appearance of the second edition. In a review in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, the book was praised for its ability to create vivid images in the mind, "Gerade die Buntheit des Bildes hat den Wert der Anschaulichkeit und der Wirklichkeitstreue für sich"[3] (Bauke, 1925, p. 495-6). The book "gehört zweifellos zu den bedeutendsten und fruchtbarsten Erscheinungen der Geschichtsforschung und -darstellung in der Nachkriegszeit"[4] (Bauke, 1925, p. 494).

Today, Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij* is renowned for evoking the historical experience of the 14th and 15th centuries. Looking specifically at cultural expressions of that time, Huizinga tries to capture the mentality of the late Middle Ages through a variety of subjects. Reinterpreting the Renaissance as a late period of the Middle Ages rather than the starting-point of Modernity, Huizinga shows that the culture of the late Middle Ages was at a point of decline. Metaphorically speaking, the traditions of the spring and summer of the early Middle Ages were maintained in the late Middle Ages, but they no longer suited the era. In an autumnal regression, those traditions became *l'art pour l'art*, art for art's sake, empty and hollow.

Huizinga's style of writing is able to bring the late Middle Ages to life in the imagination of its readers. For Huizinga, who studied Dutch Literature at Groningen University, literature was a way to guide readers in their experience of a certain period of time. He wrote that, in all great ages of civilization, "literature has been the complete expression of the dominant vision of life"[5] (Huizinga, 1949, p.70). He saw literature as an experience of an atmosphere, or mood, which he expressed with the

[3] ["the very colourfulness of the images has the value of vividness and verisimilitude"]

[4] ["is undoubtedly one of the most significant and fruitful phenomena of historical research and historical representation in the postwar period"]

[5] "Literatuur is in alle groote[*sic*] tijdperken der beschaving de volkomen uitdrukking geweest van het heerschend [*sic*] levensideaal [...]."

words 'trance' and 'sensatie' (van der Lem, 1993, p. 36). The discussions in *Herfsttij* show that art and society are not individual spheres[6] (Tollebeek, 1994, p. 184). They are separate neither in the late Middle Ages, nor in Huizinga's own writing. Huizinga uses comparisons with literature from all ages to recreate the image of the Middle Ages with literary affect (Otterspeer, 2006, p.64-66). Comparing specific aspects of the late Middle Ages to literary texts, Huizinga creates watersheds of historical experience. These points of reference are a means by which to make the past more relatable to the reader.

Huizinga's style also reflects his literary preferences. His style is typified by an almost poetic rhythm, and in his use of tropes and schemes we see the incorporation of literature in history fleshed out. F. Jansonius (1973), biographer of Lodewijk van Deyssel and writer of many book reviews in *De Taalgids*, sums up Huizinga's style as visual and melodious[7] (p.196). Biographer and historian Willem Otterspeer (2006) particularly notes Huizinga's theme of renewal and repetition (p. 54; p.59). Mirroring his writing style to the events he describes, Huizinga not only describes a historical experience, he creates a historical affect in his writing.

And not only that, Huizinga is also the philosophical forefather of the concept of historical experience. Huizinga became known as one of the first cultural historians mostly by example, but he did write a professional autobiography called *Mijn Weg tot de Historie*, in which Huizinga's ideology towards history becomes more explicit. Huizinga maintained that the essence of historical understanding could be characterized by experience, a term he picked up during his student years to describe the experience of literature (van der Lem, 1993, p. 36). Huizinga (1929) himself describes it, though summarily, as a form of contact with the past that is like entering a sphere[8] (p.52).

Historical experience in text and translation

The idea of 'experience' has a long history in twentieth-century philosophy, even preceding Huizinga's *historische sensatie*. Yet, Huizinga's work proves such an interesting case study because the relationship between representation, form and affect are inherent qualities of his writing. Huizinga will be the start and focus point of this thesis in its attempt to conceptualize historical experience. From that

[6] "Dat ideaal was in de Middeleeuwen werkelijkheid geweest: kunst en samenleving hadden er geen afzonderlijke sferen gevormd"

[7] "De conclusie zou dan moeten luiden dat Huizinga twintig jaar heeft nodig gehad om zich de mate van taalbeheersing eigen te maken, die voor de beeldende en welluidende stijl van *Herfsttij* vereist was."

[8] "Dit niet geheel herleidbare contact met het verleden is een ingaan in een sfeer, het is een der vele vormen van buiten zichzelf treden, van het beleven van waarheid, die den mensch gegeven zijn."

starting-point, the experience of the past can be traced in a number of different theoretical waves in the past century. Huizinga's contemporaries, divided in schools of idealism and empiricism, each had their own way of conceiving the past, its representation, and the position of experience. The narrative turn in the philosophy of history later inspired an increased interest in how historical knowledge was expressed in text. In recent years, scholars such as Frank Ankersmit and Eelco Runia have worked to draw attention to the concept of experience in the philosophy of history. By reading Huizinga alongside other philosophies – of experience, of *Nacherleben*, of *Stimmung* and affect – this paper will try to come to a more developed sense of what historical experience in text is and how it can be studied.

The study of historical experience proves especially difficult because it forms a combination between affect and representation, two areas of philosophical analysis that are usually disconnected from each other. Especially the relationship between affect and form has been relatively unexplored. Translation Studies might prove an interesting perspective on this because many of the issues that also involve the study of historical experience are dealt with through the interdisciplinary nature of this field. Translation Studies combines perspectives on both theory and practice; it has an affiliation with linguistics, literary studies, and cultural studies; and it pays attention to the historical situation and reception history of texts. Studying the translation of historical experience through this multi-perspectival lens might shed light on how to approach the concept of historical experience more generally.

Through an analysis of historical experience in *Herfsttij* and a comparative analysis with its three English translations, this paper will explore the relationship between historical experience, text, and affect, as well as cultural transfer.

The structure of this thesis

Chapter One starts with a comparative analysis of Huizinga's concept of *historische sensatie* and contemporaneous philosophies on history and language. It then critically assesses more modern philosophical concepts of experience, presence and *Stimmung* in order to better understand the decisions that are at stake in forming a methodology.

Chapter Two then forges the link between theory and practice by combining models for analysis from the fields of history, linguistics and literature. The basic frame for the methodology is informed by John Brenkman's triad of thought, language and affect and Peter Gay's four levels of style. Each of the elements in Brenkman's triad is explored individually and connected with relevant theories with which to analyse aspects of historical experience in text. Chapters Three, Four and Five are dedicated to the analysis. Chapter Three explores the context of the works; Chapter Four discusses the main stylistic features in the source text that help build

historical experience, and addresses key issues for the translation of historical experience in this text; Chapter Five comprises a translation analysis, looking to learn from the existing translations' translation strategies through comparison with the source text and the translations among themselves.

Chapter One
The Philosophy of Historical Experience

"Het is geen kunstgenot, geen religieuze aandoening, geen natuur-huivering, geen metaphysisch erkennen, en toch een figuur uit deze rei."
(Huizinga, 1995, p. 110).

Historical experience is neither the most explored, nor the most clearly defined concept in the philosophy of history. Straying somewhere between aestheticism and ontology, and skirting the edges of debates on representation and those on understanding, historical experience has never been the focus of one particular debate. And yet, throughout the twentieth century until the modern-day, the idea of historical experience is always present in one form or another. Experience serves "at different times as object, method, and justification for epistemology, religious interpretation, aesthetics, anthropology, political theory, and historical writing" (Mah, 2008, p. 97). We often see a conflation of different senses of the word experience. Even within the philosophy of history, the specification of historical experience can be seen as a method for historical writing but also as the epistemological justification of the discipline. At the same time, the experience of the past can be seen as the object of historical writing, and justification for history as a discipline is never far around the corner.

An oft-cited starting point in the philosophy of historical experience is the work of Huizinga, a particularly apt starting point for this study. This is not because Huizinga made a conscious contribution to the philosophy of history. He never wrote an extensive manuscript about historical experience as a concept. In fact, his mention of it can be called summary at best. His (academically educated and philosophically interested) reading public is responsible for his fame regarding the subject. Huizinga used the words *historische sensatie* to describe the sudden awareness one can have when confronted with certain objects. Huizinga's *historische sensatie* can best be interpreted as a combination between an aesthetic quality, an epistemological justification, and a method for the writing of history. He writes, "Het is geen kunstgenot, geen religieuze aandoening, geen natuur-huivering, geen metaphysisch erkennen, en toch een figuur uit deze rei"[9] (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). This quote is central to this chapter, in which I want to explore the possibilities of historical experience as a working concept. Though Huizinga gives us little to work with, the comparison to other forms of experience will allow us to (re)create the thought process that induced this quote.

[9] It is not the enjoyment of art, not a religious revelation, not a shiver of nature, not a metaphysical recognition, and yet [it is] a figure of this kind.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand, I will give a brief historiographical introduction to historical experience. Contemporaries of Huizinga were also interested in the relation between history and experience. The British Idealists, as well as art critics devoted their time and thought to this subject. An important contributor is Michael Oakeshott (1978), who distinguished historical experience from two other forms of experience, signifying that historical experience is a different mode of thinking. *Historische sensatie*, bearing resemblance but not entirely relating to such a range of known experiences, begins to take more shape through a discussion of different senses of the *word,* tied to different philosophical views of the *world* (and the past).

On the other hand, I propose a working concept of historical experience based on a critical reading of Huizinga's *historische sensatie* and related philosophical concepts. Alongside Huizinga, I will give readings of other philosophical descriptions in order to constitute a polylogue that will result in a newly defined working concept of historical experience as affective form. Presence, a hypernym of historical experience, is the genesis of that discussion. Presence gives a good indication of how the past is made present, and forms the base of a pyramidic scope that will zoom in further and further on the linguistic aspects of historical experience. The discussion moves from 'historical' more and more to the 'experience' of the reader.

My working concept is distinguished from Huizinga's *historische sensatie* by the term 'historical experience'. Though I use 'historical experience' as a distinct concept, it is semantically related to *historische sensatie*. It is therefore important to, at the same time, show indebtedness towards the original concept of *historische sensatie* as well as mark the differences between them. The choice of this term is not primarily a lexical one; it is a philosophical one. In English-language philosophy, experience has been used more widely for a similar phenomenon to *historische sensatie*. Through an overview of related debates around the subject of experience in the philosophy of history, this chapter will serve to show how the philosophical concept of historical experience and *historische sensatie* are related. And while it would be possible to borrow *historische sensatie* from Dutch, my reason for not using the Dutch terminology rather than an English translation lies in the lack of insight Huizinga has provided as to the textual representation of *historische sensatie*. A calque translation like 'historical sensation' would also not be suitable. Dutch 'sensatie' has a broader semantic scope than English 'sensation'. 'Sensatie' implies the sensory impression that inspires excitement in common but also carries senses from words like impression, experience, gist, and sensibility. Another reason why I prefer the term 'experience' to *sensatie is*; experience is related to the (reading) experience through which one becomes aware of the past of Huizinga's *Herfsttij*. This paper will, in Chapter Two, clarify and expand upon the definition of historical experience for the purpose of stylistic analysis.

Huizinga's *historische sensatie*

Though Huizinga only mentions the term *historische sensatie* a few times, the topic can be found in many of his works. The term, according to van der Lem, stems from Huizinga's education in Dutch literary studies, where he used the words 'trance' and 'sensatie' to describe the atmosphere or mood that works of literature created for him (1993, p. 36). He later used these same words to describe his experience of the past. His epiphany that the Middle Ages were an ending rather than a beginning, the central topic of Huizinga's *Herfsttij*, came to Huizinga in one such trance (Hanssen, 1996, p. 178). As Huizinga himself tells us in his biographical sketch: "Op zulk een wandeling, langs of omtrent het Damsterdiep, op een Zondag dunkt mij, rees bij mij een inzicht: de late middeleeuwen niet als de aankondiging van het komende, maar als het afsterven van dat wat heenging"[10] (as cited in Hanssen, 1996, p. 178).

In his *De taak der Cultuurgeschiedenis*, Huizinga (1995) narrates his realization that literature and history share the historical image that lies at the conception of history and art: "De factor, die de geschiedbeoefening met de kunst gemeen heeft, treedt reeds in werking van het ogenblik af, dat de eerste historische voorstelling, het eerste historische beeld zich vormt"[11] (p. 15). This experience of the historical image is something that the historian has to convey to the reader in his work. A history, according to Huizinga, is never an exact copy of the past. Rather, it has a mimetic quality. Rather than resembling photography, he states that history resembles depiction (Huizinga, 1995, p. 18). A history has to inspire the reader imaginatively in a similar fashion to a work of art. The reader must be able to imagine a part of life that transcends the boundaries of the exact definition of the words being read (Huizinga, 1995, p. 19). The cultural historian is a morphologist, looking for the form and shape of human existence rather than the psychology that drives people: "De groote cultuurhistorici zijn steeds, buiten elk bewust program om, historische morphologen geweest: zoekers naar de vormen van leven, gedachte, gebruik, weten, kunst"[12] (Huizinga, 1995, p. 117). Since it is the historian's task to capture this form in language, we see that form plays an important role in Huizinga's writing.

Huizinga's views on form and language resemble those of twentieth-century philosopher Ernst Cassirer. Navigating both the philosophies of German Idealists such as Kant and acknowledging contemporary phenomenological philosophy,

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[10] [On such a walk, following or roundabout the Damsterdiep, on a Sunday I think, I had a moment of insight: the late Middle Ages was not an announcement of what was coming, but a dying back of what had passed."]

[11] The factor, that the practice of history and art have in common, enters into force from the moment when the first historical presentation, the first historical image is formed."]

[12] The greatest cultural historians have always been, outside of any conscious program, morphologists: searchers for the forms of life, thought, practice, knowing, art."]

Cassirer forms an influential view on language and culture. Huizinga and Cassirer both envision an important task for language. Language is the connecting factor, the means through which one individual can connect with another individual. Like Huizinga, Cassirer argues that artistic form does not present an image of the real, underlying world. In his study on symbolic forms, Cassirer (2020) concludes that language and art are 'sense-bestowing' (p. 255) and therefore constitute that world (pp. 40-41). These ideas are also present when Huizinga (1995) states that history, in its most fundamental definition, is the way in which a culture expresses itself (p. 156). History is not a representation of that culture, but culture creates itself by writing down its history.

Cassirer (2020) maintains that apparent dichotomies like matter and form, objectivity and subjectivity, and the universal and individual are all part of the same process (p. 100). Language is an "ideal process in which reality is constituted [konstituiert][13] for us as one and many – as a manifold of configurations that are ultimately held together by a unity of signification" (Cassirer, 2020, p. 41). We find a similar principle in Huizinga's conception of the historical image. Huizinga does not see the historical image as one single image described by one author but as an intersubjectively shared image of a certain period. The contours of such an image can be vague, and the details can be disputed, but this image may nonetheless be shared in the consciousness of an entire generation (Huizinga, 1925, p. 31).

The individual historian does, however, play an essential role in conveying that image. It is the historian's task to use language in such a way that it transcends its ordinary, denotative meaning. Huizinga addresses the communicative aspect of history here and holds the historian responsible for managing the readers' interpretation. The historian must use their imagination as an artist would, to represent the life of their subject in such a way that the image they create transcends the exact definitions of the words they use. It is, however, of importance that the historian steers the imagination of the reader in the right direction. Through a particular combination of words, the space to deviate from the central image into subjective variations must be limited as much as possible (Huizinga, 1995, p. 19). Cassirer's ideas can be seen as an elaboration on this definition-transcending notion of language. He writes, "What constitutes the real force of the sign, here as in other domains, is thus precisely that as the immediate, determinate contents recede, the general element of form and relation [Relation] attain ever-sharper and ever-purer expression [Ausprägung]" (Cassirer, 2020, p. 42). For Cassirer, that language holds

[13] Contrary to a suspicious view of language, which sees the world as constructed by discourses that are determined by power relations, Cassirer uses the word "konstituiert" more in the sense of built up by. Cassirer is not concerned with the politics at play in the construction of language.

meaning beyond mere definition illustrates his case in point that language constitutes rather than represents reality. For Huizinga, a large part of the constituting power of language lies in the combination and the form of the words selected. It can be said that writing style is therefore of great interest to Huizinga, and we will see in the next chapters how he sought to represent the forms of late medieval life in his own style.

However precise words must be selected to form historical images, and however vague and imprecise that general image may be, Huizinga (1995) does not think of *historische sensatie* as a historical image, exactly. "Het is nauwelijks beeld te noemen, wat de geest hier vormt of ondergaat"[14] (p. 110). *Historische sensatie* is like entering an atmosphere. It is one of those many forms in which one transcends oneself to experience truth. An epiphany. The object of *historische sensatie* is neither individual people, nor their lives, nor their thoughts. It is a contact with the past that is difficult to trace. Huizinga distinguishes *historische sensatie* from other forms of experience, such as the pleasure of art, religious affiliation, sublime nature, and metaphysical recognition. And yet, he states, *historische sensatie* is related to all of these (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). What Huizinga specifically rejects, is the interpretation of *historische sensatie* as *Nacherleben*. *Nacherleben* was used by Dilthey to express how historians re-live and re-experience the past. *Nacherleben* relates specifically to re-experiencing what others have experienced, through which we may understand the mental lives of others. The structural cognitive process that this implies is contrary to the spontaneous epiphany that Huizinga has in mind.

In the following section, I want to compare Huizinga's theories to that of contemporaneous philosophers who write about experience in order to see how these theories differ from or add to the foundation of a conceptualization of historical experience given to us by Huizinga.

Contemporaneous philosophies of experience

That all knowledge of the world comes from experience was a principle further explored by British Idealists. In an attempt to find meaning beyond the strictly empirical findings that were preferred by philosophers like David Hume, John Locke and John Stuart Mill, British Idealists adopted the idealist philosophy of Hegel (Boucher, 2010, p. 137). Experience, rather than empirical proof, became the central concept of this school of philosophy. Thomas Hill Green argued, for instance, that human existence exists because it is recognized as such through experience (Dunham et al., 2011, p. 167). With this argument, the British Idealists attempted to unify thought and object in a way that had not been possible in philosophies influenced by Empiricism. British Idealists maintained a Hegelian view of reality, which also plays an important role in their definition of the past, which they defined as a

[14] ["It can hardly be called an image, which the mind forms or befalls here."]

self-transcending present. They argue that definitions of the past as separate from the present make it impossible to study history. If the past is finite and gone; we have no access to it from our present. A self-transcending present, rather than a finite past, is a past that lives in our present. This is what is studied when we study history. In very simplified terms, British Idealists do not distinguish past from present or particular from universal; they maintain that these concepts are not opposites or separated, but parts of one whole (Boucher, 2010, p. 1).

The experience of the past became an important inquiry in this philosophical tradition. Michael Oakeshott wrote a seminal work on the topic in which he distinguished three modes of experience: a historical, a scientific and a practical mode. Each of these modes has a different objective towards knowledge and its use. Each of these modes also entails a different attitude towards the past. The practical mode will use the past in political arguments or for future plans, the scientific mode will see the past as something that can be schematized and regularized, and the historical mode tries to understand the development of the world of thought into its current state of being (Oakeshott, 1978). Notably, Oakeshott explicitly rejects history as an institution that studies the past *qua* past, which he calls a dead past. He dismisses this idea by arguing that recognition of the past as inherently different from the present can never result in knowledge (Oakeshott, 1978, p. 146).

Only through its experience can the past, which only exists ideally in the present world of thought, be known, Robin George Collingwood (1993) argued. Similarly to Oakeshott, Collingwood signified history as a mode of self-knowledge and an act of thought. History as knowledge of the past (history *a parte subjecti*) cannot be seen as separate from the past as object of knowledge (history *a parte objecti*) (van der Dussen, 2013, p. 321). The method with which to achieve historical knowledge is what he called re-enactment (Collingwood, 1993, p. 215). By mentally re-enacting past events, the historian achieves knowledge of the past. Re-enactment[15] suggests that the past is experienced through thought and reflected upon through critical rethinking. History and thought are thus intertwined.

Collingwood rejects the dichotomy that Oakeshott creates between a dead and living past. Whereas Oakshott critiques historians for being interested in a past unlike the present, and instead proposes that the past is constructed in the present, Collingwood sees history as "present and past at the same time" (Ahlskog, 2017, p. 294). Based on the connection between history and thought, Collingwood argues that there is an aspect of thought that can be re-enacted. This is explained by a distinction

[15] The definition of re-enactment and the problematic nature of it as a method in history has been pointed out in the immediate criticism that Collingwood's work has received. I will follow Rik Peter's argumentation that re-enactment can best be interpreted as a manner of philosophical inquiry (1998, p. 340).

between two aspects of thought: one, the immediacy of thought, which cannot be repeated because immediacy is depends on its temporal and spatial context; two, the mediation of thought, which can be repeated because content of thought is not confined within time (Ahlskog, 2017, p. 294). The repetition of the mediality of thought is not to be confused with copying that thought, however. To understand Collingwood's philosophy here, the idea of concurrent presence of past and present is vital. The mediality of thought is essentially the same in both past and present. The experiencer in the past and the historian as experiencer in the present can have the same experience as far as it concerns the mediality of thought, but the context of the experiencers differs. The immediacy of the thought of the historian determines that the thought is interpreted in the present. This process of interpretation "gives it [the experience] a new quality" (Collingwood, 1993, as cited in Ahlskog, 2017, p. 297).

The theories of Collingwood and Oakeshott might appear old and tied to a very specific worldview, but they are by no means outdated. There has even been a renewed interest of late in the works of these philosophers (as of other British Idealists).[16] The reason why British Idealists are still of importance today is that they offer a perspective outside of the discussion on representation and language that took over experience as ontology since the linguistic turn.

In relation to Huizinga's definition of historical experience, especially the relationship between the 'experiencer' and the 'experienced past' is of interest. For Oakeshott, the mode of the experiencer wholly influences the past that can be accessed, which can be either finite and dead or entirely constructed in the present. Collingwood distinguishes between the two aspects of experience; immediacy and mediality. The context of the experiencer and the experienced past both are part of the re-enactment of history. For Collingwood, the thought that is accessed by the historian is the same as the thought of the past in terms of its mediality, and at the same time, it differs because the immediacy of thought determines different interpretations in the present compared to the past.

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[16] Notable recent publications on Collingwood contain, among others: a second edition of van der Dussen's *History as a science : the philosophy of R. G. Collingwood,* which appeared in 2020; Fred Iglish's *History Man : The Life of R. G. Collingwood*, the first biography on Collingwood, which was published in 2009; a special issue of *Journal of the Philosophy of History* (published November 2017) which was dedicated to Collingwood, edited by Giuseppina D'Oro and James Connelly. Recent publications that survey British Idealism in its own context include: David Boucher's *The British Idealists,* published 2012; Nazil Pinar Kaymaz's *British Idealism and International Thought* published 2020. Recent publications that see potential for british Idealism to interpret contemporary issues include William Sweet's *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists* published 2009, showing the relevance of British Idealism in recent debates on public policy and applied ethics and Thom Brooks' *Ethical citizenship : British idealism and the politics of recognition*, published 2014, which explores contemporary relevance of British Idealist thought for application in international politics.

We can compare this to Huizinga, when he describes the 'trance' one can find oneself in when encountering the past. For Collingwood, the subject matter of history is "human beings in so far as what they do is understood as actions or expressions of thought" (D'Oro & Connelly, 2017, p. 276). The importance of thought in the process or re-enactment is based on this ideology. The importance of thought is also present in Huizinga's work, when he speaks of 'denkbeelden': "verbeelding, historisch inzicht, historische zin, al die woorden spreken het diepere wezen van de geschiedkundige begripsvorming." (Huizinga, 1995, p. 18). And yet, Huizinga rejects an all too straightforward interpretation of historical experience. "Het is nauwelijks beeld te noemen, wat de geest hier vormt of ondergaat. Voor zover het vorm aanneemt, blijft deze samengesteld en vaag: een 'Ahnung,'"[17] he warns us (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). Though the emphasis on experience is similar, Huizinga rejects a conflation between this idealist type of experience and *historische sensatie*. For Huizinga, the subject matter of history, as a cultural historian, is culture. But *historische sensatie* has a different relationship to history than Collingwood's experience has to history. Huizinga writes, "Het object van deze sensatie zijn niet menschenfiguren in hun individuele gestalte, niet menschenlevens of menschelijke gedachten, die men meent te ontwaren"[18] (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). Oakeshott's mode of historical experience and Collingwood's re-enactment theory both suggest that experience can only be thought, but for Huizinga, there is a sensory and aesthetic aspect to experience that we do not find in the aforementioned philosophies.

Later philosophies of experience

The in-betweenness of historical experience

The reason why historical experience is both essential and difficult to grasp philosophically is because of questions asked by theorists of later periods. (Historical) experience touches upon elements from philosophical traditions that are, in most aspects, nearly impossible to reconcile and therefore difficult to compare. Below, I will briefly sketch the position of historical experience in-between these different traditions.

The second half of twentieth century philosophy, notably the 1960s and 70s, can be characterized by an increased interest in text and language. The movements described above are concerned with the relationship between language and the real world. Especially in the philosophy of history and in literary studies, the representational power of language is valued along the extent to which it can be

[17] ["It can hardly be called an image, which the mind forms or befalls here. As far as it takes shape at all, it stays combined and vague: an 'Ahnung'"]
[18] ["The object of this experience is not the people in their individual existence, nor human lives nor human thoughts that one supposes to detect"]

deemed true or real. But later movements such as structuralism, deconstructionism, and narrativism began to question the 'real' and language's capability to 'represent'. These movements argued, rather, that language is constructive and determines how man perceives and interprets the world. This favouring of language above representation is found in its most extreme form in the relativism of postmodernism.

But while postmodern artists and philosophers tried to oppose this value system of representation by criticizing the claim for truth, critics and philosophers have increasingly objected that postmodernism is unable to provide a viable alternative. As Linda Hutcheon (2002), a major literary theorist writing on postmodernism points out, postmodernism in literary theory lacks the political power both to overthrow and to rebuild. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, a notable German literary theorist, recently addressed this exact issue, arguing that deconstruction (as a common denominator for theories that favour language and construction) and cultural studies (as a common denominator for theories that favour reality and representation) have overpowered the debates about literature, without any regard for the experience of it. The Dutch historian and philosopher of history, Frank Ankersmit similarly argues that both postmodernism and narrativist historical theory have sidestepped the issue regarding the relationship between representation and that which is represented. He calls for historians to amend postmodernism and narrativism "in such a way that the historian's intuitive ability to represent a part reality in and by his narrative is respected" (Ankersmit, 2006a, p. 110). Historical representation is thus both dependent on the historian's ability to narrate a history, as well as his commitment to a historical reality and to represent this truthfully.

The in-betweenness of historical experience is apparent in Huizinga's work as well. If we agree with Willem Otterspeer's interpretation of Huizinga's work and life, then Huizinga's work is pervaded by continuous contrasts and in-betweenness. For instance, Huizinga also makes a distinction between the narrative created by an author and one created by a historian. On a very practical level, he maintained that the historian, contrary to the artist, must be especially careful with his wording to prevent the reader from forming an all too imaginative interpretation (Huizinga, 1950, p. 14). This imaginative interpretation should be prevented by limiting the allowance for subjective variations on the interpretation of that which is being expressed. Without denying the imaginative ability of the reader to transpose his mind to a different world and time when reading, Huizinga shows the necessity for the historian to direct this imagination. The difference between the artist and the historian lies not in their ability to represent life, but in the precision of the images used to create that life.

Yet, it is essential to distinguish historical representation from historical experience. Even though specific phrasing is an important factor in historical

representation, Huizinga maintains that historical experience is not a matter of phrasing at all. About historical experience, he writes: "Het is niet een element, dat de schrijver door bepaalde woorden in zijn werk legt. Het ligt achter en niet in het geschiedenisboek. De lezer brengt het de schrijver tegemoet, het is zijn respons op diens oproep"[19] (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). Without delving too much into the discussion of whether historical experience lies in or behind the text, I would like to point out the importance of the last sentence. To Huizinga, historical experience is a sensation that is evoked. The element – which can be "een regel uit een oorkonde of een kroniek, ... een prent, een paar klanken uit een oud lied"[20] – that is responsible for this evocation is seen merely as a catalyst of the sensation that takes place in the beholder or the reader (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110).

A forum on presence

Regardless of the question of whether a combination of theories of truth and representation can ever be convincingly complementary, I think it best to focus on the position of the reader and writer that Huizinga touches upon. The definition of historical experience proposed here might be said to lie in the interaction between text and reader, form and affect. In the following section, I will devote my attention to the theories of presence in order to illustrate the critical importance of seeing historical experience as 'in-between', as an effective form.

Presence, as Runia defines it, is neither the complete denial of a past (as maintained by philosophers of history who stress that there are only the remainders of the past: sources), nor the conviction that the past exists (as maintained by historians who say it is possible to have a relationship with the past) (Runia 2006b, pp. 305-6). It can be defined as the "unrepresented way the past is present in the present" (Runia, 2006a, p. 1). In the concept of presence, we see a similar understanding of the past as ingrained in the present as we have seen earlier with the British Idealists. Presence suggests not a past that has to represent (in the sense of being presented *again*), but a past that is made present in the present.

Presence accounts for the ways in which the past is made present through media which are not directly (metaphorically) related to that past. This indirect (metonymical) relation Runia sees in modern monuments, works of literature, and abstract artwork. Runia sees the link between tenor and vehicle in a metaphorical sign as more direct than in a metonymic sign because it is denotative. Runia, therefore, uses metaphor, as a metaphor itself that stands for meaning-making, to a practice in which the past is represented directly. Metonymy, he maintains, on the other hand,

[19] ["It is not an element that the writer inserts into his work through word choice. The reader brings it to the writer, it is his [the reader's] response to his [the writer's] call."]
[20] ["...a line from a charter of chronicle, ... an image, a few notes from an old song."]

does not convey meaning through denotation, but rather conveys presence because of the absence of denotation. Through its ability to connect and juxtapose contexts, metonymy is able to 'present' rather than 're'present the past in the present.

Let us review this term in light of historical experience. When Runia writes that "[b]oth meaning and presence are antithetical to another drive, the drive to be taken up in the flux of experience," it may be assumed that he refers to experience in the epistemological sense rather than the sense of affect (Runia, 2006a, p. 5). Historical experience, contrary to epistemological experience, is actually closely interrelated with both meaning and presence. Runia categorizes historical experience under the category of presence, stating that presence "includes all instances in which we, as subjects, are overwhelmed by the presence of the past" (Runia, 2006a, p. 7). Thus, instances of presence are not necessarily techniques used by writers, historians, or architects, they are rather instances that overwhelm and surprise both the maker and the beholder.

Citing Vico's *Scienza Nuova*, Runia maintains that invention is an important aspect of presence. The metonymic relation of the object with the past and the present is one that can be expressed through language (or image). Runia stresses the importance of the metonymy being "out of place," as to enhance the ability to surprise. He writes: "Historical concepts are invented (by, indeed, a heroic act of 'finding' *cum* 'founding') *out* of the undifferentiated jumble of everyday reality, and *into* the domain of representation" (Runia, 2006a, p. 23). Runia sees a retroactive discontinuity in the metonymical existence of presence.

Metonymy is specifically characteristic of the historical practice: "The metonymicality of historical texts is not simply a matter of style or vocabulary", no, "[m]etonymy is deeply ingrained in how historians think, work, and write" (Runia, 2006a, p. 23). The way in which historians write is generally metonymic, as are the agents and objects they describe (or rather, make present). But the historian's obsession with context is also part of that which he makes present. As Runia writes, "The metonymical principle of taking things out of one context and placing them in another is part and parcel of historical method" (Runia, 2006a, p. 24). These shifting contexts are part of the metonymic essence of historical writing. Displacements create the absences through which the past is made present.

This is similar but also different from metonymy as a literary trope. "In a literary text, metonymical *Fremdkörper* stand out, whereas in a historical text, a text, that is, that wholly *consists* of *Fremdkörper*, contiguity is so general that it looks like continuity" (Runia, 2006a, p. 25). So while the particular of a historical text consists of metonymies, the succession of these particulars creates a surface that is overall metaphorical. It stands to reason that, in order to convey a sense of reality and recognition, the historical text cannot exist solely on defamiliarizing metonymies,

this would estrange rather than enthral the reader. In the metaphorically overcast metonymies of historical texts, "historical reality itself is 'absently present'" (Runia, 2006a, p. 26).

In summary, this is how Runia introduced presence in his article dated from February 2006. The reason for starting this section with this concept is that later that same year, in October, the journal *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History* published the contributions to the forum "On Presence". The edition contains essays by initiator Eelco Runia, but also contributions by Ankersmit and Gumbrecht (besides Ewa Domanska, Michael Bentley, and Rik Peters). Besides the stimulating ideas that presence adds to this framework on historical experience, the debate forms a suitable cornerstone from which to then compare the individual concepts of sublime historical experience and *Stimmung*. Comparing the differences and similarities between Runia and the other contributors to the forum on presence – Ankersmit and Gumbrecht – can already indicate some fundamental differences in focus.

Ankersmit's contribution is focused on the question of how the past can be made present rather than be a representation of an absent past. "We have historical writing in order to compensate for the absence of the past," he writes (Ankersmit, 2006b, p. 328). Ankersmit sets presence apart from representation through art by arguing that, whereas art is 'framed', presence illustrates that "there is a continuum between the representation and what is represented; the representation and its represented are part of one and the same reality" (Ankersmit, 2006b, p.332). As an example of the absence of frame, Ankersmit names myths as stories that no longer represent, but entering into representation, thus the myths become present (Ankersmit, 2006b, p. 333-4). It is a shame that, in the conclusion, Ankersmit gives a rather unproductive account that presence is a term without strict definition, only based on "whether one's use of the term is useful and fruitful" without really elaborating how his own account is useful (Ankersmit, 2006b, p. 336).

What is interesting is the consequence for linguistics that Ankersmit notes when adopting the view of presence and experience. In his earlier work, Ankersmit elaborated on this. Froeyman (2012) gives an accurate summary of the logic behind this consequential relation, which I will summarize as follows. In the presentist notion of presence, historical reality is constituted by the individual subject. During this process, the subject uses his or her own context – history – to construct this historical reality. But if both the object and the used context are history, this would write off history as a vicious circle, defeating the scientific purpose of the discipline. We must allow that history is a science, and to account for this, Ankersmit makes a difference between constructed and contextual history. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that "[w]hen Ankersmit talks about historical *experience*, he is talking

about the past as it constitutes *us*. When he talks about historical *representation*, he is referring to historical reality as we constitute *it* [emphasis added]" (Froeyman, 2012, p. 397).

Ankersmit discusses the important difference between Huizinga's notion of experience and that of theorists like Oakeshott or Collingwood discussed above. One of the most important aspects that Ankersmit mentions about Huizinga's contribution is his regard for the sensory experience of the past. Ankersmit points to a resistance in the philosophy of history that "originates from the assumption that the past (as a potential object of historical investigation) is the kind of object corresponding to the cognitive operations that have so convincingly been described by the constructivists", meaning a past that can be seen and objectively captured. Huizinga, by contrast, illustrates that "the object of historical experience are rather 'heard' than 'seen'" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 123).

Harold Mah describes what attracts Ankersmit to Huizinga's definition as follows: "Contrary to the usual approach to historical *Erlebnis*, which sees the historian's task as re-experiencing what historical actors experienced, Ankersmit argues for an even more fundamental experience of historical immediacy, an experience not of others' experience (which can only be intellectually reconstructed) but of a sudden, overwhelming experience of the past itself" (Mah, 2008, p. 109). When the past is 'seen', there is an inevitable gap between subject and object, whereas historical experience, Ankersmit maintains, is able to provide a "direct contact with the object of experience" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 124).

This direct contact can be related to what Runia calls the continuity and discontinuity of presence. Historical experience closes the gap between subject and object and is hence continuous, but at the same time it has a contingent and contiguous dimension in how it is evoked (expressed by Huizinga when drawing the link between *Ahnung* and historical experience). As Runia writes: "Whereas representationalism has given us an unprecedented insight into how continuity is created, metonymy can account for humans' inordinate ability to spring surprises on themselves" (Runia, 2006a, p.6). Historical experience is thus both representative and surprising.

In Gumbrecht's essay, the language-aspect takes precedence, pushing the question of the presence of the past to a secondary position (2006). In this sense, Gumbrecht contributes to the line of Runia's definition and Ankersmit's summary development with a logical third sequence. Language, according to Gumbrecht (2006), is not necessarily concerned only with meaning and therefore removed from presence. Language has many aspects, occasions and forms in which it combines with presence. So whereas Gumbrecht distinguishes language that makes present from language that creates meaning, he does not distinguish it from the representational

force of language. In this sense, Gumbrecht's relation between language and presence is essentially different from that in Ankersmit's philosophy.

Gumbrecht distinguishes seven modes in which language and presence are amalgamated, four of which are of particular interest to this paper:

1. Aesthetic experience, which for Gumbrecht means that form and aesthetics demand attention to a higher degree than meaning (Gumbrecht, 2006, p. 322).
2. Epiphany, which occurs under the "specific temporal conditions ... of 'suddenness' and 'irreversible departure'" (Gumbrecht, 2006, p. 322).
3. Adaptation to the world of things, in which "the rhythm of the prose copies the rhythm of movements or of events to be evoked and thus establishes an analogic relationship to these movements and events that also bypasses the digital principle of representation" (Gumbrecht, 2006, p. 322).
4. Making the past "tangibly present", by "pointing ... to objects and places that give a material presence to the past within the temporal present" or "linguistic styles and forms that are perceived as 'old-fashioned'" (Gumbrecht, 2006, p. 324).

These modes can be seen as stylistic features of historical experience, the four of which mentioned here can all be found in *Herfsttij*, as will be shown in the analysis. This is not the place to go into these modes individually. For now, it suffices to say that for Gumbrecht, language is able to overcome the gap between the object and presence. An object can thus be made present through language, or in this case, the past can thus be made present through language. Though Gumbrecht enumerates the modes as general occasions in which language and presence co-occur, we can see that, if we take these four specific amalgamations together as listed above, they relate to aspects of historical experience as defined in this chapter. A historical experience has an aesthetic quality, which is both as sudden as an epiphany and as able to produce thought. When it is put into words, the past is made present by adapting and pointing to the object that is discussed.

The Sublime Historical Experience

Ankersmit provides an analysis of experience in the philosophy of history through the works of Richard Rorty, Huizinga, Gadamer and many more. Ankersmit cites Huizinga's short mentions of this phenomenon as the best accounts of historical experience in the philosophy of history. Basing his study on Huizinga's historical experience, Ankersmit further explored what he calls the 'sublime historical experience'.

Ankersmit's "answer to the predicament of experience is to reassert against the many putative problems of contemporary philosophy and historical writing the

return to the most erlebt of *Erlebnisse*, to the past directly experienced as a spontaneous revelation" (Mah, 2008, p. 109). Sublime historical experience attains a darker quality when Ankersmit compares it to the nature of a suicidal act as the "*association of dissociation*" (p. 343). What Ankersmit describes is the feeling of the past having become lost, of forgetting, of the intangibility of the past that the historian is trying to represent. It is the feeling of there having been something other than the present, hence it is an association (becoming aware) of dissociation (the otherness of the past as not-present). The sublime historical experience is thus a very specific type of historical experience. The genealogy of historical experience can be seen in the trait of in-betweenness. In Ankersmit's (2005) definition, sublime historical experience finds itself between the dichotomies of remembering and forgetting (p. 333), directness and indirectness (p. 344), inside and outside (p. 348), and the objective and subjective mind (p. 365). The type of perceiving, the way in which we perceive, and the relation to that which we perceive are characterized by a state of inbetweenness.

There are some criticisms of Ankersmit's work by other theorists that we need to take into account. Sometimes, Ankersmit's disappointment concerning the great number of philosophers he discusses seems to have a personal note, rather than constituting an academic argument, which makes it unclear on what philosophical grounds Ankersmit's theory differs from his predecessors. And, as one of his reviewers, Michael Roth, notes: "Under the rubric of the value of immediacy, of untainted experience, normative judgments reappear" for only those experiences that also occupy others matter (Roth, 2007, p. 68). These normative aspects of sublime historical experience make it difficult to come to a practical conceptualisation of this term.

Furthermore, Ankersmit's position towards language is ambiguous. On the one hand, he is determined to escape the strains of language, because he wants to attempt to move beyond the linguistic turn. Yet, narrative and storytelling, as well as his own attempt to put the experience of the past into words, keep popping up. When Ankersmit speaks of myth as an ultimate example of historical experience, the narration of the forgotten past suddenly becomes essential. For, in Ankersmit's notion, myth is a past that is so alien from the historical present that we need stories to remind ourselves of that past.

A work of history and its author depend on each other; "a work of history is, at least in part, a self-expression of its author and in need of this author for its having been written at all" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 3). Therefore, practice shows that there is "an intense interaction between the two, for what is more natural and self-evident than using what has been given to the historian in terms of historical experience to also guide him in his expression of the past?" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 128). History is "a continuous experiment with language" that aims "at the expression of a historical

experience of the past" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 137). Yet, we must, according to Ankersmit, recognize that there is a distinct difference between the receptive nature of historical experience and the active role in giving form to the past through historical intuition. But Ankersmit is not interested in pursuing this intense interaction, and because it is exactly this practical expression of historical experience in which this study is interested, Ankersmit's definition, despite it being the most recent, is lacking too much to serve as a working concept for this study.

The textual reality of *Stimmung*

Some additional work is needed to fully appreciate the value of seeing experience as intrinsically connected to language. Gumbrecht argues that both deconstruction and cultural studies have left out an important third aspect to literature: that of *Stimmung*. *Stimmung* is related to the concept of presence, though more specifically to the subset of aesthetic and historical experience (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 7).

Gumbrecht tells us that "wherever *Stimmung* penetrates texts, we may assume that a primary experience has occurred to the point of becoming a preconscious reflex" (2012, p. 19). Just like Ankersmit, Gumbrecht here points to the inevitable connection between the historian's historical experience and its expression in the text he is writing. But for Gumbrecht, this is a logical conclusion from his other supposition. Whereas since Huizinga, the experiencer has often overlapped with the historian, Gumbrecht starts his argument from the point of the reader.

As with his interpretation of presence, Gumbrecht draws attention to form and text: "In different dimensions and by means of different textual elements, these works make readers encounter past realities" (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 14). But it is striking that *Stimmung* relates to the interaction between the form of the object and the experience of the subject – and the experiencer here being the reader. *Stimmung* pertains to the experience of literature by a reader, yet, the language Gumbrecht uses can be seen to follow the same pattern as though he is talking about the historian encountering the past.

Reading for *Stimmung*, then, is a literary mode of reading that concentrates on the reader's experience of the mood or atmosphere of a text.

> 'Reading for Stimmung' always means paying attention to the textual dimension of the forms that envelop us and our bodies as a physical reality – something that can catalyze inner feelings without matters of representation necessarily being involved (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 5).

In this description, it becomes clear that what Gumbrecht is talking about resembles very much the ideas on literary affect. Though the two cannot be equated fully, with the difference lying – crudely sketched – in the scope of emotions on the one side and

the aesthetic experience on the other, it must be appreciated that the two terms might relate to each other in a hyponymic way.

But the "lack of distinction between aesthetic and historical experience" distinguishes reading for *Stimmung* from other modes of literary readings (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 15). This combination of both aesthetics and historical experience is strikingly similar to Huizinga's concept of *historische sensatie*. What Gumbrecht (2010) adds to our understanding of this combination is why he thinks that these are inseparable:

> This past-made-present is encountered in its foreignness. Simultaneously with historical experience, then, the reading produces consolation and edification; and because they are qualitatively different from historical alterity, it is proper to deem these phenomena "aesthetic" (p. 15)

When an encounter between the reader and the past occurs, this encounter does not leave the reader unaffected. The occurrence produces a reading of this historical experience. Because it would perhaps be too easy to do away with this affect as an interpretation, Gumbrecht instead opts for aesthetic experience. This elegant description illustrates that the product of a historical experience may still be on the same ontological plane of experience rather than on the different plane of meaning production. This creates an entirely different understanding of the process of historical experience. Gumbrecht touches upon the crux of the difficulty in placing historical experience within existing philosophical traditions. It explains the dissatisfaction resulting from trying to tie historical experience to notions of meaning-making or representation.

Stimmung, therefore, accounts for the process that happens between a reader and the reality that fiction presents, a reality that can be historically or culturally divided from that reader (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 14). What is interesting is that Gumbrecht specifically refers to form when he tries to answer what inspired *Stimmung* to occur at all. He writes:

> The point of departure and catalyst for the experience of historical and cultural alterity lies, contra Hegel's polemic, in the most objective phenomenal field of literary texts: in their prosody and poetic form (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 13)

It is the textual elements that inspire the experience of the reader. This crucial element separates Gumbrecht's philosophy from many of his precedents, including Hegel's speculations on *Stimmung*.

Affiliated to 'mood' and 'atmosphere', but with a connotation of 'agreeing' and 'melody' or 'voice', *Stimmung* is probably one of the closest modern equivalents to Huizinga's *historische sensatie*.

Chapter Two
Method and Approach

"In beide gevallen, bij het kunstwerk en bij het geschiedverhaal, zal de lezer worden opgewekt, zich door zijn verbeeldingskracht een stuk leven aanschouwelijk voor te stellen, zó dat de inhoud van de voorstelling de grenzen van de precieze woordbetekenis van het gelezene wijd te buiten gaat."
(Huizinga, 1995, p. 19)

The previous chapter explored some of the thoughts behind historical experience in the form of different philosophical traditions that have addressed experience and the experience of time. It moved from Huizinga's own definition of *historische sensatie*, which was limited to the author's own experience, through contemporary and modern philosophies, to a more-encompassing definition of historical experience as a form of affect that can be presented through writing. This broadening of Huizinga's original definition has provided a better understanding of the aftermath of the text that Huizinga wrote. *Herfsttij* became one of the most celebrated Dutch history books and his writings have inspired modern historical philosophy in ways that Huizinga himself could not have anticipated. This is because of its affective style more than its historical insights. We ended the last chapter with the idea of affect, mood, and *Stimmung* as a third mode of analysis. A start has been made to bridge the gap between the theory of historical experience and the literary and linguistic analysis of it.

In the folds between history, linguistics and literary studies

"Beware of turns", John Brenkman (2020), professor of English and comparative literature, warns us in the very opening sentence of his book *Mood and Trope* (p. 1). He then proceeding to summarize how philosophical traditions have shifted from a preoccupation with thought and understanding to a focus on language and discourse, the Linguistic Turn in philosophy, and then brought emotion and affect on the centre stage of analyses in the Affective Turn (Brenkman, 2020, p. 1). "The work actually achieved under these excellent slogans, sound bites evocative of intellectual revolutions, turns out not to be so much *coupures épistémologiques* as valuable discoveries of hitherto unnoticed folds in the preceding discourse" he concludes (Brenkman, 2020, p.1). Each turn has tried to move away from the preceding one, pointing out shortcomings or presenting alternatives. Think of how vehemently the linguistic turn expressed opposition to the historical tradition, which Roland Barthes expressed through the catchphrase "The Death of the Author". Rejecting the known and venturing into the unknown has stimulated innovation in writing, methods,

approaches, themes, and subjects of analysis. Philosophers and theorists have tried to invent new modes of analysis within the tentative new laws of each turn. But these turns cannot be seen as separate. They are all part of a folded landscape that is somehow connected. The thirst for intellectual murder as presented by Barthes has diminished. After the first surges of innovation, we must see to make the connections visible again between the known and the newly explored. It is, therefore, not our task to "celebrate breaks" between these turns, but to "explain folds" in the landscape of analysis (Brenkman, 2020, p. 1). The initial laws that state that we must do away with the old modes of analysis and venture into the new, as expressed in the initial surge of a new turn, fade as the boundaries between the known and the unknown fade too.

In recent times, there seems to be a development in literary studies in which the boundaries between turns are broken. And while the allergic reaction to rigid boundaries between philosophical traditions may be a sign of the current times, I feel it is a need we must give into. Breaking those boundaries provides multiple fields with new insights. Whether we look at studies in Modernist literature that try to show that high modernism had a very elite readership and only limited impact on the everyday reader, though it has been put on a pedestal as defining the literary era; or the field of memory studies, where we find an interdisciplinary mix of history, literature, and even hints of social sciences; or new fields of comparative literature that combine different fields like 'law and literature' or 'media and literature'; or the abundance of studies where Mieke Bal's 'travelling concepts' has proved enlightening – in different forms, shapes and sizes, there seems to be a common need to break boundaries, to open up the possibilities of analysis. Not through a new turn, perhaps (though who is to say this will not be identified as one fifty years hence?), but through a curiosity about the other modes of analysis, revisiting past modes, cooperating with neighbouring scholarly fields, or mixing in perceived opposite ones.

While this paper does not have the ambition to explain folds between these three turns in philosophical analysis in much more detail, seeing as Brenkman himself already makes an inspiring attempt in this regard, the main question of this thesis is caught exactly in the landscape of thought, language and affect. Trying to explain historical sensation within the restrictions of one fold proves unsatisfying. The story we have followed so far lies mostly in the fold of thought and affect, and somehow, the story of historical experience seems yet unfinished. Historical experience is one of those phenomena supporting Brenkman's thesis that thought, affect, and language are always intertwined: a "triad whose elements are inseparable yet distinct, simultaneous yet noncoincident" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 10). But what is this landscape, or this triad, that will help us finish the story of historical experience?

The connector that forms the three elements into a folded landscape is inspired by Heidegger's treatise on *Dasein* (being, or being-in-the-world) in his *Being*

and Time. In this magnum opus, Heidegger seeks to revive ontology by centring the question, what is being-in-the-world; how does *Dasein* work? In Heidegger's view, *Dasein* is intimately connected with our three elements. His reflections on *Dasein* lead to the interpretation that affect is an "original and inescapable aspect" of *Dasein*, in the same degree that thought and language are (Brenkman, 2020, p. 3). In Heidegger's philosophy, language, thought and affect are "*equi-primordial*" to being-in-the-world, which Brenkman (2020) describes as "None is more original than the others, none is the source or cause of the others, none determines the others, none dominates or subordinates the others" (p.13). But most importantly, "none occurs without the others, and each continually affects and is affected by the others" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 13).

Being, then, is where we find the simultaneous occurrence of thought, language and affect. It strikes me that Huizinga's story of his historical experience is such a perfectly simple example of being. As discussed earlier in this paper, Huizinga had an epiphany while taking a walk outside the city of Groningen, on a Sunday, probably between 1906 and 1909 (he could not exactly remember when). This made him realise that the Middle Ages did not announce the Renaissance, but were a dying tradition (Huizinga, 2016, p. 49). He describes the moment as "het overspringen van een vonk" – the transitions of a spark, or jolt. What is presented here is a perfect example of *Dasein*: the simultaneous occurrence of thought (Huizinga's epiphany), language (summarized in the simple conclusion but later in his book *Herfsttij*), and affect (the 'vonk').

What makes Brenkman's text unique is not necessarily the way in which he reads literary texts. His method of reading is a classic example of close reading. But the way in which he combines his reading with a philosophical preface and how he approaches the text from the perspective of both language and affect makes Brenkman's analyses stand out. Brenkman bases himself on a principle of Heidegger that we never merely sense something without understanding and naming it. "We hear *the door* shut *in the house* and never hear acoustic sensations or even mere sounds" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 6). Brenkman applies a literary and affective analysis of different tropes. Trope is broadly defined as "the act of *naming by misnaming*" Brenkman, 2020, p. 23). He studies poetry especially because he is convinced that "affect resides in the language of literature not in speaking *about* feelings but in the very speaking and way of speaking" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 9). Like Heidegger and other foundational thinkers that he uses throughout his book, Brenkman (2020) attributes special qualities to poetic language and poetry, because he sees in poetry "an original opening onto realms of language, experience, and being unmatched by other forms of discourse and thought" (p. 47).

In poetic language, we see the three-foldedness of *Dasein* most: "In 'poetical' discourse, the communication of the existential possibilities of one's state-of-mind can become an aim in itself, and this amounts to a disclosing of existence" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 6-7). Brenkman (2020), therefore, claims that "we can encounter and can analyze the relation of communication and state-of-mind as such" in poetical discourse (p. 8-9). For his analysis of poetical discourse, Brenkman (2020) formulates three hypotheses: firstly, "mood and trope are so intimately connected that there is not one without the other"; secondly, "affect – however apparently singular, immediate, and forceful – is complexly structured" meaning that "there is a many-sidedness and layeredness to emotion"; and thirdly, "the key to the discursive manifestation of affect lies in the *énunciation*, not the *énoncé* – that is, not in content[21], but in the saying or articulation itself" (p. 9). These hypotheses are as much the foundation for Brenkman's work as they are a statement against singular perspectives in literary studies. In each of the hypotheses, we see a need for plural approaches, a signal that one interpretation is not exhaustive.

For our analysis of historical experience in Huizinga's text and the translations of his work, I think Brenkman's hypotheses are key. The first hypothesis shows that analysing historical experience without its realisation in the text is impossible. The second hypothesis encourages caution in analysing the translations, to pick up the many-sidedness of the source text and the translations. If moods are many-sided and multi-layered, then the possibilities for translating them are many as well. Seeing as this analysis is limited to the analysis of one many-sided and multilayered mood, we cannot hope to always perfectly appreciate the complexity of that mood as it interacts with other moods in the text. This demands a humble and curious attitude towards the translation rather than a prescriptive or didactic stance. Prescriptivism and didacticism in the attitude of the translator towards the target text is an important topic in Translation Studies, as it will influence the translation choices made by the translator. In Chapter Four of this paper, we will see some of these effects. The third hypothesis provides a frame with which to limit this analysis, encouraging us to focus on the manner of saying rather than the content. If we are to understand historical experience, then, like Brenkman, we must use a mode of analysis that covers the triad of thought, language, and affect.

In order to better understand the mood or affect of historical experience, there are three aspects of Brenkman's analysis that I want to discuss briefly. Firstly, his discussion on temporality. Though Brenkman (2020) does not analyse it at length, his reading of Heidegger shows that mood is temporally located in the past, citing that "'one's state-of-mind ... temporalizes itself primarily in having been'" (p. 51).

[21] See Chapter One of this paper for a philosophical discussion on affective form in relation to historical experience.

Moods bring us back to past experiences. If this is the case in real life, then a work of history might benefit greatly from evoking moods familiar to the reader in order to transport that reader to the unfamiliar past. An important realisation is that a text "has no original, ultimate, or permanent meaning" because it exists in time (Brenkman, 2020, p. 56). Each encounter with the text by a reader is situated in time, part of a continuous interpretation of human history. The aim of history is to understand the past. Bringing about understanding is an important part of what makes a history a history and not another genre. A work of history is therefore not solely concerned with immersing the reader into the past through mood; it must also relate to the present (the reader reading) and the future (for the purpose of understanding). Just like Dasein, the text can at times be primarily concerned with the past, but will always be affected by the present and future as well.

Secondly, the authorship of literary creation is an important aspect of Brenkman's analysis. Through a comparison between Poe and Freud on the thoughts behind the authorship of "The Raven" and jokes respectively, Brenkman (2020) illustrates that these speech acts can have auto-affectation and allo-affectation as a result of "artistic calculation and creative frenzy" (p. 46). Auto-affectation happens when the reader identifies with the event sketched in the speech act, in the case of "The Raven", the increasing despair and heartache of the protagonist over the loss of his beloved. The poem incites a similar emotional response in the reader. That what is expressed is symmetrical to that which is received. Allo-affectation occurs when there is an asymmetry between affecting and being affected. Freud makes a distinction between a comical event and a joke, in which a joke must always be told to someone else. The construction of the joke is designed to catch the hearer unawares and occasion laughter (Brenkman, 2020, p. 45). The asymmetry lies in that the teller of the joke does not necessarily derive pleasure from the story as much as the receiver and the story need not mimic the laughter of the receiver in order the affect the receiver: the emotional response is a result of, but not symmetrical to the speech act. The idea that a literary work can be designed to have a particular emotional effect on the receiver "construes literature as an instance of rhetoric": literature (and poetry especially) persuades the reader to an attitude, a way of seeing, by its form (Brenkman, 2020, p. 46).

Thirdly, Brenkman touches upon an important distinction made by Heidegger surrounding the phenomenon of fear, which can be applied to any mood, affect, or emotion. He writes:

> Heidegger thus approaches the 'phenomenon of fear' not as a subjective state but as a phenomenon to be analyzed from 'three points of view': '(1) that in the face of which we fear, (2) fearing, and (3) that about which we fear'" (Brenkman, 2020, p. 5).

These three points of view can be applied to historical experience as well. Firstly, we have the point at which or that which causes us to experience history. Interestingly, we see that the point differs between the author, Huizinga, who has his *historische sensatie* on a walk, and the reader, who encounters it when reading the text that Huizinga wrote. Secondly, there's the affect of historical experience, that which we feel and the sensations, images, emotions and thoughts that go along with it. Thirdly, we have that about which we experience history, in our case the Burgundian court culture of the 15th century.

With Brenkman's triad of thought, language and affect and the aspects of temporality, literary creation, and three points of view towards experience in mind, I intend to devise a method with which to analyse historical experience. As there is, by my knowledge, no precedent for such an analysis, I will combine various modes of thought by looking at theoreticians in the fields of history, literary studies and linguistics. In this part of the paper, I will explore further how Brenkman's approach to the subject of mood and trope can help to understand historical experience. Firstly, using Peter Gay as my starting point, I will explore a stylistic approach to history. Then, I will discuss the themes of thought, language and affect in more detail, seeking connection with existing theories in their respective fields. This is followed by a part on the links between the three topics and translation theory to form a comprehensive method of analysis for the next chapters. Lastly, a short section on the aim and scope of this paper will serve to provide some structure and frame for the following analysis.

Enter: style

Brenkman analyses poetry while we are concerned with a work of cultural history. How to bridge this gap? Certainly, many have tried to come up with convincing arguments as to why and how literature and history are different modes of analysis/genres/sciences/modes of thought; it is a recurring topic in the philosophy of history. And yet, I think no reader would deny that there are poetic elements in Huizinga's *Herfsttij*. If we presume that mood, *Stimmung* or experience can be read, then surely at least a part of it must lie in style. We have already seen the link between presence and style in the work of Runia, who uses style figures such as metaphor and metonymy to describe the difference between the present and making present. Stylistics is a broad field of analysis that finds itself between, or connecting, literary analysis and linguistics. Style allows us to cover one corner of Brenkman's triad: language.

Hard to define as the concept of style may be, literary analysis simply cannot do without such a concept. One of the reasons that style is hard to work with as a concept is because it is so widely applied and covers a range of fields. Out of the twenty-seven definitions of the noun 'style' in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, even

the most relevant definitions illustrate the methodological problem of style: it can be applied to different objects, varying from the "manner of expression characteristic of a particular writer (hence of an orator), or of a literary group or period", to the "manner of discourse, or tone of speaking", but also to "[t]hose features of literary composition which belong to form and expression rather than to the substance of the thought or matter expressed" or "the manner in which a work of art is executed, regarded as characteristic of the individual artist, or of his time and place" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022b.). The wide applicability of style to an individual artist, a group of artists, a period, the features of composition, and the mode of execution illustrates that when we talk of style, there are numerous possible layers of interpretation. In addition, the notion of style may have different aspects, pertaining to "clearness, effectiveness, beauty", or "skilful work" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022b). Style may also simply be an evaluative marker in itself, in the sense of "[g]ood or fine style" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022b). The broad scope in object and aspect makes style widely applicable, but it also illustrates the lack of consensus in its definitions and application.

Andrea Pinotti, art historian, shows the different ideological implications of the use of style in art history. By analysing the theoretical and methodological discourse on art in the twentieth century, Pinotti is able to distinguish three main oppositions in the discourse of style: form and content, individual and general, and constancy and change. In his discussion on form and content, Pinotti shows that we tend to assume that style is about form, how things are expressed, rather than content, what is expressed. This is what is known as aesthetic "dualism" (Wales, 2011, p. 274). Some theoreticians, like Arthur Danto and Nelson Goodman, see this distinction as problematic. They argue that subtle variations in language create different meanings, therefore, form and content are not as easy to separate as may be theoretically desirable (Pinotti 4-5). This is what is called aesthetic "monism" (Wales 274). In the discussion on the possibility of translation, the debate of monism versus dualism will be revisited. It is important to keep in mind that the apparent dichotomy between content and form often is not as clear-cut as theoreticians make it appear and that not all theories discussed here will share this view. As we have seen earlier, Brenkman is also one of the theorists who favours a distinction between form and content; he chooses to focus on *énunciacion* rather than *énoncé*. And while I understand the need for limiting the scope of his research, as Brenkman tries to do, this is where this paper differs from Brenkman's theory. In my analysis of historical experience, form and content cannot be separated. As has been shown in the previous chapter, our concept of historical experience is inextricably linked to its content. Just as much, this chapter aims to show that it is linked to form. The main questions of the analysis are how historical experience transfers through form and how it transfers

in translation. The question of content is therefore equally essential as the question of form.

The second debate that Pinotti (2012) discusses centres around nominalists and universalists. The word style covers both nominalist views and universalist views. In the case of the former, style is applied to a narrow, individual scope, only relating to the body of works of a single author. In the case of the latter, style is applied to a group of artists (or authors) working together and sharing a particular aesthetic, and even to whole decades of art that share certain features (Pinotti, 2012). In his analysis of theorists like James Ackerman and Richard Wollheim, Pinotti (2012) shows that even those who favour a nominalist definition of style, have a tendency toward the universal in their argumentation. Neither the idea of individual style nor general style is without its problems as the construction of either touches upon the creation of a "psychological, physiological, intentional and motivational unity" that is "far from being an obvious and natural notion" (Pinotti, 2012, p. 8). As Pinotti describes, "'Style' can be seen as the ideal unity of a whole consisting of many heterogeneous traits" (Pinotti, 2012, p. 8). With this, Pinotti touches upon an important aspect of style, its 'inexistence': style exists in variations of itself but does not exist apart from its instantiation in concrete works. And this is also where the third opposition plays a role: constancy versus change. Style is often treated as a constant factor; something shared between a group of artists at a certain point in time. However, style at the same time marks change from a previous period or notes those elements that set an artist or group of artists apart from their contemporaries (Pinotti, 2012, p. 9-10). This retrospective determinism often leads to a teleological perspective on the development of styles throughout history. According to Pinotti, both anti-constancy and pro-constancy theorists recognize that this view is problematic. Especially Arthur Danto, known for his art criticism and philosophy of history, saw this as problematic. He argues that retrospective determinism prevents us from understanding past events without knowledge of their future. With his analysis of these three dualisms, Pinotti shows how descriptive style analyses may hide normative aims. He writes that "perhaps due to its flexible semantic power; [style] is able ... to embrace different and even opposite meanings", which may, in part, be the reason why keep using it (Pinotti, 2012, p. 12).

Now that we know a bit more about the discourse around style in art history, let us look at style in history. Peter Gay, historian, analyses the styles of influential historians such as Gibbon, Ranke, Macaulay, and Burckhardt. In his *Style in History,* Gay pleads for a similar approach to Brenkman; one that bridges the gap between the fields of language, thought, and affect.

Making a historical nod to the eighteenth century Comte de Buffon, known for his famous speech on style in discourse, Gay tries to discover the man and his

intentions through the writing. We might note that the Linguistic Turn might have rejected the idea of gleaning the author's intention from their writing. Scholars in this turn have distanced themselves from the notion, especially regarding the conflation of fiction and the author's intention, and have greatly contributed to what language can be studied for instead, such as form and structure. Heeding Brenkman's caution to beware of turns, it is good to keep these contributions in mind while at the same time remaining curious about Gay's endeavour. While Gay (1974) takes a historical approach to style, in the sense that he sees style as a historical source, he, at the same time, unpacks Buffon's speech and recognizes that not all can be learned about man through style and that style can say something about other things than man, such as aesthetics and culture (p. 5). Style, to Gay, is a way to analyse the past just like analysing other types of evidence is. Rather than applying style to the analysis of historical evidence, however, Gay applies style to an analysis of the historian. In this work, Gay analyses the styles of different seminal historians. The 'man' he tries to uncover is more of a methodology and an approach towards the past and the belief systems with which histories are built, rather than man in the midst of historical events. He writes:

> Partly idiosyncratic and partly conventional, partly selected and partly imposed by unconscious, professional, or political pressures, the devices of literary style are equally instructive, not always for the conclusive answers they supply but for the fertile questions they raise about the historian's central intentions and overriding interpretations, the state of his art, the essential beliefs of his culture – and, perhaps, about his insight into the subject (Gay, 1974, p. 8)

Gay sees style as an essential part of discourse, but unlike Buffon who takes a decidedly prescriptive stance on style, Gay values style for the questions it can raise about the practice of the historian.

Primarily, Gay (1974) looks at literary style: "the management of sentences, the use of rhetorical devices, the rhythm of narrations" (p. 7). He notes the unique qualities of the writings by Gibbon, Ranke, Macaulay, and Burckhardt. He typifies the authors with roles like poet or liberal and shows the unity between the art of writing and the scientific endeavour of writing history. And here, the boundaries between history and literature become vague: "The stylistic techniques that historians employ to state their truths resemble strikingly the techniques that novelists and poets employ to present fictions" (Gay, 1974, p. 190). While Gay cautions not to confuse the truth of fiction with the truth of history, he sees little difference in the way in which they are narrated. Once again we see the difference between *énunciacion* and *énoncé*: that which is stated may be different, but the way in which it is being said is not. And this opens up the possibilities for the analysis of historical experience. The

study of style in a work of history need not deviate from known methods of analysing the style of literary works.

And yet, there is something different about the way in which Gay approaches the topic of style. Gay does not merely write about literary style. When analysing the historian's style, using style "in its strict sense as [his] principle witness, [his] materials compelled [him] to reach out to other related forms of expression, to styles in looser senses of the word" (Gay, 1974, p. 8). And this is what I find deeply interesting about Gay's work. While he states that literary style is "the most prominent ... and most productive kind of style", he distinguishes three more kinds of style (Gay, 1974, p. 7). By looking at other forms of style, Gay adds to the concept of style and creates a unique framework with which I can analyse historical experience in a way that is inspired by the very material that is studied here as well: works of history.

Aside from literary style, Gay looks at the historian's 'emotional style', 'professional style' and 'style of thinking'. The emotional style is what he calls "the most revealing" of styles (Gay, 1974, p. 8). This includes the historian's "tone of voice as it emerges in the tension or repose of his phrases, [their] favourite adjectives, [their] selection of illustrative anecdotes, [their] emphasis and epigrams" (Gay, 1974, p. 8). Huizinga's selection and way of conveying certain anecdotes are remarkable and reveal much about his ideas on what historical experience is to him. We find much of the tension and emphasis in them. Also, his use of adjectives determines part of the tone of voice and is essential to establishing the mood of the narrative. These elements will feature in my model for analysis developed later in this chapter. The professional style is concerned with the way in which historians do their research and offer proof. "To know this is to know something about the sheer validity of each historian's conclusions, but it also delineates [their] attitude towards [their] material" (Gay, 1974, p. 9). While I am not concerned with the validity of any of Huizinga's claims, knowing more about Huizinga's attitude towards his material can give clues as to the historical experience of the text. Lastly, Gay (1974) names the style of thinking, "a convenient and telling phrase that relates style to content in more than a mere metaphorical sense" (p. 10). For Gay (1974), style of thinking is connected to the other types of style: "For a historian's most fundamental and therefore least examined assumptions about the nature of the world, its ontological makeup, also have their expressive aspects which may leave its traces in his literary, emotional, or professional style" (p. 10). With this description, Gay unites what for Brenkman has been separated: the seeming dichotomy of content versus form. While Brenkman, in his analysis, chooses to focus primarily on form rather than content, Gay would like us to see them as a unity.

Note that there is a profound difference in the way in which Brenkman and Gay approach the relation between language and emotion/affect. Brenkman, with a

literary gaze, looks at bodies of text informed by affect theory and a readerly perspective. Brenkman's view on language is one from a receiver's perspective; his question is how rhetorical devices are able to convey emotion and transfer them to the receiver. While Gay, with a background in history, approaches language as a historical artefact. His perspective on language is one from the writer's perspective. He wonders, how can we get to know the historian and their style; where does language betray the writer's emotion? Both perspectives on language are important to this thesis. In my understanding of the theoretical foundation of historical experience, the communication of historical experience must involve both the sender and the receiver. The translator, who is both reader and writer, can act as an intermediary or, at times, as a disturber of that communication. (Mis)interpretations, communicative purposes and target audiences, access to the author, stylistic choices, and all the different kinds of possible translation strategies may influence the communication process.

We have so far covered why it can be assumed that historical experience and its translation can be analysed through Brenkman's triad of language thought and affect and Gay's literary style, emotional style, professional style and style of thinking. As neither Brenkman nor Gay develops a particular method with which to do so, now is the time to devize a method. In the next sections, taking Brenkman's triad as the three dimensions of historical experience, this paper will explore how to analyse historical experience through style.

Thought

Perhaps thought seems the least relevant of the three dimensions of historical experience. After all, a literary analysis is concerned with language and our object of language is the mood of historical experience. Why go beyond that and include thought? While the philosophical framework of historical experience as sketched in the previous chapter is supportive of our understanding of historical experience as a *concept*, one dimension that can be added to the previous analysis is that of context. Understanding the situation of the author and the text can provide the context necessary to understand its *being*. This is in line with Gay's idea of the professional style and style of thinking, which is specifically related to the historian, their way of working, and their approach toward history. When we look at Gay's four-fold model of style, it can be seen that there is a correlation between style of thinking and literary style, just as there is a link between the situation of the author and their emotional style. An analysis of thought thus provides understanding and can be found in the text's context. And this is particularly relevant to the analysis of the translations. Most obviously, with translations ranging from contemporary to a rough thirty years past first publication, to a hundred years past publication, there are bound to be

differences in the understanding of the source text. But there is also a more fundamental question underlying this. Is historical experience timeless? Can this type of affect be translated to a different situation? Does it need to be updated in order to affect the reader?

Context is mostly understood from a historical perspective. As Jakob Ladegaards and Jakob Gaarbo Nielson (2019) argue:

> Theoretically speaking, there is little novelty in arguing that artistic form mediates the relationship between an artwork and its historical context. This was – in different ways – a core idea for influential Frankfurt School critics like Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno, and more recently for philosophers like Jacques Rancière (p. 3).

They warn us against the pitfall of a symptomatic or suspicious reading, characteristic of a psychoanalytic reading, which locks the work in power relations of the sociological dimensions of the past. Such a reading fails to engage with the present and is unable to relate to the meaning a work may have in the present. But it remains hard to provide a single one-size-fits-all model for contextual analysis, they say, for "[t]here is no one way of doing contextual analysis that fits all cases; the approach needs to be attuned to the particularities of the objects of study" (Ladegaards & Nielson, 2019, p. 4).

However, this does not mean we should do away with reading for intention entirely. John Farrel (2017) points out that there is "a widely shared assumption" in literary theory that "to accept the role of authorial intention would be to undermine the authority of the text as a bearer of the work's meaning in favor of an inaccessible mental construct notionally located in the author's mind" (p. 31). But what reading for intention really entails, according to Farrel, is recognizing a literary work in its various contexts. When we read for intentions, we underwrite "the status of a text as a linguistic action" (Farrel, 2017, p. 32).

Contextual inquiries into works of literature or history may address questions regarding the schooling of the author, their network, the publication history of the work in question, the political sphere surrounding the author or the text, the economic context or the local history, etc. Context is a rather broad term. For an analysis that focuses on historical experience, such questions seem irrelevant because they are far removed from the central theme. I am reminded once again of Huizinga's description of the spark, the historical experience that befell him on his walk in Damsterdiep. The situation of that occurrence is romantic: the author walking through the Groninger landscape, putting distance between himself from the bustling city and his home with his wife and children, the flat landscape a blank canvas for a new idea to be born, and then the sudden epiphany that catalyses a great work of history. Huizinga is a man of stories, as his biographies tell us. And maybe that is the

context that is needed here. Not in the sense of trying to gain a full understanding of everything that Huizinga wrote and read and inspired him; this will be effectively impossible. But being aware, and seeking connection, with the being that was Huizinga and the thoughts that may be equi-primordially connected to his stylistic expression of historical experience.

In linguistics, we often find context in the form of 'situation' or 'situatedness'. A well-known framework for analysing situational characteristics is provided by Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad in their *Register, Genre, Style.* Their model is divided into seven parts of analysis: participants, relations among participants, channel, production circumstances, setting, communicative purposes, and topic (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 41). Each of these aspects has a set of parameters with which to analyse a text.

The advantage of Biber and Conrad's model is that it does not offer any predetermined genres or characteristics into which a text must fit in order to be considered for a certain category. Huizinga's *Herfsttij* is a text that does not allow itself to be easily categorized in terms of genre or style. It is, without doubt, a work of history. But its historical accuracy or historical arguments are not typically revered when Huizinga's work is remembered. New interpretations of the Early Modern period have overshadowed Huizinga's proposal to see this age as part of the late Middle Ages. What is most striking about Huizinga's *Herfsttij* is the way in which it is written. This leaves us open to define Huizinga's work on its own terms. At the same time, the model provides a structural component for analysis which allows comparison with other texts. This combination is important because it does justice to the individuality of the text and allows for future further research into the translation of historical experience in other texts. What this model, in combination with Biber and Conrad's analysis, does well is that it provides a link between the situational characteristics and the lexico-grammatical aspects of the text. It is also very much a model of communication; the addresser and addressee are key elements in their model. As we will see later in this discussion, the model of communication is both essential and further complicated by the added factor of a translator. This is of special importance for our translation analysis, as the participants and communicative purposes differ with each translation. This is of relevance both to our attitude towards the translations when analysing them as well as the content of the analysis, where it can be seen reflected in certain translations that have been made. The model supplies, perhaps not a whole, but some supporting pillars for a bridge with which to form a connection over the fold between thought and language.

I want to zoom in on the communicative purpose briefly. The communicative purpose of the text explains the "why" of the communication (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 45). Biber and Conrad define a set of parameters with which to

describe the communicative purpose. First, they distinguish 'general purposes' and 'specific purposes'. The general purpose can be seen as the main purpose of the text in its entirety, while specific purposes come to the fore in different parts of the text. Biber and Conrad take as their example an academic research paper, which typically follows the structure of Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 45). These sections all have their own specific purposes, and the register varies between sections to communicate the purpose of each section. It is also possible for a text to combine multiple communicative purposes, which Biber and Conrad call hybrids. A second parameter is 'purported factuality'; this parameter is concerned with the question of whether the addresser intends to convey "factual information, personal opinion, speculation, or fiction/fantasy" (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 47). As texts frequently switch between and mix these elements, it may be an interesting analysis with which to glean some of Huizinga's intentions with his text. The last parameter is 'expression of stance'. This parameter includes all allusions to the addresser's personal attitudes, such as opinions, and epistemic stance, the extent to which the addresser is certain of the information being given.

While we may gain insight into the addresser's intention through the communicative purposes expressed in their register, Biber and Conrad do not think the same is possible for style. They state that stylistic variations are independent of situational characteristics, which are of more influence in register and genre (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 31). Does this mean that style variations are not situational? Biber and Conrad (2009) define style as any lexico-grammatical feature, frequently occurring, chosen for its aesthetic value rather than its function (p. 16). They argue that style is often analysed for specific genres of text. Within the literary genre, style can be analysed per author, group of authors, or historical period. Biber and Conrad (2009) maintain that any style differences "[reflect] differing attitudes towards language, or attempts to achieve different aesthetic effects through the manipulation of language." (pp. 18-19) In their definition, literary texts have little functional communicative purpose that may explain stylistic variation. The "situational analysis of styles is less relevant because writers and speakers are deliberately manipulating linguistic form for aesthetic effects, regardless of the actual situational context" (Biber & Conrad, 2009, pp. 51-52) and "...the primary goal of fiction is not to convey information, but rather to tell a story, with the underlying goals of entertaining or providing social commentary in an entertaining way" (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 112).

This may be due to a lacking understanding of functional communication, but to describe stylistic choices in literary genres as mainly aesthetic and to place aesthetics in opposition to function seems unnecessary and forced. In this way, Biber and Conrad create a dichotomy between form and content, which, as we have seen in Gay's writings, is neither necessary nor desirable for our model of analyis as we try to

bridge gaps rather than uphold them. Biber and Conrad seem to suggest that literary style is mainly decorative and holds little meaning in the communication process aside from entertainment. For them, what they call register serves a more profound purpose in communicating a message. The stylistic devices that are often employed in literary style have a long tradition in oral history, political speeches and classical philosophy, serving mnemonic purposes, persuasion, and veracity. They are tools that support the function of literary texts in enabling readers to share what they have heard or read, affecting their emotions, thoughts, actions even, and transporting the reader into different worlds.

Biber and Conrad focus mainly on register analysis, connecting contextual information to linguistic markers. This is in a sense comparable to Peter Gay's approach to a historian's style. In his case, language is a sign of the context of the author; in Biber and Conrad's case, register and genre are a sign of the situation of the communication. The resemblance is that there is a gateway between language and historical reality. Therefore, the idea that an author deliberately manipulated their linguistic form becomes a problem. Reality is distorted. But the idea, that there is manipulated and unmanipulated language, can be problematized in and of itself. And if not the manipulation, then the idea that manipulating for aesthetic or communicative purposes is mutually exclusive can be problematized. This is an artificial line that is very hard to draw. Even Biber and Conrad themselves run into this problem when dealing with the register of fiction. They argue that "[t]he investigation of fiction thus incorporates analysis of style into the register analysis" because "[f]iction is [...] distinguished from almost all other registers by including imaginary worlds and authors' stylistic choices, which actually have more influence on the linguistic characteristics than the real-world situational characteristics do" (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 112). Fiction shows how difficult it is to support the differentiation between register and style that Biber and Conrad have made. It should not be inconceivable that situational characteristics such as topic and communicative purposes ask for certain stylistic adaptations in order to communicate effectively. Nor should these features be immediately classified as register rather than style, simply because they are connected to situational characteristics.

John Farrel, mentioned previously, recognizes the problem of artistic style and communicative purposes by distinguishing three modes of authorial intention: communicative intentions, artistic intentions, and practical intentions. The sequence of these levels of intention can be seen as a level of abstraction. Communicative intentions are what Farrel (2017) calls "simple" (pp. 36-37). They merely intend the reader to understand the text, and grasp how sentences coexist to form a work. Practical intentions are the opposite of communicative intentions; practical intentions motivate the author to create their work (Farrel, 2017, p. 38). These can be

egoistic, like gaining status or the power to influence opinion, or idealistic, like changing the world or giving others pleasure. The artistic intentions entail the literary effect that the author intends to create: "to move, amuse, perplex, inspire, instruct, or infuriate the reader, using all means at hand – verbal skill, mastery of structure, imagery, metaphor, narrative forms and genres, or the flouting of any of these" (Farrel, 2017, p. 39).

These three levels of intentions function differently within the context of the work. The communicative intentions are most visible; they are present in every fibre of the text. The practical intentions are least visible; they reside mostly in the realm of context. Practical intentions "may affect our attitude towards the author as a moral being and color our experience of the work". They do not, however, change the meaning of a work as a work of art. Artistic intentions are visible in the text, and they depend on the success of communicative intentions, but they themselves need not be consciously recognized. Artistic intentions are not limited to the context of the work itself for they can stand in dialogue with others through "a competitive display of skill and technique" that can become part of the works meaning (Farrel, 2017, p. 39). As we will see with *Herfsttij*, Huizinga's attempt to invent a new way of doing history and his position as, what is now called, the first cultural historian, sets his body of work apart from other historians. And this new way of doing history also influenced the use of language. While some works have a message, others may aim to create an experience. On this, Farrel (2017) remarks that "experience may be enhanced by the work's refusal to communicate", with which he refers to the artistic quality of ambiguity, "as well by its success in doing so" (p. 38). The author's artistic intentions therefore seem the most relevant to my analysis of historical experience.

Language

If we take our case in point, *Herfsttij* is a unique iteration of style. From a register perspective like the one Biber and Conrad propose, one might expect a historical text to contain many facts and dates and sources. But those elements do not communicate the atmosphere of the Middle Ages: Huizinga's style does. Huizinga's style is not consistent throughout his oeuvre; it evolves or adapts with each book (Otterspeer, 2006). Nor is his style entirely a reflection of the time. While it shares stylistic features with the style of the Tachtigers, its situational characteristics are different from those authors. Nor are there other historians that take the same approach, warranting a register perspective. *Herfsttij* might be an anomaly, or, as I would like to believe, Huizinga is an author that makes stylistic choices based on his communication purposes. Which would explain the differences in style between his books, which range across different topics, levels of political engagement, time periods studied, and approaches to history.

Especially in the case of *Herfsttij*, where we are dealing with a text in an academic register, I contend that the stylistic choices, which lean more towards a literary genre than a historical one, are not there simply for aesthetic purposes, nor do they merely entertain. Roman Jakobson (2010), on the topic of the separation between linguistics and poetics, writes:

> This separation of the two fields from each other is based on a current but erroneous interpretation of the contrast between the structure of poetry and other types of verbal structure: the latter are said to be opposed by their 'causal', designless nature to the 'noncausal', purposeful character of poetic language. (p. 1145).

Jakobson finds the connection between poetics and linguistics in philological phenomena and language structure.

In *Style in Fiction*, Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short (2007) offer a starting point for the analysis. They suggest a simple yet elaborate model for the linguistic analysis of fictional prose (Leech & Short, 2007, pp. 61-66). Their model is intended for the English language, but the language differences between Dutch and English are not so substantial that the model cannot be applied to Dutch texts.

What fiction and *Herfsstij* have in common, something that struck me in Biber and Conrad's description, is their creation of imaginary worlds. Fiction presents fictional worlds, and Huizinga presents history through imagination in a similar fashion. He is an imaginative author, who is able to use (whether deliberately or not) his stylistic abilities to engage the reader's imagination and affect it. As Gay (1974) states eloquently:

> Man lives in several worlds at once, most notably in his private sphere, in the comparatively intimate realm of his craft, and in the wide public domain of his culture. [...] A mature literary style is a synthesis of all these elements, variously combined; it is, therefore, at once individual and social, private and public, a combination of inherited ways, borrowed elements, and unique qualities. (p. 11)

Conrad and Biber's academic distinction between register and style is therefore unsuitable for this analysis. A broader definition of style is necessary if we wish to understand *Herfsttij*. What matters is the idea that we can connect language and thought by asking questions about the communicative purpose of the text and its topic. Therefore, I would argue that *Herfsttij's* poetic style is crucial in communicating the historical experience of the late Middle Ages/early Renaissance court culture. The stylistic variations in *Herfsttij* must have a connection with the situational characteristics of communication purposes and topic, in Biber and Conrad's model. Or perhaps it is exactly the aesthetics that communicate the experience and therefore serve perhaps the main communicative purpose of this text.

In his *The Rhetoric of Fictionality*, Richard Walsh (2020) also encounters this problem. He writes that fictionality has often posed a problem for communication models because of fictionality's complicated relationship with truth (Walsh, 2020). While theories so far have displaced rather than addressed the problem, Walsh proposes to see fictionality in the light of relevance rather than truth. He argues that fictionality functions within a communicative framework, for "it resides in a way of using a language, and its distinctiveness consists in the recognizably distinct rhetorical set invoked by that use" (Walsh, 2020, p. 15). Crucially, fiction achieves relevance "incrementally, through the implication of various cognitive interests or values that are not contingent upon accepting the propositional truth of the utterance itself and upon the deployment, investment, and working through of those interests in narrative form" (Walsh, 2020, p. 30). The reader is willing to follow the development of a narrative through an established sense of relevance; without relevance, the narrative would not take hold. After relevance, narrative, therefore, proves a vital element in fictionality. Narrative allows the reader to access the 'cognitive interests and values' of a work of fiction.

Narrative theory has, in its interdisciplinary ambition, often conflated fiction with non-fiction (Walsh, 2020, p. 39). For Walsh (2020), this conflation undermined the fictionality of the text. It can be seen that in this chapter, there is some ambiguity towards the fictionality of Huizinga's text because the theories with which to analyse *Herfsttij* proposed here deal with all kinds of diction, whether historical, literary, poetic, or real-world language. Walsh (2020) argues that there are important rhetorical differences between fiction and non-fiction. However, when we look at historical experience, I would argue that historical experience bears more similarities with fictionality in evoking experiences and aims to pull the reader into the narrative, rather than a non-fictional evocation of objectivity and its goal to inform by bringing structure.

One such theorist, whom Walsch debates, is Hayden White. Perhaps the most well-known narrative theorist in the field of history, White cannot easily be overlooked when writing about history and style. White emphasized the function of narrative within the context of history. In his time, White was more radical than other narrative theorists in that he argued that "histories gain part of their explanatory effect by their success in making stories out of *mere* chronicles; and stories in turn are made out of chronicles by an operation which I have elsewhere called 'emplotment'" (White, 1974, p. 280). Using stylistic features such as "characterization, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like", the historian calls to mind images with which we can look at historical events (White, 1974, p. 281).

White refers to R. G. Collingwood, who "insisted that the historian was above all a story-teller" (White, 1974, p. 280). But White also criticizes Collingwood for failing to see "that no given set of casually recorded historical events in themselves constitute a story" (White, 1974, p. 281). Historical narratives are not simply models of past events; they have a mimetic quality. According to White (1974), historical narratives are verbal fictions, "the contents of which are as much *invented* as *found* and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those of the sciences" (p.278). These verbal fictions reside neither in the past nor in historical artefacts; they are created by the historian through emplotment. Emplotment is defined as "providing the 'meaning' of a story by identifying the *kind of story* that has been told" (White, 1973, p. 7). By describing the story of history in such a way that it resembles a romance, comedy, tragedy or satire, the historian explains events in that way of understanding (White, 1973, p. 7). This is especially a feature of nineteenth-century historians, White argues as he traces the realisms of Michelet, Ranke, Tocqueville, and Burckhardt. In late-nineteenth-century philosophy of history, White (1973) distinguishes three modes of history: the metonymical mode, represented by Marx; the metaphorical mode, represented by Nietzsche; and the ironic mode, represented by Croce. These modes signify the approach with which historians can shape their explanation strategies on the levels of argument, employment and ideological implication (White, 1973, p. 426).

But, White (1974) argues, historical events are not in themselves tragic, comedic, ironic, or romantic. At most, historical events can offer story elements. By subordinating some story elements and highlighting others, historians encode unfamiliar historical data into these culturally provided categories (White, 1974, p. 295). By doing this, they are able to make the unfamiliar familiar. This is what White calls the metaphoric character of historical narrative: "the metaphor does not *image* the thing it seeks to characterize, *it gives directions* for finding the set of images that are intended to be associated with that thing." (White, 1974, p. 291). Historical narratives tell the reader "what images to look for in our culturally encoded experience in order to determine how we *should feel* about the thing represented" (White, 1974, p. 291). This seems to suggest that the narrative of a history, its mode of argumentation, emplotment and ideology, determine the affect of the reader.

Equally influential in the Narrative Turn in history is Hans Kellner. Kellner (1997) looks at histories through, what he calls, a 'crooked reading', which foregrounds "the constructed, rhetorical, nature of our knowledge of the past" (p. 134). In his article, Kellner discusses four aspects of narrative construction that are important to understanding how historical representation is brought about. One of these four narrative aspects is the beginning and ending of a narrative. He argues that

beginnings and endings of historical narratives demonstrate "in an obvious way how the fundamental choices made by historians affect the stories they tell and reveal the nature of their historical understanding" (Kellner, 1997, p. 134). Just like history is in no way inherently tragic or comedic (as White has argued), history does not necessarily have beginnings and endings. Even seemingly straightforward genres like autobiographies, for example, do not necessarily follow the natural cycle of birth to death: noteworthy events may happen at the beginning, middle, end, or any moment of a person's life. Nor is it always clear where historical periods start and end, and plenty of debates show how relative periodization is to factors such as space and political views. Beginnings and endings are therefore significant indicators of the historian's perception of the topic they are discussing as well as vital clues to understanding their artistic intentions. A narrative beginning and its end, after all, are often selected for specific purposes.

The importance of metaphors is pointed out as a second narrative aspect. Kellner is particularly interested in regularly used metaphors rather than specific ones used for the adornment of the text. These metaphors are clustered into groups: organic metaphors, such as "figures of growth, life-cycles, roots, seeds, and so on"; metaphors of time, "with their rises and falls"; metaphors regarding the weather, "weather catastrophes, seasons, twilight"; metaphors relating to movement, the "flow of events, crossroads, wheels"; technical metaphors, "of construction, gears, chains"; theatrical metaphors, like "figures of stage, actors, contests"; and lastly "the figure of History as pedagogue, ever 'teaching' 'lessons'" (Kellner, 1997, p. 135). Kellner feels that these 'regulative' metaphors have a particular role in generating explanation in history. Through these metaphors, historical events can be narrated in such a way that the sequence of events can obtain meaning.

Like Hayden White and Paul Ricoeur, who maintain that all understanding of meaning in time is narrative-based, Kellner takes narrative understanding as the essence of history writing. It comes as no surprise that Kellner names emplotment as another narrative aspect. This is the idea that history is emplotted by the historian through narrative in order to create meaning. According to Kellner (1997), the "emphasis on historical emplotment is an enormous advance over previous ways of reading history because it spotlights the innumerable choices that must be made at every turn" (p. 135). This fits in with Kellner's idea of reading crookedly in the sense that narratives are based on choices made by a historian. In Kellner's opinion, it is impossible to achieve a perfect historical narrative. Reading crookedly is all about seeing the many choices historians have made out of even more possible options. On this basis, he maintains that history is not advanced by unearthing new facts about the past. Kellner (1997) himself seems to lean more towards a second, polar opposite view, "that suggests that history is not 'about' the past as such, but rather about our

ways of creating meaning from the scattered, and profoundly meaning*less* debris we find around us" (p. 137). The 'facts' of history "are 'taken' in large part from the language and cultural understanding within which they must be expressed, and thus possess a literary dimension that invades the very act of research itself." (Kellner, 1997, p. 137)

This leads us to the last narrative aspect of history: sources. The attitude of the historian towards history will inevitably affect the way in which the historian deals with their sources. This was also an important aspect of Peter Gay's professional style. While all historians inevitably deal with sources, there is no one standardized way to describe them, how to create meaning from them, or how to place them in a sequence so that a narrative can be told about them. The way in which a historian deals with sources is therefore personal, though partly inspired or influenced by their education or mode of the time. Additionally, how sources are dealt with is influenced by ideology. Looking at how a historian deals with sources can tell us more about the underlying philosophy of history that the historian in question adheres to.

Affect

In one important sense, this exploration of historical experience and its redefinition as a working concept of affective form goes against Huizinga's original interpretation. As discussed in the previous chapter, Huizinga stressed that historical experience lies in the beholder, it is a sensation of a time past, combined with an utmost conviction of its truthfulness, that is only evoked by a catalyst. It is not something the historian can add to his work through his choice in phrasing. But when we lay this statement alongside contemporary theories of the affect of text, we find that word choice can influence the experience of a text. Knudsen and Stage (2015), name "formal or stylistic characteristics of communication if affect" as one of the five analytical strategies that can be used to trace the presence of affects (p.9). Therefore, it is my conviction that it is possible to come to a stylistic interpretation of historical experience as affect.

If historical experience is affective, then its place lies somewhere in this exchange between the object, that which triggered the experience, and the subject, the experiencer. Affect signifies the important relation between a text and its beholder. As Runia (2006b) writes, "we *want* to be affected" by the past (p. 309). Human culture, with memorials, memories, historic sights, histories and the like is a sufficient example of this desire. Affect is a way to describe the type of exchange that we encounter when discussing historical experience. To Huizinga, historical experience is a sensation that is evoked. The element that is responsible for this evocation is seen merely as a catalyst of the sensation that takes place in the beholder or the reader (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). It resembles somewhat what Sianne Ngai (2005) describes as "tone", the "literary or cultural artefact's feeling tone: its global or organizing affect,

its general disposition or orientation toward its audience and the world" (p. 28). It is, Ngai (2005) states:

> the formal aspect of a literary work that makes it possible for critics to describe a text as, say, 'euphoric' or 'melancholic,' and, what is much more important, the category that makes these affective values meaningful with regard to how one understands the text as a totality within an equally holistic matrix of social relations (p. 28).

In the debates that surround affect theory and affect studies, the question of how affect and audience relate is one of no minor importance. While Eugenie Brinkema (2014), a major theoretician who proposes a radical formal analysis to affect, seeks to "dethrone the subject and the spectator – and attendant terms such as 'cognition', 'perception', 'experience', even 'sensation'" (p.36), this reading values the relationship between the affect of historical experience and its spectator, arguably even sees this relationship as crucial.

Shore (2014) recognizes the important, yet problematic, contribution of affect, which she defines as "an immediate, prereflective response" that is "both elemental and elusive, precisely because in order to grasp it we have to reflect upon it, at which point it is no longer itself" (p. 205). She places affect "at the center" of what historians do, and argues that "an attempt to make ourselves [historians] affectless would involve an undesirable muting of our sensitivity" (Shore, 2014, p. 205). In her afterword to *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Sara Ahmed (2014) notices that for her, "it did not make sense to proceed by separating affect and emotion" because of the "contiguity between different aspects of experience (sensation, thought, feeling, judgement)" (p. 210).

In literary studies, affect theory is often understood as an interdisciplinary approach that combines the writings of psycho-analytic theorists with discoveries in the field of neuroscience. In this paper, affect is understood more in the sense of aesthetic affect, as defined in the *Oxford Companion to Emotion and the Affective Sciences*. The *Oxford Companion* distinguishes three kinds of emotions in art: representation of emotions in art, expression of emotions through art, and emotions aroused by art (Sander & Scherer, 2009, p. 6). When applied to historical experience in *Herfsttij,* all three kinds are at play. We could argue that *Herfsttij* represents the emotions of the late Middle Ages, as it is a study of the life and thought of that period. The work can be said to represent Huizinga's epiphany, which is expressed in the work. And it can be said that *Herfsttij* arouses the experience of the middle ages in the reader, making them aesthetically experience that period in time.

Marci Shore, intellectual historian, adds some practical aspects to the matters of experience and evocation in the history of ideas. Referring to Dilthey and Husserl, she states that the imaginative leap by which the suspension of disbelief, a

necessary condition in order to evoke the experience of the past, involves "bracketing" and "context" (Shore, 2014, p. 200). 'Bracketing', a term used by Husserl, refers to the frame of mind in which the (historical) knowledge of what comes afterwards is ignored. The ending, in a sense, of which someone with a retrospective gaze is aware, is put aside in order to immerse into the past. Context, more specifically historical context, provides a means to immerse in the Zeitgeist, or even the *Stimmung* of the past. For Shore (2014), this "meant much direct quotation and a certain kind of writing. It has meant softening my own voice to allow the voices of the others of times past to wrap themselves around the reader" (p. 201, emphasis added). Sadly, Shore does not further define what she means with this 'certain kind of writing', but her vague description points, nevertheless, to a correlation between affect and form.

The peculiar style of *Herfsttij* illustrates that Huizinga attempted to translate his historical experience into a 'sensitivist' style (Ankersmit, 2005, p. 133). A good place to start this analysis is by looking at a similar literary phenomenon, one that Huizinga also took inspiration from: *sensatie.* Marked as an impressionist movement of Dutch literature in the 1880s, the 'Beweging van Tachtig' tried to express its feelings radically, focussing on feelings of love and beauty, using sensitivist language. The movement was a radical countermovement initiated by young students and artists; Lodeweyk van Deyssel. They heavily criticized mainstream Romantic literature for its moralistic message and conservative rhetoric. The 'Tachtigers' wanted to celebrate beauty and adopted the credo L'Art pour l'art wholeheartedly (Algemeen letterkundig lexicon, n.d.). They wanted to capture the "allerindividueelste emotie", the most individual experience, by creating unity in subject and form (Algemeen letterkundig lexicon, n.d.). It is not surprising therefore that it was here, in this movement, that the concept of '*sensatie'* was born and defined.

Sensitivity of senses, also called Sensitivism, was characteristic of the literature and poetry produced by the Tachtigers (Kemperink, 1988, p. 11 ; Algemeen letterkundig lexicon, n.d.). For some of the authors, this not only entailed the representation of physical and emotional suffering of some of the characters, as we see in romantic and naturalistic novels, but also the sensitivity of the author which led them to more metaphysical experiences (Kemperink, 1988, p. 11). Expressing these emotions in art was a unique style feature shared by the Tachtigers. Sensitivism wasn't just a representation of senses like smell, sound, touch, and sight, but also an intense experience that felt as though it was sensed physically. While historical experience and Sensitivism differ philosophically, as discussed in the previous chapter, some of the literary characteristics may be shared between sensitivist prose and historical experience. It is therefore prudent to look at the characteristics of the Tachtigers' style.

In *Van observatie tot extase: Sensitivistisch proza rond* 1900, Kemperink (1988) discusses a list of characteristics of *sensatie*, as defined by Lodewijk van Deyssel. This includes terms such as abruptness, defamiliarization, mystery, timelessness, dynamics, synesthesia, and activity of senses (Kemperink, 1988, p. 86). Notably, *sensatie* is hard to put into words and transcends the notion of time (Kemperink, 1988, p. 87). It can be seen that there is a remarkable resemblance between *sensatie* and *historische sensatie* as defined by Johan Huizinga, who also had a difficult time to describe exactly what he had experienced. It might be interesting to see how Huizinga's stylistics affects relate to these characteristics provided by van Deyssel.

Especially features that contribute to defamiliarization and the activity of senses seem relevant to the concept of historical experience. As discussed above, the idea of familiarizing the unfamiliar is of special importance in history in general. By making the unfamiliar past familiar, history attains its meaning in the present. The activity of senses may especially contribute to the experience of the past and the creation of that mental image that both Huizinga and White have mentioned. Marci Shore (2014) argues that defamiliarization is important in the writing of history for another reason: "the writing of good history should disrupt a certain intellectual and emotional complacency" (p. 208). The writing of history should affect the reader in the aspects of both thought and emotion. She compares this disruption to the literary concepts of the 'face-to-face encounter with the other' by Levinas and ostranenie by Shklovsky (Shore, 2014, p. 208). These literary devices are part of what gives history writing meaning and cultivates "the ability to make an imaginative leap into the minds and lives of others – that is, the cultivation of empathy itself" (p. 208). Defamiliarization is thus seen as an important textual aspect which allows the reader to distance themselves from their own situational context and emotionally connect with that which is described of the past.

Style and translation studies

When Translation Studies talks of style, it is almost always in relation to literary texts, or hardly at all. In textbooks on Translation Studies style seems more like an afterthought than a topic in Translation Studies. In *Introducing Translation Studies* by Jeremy Munday (2008), for instance, style is only mentioned on a few occasions, but never a topic of discussion. In *Denken over vertalen*, edited by Ton Naaijkens et al., we only find mention of style in the articles on translation strategies for tropes and schemes (2010). Susan Basnett (2014) devotes a large portion of her book *Translation Studies* on the dilemmas in literary translation, but makes no mention of the importance of style, and rarely refers to stylistic aspects. In the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, style does not have its own entry, but is mentioned briefly in the section on "Translation as Text", with references to Tim Park's *Style in*

Translation and Jean Boase-Beier's *Translation and Style* (Baker & Saldanha, 2009, p. 153). Style is mentioned in other entries as well, but not as a topic of discussion. Similarly, style is mentioned in Lawrence Venuti's *The Translation Studies Reader*, but never discussed at length as a translation issue (2012).

In *Literary Translation*: *A Practical Guide*, three pages are dedicated to the topic of style in translation. Here, Landers (2001) argues that "'style', in a translator is an oxymoron" because "the translator strives to have no style at all", only trying to convey the style of the SL author (p. 90). Only through consistency in the many translation choices in a book-length translation results in "a style" (Landers, 2001, p. 91). Landers' definition of style only pertains to the translator. Landers (2001) conveys a prominent opinion in Translation Studies that the translator should be invisible (p. 90). Jean Boase-Beier (2020) supports that "[t]he translator writes a new text when translating, and so the style of the target text is an expression of the translator's choices" (p.5). The correlation between the TT and ST is achieved through a cognitive process that includes poetics, rather than stylistics. For Boase-Beier, (2018), this requires an awareness of the poetics of the TT: "the translator's understanding of the poetics that informed the source text forms part of her or his cognitive context (the total sum of her or his knowledge, beliefs and attitudes)" (p. 200). With this cognitive context, the translator then "reconstructs" the poetics of the ST (Boase-Beier, 2018, p. 200). Mona Baker (2018) has a more political view on the role of the translator in reconstructing the ST: "[t]ranslation can then be understood as a form of (re)narration that participates in constructing the world rather than merely a process of transferring semantic content from one language to another, accurately or otherwise" (p. 180). For Baker, the translation process is more politically charged than for Landers and Boase-Beier.

A more practical approach to style can be found in *Translating Style* by Tim Parks. Through elaborate analyses of practical examples of Italian translations of Modernist English literature, Parks discusses an array of topics relating to the literary translation of style. But Parks' book is no textbook, and therefore offers little but illuminating and inspiring readings of ST examples and their translations. There is no method or strategy for translators that could provide a template for the method of this paper.

The concept of style in Translation Studies is no less varied than it is in art history. In *Vertalen wat er staat*, Arthur Langeveld defines style as a combination between content and form, but in the practice of his analysis the translation of style, he is mostly concerned with aesthetics: 'good' style. He describes that certain structures may sound well in the ST, but not so much in other languages (Langeveld, 2008, p. 125). Many of the translation strategies he has discussed are therefore motivated by style (Langeveld, 2008, p. 124). Langeveld further distinguishes

between individual style and collective style. For the translation of collective style, Langeveld touches upon the topics of register, dialect and sociolect, temporal differences, and genre. Individual style proves a difficult case for literary translators; they have to find balance between faithfulness to the idiosyncratic choices of the ST author and the readability of the TT (Langeveld, 2008, pp. 162-164). Langeveld recommends a stylistic analysis of the ST, likewise following the model for stylistic analysis by Leech and Short (2007). It is important for the translator to try to understand the intention of the author with certain foregrounded style elements, as well as realise what effect this may have on the reader (Langeveld, 2008, p. 169). Then, the translator can try to formulate how, by approximation that is, these style elements may be reflected in the TT (Langeveld, 2008, p. 169). Langeveld (2008) stresses that equivalence of style does not reside in using the same ways to achieve the same effect; one must keep in mind the communicative purpose rather than stay all too close to the form with which those purposes are achieved (p. 169).

Stylistic features are one of the most difficult features to translate, according to Langveld (2008, p. 128). He finds that there are even less similarities between languages stylistically than there are in the denotative meaning of words (Langeveld, 2008, p. 128). For him, the translation of style is mostly concerned with what translators can permit themselves in the eye of public criticism. Too much creative licence, or too little attention to the flow of the sentence, and the translator might run the risk of negative reviews (Langeveld, 2008, p. 174). The affordability of translation strategies differs for collective and individual style. Whereas in the translation of collective style, a compensation strategy might be a useful tool, this same strategy in the translation of individual style asks too much of the creativity of the author (Langeveld, 2008, p. 174).

Langeveld touches upon the discussion of aesthetic monism and dualism that we have seen previously in Pinotti's article. According to Langeveld (2008), when one believes that translation of style is possible, this automatically means that one has a dualist perspective on language (p. 127). This is an interesting statement to reflect upon. Previously, this paper has argued for the importance of monism in the concept of historical experience. Form and content were argued to be inseparable. But does this mean that historical experience is untranslatable? This seems like a different question entirely. Firstly, a distinction can be made to what degree content and form are inseparable. Langeveld describes a more strict form of monism, in which linguistic equivalence is impossible. In the understanding of this paper, content and form are inseparable in the sense that language, thought and affect equally determine the affect of historical experience. By following Brenkman's triad (2020), content and form cannot be separated in the sense that each is always present at the same time. This does not mean that content or form cannot be analysed separately. Brenkman

separates form from content by focussing on form. For the analysis of historical experience, however, this would result in missing too much vital information, because historical experience is an interaction between form and content. Thus, in the analysis of historical experience, it is important to always look for the implications of one when analysing the other.

Secondly, Langeveld assumes that monism automatically excludes the possibility for translation. When form and content are seen as one, there is no sense of sameness in the process of translation: a different expression conveys a different meaning, therefore, an expression in the ST differs from an expression in the TT. When we consider that different languages have different histories, cultures, situations, etc., then we might be inclined to believe that translation is impossible. This would certainly be a monist perspective. However, it seems like a rather radical conclusion. And while dualism does see possibility for translation, a complete separation between form and content also seems extreme. As Pinotti (2012) shows through his discussion, these dichotomies are ideological choices. There is a possibility for a middle ground between the extremes of these dichotomies. The middle ground may be found in another important concept in Translation Studies: equivalence.

Equivalence is an approximation of sameness, but not necessarily an exact copy of it. In Nida's definition, equivalence can be distinguished on two levels: "formal equivalence" and "dynamic equivalence" (as cited in Munday, 2008, p. 42). In formal equivalence, both form and content are important in conveying the message of the ST as best as possible (Munday, 2008, p. 42). In dynamic equivalence, it is the aim of the translator to produce an equivalent effect between the TT and the target audience as compared to the ST and the source audience. In Nida's view, the translator should aim for equivalent effect by "making sense", "conveying the spirit and manner of the original", "having a natural and easy form of expression" and "producing similar responses" (Munday, 2008, p. 42).

One of the main problems with Nida's theory is that dynamic equivalence is hard to measure (Munday, 2008, p. 43). While Nida's distinction has received ample criticism, Munday (2008) shows that similar concepts have been proposed by David Newmark (pp.45-46) and Werner Koller (p.47) and that equivalence remains an important concept in contemporary Translation Studies (p.48-49). Koller, inspired by Nida, distinguished five types of equivalence: denotative, connotative, text-normative, pragmatic, and formal (Munday, 2008, p. 48). It is interesting to see that he, too, distinguishes form from effect; Koller groups the aspects of "stylistic effect" and "emotion" under connotative equivalence and "rhyme, metaphor, and other stylistic forms" under formal equivalence (as cited in Munday, 2008, p. 48).

Mona Baker also uses the term equivalence, but stresses how it is always relative because of linguistic and cultural factors (Munday, 2008, p. 49).

In Munday's discussion of equivalence in Translation Studies, it becomes apparent that Nida's ideas stem from a different turn than those of his critics. This does not mean to say that the criticism is invalid. But, like Mona Baker, we can acknowledge that Nida's concepts are tricky, while still trying to see their use within the context of this paper's subject. As for the criticism on Nida's idea of equivalence, this paper proposes a relationship between style and affect that should solve the problem of how to measure the effects of the translation on the reader. While not based on empirical research, which might be more in line with the scientific approach that Nida was aiming for, the analysis of style within the context of affect offers a basis for comparison between the ST and its TTs.

Baker's remark about the relativity of equivalence is partly addressed by stressing the importance of the situational characteristics of the ST and TTs. The relativity of equivalence can be taken as far as individual readers' experiences, or even each individual reading occasion. In this paper, the reader is more abstract, a constructed ideal reader based on the understanding of the researcher, the situational characteristics of the texts, and the intended audience as constructed through an analysis of the situational characteristics and the production circumstances of the texts. While Translation Studies has devised more methods to analyse actual readers under the influence of cultural studies and cognitive linguistics,[22] the main aim for this paper is to bridge a gap between the theory of historical experience and its textual (re)presentation in translation. For now, a suggestion for further research into the effects on individual readers or groups of readers must suffice.

Nida's distinction between formal and dynamic equivalence and Koller's distinction between connotative and formal equivalence inspire further reflection on the relationship between translatability and form and content. Nida pairs formal equivalence to the message in both form and content, but dynamic equivalence to the communication between text and reader. These forms correspond with different translation styles; one targeted at the message, the other to its affect. In his types of equivalence that pertain to style, Koller makes a distinction between stylistic effect and stylistic form. This seems to suggest that the dilemma in translation is not the issue of separating form and content, but text and effect. Like Langeveld (2001) describes, the translator of style is always caught between faithfulness to the ST, and creating a text that is pleasant to read for the target audience(p. 164). But in translation, it is always a bit of both; form and content need to be expressed in the translation in order to achieve a similar effect.

[22] See, for instance, Hansen (2005).

In terms of the communication of affect, the issues of form versus content and text versus effect seem to disappear. In our understanding of the triad of language, thought, and affect, such distinctions between form and content and effect on the reader may not be necessary or even strictly possible; they are one. But this does not make translation of style impossible. Equivalence accounts for differences in languages and their cultural and temporal contexts, but can see similarities in effect. While monism might exclude sameness, equivalence is something that we must keep an open mind to. It is therefore a mistake to say that seeing form and content as one also entails the impossibility of translation, as Langeveld (2008) writes, for it allows for equivalence.

As Jean Boase-Beier (2020) notes in her *Translation and Style*, remarkably little has been written about style in Translation Studies, despite the links between the disciplines of Stylistics and Translation Studies (p. 14). Boase-Beier seeks to remedy this by exploring the links between the two disciplines. Style in Translation Studies pays attention to unique stylistic features of a text and its patterns, how attitudes or opinions are expressed or suggested, and contextual features such as cultural and historical elements (Boase-Beier, 2020, p. 2). The book starts out more historically, exploring the links between well-known theories in both disciplines, and becomes more explorative, building on more recent research in cognitive stylistics to explore the relationship between mind, language and translation. The book ends on a more practical note, translating previously explored theories in relation to practical examples.

In Translation Studies, the translation of non-fiction is often approached thematically. Which dilemmas are encountered translating legal, medical texts, or academic papers, for instance, or, more specifically related to history, how to approach the archaic language of older texts. Yet when Translation Studies talk of style, it is almost always in relation to literary texts. Clifford Landers (2001) in *Literary Translation: A Practical Guide,* sees no difference in the translation of fiction or non-fiction. As far as he is concerned, the "translation of non-fiction can properly be considered literary translation" (p.103). The translation of non-fiction even comes with more freedom for the translator to add footnotes, explain context, and often allows a translator's preface in which to defend some translation choices (Landers, 2002, p.103). The translation of non-fiction "can be viewed as a subset of translation of fiction, minus some of the more vexatious elements" (p. 104). The difference between translating fiction and non-fiction lies in emphasis: in the translation of non-fiction, "[f]actual content is normally more important than style (although the latter cannot be ignored)" (p. 103). But ultimately, "[t]here are no uniquely non-fictional translation skills" (p.103).

Of course, it is immediately clear that Landers is over-generalizing in his short account on the translation of non-fiction. So the following criticism can be taken with a grain of salt. There seems to be a certain arrogance in Landers' (2001) assumption that "it's a safe bet that almost every translator of fiction has at some time translated non-fiction", while "not every translator of non-fiction can make the switch to translation of novels and short-stories" (p. 103-4). If one had a very narrow definition of non-fiction which only includes texts that are significantly less complex than literature, perhaps such a view could be understood. However, Landers (2001) includes the complex genres of biography, history and memoir himself in his example of non-fictional texts (p. 103). Each of these genres comes with its own speciality and set of translation problems, which are in no sense by definition less 'vexatious'.

Boase-Beier is one of the few who addresses the issue of non-fiction by discussing different ways to approach a literary and non-literary translation. They can be separated in terms of function (differences in aim), closeness to the source (literary translations being closer to the ST because of their attention to style as well as the message), and types of communication (a literary and non-literary translation can have a type of communication independent of the ST) (Boase-Beier, 2020, p. 30-31). A translation can thus be approached from the question of whether it is literary or non-literary, and whether it is overtly or covertly a translation. Boase-Beier, however, is more concerned with ways to read the TT, not necessarily the way in which the translator can approach the style of a non-fiction ST. As for the ST, Boase-Beier upholds a clear distinction between literary and non-literary texts, and argues that style functions as a way of distinguishing between genres and text types. Literary texts "involves the use of such figures or stylistic devices as metaphor, ambiguity, and repeated patterns" and these figures "will often be less frequent, less complex and less subtle in non-literary texts," she argues (Boase-Beier, 2020, p. 33). Boase-Beier recognizes that these categories are not absolute, and as will be seen in Chapter Three of this paper, it is quite difficult to assign a definitive category to the translations of *Herfsttij*.

Historical experience: A model for analysis

Up until now this paper has argued that language has the ability to induce an affective experience of the past in its readers. But what does historical experience look like in a text? Which textual elements carry this present past? What are its formal properties? This chapter centres around the question of how Huizinga was able to linguistically represent and convey the historical experience he had of the Middle Ages. In order to answer these questions, we will look at the stylistic properties of the text that can be said to make the past come to life. Within this analysis, I am mostly interested in the content function of lexical words because these words give the text its richness in

meaning. These are the words that give colour and sensation to the Middle Ages that Huizinga wants to convey. Grammatical elements, which have a structuring function, will play a smaller, but important, role, when it comes to setting in time. Tense and time, as essential features of the schemata of pastness and historicity, and a crucial element in the historical of historical experience, will therefore be the most prominent grammatical element discussed.

Through a selection and combination of the discussed theories and methods for the analysis of thought, affect and language, I would like to propose the following model for the analysis of historical experience, which I will shortly describe below.

1. Context
    a. Situational characteristics
    b. Authorly intentions
2. Narrative
    a. Beginnings
    b. Structuring principles
    c. Sources
    d. Anecdotes
3. Rhetorical devices
    a. Familiarization and defamiliarization
    b. Sensitivist affects
    c. Marked word order
    d. Nouns and adjectives
    e. Time

Fig. 1.1: Model for the analysis of historical experience

The model is divided into three main categories: context, narrative and rhetorical devices. Because affect is highly situational, context is taken as a starting point of the analysis. In *Affective Methodologies,* Britta Timm Knusden and Carsten Stage (2015) stress the importance of context: "Asking research questions with a *strong situational specificity* is, in other words, the first necessary step towards empirically grounding the analysis of affective processes" (p. 5). Their background in cultural studies determines the emphasis on empirical research, which this case study is not, but the importance of grounding the research by exploring its situation is nevertheless key. To explore the situational characteristics, Conrad & Biber's model for the analysis of situational characteristics can be used (2009). Their model is supplemented with the notion of authorly intention, as discussed by Farrel (2017) to get a better idea of the various contexts of *Herfsttij*.

Narrative, as discussed above by Kellner (1997) and White (1973; 1974), is one of the main elements of style in history writing. This analysis will pay particular attention to the beginning of the narrative. Other important features of narrative are its structuring principles, the relationship between the author and his sources, and the manner of conveying anecdotes. These features touch upon what Gay (1974) called the professional and emotional style of the historian.

The stylistic analysis will narrow itself to those rhetorical devices that convey historical sensation. Using the checklist of linguistic and stylistic categories by Leech and Short (2007) as a starting point, the foregrounded stylistic features of the text may be detected. Not all categories will be relevant to the affect of historical experience. By connecting the linguistic form with the thought and affect simultaneously at play, it will become possible to single out those elements of style that attribute to the historical experience of the text. It is through these formal aspects of the text that the awareness or the imagination of the past is triggered. It is the form that affects the reader. As we have seen in the literature by White (1973; 1974), familiarization by emplotting historical evidence onto culturally recognizable norms gives the historical narrative meaning by allowing the reader to understand the past. Kemperink (1988) and Shore (2014) discussed above, can add to this that defamiliarization has an equal function, it is an important part of the writing of history that affects the reader into dissociation of the present and association with the past. The stylistic analysis will pay special attention to the devices that convey sensitivist affects, like the ones discussed in Kemperink (1988), especially the ones engaging the senses. In the analysis of marked word order and nouns and adjectives, the relationship between language, thought and affect will once again be stressed. The use of sound and image, repetitions, and the like, plays a pivotal role in the creation of historical experience. Not only that, but the combination of such literary devices with the informative nature of the text creates an intricate balance between the unknown and the known, the unfamiliar and the familiar. Using aspects that readers can relate to, picture, or imagine, in combination with informative historical content is what makes the historical experience of a text uniquely historical. Time can be dealt with on multiple levels, incorporating both grammatical time (tense) and how the text deals with or addresses the fact that the author/reader occupies a different temporal situation than the material discussed in the text.

The model can be applied to the ST and each of the TTs. When the model is applied to both the ST and TTs, a comparative analysis can be made to see whether there are differences in the communication of historical experience, how these differences have come about, and which translation strategies might aid the translation of historical experience. The model will be supplemented with translation theory to better understand the TTs as translations.

Aim and Scope

For the selection of primary source material, I will follow the line of thought that states that narrative beginnings are crucial. The beginning of a book, the first chapter in particular, sets the scene for the following reader experience. In the first chapter, the first lines even, the author needs to draw the reader in. A beginning of a book also often explains the rules of the narrative we are about to enter, contains world-building elements, and tries to engage us to read on. The first chapter of *Herfsttij* will logically introduce the reader to the historical experience of the late Middle Ages. It can be expected that Huizinga will display attempts to both familarize the unfamiliar of the past and defamiliarize the familiar of the present in order to show the reader that the world we are stepping into, by reading his book, is a past that we can both recognize and get to know more intimately, but is different from our everyday reality. And, it is different from the assumptions we may have already formed about this time period. Huizinga's work also stands in a historical tradition, which he tries to tell us something new about. His research seeks to add to the existing knowledge of the early Renaissance by showing a new perspective.

Considering the thematic structuring of the book, some of the prominent themes will be selected for further analysis. Looking mainly at the descriptive elements, like adjectives, schemes and tropes, I hope to show the importance of language and rhetoric in creating or (re)presenting historical experience. I will look at a small number of selected anecdotes and descriptions. As stated by Peter Gay, the selection of anecdotes can tell us about the emotional style of the author. Because the book is thematically structured, I would like to analyse the different facets of the Middle Ages through small excerpts: anecdotes lend themselves to this perfectly. A random selection of anecdotes taken from each of the chapters will also give us a birds-eye view of the Middle Ages that Huizinga presents. It will be interesting to see whether rhetorical devices differ according to different themes, or whether there is a certain constancy in Huizinga's way of narrating anecdotes throughout the book.

For the stylistic analysis of the Dutch ST, I will add my own English translations to aid readers of this paper with little or no knowledge of Dutch in understanding the ST. These translations are simple and denotative in nature. When speaking of important connotations that the reader must be aware of, I will do so in a descriptive form in the analysis of a citation. I refrained from using one of the extant translations for this purpose because I do not wish to give the impression that I prefer one of the translations over the others. Additionally, the extant translations were created with a different purpose in mind, and may not always be suitable for stylistic analysis of the ST. My stylistic analysis focuses on particular stylistic features that contribute to the historical experience of the text. It cannot be reasonably assumed

that the extant translations can meet the specific needs of the discussion of certain highlighted features that I will be discussing. Finally, I want to emphasise that it is not in any way my aim to prescribe a translation for Huizinga's text. I simply wish to aid the reader of this paper in understanding the Dutch citations in a basic sense.

The selection of primary source material from the translations is made primarily from the first chapter as well. The analysis contains one or multiple examples of a selection of features described in the Model for Analysis section of this Chapter.

It is customary in Translation Studies to evaluate translations not with a critical eye, or with an aim to separate 'good' translations from 'bad' translations. As Jean Boase-Beier writes,

> Both stylistics and Translation Studies generally tend to be descriptive rather than prescriptive, and also usually try to avoid being evaluative when describing details of a text: what the scholar wants to know is what such textual detail, including differences between the translated text and its original, might tell us. (2018, p. 204)

While it is my intention to illustrate, with the examples I have selected, translation issues that arise when translating historical sensation, I want to stress that none of the critical notes are intended as a personal attack on the part of the translators. As we will see in the next chapter, each translation was made with a different purpose in mind. And because translation is always a creative process, and language is a very tricky and slippery subject to pin down, there is never one way to translate a text, sentence, or even a word. For the purpose of learning more about translating historical experience, however, I will sometimes place a critical note for educational purposes. This is by no means meant as a fair, objective evaluation of the translations. Critical remarks can therefore be taken with a grain of salt. From the critical evaluation of the translations, I merely hope to achieve some semblance of lessons learned about translating historical experience at the end of this paper.

Decisions in the selection of examples, then, are taken with an educational purpose in mind; to show a variety of translation problems and a variety of stylistic aspects. I wish to show the many different dilemmas a translator may encounter when translating similar affective styles as well as offer, by the example of extant translations, critical reflection, and suggestions for possible alternative strategies, translation strategies that translators might use. Of course, the limited scope of this paper will not result in a full guideline for the translation of historical experience.

Chapter Three
The Context of *Herfsttij* and its English Translations

"De blik is bij het schrijven van dit boek gericht geweest als in de diepten van een avondhemel, – maar van een hemel vol bloedig rood, zwaar en woest van dreigend loodgrijs, vol valschen koperen schijn"
(Huizinga 1941, v)

With a source text that has recently had its centennial anniversary and translations spanning that same period, it might be expected that there are some interesting differences in terms of context that transcend that of culture alone. In this section, the translations will be situated in their historical context. The situational characteristics of the texts were identified through a combination of Biber and Conrad's model for the analysis of situation characteristics (2009) and Farrel's ideas on authorly intentions (2017). The situational characteristics of the ST and the TTs will be compared in a discussion. Finally, a short discussion on the overtness and literariness of the translations will show the dynamics between non-fiction and literariness in translation.

Waning, Autumn, Autumntide

Three translations have been made of Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij*, titled in turn, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1996), and *Autumntide of the Middle Ages* (2020).[23]

Frits Hopman (1877-1932) was a name of modest proportion in the literary circles of the Netherlands in the 1920s. Hopman was an English teacher at the Hogere Burgerschool (HBS), which he regretted, and wrote on the side. His oeuvre consists of short stories and novels, as well as some pieces of cultural and literary criticism. He started his literary career by writing short stories for *De Kroniek*, where he soon became acquainted with writers such as Johan de Meester, Jan Veth, Johan Huizinga, Frans Coenen and Herman Robbers (Sanders, 2010). His literary career received a boost through his involvement with the prestigious literary magazine *De Gids*, which was looking for new literary talent to stimulate the connection between its own traditional culture and the young, contemporary literary culture (Sanders, 2012, p. 112). He started out with shorter pieces and book reviews in a subsection of the magazine but was soon trusted with a full article (p. 112). This article, which was one of Hopman's more critical pieces for *De Gids* and reduced the work of national author Querido to high-minded drivel, stirred up quite some dust within the literary community (p. 113-116). In a letter, Hopman thanked de Meester and Huizinga for

[23] Henceforth abbreviated to *Waning*, *Autumn*, and *Autumntide*, respectively.

their supportive feedback (Sanders, 2010). Huizinga, at the time, was a member of the editorial board together with Veth and de Meester. Huizinga asked Hopman to translate *Herfsttij*, which, considering Hopman's devotion to the Tachtigers style, could not have been a more appropriate choice. Hopman also translated Huizinga's *Erasmus*, which similarly appeared in 1924. In 1927, Hopman became the editor of the arts and literature section of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, which allowed him to quit his job as a teacher, and he became chairman of the Society of Dutch Literature (Sanders, 2010). Unfortunately, Hopman never really achieved any literary acclaim and is remembered chiefly for his one stirring piece of literary criticism and his translation of Huizinga's *Herfsttij* (Sanders, 2010).

The edition that Hopman based his translation on was adapted to be easily readable, skipping many references and direct quotations of primary sources (Haskell, 1996). Notable Huizinga expert Anton van der Lem (1993) even recommends first-time readers to reach for the English translation (or the German) because the idiosyncrasies of the style have been 'solved' in translation[24] (p. 144).

Huizinga had been to a number of publishing houses in order to sell his work for German, French and English translations. The German translation remains true to the second edition of *Herfsttij* which appeared in 1921. A shortened version was prepared for the French translation because the French publisher wished to explore the possibilities of selling the book to a wider audience in a more accessible version. This shortened version was also sent to Edward Arnold & Company. It was decided that the English translation should also appear in this shortened form, as it was feared that the full version would merely interest scholars (Payton, 1996, p.x). The English and German translations of Huizinga's *Herfsttij* both appeared in 1924. For Huizinga, this marked the beginning of his international fame. The French publisher, in contrast, decided not to print the book. The French translation that eventually appeared in 1932 was published by a different publisher and was once again based on the longer text. Out of these three translations, Hopman's English translation is the only abridged version that ever appeared in print.

Hopman made his translation of *Herfsttij* in consultation with Huizinga himself. The translation is, what would now be typified as, a *transadaptation*. In the preface to the translation, where Huizinga, rather than Hopman, takes up his pen, it is explained that "[t]his English edition is not a simple translation of the original Dutch [...], but the result of a work of adaptation, reduction and consolidation under the author's direction". Furthermore, Huizinga expresses "his sincere thanks to [...] the translator, Mr. F. Hopman, of Leiden, whose clear insight into the exigencies of

[24] "Het mag misschien heiligschennis lijken, maar zelfs voor de Nederlandse lezer kan Herfsttij toegankelijker zijn in het Duits of het Engels, waarin de eigenaardigheden van de stijl in de vertaling zijn opgelost."

translation rendered the recasting possible, and whose endless patience with the wishes of an exacting author made the difficult task a work of friendly co-operation [*sic*]" (Huizinga, 2014, p. vi). It becomes clear that although Hopman made the translation, Huizinga took full control and responsibility for the resulting text. In this sense, it is a translation very much owned by the author himself.

A comparison with the second translation forms a particularly interesting comparison because the second translation, which appeared more than seven decades later in 1996, was set up with a very different aim. Rodney Payton (1940-) and Ulrich Mammitzsch (1935-1990) were colleagues at Western Washington University in the liberal arts department. Payton is known for his *A Modern Reader's Guide to Dante's Inferno* (1992). Neither of the translators had any previous experience in translation or literary writing. They are scholars first and foremost, and from this perspective, they set out to make a 'more accurate' translation of *Herfsttij*, so that students would not have to miss out on any aspects of Huizinga's work that were cut from the first translation.

Considering the timeframe, it is needless to say that Payton and Mammitzsch did not have the opportunity to work with the author as Hopman had been able to do. The instigation for their translation came from their own encounter with the earlier translation and finding it lacking. As Payton writes in the preface to their translation:

> The idea of this translation had its moment of conception in Karl J. Weintraub's class in History of Culture [...] when Weintraub commented, with some heat, on the deficiencies of the English translation of *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* that we students were using when it was compared to the elegance of the Dutch edition he had on his lectern. (1996, p. ix)

Later, when Payton "began [his] own teaching", a comparison between the Dutch edition and the English translation "showed [him] that Weintraub's observations were justified" (Huizinga, 1996, p. ix).

While Huizinga and Hopman had tried to create a very readable version of *Herfsttij* in English, Payton and Mammitzsch's experience with the early translation gave them the feeling of "something fine that had been corrupted and undervalued" (p. ix). Of course, it must be noted that neither Weintraub nor Payton and Mammitzsch would have read the translation as a general reader; they had an academic commitment to teaching cultural history and were able to compare the translation with the Dutch ST. These factors understandably result in higher demands for accuracy and an awareness of what has been left out. The function of the text has been shifted from a general book of history, meant for a wide audience, to an academic textbook. This can be seen when Payton invokes the authority of "any studious reader of both the Dutch (or the very accurate German translation) and the

English", who would, without doubt, "conclude that the original is a much better book" (Huizinga, 1996, p. x).

Even "the endorsement of the author", cannot convince Payton of the "glaring changes" and the "many omissions" that have been made by Hopman (p.xiii). Payton even goes so far as to suggest that Hopman was selected for the job, not because of his competence, but because "he was in financial difficulties in 1924, and Huizinga was probably glad to be able to provide him with work" (Huizinga, 1996, .xi). But Payton forgets that, next to being a journalist and a student of English literature, Hopman had already published two books of short stories, *In het voorbijgaan* (1913) and *Nachtwaken* (1920), as well as two novels, *De Proeftijd* (1916) and V*an de liefde die vrij wou zijn: Roman uit Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen* (1918). Hopman might have lacked experience in translation, but his writing experience was not inconsiderable. Payton's frustration over the earlier translation obviously runs very deep, though even he cannot help admitting that "Hopman's work does have the virtue of being graceful" and that "his rendition is sometimes lovely" (Huizinga, 1996, p. xiii).

As for the reception moment of the ST and the two translations, Payton, inadvertently, points to two important differences. First, the cultural difference between the Dutch and English reception. He writes that, at the time of the initial publication, "[t]he Dutch were inclined to consider [*Herfsttij*] far too literary for serious history and mistakenly thought its approach to be old-fashioned rather than realizing that it was truly a revolutionary innovation" (Huizinga, 1996, p.xi). The "first recognition of the book's importance came, not from Huizinga's Dutch colleagues, but in German reviews", which came only after the publication of the German translation in 1924 (p.xi). Payton concludes that this might have led Huizinga to view the English translation as "a step to a further revision" (Huizinga, 1996, p. xii). Huizinga might have left out "the aesthetic character" in *Waning* as a "direct response to his Dutch critics" (Huizinga, 1996, p.xii).

Second, Payton points to the temporal difference between the early translation and his own. Huizinga, at the point of the publication and translation of his book, was not "the most famous professor of history", nor did Leiden University have the reputation it has today as "Holland's 'first' university" (Huizinga, 1996, p.xii). The condition offset by Huizinga's English publisher to print the shorter version rather than a complete one, based on the market estimates at the time, is therefore understandable. The "truly revolutionary innovation" of his work, being the "aesthetic character of the book", can only be appreciated from a retrospective point of view. The true appreciation of these qualities only came much later, when Huizinga became a classic author within the history departments of universities worldwide, as he is today.

From this scholarly point of view, Payton argues that the early translation "served Huizinga well", having "done its work and brought the importance of the mind of Huizinga to the attention of the English-speaking world", but that "it is now obsolete and a more critical and deeper look at Huizinga requires access to a version of the work closer to that known by the rest of the world" (Huizinga, 1996, p. xvii). With this aim, Payton and Mammitzsch have set out to make *Autumn*.

As a radical break from their predecessor, Payton and Mammitzsch have notably changed the title from "waning" to "autumn". Already, it can be seen that the different translations of the word 'herfsttij' influence the expectation of the reader. While "waning" focuses on the transient nature of this period in time, "autumn" places more stress on the seasonal sense of the word. As these choices invoke different senses of the word 'herfsttij', they affect the expectations of the reader and the type of Middle Ages with which the reader will engage.

The same is true for *Autumntide*. The title of the third translation immediately conveys the main aim of this translation to render Huizinga's voice in English. The idea for another translation was proposed by Anton van der Lem and was published at the centenary of the first publication of *Herfsttij* (Leiden University, 2020). The translation is presented as an "unabridged translation of the original text" (Leiden University, 2020). The team, consisting of translator Diane Webb, professor in French medieval history Graeme Schmall, Huizinga scholar and biographer Anton van der Lem, and general editor of Leiden University Press Anniek Meinders, collaborated to provide an English version of Huizinga's *Herfsttij* that was both actualized in terms of scholarship and accessibility of the medieval sources Huizinga used, and in rendering his unique style in English for the first time. Webb writes in her "Translator's Preface" that "This translation endeavours to render in English what has been described as a 'stylistic masterpiece' in a way that does justice to 'Huizinga the poet'. It is a humble attempt to let the English-speaking world hear, at last, Huizinga's own voice – a voice like no other" (Webb, 2020). *Autumntide* chooses a middle ground, or, the best of both worlds, when compared to the previous translations. It is both committed to the literary quality of the text, but in a way that is faithful to the ST, and aims to be complete, but in a scholarly and stylistic sense.

The translator herself consciously avoided any influence of the preceding translations. Webb did, however, consult the recent German translation by Annette Wunschel and the Italian translation by Franco Paris frequently, which she states were "of immense help to me" (Webb, 2020). Members of her team did compare her translation to the one by Hopman and the one by Payton and Mammeritz. In his epilogue, aimed to situate the text, Graeme Schmall writes about some of the different approaches they took.

As for the choice of the source text for comparison, *Waning* is based on the second Dutch edition of *Herfsttij,* dated 1921. This edition contains many revisions to the text in the first edition. As Huizinga writes, he was torn between two extremes: either to leave it untouched or rewrite it completely (Huizinga, 2012, p.15). In the end, he chose "the middle way". But the revisions did not end there, as Huizinga continued to revize until his last personal revision in 1941. This fifth edition serves as the source text for *Autumn*. Huizinga's preference states that in spite of having stated in the fourth edition that it would be his last, this fifth edition contains more revisions, mostly language errors that his insightful audience pointed out to him. Likewise, *Autumntide* is based on this fifth edition.

Situational characteristics

The participants most concerned with the stylistic affects of Huizinga's work are Huizinga himself, as the author of the text, and the intended reader. *Herfsttij* contains some textual clues as to what kind of readership it was written for. For instance, the lack of translations for the French quotes in the earlier editions indicates that Huizinga expected readers to be well-educated. When he compares aspects of the Middle Ages to features found in the English novel and Russian literature, it becomes clear that readers must have a broad knowledge of literature as well, or at least a general interest in foreign literature (Huizinga, 1949, p. 5; p. 24). Huizinga also assumes that readers read the newspaper. The many revised editions that appeared in Huizinga's lifetime may partly have to do with the criticism the book received in the Netherlands. The revisions can be seen as a response to its critical audience. The interaction between Huizinga and his audience was therefore slightly closer than that of authors who do not revise their work.

From the production circumstances of *Waning* we know that this text was intended for a more general audience, with the aim to be an accessible read for readers with a general interest in the Middle Ages. *Autumntide* seems to be similarly targeted at a general audience. Huizinga's fame has increased considerably in a hundred years' time, which has changed the nature of interest in the translated text. Rather than targeting a general audience interested in the history of the Middle Ages, there is now the added dimension of those interested in Huizinga as a cultural historian. This latter element is even more prominent in *Autumn*, which primarily targets a more specific audience; American history students. According to the translators, "a more critical and deeper look at Huizinga requires access to a version of the work closer to that known by the rest of the world" (Huizinga, 1996, p. xvii).

Each of the English translations also has its own additional author figure in the translator. Whereas Hopman and Webb both translate for a general audience, Payton and Mammeritz may actually have the closest relation to their audience. With

their intention to provide their American students with a more complete rendition of Huizinga's text in English and their experience teaching Huizinga to their students, they are more involved with their audience than the translator's translating for a more abstract audience.

The relationship between the audience of the translations and Huizinga as the author is afflicted by time, space, and culture. For the audience of the *Waning*, Huizinga is a foreign author but he is, at least, a contemporary. For the audiences of *Autumn* and *Autumntide*, Huizinga is a great historian of the past. The times in which the translations were produced are also of some importance. With the translations having been produced at intervals spanning a century, there are some differences in contemporaneous audiences, their relation to the author, and the translators' relationship to the source text and its author. For a contemporary reader, who now has the choice of three English-language editions, *Autumntide* would seem the obvious choice, were it not for its price tag and size. The extensive additions that enrich the text have made the translation a true collector's item, but not an easily accessible work of non-fiction that can be enjoyed on the underground on our way to work. Nor is it a volume that is easily brought to class. The general audience of *Autumntide* is therefore quite a bit more specific than it appears when we only consider its aim as expressed in the afterword.

Also called the 'why' of the communication, the communicative purpose of the text is also part of the situational characteristics of a text. As for the ST, the general purpose is to describe the Burgundian court culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Underlying the general purpose is the specific purpose of Huizinga's argument that the early renaissance is not the start of something new, but the dying down of the period that came before it and thus is still part of the Middle Ages. Despite its literary style, *Herfsttij* has a close relationship with its primary sources. In its introductory chapter, Huizinga explains how he has dealt with the unreliability of his sources, which will be discussed at more length in Chapter Four.

Whether the communicative purpose of a translation is the same as the source text is not always self-evident. As encountered in the discussion on participants and setting, there are some notable differences in target audiences. These differences also influence the communicative purpose. On a fundamental level, the type of text created by the translator will affect its communicative purpose. Jean Boase-Beier distinguishes four types of translations which help understand some of the differences between the TTs and ST and differences between the three TTs:

I. As a literary text, overtly a translation
II. As a literary text, but a covert translation
III. As a non-literary text, overtly a translation
IV. As a non-literary text, covertly a translation (2020, p. 31)

Waning may be seen as a literary text, but a covert translation. There is no indication that Hopman was much concerned with presenting a non-fiction text. This may be explained by his close connection with Huizinga and the author's involvement in the translation. It may be assumed that Huizinga would take responsibility for the accuracy of the historical aspect of the text, whereas Hopman would take responsibility for its style and literary character. Hopman's attempted to create a TT that was as readable in English as could be achieved. In Chapter 5 it will become clear that Hopman prioritized literary style and readability over faithfulness. In his search for equivalent effect, he takes the liberty to deviate from the ST in terms of sentence and paragraph structure. Huizinga's foreword further adds to the covertness of the translation. While he mentions Hopman and expresses thanks for his patience in putting up with the "exacting author", Huizinga takes responsibility for the produced text with his foreword (Huizinga, 2014, p.vi). *Autumn* and *Autumntide* are both preceded by a translator's preface and can be interpreted as overt translations.

Chapter Four
Herfsttij's Style and Translation Considerations

"De blik is bij het schrijven van dit boek gericht geweest als in de diepten van een avondhemel, – maar van een hemel vol bloedig rood, zwaar en woest van dreigend loodgrijs, vol valschen koperen schijn"
(Huizinga 1941, v)

Through a stylistic analysis of foregrounded stylistic features, this chapter will show how the historical experience in the text of *Herfsttij* works. It will be analysed how Huizinga gave shape to the concept of the Middle Ages, and how he used contrast and sensitivist elements in his prose to strengthen the historical image that he tried to paint. Through a series of examples, this chapter then explores how these style features serve some of the main themes in the book. This all culminates in a target text analysis, where a summary is given of the main issues of the translation of the historical experience in this text.

Stylistics analysis

Previously, it was explored and concluded that historical sensation, as affect of a text, must have stylistic features. In this part, the shape of these stylistic features and the link between thought, language and affect in historical experience will be analysed.

Huizinga's Middle Ages

Huizinga's approach to the subject of the late middle ages is expressed best in the subtitle of his book: "Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden". Huizinga seeks to understand this period by looking at how people lived and thought. He analysed artistic expressions, religious forms and depictions of holiness, ideals of knighthood and its influence on social classes, imaginations of love and beauty, the influence of mysticism, and the practical aspect of life. *Herfsttij* is structured thematically and yet, each theme flows naturally into the next.

Huizinga chose his sources to reflect the ideals and longings of the people, seeking them in poems and chronicles. He largely ignored economy, politics and warfare, but described the courts and rituals of life in vivid detail. References to literature, art, and anecdotes from contemporary written sources seem to weave the narrative together to create a unified whole. Such sources often have a partisan tendency, as the authors were patronized by the nobility, creating a false sense of

increased importance of the nobility versus the bourgeoisie[25]. Huizinga comments that his choice of sources is critical to understanding this period for its own values:

> ... voor het kennen van het cultuurleven behoudt de waan zelf, waarin de tijdgenooten leefden, de waarde van een waarheid. Ook al was de adellijke levensvorm niet anders dan een vernis over het leven geweest, dan nog zou het noodzakelijk zijn, dat de geschiedenis dat leven mèt den glans van dat vernis wist te zien[26] (*Herfsttij*, 1949, p. 76)

Unironically, Huizinga takes us through the drama at the Medieval court, with its tendency towards excess. He urges the reader to understand that the heightened emotions of the courtier symbolizes Medieval culture. Huizinga's descriptions of his characters, their emotions, the things at stake for them, the events, the drama - they channel the courtier's experience. Huizinga chose his sources not despite, but because of their representation of the ideals, and the distortions of reality, to study the dreams and imaginings of the medieval authors.

This does not mean that Huizinga does not reflect on his sources or place them in perspective. When dealing with politics and economy, he states, modern historical practices to provide criticism and contextualisation are most certainly useful and effective (76). Even when trying to capture purely late medieval culture and thoughts, we see subtle indicators that the reader is to understand the text as an evocation of a medieval perspective. The veneer of these medieval fancies is often signified by adjectives such as 'pracht' [splendour], 'schitterend' [brilliant or splendid or shining] and 'glans' [gloss or sheen]. For example, Huizinga speaks of Isabella van Bourbon's "*prachtigen* rouw" [splendid mourning] (61), the "*prachtige*" hyperbolization of grief (58), how Chastellain was blinded by "den uiterlijksten *glans*" [the superficial sheen] of the Burgundian "*prachtleven*" [life of splendour] and yet was able to imagine the "*schitterendste* ontplooiing van burgermacht" [most brilliant development of citizen power] (68). He describes Philip the Good's "rijkdom en *prachtliefde*" [richness and splendid love] (115) and the "zonderlinge vermengingen ... van de bizarre *prachtliefde* van den tijd met strenge devotie" [strange amalgamation ... of the splendid love of that time with strict devotion] (216). There is little discrimination in subjects where this veneer applies, the examples above range from descriptions of mourning and grief, to the splendour of Burgundian life, to love. He writes how, in medieval art appreciation "het contrast van het leven der monniken de *pracht* nog sterker deed *schitteren*" [the contrast of monks' lives let the splendour shine even brighter] (217) and of an artist who "een *schitterend* begonnen

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[25] Bourgeoisie, from "burgerij", in the medieval sense of those who live in cities.

[26] ["...to know the cultural life, the illusion within which the contemporaries lived, maintained the value of truth. Even if the noble forms of life were nothing but a veneer over life, still it would be necessary, that history was able to see that life wíth that shining layer of veneer."]

kunstenaarsleven in doelloos wachten verteerd, en is gestorven zonder zijn opdracht te mogen voltooien" [had begun a brilliant artistic career and was consumes by pointless waiting, and passed away without being allowed to finish his job] (319). He writes of religious congregations that have "over het stille dagelijkse werk de *glans* gegoten van de voortdurend bewustgehouden religieuze innigheid" [dripped a splendour over the quiet everyday life of continuous kept-conscious religious intimacy] (277) or how the "*glans* van het laat-middeleeuwse geluk" [the splendour of late-medieval happiness] (34) still lives in music and portraiture, and how artistic beauty was reduced to "begrippen van volkomenheid, verhouding en *glans*" [concepts of perfection, proportion, and splendour] (334).

Sensitivism and Huizinga

Huizinga's use of adjectives resembles that of the Movement of Tachtig. The use of vivid, colourful and imaginative adjectives is a striking feature that we see in the works of the Tachtigers. As Jansonius shows in his essay "De stijl van Huizinga", Huizinga's typical use of the adjectives 'zwaar', 'hoog', and 'breed' is similar to that of Van Deyssel (1973, p. 198-199). A salient feature of these adjectives is that they give physical shape and volume to the nouns they describe, even when these nouns are abstract. Yet, it is not simply a spatial quality these adjectives add; they also contain certain values. See how Huizinga describes Burgundy as "*zwaar* van kracht als zijn wijn" [heavy in power as its wine] (1949, p. 29), its literary representatives as "de pompeuze woordvoerders van het *zwaar* gedrapeerde Bourgondische ideaal" [the pompous spokesperson of the heavily draped Burgundian ideal] (1949, p. 396), and tournaments as "een met versiering overladen, *zwaar* gedrapeerde sport" [an overloaded with ornaments, heavily draped sport] (1949, p. 91). He uses 'hoog' in a sense of greatness, in "*hooge* mysteriën" [high mysteries] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 61), "*hooge* muziek" [high music] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 28), and "*hooge* devotie" [high devotion] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 211). When reading a sentence such as "Zoo *hoog* en *zwaar* de steenen huizen van edelen of koopheeren mochten zijn, de kerken bleven met haar omhoogrijzende massa's den aanblik der stad beheerschen"[27] in the context of Tachtiger adjectives, it becomes apparent that Huizinga does not simply mean that the nobles' and merchants' houses were tall and built with heavy stones; *zwaar* and *hoog* indicate high social standing, greatness, pomp, and excess. And when he writes of the "majestueuze *breede* ernst" [majestic wide seriousness] of Lusignan castle, 'breed' does not simply indicate a wide facade, it carries an appreciative quality that Van Deyssel used to describe art that he admired (Jansonius, 1973, p. 199).

[27] ["However high and heavy the stone houses of noblemen and merchants were, the churches with their rising masses would reign over face of the city."]

Another Tachtigers-inspired word, used as an adjective or adverb, is 'scherp'. In the opening sentence, Huizinga writes, "Toen de wereld vijf eeuwen jonger was, hadden alle levensgevallen veel *scherper* uiterlijke vormen dan nu"[28] (1949, p. 5). When we look at other instances of the word, it becomes clear that 'scherp' means something along the lines of painfully vivid: "Maar nog *scherper* is de benauwing met de cerebrale smarten: de rouw, de vrees, het holle gevoel van een oneindig gemis en verworpenheid, de onzegbare haat tegen God en nijd over de zaligheid van al zijn uitverkorenen"[29] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 265). Similarly, he describes the people's "*scherpe* huivering voor den dood" [the sharp quivering for death] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 165) and its recollection is depicted "in een zeer eenvoudige, directe en levendige voorstelling, *scherp* en *fel*" [in a very simple, direct and lively depiction, sharp and bright] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 163). Huizinga seems to say that the experience of the late middle ages is unmitigated, its emotions unbridled and almost painful to the eye in its depiction.

He explains this further in the first chapter of the book, titled "'s Levens Felheid". It is Huizinga's thesis that the 14th and 15th centuries took Medieval culture to an effusive state, saturated with strict rituals and hierarchical notions, overloaded with flourish and symbolism. He states that: "de hiërarchisch-feodale gedachte had nog niets van haar bloei verloren, de lust aan pracht en praal, opschik en staatsie was nog zoo *purperrood*"[30] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 30). 'Purperrood' indicates how lively these conviction were at the time. Sins have also taken on an exaggerated form, especially pride, wrath and greed, which are present in "*purperen* volbloedigheid en onbeschaamde vrijpostigheid" [purple-red enthusiasm and brazen impertinence] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 29). The use of colours as adjectives once again reminds us of the Tachtigers, who used the metaphoric function of colours in their symbolic and impressionist poetry (Jansonius, 1973, p. 200). In addition to 'purperrood', we find phrases such as "*rood* bloeiende zonden" [red-blooming sins] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 216), "dezen *rooden* tijd" [these red times] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 338), and it's contrast, "*zwarte* somberheid" [black sadness] (17) and "*zwarte* wraakzucht" [black vengeance] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 29). The adjectives of colour are used to describe a mood, going beyond its denotation. And these are not the only idiosyncratic uses of words that we find in Huizinga's work. Van der Lem points out the many citations of Huizinga have been incorporated into the van Dale *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* (1993, p.

[28] ["When the world was five centuries younger, all forms of life had sharper outlines than now."]
[29] ["But even sharper is the narrowing with the cerebral pains: the mourning, the fear, the hollow feeling of never-ending absence and rejection, the unspeakable hatred against God and envy for the blessings of all his promised ones."]
[30] ["...the hierarchical-feudalistic thought had not yet lost any of its propensity, the desire for flamboyance, finery and decoration was ever so purple-red."]

144). The online *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* now gives 250 citations from *Herfsttij* alone. Huizinga explains why he uses colour in this sense when he encourages the reader to imagine how susceptible people were to emotions, prickly and easily swayed, to realize "welke *kleur* en *felheid* het leven had" [which colour and brightness life had] (1949, p. 11). Huizinga is of the opinion that it is crucial to the experience of the late middle ages that we see the colour and brightness life had at that time. This brings us back to the title of the book, 'Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen'. The adjectives throughout the book add another dimension to the title. Not only do we read about a waning Medieval culture and practices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we also read about the colourful splendour which characterized the era. The colourful lives of the Middle Ages are as opulent and abundant as the natural phenomenon of Autumn. We see a culture that harvests the seeds sown in the periods before, one that is overripe with both strict rules and grave sins, one that enjoys the rays of beauty in art while at the same time retreating in the gravest of mourning rituals. And it is Huizinga's use of adjectives that contributes to this experience of the Middle Ages.

Contrast

Autumn is also a season of contrasts. A season between the warmth of summer and the coldness of winter, a season where leaves change colour and fall off, a season where there is an abundance of harvest before a period of scarcity. Contrast is one of the key elements that we find throughout Huizinga's stylistic choices. To express the dynamics of the mentality of medieval life, we see an abundance of contrast:

> "Zoo fel en bont was het leven, zoo verdroeg het den geur van bloed en rozen dooreen. Tusschen *helsche benauwingen* en de *kinderlijkste pret*, tusschen *gruwelijke hardvochtigheid* en *snikkende verteedering* slingert het volk als een reus met een kinderhoofd. Tusschen de volstrekte verzaking van alle *wereldsche vreugde* en een *waanzinnige gehechtheid* aan goed en genot, tusschen *duisteren haat* en de meest *goedlachsche goedmoedigheid* leeft het in uitersten"[31] (28)

Parallelisms of compelling adjectives and complex nouns (emphasized) may be Huizinga's preferred way to convey contrast. Like the people, the reader is swayed between the coordinating conjunctions. We also see the coordinating nouns 'fel en bont' and 'bloed en rozen', and a simile, 'als een reus met een kinderhoofd,' that express contrast in this example. Note once again that these phrases stimulate the

[31] ["So bright and colourful was life, so it carried the scent of blood and roses alike. Between hellish agitation and the most childish glee, between the horrific heartlessness and sobbing tenderness the people swung like a giant with a child's head. Between complete neglect of all worldly joys and a mad attachment to goodness and pleasure, between dark hatred and the most glad kind-heartedness it lives in extremes."]

senses: they add colour through 'bloed en rozen'; intensity through 'fel en bont'; dimension through 'kind' and 'reus'.

Coordination among two noun phrases is also used to add dimension to one topic, rather than to express contrast between the coordinating phrases. In the following example, where Huizinga discusses some differences between our time and the Middle Ages that we should be aware of, we see that Huizinga uses coordination to widen the scope ('rampen en gebrek', 'jammerende armoede en verworpenheid') or to express subtle differences, often when talking about emotional experiences ('geduchtiger en kwellender', 'inniger en gretiger'):

> "Tegen *rampen en gebrek* was minder verzachting dan nu; zij kwamen *geduchter en kwellender*. Ziekte stak sterker af bij gezondheid; *de barre koude en het bange duister* van den winter waren een wezenlijker kwaad. Eer en rijkdom werden *inniger en gretiger* genoten, want zij staken nog feller dan nu af bij de *jammerende armoede en verworpenheid*."[32] (1949, p. 6)

To make the reader experience these emotions and circumstances even more vividly, Huizinga uses figures of sound. He uses alliteration in 'stak sterker', 'barre' and 'bange', 'winter waren een wezenlijker kwaad', and 'jammerende armoede'; and he uses similarity in metre in 'barre koude' and 'bange duister', and in 'inniger' and 'gretiger'.[33]

As Otterspeer writes, Huizinga's search for unification is first of all present in his search for stylistic solutions. Central to *Herfsttij* are the contrasting adjectives 'bont' and 'innig'. Life, in late medieval cities, happens *between* these contrasts. 'Bont' indicates everything that is excessively displayed, while 'innig' indicates the demurred interior. Huizinga writes,

> "Door het voortdurend contrast, door de *bonte* vormen, waarmee alles zich aan den geest opdrong, ging er van het alledaagsche leven een prikkeling, een hartstochtelijke suggestie uit, welke zich openbaart in die wankele stemming van ruwe uitgelatenheid, hevige wreedheid, *innige* verteedering, waartusschen het middeleeuwsche stadsleven zich beweegt" (2).

In the words of Otterspeer (2019), 'bont' is overwhelming, it is richly colourful, it has many shapes and forms, it is rich and lush, cultivated and decadent. 'Innig' is its opposite. 'Innig' is unity and simplicity, it is subtlety and amenability. (p. 44-45). This dualism of 'bont' and 'innig', and its simultaneity are central to *Herfsttij*. In each chapter, Huizinga points out the unification of contrasts. He shows us how death was

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[32] ["Against disasters and shortages there was less alleviation than nowadays; they came more strongly and were more dolorous. Sickness stood in starker contrast with health; the bitter cold and the fearful dark of winter were an essential evil. Honour and richness were enjoyed more intimately and eagerly, because they stood in starker contrast than now with the wailing poverty and condemnation."]

[33] Down below, I will discuss the use of sound more in-depth, as this is a returning feature of some consequence in *Herfsttij*.

a part of life, how religion and art go hand in hand, how the imagined ideal of knighthood shaped the classes in society, and how mysticism and symbolism intermingled with realism. Everywhere, Huizinga sees contrasting elements and emotions that he tries to capture in comparable language.

We see Huizinga's search for the unification of contrasts expressed in adjectives, like 'bont' and 'innig', but also in many other stylistic features. It comes as no surprise that Huizinga focussed most of his stylistic flair on adjectives and nouns when we consider that Huizinga was of the opinion that part of the historian's task is to carefully select words in order to convey a historical image, to use words in such a way that they transcend their denotative meaning, but to also limit the room for subjective interpretation of the reader (Huizinga, 1995, p.19). A large part of image creation lies in its description; adjectives and nouns are perfect for that. Huizinga perhaps failed to appreciate the potential of verbs in this, as Webb notices that they tend to be simple and rather dry (Webb, 2020). A feature quite typical of Huizinga's attempt to manage and specify his descriptions is the use of parallelism.

Presence of contexts

As discussed above, some stylistic features of the Tachtigers can be found in Huizinga's *Herfsttij*. Intellectually, Huizinga and the Tachtigers also have some notable commonalities. They both, for instance, focus on the emotional and sensory experience of life. Another commonality is the appreciation of literature and art as the epitome of culture. While Huizinga does not see literature as separate from politics, he is convinced that literature is one of the most important sources to understand and experience past lives and cultures. It is through literature and emotional experiences that Huizinga touches upon subjects such as politics and economy. And when Huizinga tried to explain his understanding of history, he looked back to the Tachtigers and used one of their characteristic terms: *sensatie* (van der Lem, 1993, p. 36). Instead, van der Lem suggests that Huizinga's style was influenced by Middle French, from the sources he used.

Yet, Huizinga expert Anton van der Lem (1993) maintains that the influence of the Tachtigers on Huizinga's "pregnante taalgebruik" [rich wording] is "een hardnekkige mythe" [a persistent myth] (p. 144). Van der Lem (1993) argues that Huizinga distanced himself from the Tachtigers very early on and it would therefore be wrong to assume that *Herfsttij* came about under the influence of the Tachtigers (p. 144). Instead, van der Lem suggests that Huizinga's style was influenced by Middle French, from the sources he used.

When van der Lem writes that Huizinga's style cannot have been influenced by the Tachtigers, he seems to draw this conclusion on the basis of political conviction. At the time of writing, Huizinga had grown out of his youthful ideals. He

had left behind the Tachtigers conviction that art was everything and that politics was best ignored. But emotionally, intellectually and personally, can there be such a clear cut? Willem Otterspeer thinks not. He maintains that Huizinga never really changed. Like insects that develop in a chrysalis into the next life stage, Huizinga pupates into different versions of the same person but, essentially, remains the same (Otterspeer, 2019, p. 22).

For a long time, the Tachtigers have had an influence on Huizinga's development. One can appreciate an art form without fully aligning with all of its convictions. As Marci Shore (2014) writes, (intellectual) historians per definition walk the fine line between experiencing and channelling the ideas of their subject of study and understanding them from a critical contextual perspective. "In real life the personal and the political, the emotional and the intellectual, are always already - sometimes subtly, sometimes ostentatiously - bound up in one another." (Shore 197).

This does not mean to say that the French sources that Huizinga studies did not also have their own influence on his style. Certainly, Huizinga treats his sources and his narrative as one and the same: there is a natural flow between one and the other. His choice not to translate many of the French quotes indicates that perhaps, for him, they were so naturally part of his writing that translation was unnecessary.

The amalgamation of the intellectual, personal, political and emotional brings us to a metahistorical experience of Herfsttij. Huizinga's convictions, the phase of his life in which he wrote the book, and his emotional state at the time have not left the book untouched. Perhaps, it may be said that Huizinga's experience with loss due to the death of his wife, enabled him to write more evocatively on the subject of death and the decay of Medieval culture. Huizinga himself wonders whether his book has not taken a darker turn than he intended because of his grief for his wife. He writes in the preface that the shadow of dearth may have become too apparent in the book (Huizinga, 1949, p.4). When looking at the use of colour-related adjectives previously, it became apparent that the colours of the Middle Ages are dark; red, purple, and black, with very few references to other colours except for a few descriptions of clothing.

Familiarizing the past; defamiliarizing the present

Seeing as an important part of writing history is to make the past present, it might be interesting to look at some practical examples of how Huizinga uses stylistic features in order to familiarize the past and defamiliarize the present.

In the first chapter of *Herfsttij*, titled "'s Levens Felheid", Huizinga sets the stage. Through a series of carefully selected examples and anecdotes, Huizinga sketches an illuminating picture of the late Middle Ages. Carefully comparing this unknown world with reference points such as contemporary society, famous literary

classics, and contrasting historiographical practices, Huizinga carefully crafts the setting for his history. With the aid of ample quotations of primary source material and reflections on the viability of these sources, Huizinga manages to create a non-fictional world that ties into history quite seamlessly.

To aid the reader in their imaginative leap into the present, Huizinga used comparisons with the present, sometimes signifying the past's otherness, sometimes its sameness. He writes how the modern city with its streetlights and constant noise does not know "het effekt van een enkel lichtje of een enkelen verren roep" [the effect of a single light or a lone far cry] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 6). The reader will recognize "dat innig gevoel van verwantschap voor zieken, armen en gekken, zooals wij het, samen met de wreedheid, nog uit de Russische litteratuur kennen" [the intimate feeling of kinship for the sick, the poor and the insane, together with the cruelty, from Russian literature] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 27). These points of reference address and make use of the cognitive context of the reader. Their general knowledge can aid them to make comparative links between what they already know and this new information about the Middle Ages. Instead of constructing an image of the past entirely anew, Huizinga thus uses existing images in the mental framework of the reader and manipulates them so that he can make the reader understand the past better. Though, in all honesty, it must be noted that Huizinga demands quite a lot from their readers and assumes as varied an interest in culture as he has.

Huizinga's thematic structure signifies the importance of emotional empathy with the subject. As Anton van der Lem (2010) illustrates, Huizinga admitted himself to be emotionally attached to his subject. In the notes that Huizinga made around 1906-1908, when he was researching the cultural history of the Netherlands, he wrote, "ik zit er teveel in, in de geschiedenis. 't Is geen wetenschap voor mij, 't is het leven zelf"[34] (as cited in van der Lem, 2010). This emotional attachment to the subject can be seen in the emotional style of the author. According to Gay (1974), the emotional style can be seen in the "tone of voice as it emerges in the tension or repose of his phrases, [their] favourite adjectives, [their] selection of illustrative anecdotes, [their] emphasis and epigrams" (Gay, 1974, p. 8). Some of the main themes in Huizinga's work are love, death, knighthood, and art. Each of these examples will be discussed by looking at an illustrative anecdote or analysing the tone of voice and selection of descriptive words. Through the discussion of these examples, we will get a better sense of what Huizinga intended to tell about each of these themes, and which elements might be specifically important for translation.

[34] ["I am too much in it, in history, it is no science for me, it is life itself"], translation by van der Lem, 2010]

Love

Like anything in the late Middle Ages, Huizinga sees love as a ritual that has become somewhat ridiculous. "De gansche aankleeding van de edele liefde in litteratuur en gezelschapsleven schijnt ons dikwijls ondragelijk fade en louter belachelijk,"[35] Huizinga writes (Huizinga, 1949, p. 94). Love has become part of a game of knighthood and chivalry, the forms of which have become more important than the content (Huizinga, 1949, p. 94). In the following passage, Huizinga (1949) tells the fairytale of the three knights and a shift, dating from the late thirteenth century (p. 95). A lady whose husband does not partake in the tournaments, sends her shift to three knights and asks them to wear it without armour underneath. Two of the knights reject the proposal, the third accepts:

> De derde, die arm is, neemt het hemd 's nachts in zijn armen en kust het hartstochtelijk. In het steekspel verschijnt hij met het hemd als wapenrok, zonder pantser daaronder; het wordt verscheurd en met zijn bloed bevlekt; hij wordt zwaar gewond. Men bemerkt zijn buitengewone dapperheid en schenkt hem den prijs; de dame schenkt hem haar hart. Nu eischt de minnaar de vergelding. Hij zendt haar het bloedige hemd terug, om het zóó als het is over haar kleederen te dragen bij het feestmaal, dat het tournooi besluit. Zij omhelst het teeder en verschijnt in het bloedige kleedingstuk; de meesten laken haar, de echtgenoot is verlegen, en de verteller vraagt: wie van de beide minnenden deed het meest voor den ander?[36] (p. 95)

In this fairytale, there is a mirroring between the knight and the lady signifying courtly love. The mirroring is probably present in the fairytale itself. The style of the passage has been subtly adapted accordingly and follows the mirroring in its form. This is where we see that Huizinga's style may be influenced by his source material, as van der Lem (1993) maintains. Both appear in the shift, followed by a couple of short sentences of what follows. He sends her the garment; she embraces it. He kisses the shift with passion; she embraces it with tenderness. The reading experience is vaguely reminiscent of looking at a diptych.

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[35] ["The entire decoration of high love in literature and society seems frequently unbearably silly and simply ridiculous"]

[36] ["The third one, who is poor, takes the shift in his arms at night and kisses it passionately. In the joust, he appears with the shift as a surcoat, without his plate of armour underneath; it is torn and drenched in blood; he is heavily wounded. People notice his outstanding courage and award him his prize; the lady offers him her heart. Now the lover demands revenge. He sends her back the bloody shift, to wear as is over het clothes at the feast that closes the tournament. She embraces it tenderly and appears in the bloody garment; most deride her, the husband is shy, and the narrator asks: which of the two lovers served the other best?"]

Death

There were three themes that express the dominant thoughts of death in the Middle Ages. They form "de melodie [...] voor die nooit volzongen klacht over het einde van alle aardsche heerlijkheid"[37] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 164). In the description of death we similarly find a motif relating to the arts: that of song. Metaphors of song and art and poetic diction resembling them seem to be a feature of Huizinga's work. As discussed earlier, Huizinga named a line of an old song as a catalyst of historical experience (Huizinga, 1995, p. 110). And while he was convinced that the author could not manipulate his text to include *historische sensatie*, Huizinga metaphorically constitutes the object he thinks can invoke it in his text by using poetic diction. For the moment, I cannot go into this deeper, but the metaphors of art and song and its mimicry in the text might be an interesting aspect to investigate further.

The themes of death consisted of the question where everyone went after they died, and the unease with which human decay was observed (Huizinga, 1949, p. 164). The third theme was "het motief van den doodendans, de dood de menschen met zich sleurende uit elk bedrijf, uit elken leeftijd"[38] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 164). Huizinga describes each of these motifs with interest. About the third, the dance of death, he notes:

> Er raakte in de voorstelling van den dood een nieuw, aangrijpend fantastisch element gemengd, een rilling, die opkwam uit het bewustzijnsgebied van ijzige spokenvrees en klammen schrik. De alles-beheerschende godsdienstige gedachte zette haar aanstonds om in moraal, herleidde haar tot memento mori, maar maakte gaarne gebruik van al de huiveringwekkende suggestie, die het spectrale karakter der voorstelling meebracht.[39] (p. 172)

With each adjective and noun, Huizinga adds a layer to the emotional experience of death that could be seen in medieval culture. This emotional experience was "nieuw" [new], "aangrijpend" [gripping], "fantastisch" [imaginary], "ijzig" [icy], "klam" [dank], "alles-beheersend" [all-consuming], and "spectraal" [spectral] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 172). It is like a "rilling" [shiver], "spokenvrees" [fear of ghosts] and "schrik" [fright]. Each of these words contributes an aspect of the overall sensation of a fear of death that Huizinga tries to describe. By building up the description through different elements, the reader slowly becomes familiar with the small aspects of the overall phenomenon.

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[37] ["the melody for the never-accomplished sung complaint of the end of all earthly bliss"]

[38] ["the motif of the dance of death, that hauls people of every profession, from any age"]

[39] ["In the depiction of death, a new, gripping fantastic element intermingled, a shiver, that rose from the consciousness of icy fear of ghosts and cold fright. The all-encompassing religious thought immediately cast her into moral code, reducing her to memento mori, but gladly made use of all the horrible suggestion, that the spectral character of the depiction had brought."]

Knighthood

In the description of the cultural ideal of knighthood, or chivalry, we once again find the layer of veneer that Huizinga uses to describe the excessive but also hollowed out ritual that characterizes the time. He writes: "Het is een wonderlijke kleuring van de wereld, dat beeld van de maatschappij gedragen door het ridderideaal. Het is een kleur, die niet goed houden wil"[40] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 78). The ideal of knighthood was the way in which contemporary chroniclers made sense of the world (Huizinga, 1949, p. 78). While wars and affairs of state were "uiterst vormloos" [completely shapeless], understanding them through the lens of chivalry gave shape to events that the chroniclers could not yet understand (Huizinga, 1949, p. 78). In this sense, it is an aesthetic ideal consisting of "bonte fantazie en verheffende aandoening" [elaborate fantasy and transcending affectation] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 78).

At the same time, the colours of knighthood can obscure the reality of the lives of knights. In the case of Jean le Meingre, his life disappears behind "den schoonen schijn van het ridderbeeld" [the illusion of the image of knighthood] and is left with "een flauwe kleur" [a dull colour] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 85). The hardships le Meingre faces in serving his country in battles against the Turks are washed away by the depiction of the ideal type of knight: sobre, pious, courteous and literate (Huizinga, 1949, p.85).

There is an exception to this idealized depiction of knighthood. The first part of *Le Jouvencel*, depicts military events "zoo sober en echt, als nauwelijks elders te vinden is" [so sober and real, as can hardly be found elsewhere] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 87). The following section, not exactly an anecdote, more a poignant summary of the description in *Le Jouvencel*, is particularly striking:

> Wat ons hier tegenkomt, is de armzaligheid van den oorlog, zijn ontberingen en vervelingen en de frissche moed om gebrek te lijden en gevaren te bestaan. Een slotvoogd verzamelt zijn garnizoen en telt maar vijftien paarden, magere beestjes; de meeste zijn onbeslagen. Hij zet op elk paard twee mannen, maar ook van de mannen zijn de meesten eenoogig of kreupel. Om de kleeren van den kapitein te kunnen verstellen, gaat men de wasch van den vijand buitmaken. Een geroofde koe wordt den vijandelijken kapitein op zijn verzoek hoffelijk teruggegeven. In de beschrijving van een nachtelijken tocht over de velden ademt de nachtlucht en de stilte u tegen.[41] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 87)

[40] ["It is a curious colouring of the world, that image of the ideal of knighthood carried by society. It is a colour, that does not want to keep well."]

[41] ["What we can find here is the wretchedness of war, its hardships and boredom and the optimism to withstand want and suffering and dangers. A steward gathered his garnison and counted only fifteen horses, skinny little beasts; most of them barefoot. He puts two men on each horse, but also most of them are one-eyed or lame. To mend the clothes of the master, people plunder the laundry of the enemy. A robbed cow is courteously returned to the enemy

Huizinga's use of 'ons' and 'u' directly involves the reader in his reading of *Le Jouvenal*; it is as though we read the passages with the historian. His summary of events builds up and has a casual, story-like quality, as well as the mildly amusing factor of the horse being chivalrously returned. With the direct involvement of the reader at the end of the quoted passage, Huizinga takes the reader out of their present into the reading of the past. We merge with the historian and the past and suddenly, we stand in the cool night's air overlooking a field. The suddenness, of being addressed directly, is one of those attributes of *sensatie* as described by Lodewijk van Deyssel (Kemperink, 1988). While not sudden in a shocking sense, the effect of the involvement changes the reader's perspective from one of a spectator to an actor. It changes, as Shore (2014) calls it, the reader's complacency.

Art

Art is an important source for Huizinga. It contrasts the dark impression we get when reading the chronicles of the time, an image that was "fel en duister" [fierce and dark] because of its main focus on "de bloedige wreedheid, de hartstocht en hebzucht, de krijschende hoovaardij en wraakgierigheid en de jammerlijke ellende"[42] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 306). In strong words, Huizinga (1949) accuses the chroniclers of having let the lighter parts of history become overshadowed by "de bonte, opgeblazen ijdelheid der vermaarde hoffeesten met al hun geflonker van versleten allegorie en ondragelijke weelde"[43] (p. 306).

Art, by contrast, depicts a lighter side of the culture of the late Middle Ages. Through art, we also know "de hooge, waardige ernst en de diepe vrede van Van Eyck en Memlinc"[44] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 306). Where the chronicles are signified by the adjective 'bont', art is signified by the adjective 'innig': "die wereld van vijf eeuwen her schijnt ons vervuld met een helderen glans van eenvoudige blijheid, een schat van innigheid"[45] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 306). But art does not stay like this. In the developments of the late Middle Ages, the French-Burgundian culture is no longer signified by beauty: "pracht" [splendour] is replacing it (Huizinga, 1949, p. 312). Through a botanical metaphor, Huizinga describes the consequences of this development as follows:

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at their request. In the description of the nightly journey through the fields, the night air and silence breathes against you."]

[42] ["the bloody cruelty, the passion and greed, the shrill conceit and lust for revenge and the woeful misery"]

[43] ["the excessive, inflated vanity of the famous court festivals with all their twinkling of worn out allegory and unbearable luxury"]

[44] ["the high, dignified earnestness and the deep peace of Van Eyck and Memlinc"]

[45] ["that world of five centuries past seems to us filled with a bright veneer of simple happiness, a wealth of intimacy"]

> Dat alles wil zeggen, dat de grenzen tusschen praal en schoonheid verflauwen. Tooi en versiering dienen niet meer om het natuurlijk schoone te verheerlijken, maar overwoekeren het en dreigen het te verstikken. Die woekering van de formeele versieringselementen over den inhoud is des te toomeloozer, naarmate men zich verder van de zuiver beeldende kunst verwijdert[46] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 312).

The splendour acts like a weed, consuming the natural beauty of art that could be seen in the earlier Middle Ages. Huizinga sees natural beauty, content, and visual arts as a more pure original which is corrupted. Other forms of art, such as writing, are more prone to this corruption. It is a prime example of, as Hopman cleverly phrased, the waning of the Middle Ages.

Some considerations in translating historical experience

"Reading history should be not only *Erfahrung*, but also *Erlebnis*", Marci Shore (2014) writes, where *Erfahrung* denotes digested and reflected experience, and *Erlebnis* immediate, sensuous, and unreflected experience (p. 201). "For me this has meant much more direct quotation and a certain kind of writing. It has meant softening my voice to allow the voices of others of times past to wrap themselves around the reader" (201). In a sense, the historian and the translator have something in common: both try to let other voices speak in a new context. Both need to adjust and adapt those voices ever so slightly so that they can be understood, without losing connection with, without misrepresenting the 'original'.

Huizinga's artistic choices are most notable in his use of nouns and adjectives. The translation of adjectives in this text can be particularly tricky. In the translation of adjectives, generally, translators will need to consider the semantic scope of the adjective and the immediate context within which it is used in order to devize a translation that has either a similar semantic scope or has an equivalent sense as intended in the ST. Because Huizinga stresses the importance of connotative meaning over denotative meaning, specifying the adjective so that the connotative meaning is translated might prove a useful strategy. Especially in those cases where finding an equivalent adjective proves a bit more difficult. Then, there is a small number of adjectives that do not only have quite specific connotative meanings, but also have a literary history, like 'zwaar', 'breed', 'hoog' and 'fel', and also 'purperrood' and 'zwart'. These adjectives that are reminiscent of the Tachtigers sensitivist style, cannot be seen singly within the context of this particular text. To fully understand

[46] ["This all means to say that the boundaries between pomp and beauty abate. Ornamentation and decoration no longer serve to exalt natural beauty, but overgrow it and threaten to stifle it. The rampage of formal elements of decoration over the content becomes more and more unbridled, the more one strays from the pure visual arts."]

their meaning, and find a translation strategy suitable to them, one would have to be able to recognize them and know something about their history. And finally, there are adjectives that are quite particular to Huizinga. Adjectives that, at first glance, may appear to be chosen for aesthetic purposes, but when analysing the ST in its entirety reveal themselves to be motifs. Examples shown above include 'bont', 'inning', and 'pracht', to name a few.

Perhaps one of the most challenging aspects of translating this text is coming to the full realisation of how many of Huizinga's stylistic choices are tied to his philosophy of history. That the idea of the Middle Ages is a concept can hardly be denied. It is a lexical construction to help us think about a certain period in time, and certain practices that have become attributed to that time. Agents who we designate to belong to this era were not themselves aware of this temporal identity, nor did they actively identify themselves with the characteristics of this concept. Thus, the Middle Ages, as a concept, has an interesting relation to the past. Even though it does not belong in the past, it is a concept that attempts to say something about that past. The semantic scope of this concept is the very element that Huizinga wants to change. He proposes to widen the scope to include what has systematically been termed the Early Modern period. He does this on the basis of metaphor, the similarity between several cultural practices in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period; and metonymy, the nearness in time. The validity of this proposal need not concern the translator, but what should concern the translator is the way in which Huizinga presents the Middle Ages.

The translator of this text also has quite limited resources available that might help with the particular problems that arise when translating a work of history. The translation of works of history has largely escaped the notice of scholars in Translation Studies. In general, history as a genre is discussed neither by literary scholars nor linguists. When speaking of the translation of history, translation theory is limited to the discussion of classical and medieval source texts, which might be useful for the translation of the material that Huizinga quotes, but does not offer much help in translating the narrative he has created around his sources.

Chapter Five
Historical Experience in Practice: A Translation Analysis

"Zo fel en bont was het leven, zo verdroeg het de geur van bloed en rozen dooreen."
(Huizinga, 1919, 2012, p. 41)

The fact that there are three English translations of *Herfsttij* not only illustrates the popularity of Huizinga even today, but it also shows an underlying dissatisfaction in rendering Huizinga's prose in translation. The first translation was not complete enough, the first and second were not stylistically accurate enough. The translation of this work is noted as a particular challenge by Ankersmit and Menezes (2017), who write: "Unfortunately, the 'oddity' of Huizinga's prose is irrevocably lost when translated into a foreign language. This is why people outside the Netherlands necessarily remain unaware of one of the main features of Huizinga's classic" (p. 251). Through a comparative analysis of those stylistic features that convey historical experience, we can analyse how Huizinga's Middle Ages have withstood the cultural transfer in translation. This chapter is divided into two parts: the first focuses on structures of different kinds, the second on the translation of sensitivist elements in the text.

Structure

The structure of the text can be understood in different ways, or on different levels of the text. In the following section, structure in terms of chapter division, sentence structure, and narrative structure (the beginning, in this example) will be explored in a comparison between the ST and the three translations.

Chapters and their titles

There are some structural differences in chapter division between the TTs, based on which edition was used as the ST. That Hopman uses 23 chapters in consultation with Huizinga must be a precursor to the third edition of 1928, which divided the text into 23 instead of 14 chapters.[47] Payton and Mammitzsch, who based their translation of the second edition of 1921, use the older division into 14 chapters. Webb, after the fifth edition, used its chapter division of 22 chapters.

Eerste hoofdstuk, 's Levens Felheid	The Violent Tenor of Life	The Passionate Intensity of Life	Life's Fierceness

[47] See preface to the third edition in Huizinga (2012).

De zucht naar een schooner leven	Pessimism and the ideal of the sublime life	The craving for a more beautiful life	The yearning for a finer life
De hiërarchische opvatting der samenleving	The hierarchic conception of society		The hierarchical conception of society
De ridder-idee	The idea of chivalry		The notion of knighthood
De droom van heldendaad en liefde	The dream of heroism and of love	The heroic dream	Dreams of heroic deeds and love
Ridderorden en ridderlijke geloften	Orders of chivalry and vows		Chivalric orders and knightly vows
De beteekenis van het ridderideaal in oorlog en staatkunde	The political and military value of chivalrous ideas		The significance of the chivalric ideal in warfare and statecraft
The styleering der liefde	Love formalized	The forms of love	The stylization of love
De omgangsvormen der liefde	The conventions of love		The proprieties of love
Het idyllische levensbeeld	The idyllic vision of life		The idyllic image of life
Het beeld van den dood	The vision of death	The vision of death	The image of death
De verbeelding van al het heilige	Religious thought crystallizing into images	The depiction of the sacred	The representation of all things holy
Typen van godsdienstig leven	Types of religious life	The pious personality	Types of religious life
Godsdienstige aandoening en godsdienstige verbeelding	Religious sensibility and religious imagination	Religious excitation and religious fantasy	Religious emotion and the religious imagination

Het symbolisme uitgebloeid	Symbolism and its decline	The decline of symbolism	Symbolism withered
Realisme en het bezwijken der verbeelding in de mystiek	The effects of realism		Realism and the defeat of the imagination in mysticism
	Religious thought beyond the limits of imagination	The failure of imagination	
De denkvormen in het praktische leven	The forms of thought and practical life	The forms of thought in practice	Forms of thought in practical life
De kunst in het leven	Art and Life The Aesthetic sentiment	Art in life	Art in life
Het schoonheidsgevoel			The sense of beauty
Het beeld en het woord	Verbal and plastic expressions compared I	Image and word	The Image and the Word
Het woord en het beeld	Verbal and plastic expressions compared II		The word and the image
Het komen van den nieuwe vormen	The advent of new forms	The coming of the new form	The coming of the new form

Fig. 1.2: Chapter titles in *Herfsttij* (1949), *Waning* (2014), *Autumn* (1996) and *Autumntide* (2020)

It can be seen that the chapter titles emphasise the important concepts that Huizinga wishes to discuss. Despite the differences in chapter division, it can be seen that the main themes are present in all of the editions. There are some aspects missing in the structure of *Autumn*, notably the concept of realism and of beauty. The other missing chapters seem to be elaborations on concepts introduced in the earlier editions.

While there are many small differences between the translation, there are a few I would like to highlight within the context of historical experience. The translation of the title of the first chapter, for instance, shows the complexity behind Huizinga's choices of words. While *Autumntide* was able to find a sufficient translation with a similar number of words, *Waning* and *Autumn* both chose equivalent effect over form by translating 'felheid' with a phrase rather than a single word. "Tenor" carries the denotation of life's usual pattern or character, but also the connotation of sound (Huizinga, 2014). Whereas 'felheid' carries a connotation of light, it is an interesting translation choice to choose for an option that carries sense, even if a different one. Payton and Mammeritz have chosen for a correct rather than a lyrical translation, though also in phrase form. The combination of "passion" and "intensity" summarizes the main argument of the chapter; how emotional and emotionally different the late Middle Ages were compared to our time (Huizinga, 1996). But where the ST carries a metaphoric quality, this choice is more descriptive and explanatory.

The choice of Hopman to translate "komen" with "advent" in the last chapter title (Huizinga, 2014). While this might be a case of what Langeveld (2008) dreaded, a creative translation, it plays out particularly well for Hopman. 'Advent' is precisely the type of word one would expect in the context of the abundance, the religious forms, and the elaborate stylization that is shown to characterize the period throughout the book.

Another noteworthy difference is the choice for 'sublime' (*Waning*) versus 'beautiful' (*Autumn*) as a translation of 'schooner' in "De zucht naar schooner leven". Such small nuances determine the reader's perception and understanding of the inner life in the Middle Ages very strongly, especially because 'schoonheid' is a recurring theme, almost a concept, throughout Huizinga's historical analysis. Sublime here suggests that the life sought after in the late Middle Ages was elevated or lofty[48], whereas beautiful suggests the ideal life was delightful or pleasing.[49] Both have an interesting effect on the text when compared to the content of the chapter. In this chapter, Huizinga (1949) narrates the pessimistic views that prevailed in late medieval culture, such as the conviction that everything God made was good, and therefore only man was responsible for the evils in the world. 'Schoonheid' was an attempt to escape it all, but the relationship between 'schoonheid' and life was a complicated one. Not until the Renaissance, he argues, did people believe that they could improve the

[48] "Belonging to or designating the highest sphere of thought, existence, or human activity; intellectually or spiritually elevated." (2022c, Oxford English Dictionary)
[49] "Highly pleasing to the sight; embodying an ideal of physical perfection; possessing exceptional harmony of form or colour". (2022a, Oxford English Dictionary)

world surrounding them, therefore, they fled into a dream to escape the sorrows and fears of life:

> Het geheele aristocratische leven van de latere Middeleeuwen, om 't even of men denkt aan Frankrijk en Bourgondië of aan Florence, is een poging, om een droom te spelen. Altijd denzelfden droom, dien van de oude helden en wijzen, van den ridder en de maagd, van de eenvoudige en vergenoegde herders.[50] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 47)

The sublime conveys this sense of escape because it suggests a place to elevate from, in which the movement from low to high is contained. The beautiful, as a term, contains less depth and movement.

The beginning

The first sentence of a book has a certain fascination. A good opening sentence can be sure to be noticed by a literary critic. Especially in literature, some opening sentences have become quite famous. The same counts for the opening sentence of *Herfsttij*. The history Huizinga wants to discuss starts with a time marker, while at the same time beginning a story.

> Toen de wereld vijf eeuwen jonger was, hadden alle levensgevallen veel scherper uiterlijke vormen dan nu. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 5)

> To the world when it was half a thousand years younger, the outline of all things seemed more clearly marked than to us. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 1)

> When the world was half a thousand years younger all events had much sharper outlines than now. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 1)

> When the world was five centuries younger, all the affairs of life had much sharper outward forms than they do now. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 9)

While the sentence in *Autumn* and *Autumntide* both start with 'when', *Waning* changed it to 'to'. This seems like an odd choice when singled out, but when looking at the overall sentence structure, it can be seen that it suits the more personal contrast that Hopman uses. He creates a dichotomy between the past and the present by using 'to them versus to us', rather than 'then versus now'. Considering this contrast, 'when' becomes an odd translation choice, as 'when versus now' makes no sense. Starting the sentence with 'then' is not an option, as it would create a very odd

[50] ["All of the aristocratic life of the late Middle Ages, regardless of whether one thinks of France and Burgundy or Florence, is an attempt to play out a dream. It is always the same dream, the one of the old heroes and wise men, of the knight and the virgin, of the simple and content shepherds."]

sentence indeed. Hopman shows to have been very aware of the figure of speech dominating this sentence and chose a translation strategy accordingly.

It is only *Autumntide* that manages to keep another marked feature of this sentence: the 'vijf eeuwen jonger' is translated into 'five centuries younger'. It is one of those phrases that stands out as something to remember. It is an unusual, but beautifully poetic way to phrase which time period is going to be studied. The choice for 'half a thousand years younger' in *Waning* and *Autumn* is just slightly less impressive. But then, the choice for 'outwards forms' as opposed to 'outline' or 'outlines,' though faithful in a literal sense, seems a bit odd. The 'uiterlijke vormen' are important to Huizinga; it is one of his concepts of culture with which he signified a change between the core cultural elements of the early Middle Ages and the way they are represented in the late Middle Ages. However, there seems to be no particular reason why a more readable choice like 'outline' would not convey this concept.

The translation of 'levengesvallen' is a bit more important. It is the main subject of Huizinga's study, the life events of Medieval nobles, kings, and religious people, and as far as possible the common people. The translations show a difference in degrees of abstraction, with 'things' as the most abstract, 'events' more abstract than the ST, and 'affairs of life' on the same level as the ST. Even though 'affairs of life' is a bit cumbersome, it does reflect best the denotative meaning of the ST.

Thus setting the scene for the rest of the book, we can see the subtle differences of each of the translations. The choices of the translators reflect how they read the ST, their understanding of its concepts, and what they find important in translation.

Sentence structure and word order

In hypothesis, *Waning* and *Autumn* should change the sentence structures most. *Waning* for both a practical and an aesthetic reason: practical, in merging sentences to create its abbreviated text, aesthetic to create beautiful English structures that convey the sensitivism of the ST. *Autumn* should mostly naturalize the sentence structures to form proper English sentences. *Autumntide* would stay closest to the ST in terms of sentence structure and word order: for a translation aimed at translating Huizinga's style, this approach is understandable, as sentence structure and word order are important elements of style. All three translation strategies to sentence structure and word order make sense within the context of what we know about the translators' approach. Practice proves a bit more complex.

One example of typical Huizinga sentence structures is heavy sentence openers. Because Huizinga has the tendency to specify his meaning by using complex noun phrases, subjects tend to be rather long.

In al deze ontvankelijkheid van gemoed, deze vatbaarheid voor tranen en

> geestelijken ommekeer, deze prikkelbaarheid moet men zich indenken, om te beseffen, welke kleur en felheid het leven had. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 11)
>
> All this general facility of emotions, of tears and spiritual upheavals, must be borne in mind in order to conceive fully how violent and high strung was life at that period (Huizinga, 2014, p. 6)
>
> We have to transpose ourselves into this impressionability of mind, into this sensitivity to tears and spiritual repentance, into this susceptibility, before we can judge how colorful and intensive life was then. (Huizinga, 1996, p.7)
>
> One must form an idea of all of this emotional vulnerability, this susceptibility to tears and spiritual transformation, this sensitiveness in order to understand the colour and fierceness life had then. (Huizinga, 2020 p. 16)

This is one of those typical examples where the English language has some trouble dealing with too much information in the first part of the sentence. It is therefore particularly hard to translate Huizinga's heavy subjects into English and make them pleasant to read at the same time. It is only after the enumeration of 'ontvankelijkheid', 'vatbaarheid,' and 'prikkelbaarheid' that the subject, 'men' is introduced. In *Autumn* and *Autumntide*, the subject is placed instead at the beginning of the sentence, starting with 'we' and 'one' respectively. *Waning* omits the subject and turns the sentence into a passive with the verb 'must be borne'. Both these translation strategies can aid the reader without doing too much damage to the ST. The involvement of the reader by addressing them at the start of the sentence may even have a beneficial effect of making the reader more alert to Huizinga's instructions.

Author-reader

Another example of changed word order can be found in the following example, where Huizinga describes some of the images that we can think of to get a better sense of the Middle Ages, and where, in our current culture, these may be found:

> Een bonten tabbert, een helder haardvuur, dronk en scherts en een zacht bed hadden nog dat hooge genotsgehalte, dat misschien door de Engelsche novelle in de beschrijving der levensvreugde het langst is beleden en het levendigst ingeboezemd. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 6)
>
> We, at the present day, can hardly understand the keenness with which a fur coat, a good fire on the hearth, a soft bed, a glass of wine, were formerly enjoyed. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 1)

> A fur-lined robe of office, a bright fire in the oven, drink and jest, and a soft bed still possessed that high value for enjoyment that perhaps the English novel, in describing the joy of life, has affirmed over the longest period of time. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 1)
>
> A fur tabard, a roaring fire, drink and banter and a soft bed still possessed that intense degree of pleasure that was perhaps propagated the longest and embodies most vividly by the English novella in its description of life's joys. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 9)

There is something pleasant about the swaying rhythm of the enumeration in the first sentence of the ST example. The closest approximation to that rhythm is the one in *Autumntide*, where only fire changes the number of syllables. But *Autumn*, too, shows that form was a factor of consideration in its translation strategy. Payton and Mammeritz add a prepositional phrase so that the first two elements in the list have the same number of syllables. *Waning* changes the order of the enumeration for a more repetitive effect of parallelism in the article 'a'. This creates a different type of list, but not unlike others we find in Huizinga's work. This time, it is Hopman who makes the sentence more personal, by adding a subject to the sentence: 'we, at the present day'. *Autumn* and *Autumntide* keep the sentence passive. None of the changes are, however, so substantial that they radically change the image of the scene.

What can be seen is a preference of the translators to either make the enumeration easily readable in the TT or translate word-for-word as much as possible in an attempt to approximate Huizinga's style. The difference in this desire is also present in the small, but substantial, translation dilemma of translating 'novelle' with 'novel' or 'novella'. 'Novella' seems like an odd choice. Surely, the English novel is meant here. Or at least, that is what common knowledge of the English novel dictates. Huizinga, however, uses the word 'novelle', which does, if denotation, mean 'novella'. Huizinga never uses the word 'roman', the Dutch word for 'novel,' except in reference to *Roman de la Rose*, where it is part of a book title. 'Novelle', then, is a case of idiolect. *Autumntide* thus chose to keep in the idiolect at the consequence of possibly misinforming the reader. Considering that the comparison to the English novel is meant to provide the reader with a frame of reference with which to understand an element of history, it can be questioned whether it was necessary, in this instance, to choose the author's side.

Sensitivist affects

In the last chapter, it could be seen that Huizinga frequently uses sensitivist language to add to the historical experience of the text. In this section, different figures of speech are explored in comparison with their translations. Each of the examples can be said to contribute more to the text than the foregrounding of a scheme or a trope. The following schemes or tropes contribute to presenting the past by affecting the senses.

The sound of bells

One famous example of Huizinga, also cited by Otterspeer (2006), is Huizinga's use of an anaphora of "dan" [then] to list the occasions on which a Medieval church bell would ring.

> Er was één geluid, dat al het gedruisch van het drukke leven steeds weer overstemde, en dat, hoe bont dooreenklinkend, toch nooit verward, alles tijdelijk ophief in een sfeer van orde: de klokken. De klokken waren in het dagelijksch leven als waarschuwende goede geesten, die met bekende stem dan rouw, dan blijdschap, dan rust, dan onrust kondigden, dan opriepen, dan vermaanden. Men kende hen bij gemeenzame namen: de dikke Jacqueline, klokke Roelant; men wist de beteekenis van kleppen of luiden. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 6)

> One sound rose ceaselessly above the noises of busy life and lifted all things unto a sphere of order and serenity: the sounds of bells. The bells were in daily life like good spirits, which by their familiar voices, now called upon the citizens to mourn and now to rejoice, now warned them of danger, now exhorted them to piety. They were known by their names: big Jacqueline, or the bell Roland. Every one knew the difference in meaning of the various ways of ringing. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 2)

> But one noise always rose above the clamor of busy life and no matter how much of a tintinnabulation, was never confused with other noises, and, for a moment, lifted everything into an ordered sphere: that of the bells. The bells acted in daily life like concerned good spirits who, with their familiar voices, proclaimed sadness or joy, calm and unrest, assembly or exhortation. People knew them by familiar names: Fat Jacqueline, Bell Roelant; everyone knew their individual tones and instantly recognized their meaning. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 2)

> There was one sound that always rose above all the noise and commotion of life, which – its bright chimes intermingling, yet always unmistakable – temporarily suspended everything in a sphere or order: the bells. In daily life the bells were like cautionary good spirits, whose well-known voice tolled sorrow, tolled joy, tolled rest, tolled unrest, then summoning, then warning. They were known by familiar names: Fat Jacqueline, the Great Bell Roland; one knew the difference between sounding and tolling. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 9-11)

"Dan", with its voiced sounds, low /ɑ/, and resounding /n/, perfectly imitates the sound of the church bell he is describing. The tolling of the bells thus resonates from the past into the reader's head. It is, what Gumbrecht (2006) called the ability of language to adapt to the world or things; to resemble in its form that which it tries to express (p.322). What makes this stylistic feat unique to a historical experience, rather

than an effect that can be achieved in any sort of text, is the juxtaposition between a familiar sound and unfamiliar information. With each ringing of the church bell, so to speak, Huizinga adds a new item of information. Practices of the Middle Ages that are no longer, but used to be, are associated with the tolling of the bells. This clever distribution of known (the sound of church bells) and new (the Medieval practices) information aids the understanding and absorption of the information through recognizability.

The onomatopoeia of 'dan', ringing repetitively through the sentence, gives a vibrancy to the description of the bells. It provides structure to the historical description of a commonplace occurrence that is familiarized to the reader by its formal representation in the text. Boase-Beier (2020) recognizes that certain patterns in literary text, its iconicity, contribute to the meaning it creates (p. 160). On the matter of repetition, she writes: "If the sound repetition is seen [...] as iconic, and not only as an instance of foregrounding, it is even more important that it should be preserved in translation" (Boase-Beier, 2020, p. 161). Because of the function in historical understanding of the onomatopoeic repetition of 'dan', it is a pity that the translation by Payton and Mammitzsch has completely removed this repetition. And though Hopman was unable to convey the low sonorous sound of the bells with his repetition of 'now', he managed, at least, to convey the sense of urgency of the messages of the bells. Similarly, Webb included a repetition of a different word: 'tolled'. The sound with which the repetition is translated does not need to be the same sound. 'Dan' has an appropriate association with church bells for a Dutch audience, but phonetically these sounds need not have the same association for the target audience. Thus, "finding a set of sounds used in appropriate words in the target language will not necessarily work if speakers do not feel that meaning can be attributed to these particular sounds" (Boase-Beier, 2020, p. 164). The changes in sound in *Waning* and *Autumntide* are therefore more than adequate solutions.

Also interesting to note is the order of the anaphora. Huizinga uses a set of four coordinating words (rouw, blijdschap, rust, onrust) in combination with the verb 'kondigden', followed by a list of two more verbs, 'opriepen' and 'vermaanden'. Hopman creates coordination following the verb 'called upon' between the prepositional phrases 'to mourn' and 'to rejoice', after which he lists more verb-phrases followed by prepositional phrases ('warned them of danger' and 'exhorted them to piety'). In order to do this, he adds an object position ('the citizens', which is referred back to with 'them' and 'them'). Payton and Mammitzsch have again opted for a different sentence structure by creating three coordinating 'or'-phrases: 'sadness or joy', 'calm or unrest', and 'assembly or exhortation'. Their translation prefers the message and simplifies the form significantly. This aids the reader to absorb the factual information, but does little for the experience of that

information. Webb stays remarkably true to the ST in this respect, choosing the nouns 'sorrow', 'joy', 'rest' and 'unrest', and the verbs 'summoning' and 'warning', keeping the structure entirely intact.

Prickly cities

The combination of resonating familiar sounds and unfamiliar practices enforces the realization of an unknown past being made present. Huizinga often does this explicitly through contrasts. One of those instances is when he sketches the difference between the modern and Medieval city:

> Ook in het uiterlijk aanschijn van stad en land heerschte die tegenstelling en die bontheid. De stad verliep niet zooals onze steden in slordig aangelegde buitenwijken van dorre fabrieken en onnoozele landhuisjes, maar lag in haar muur besloten, een afgerond beeld, stekelig van tallooze torens.[51] (Huizinga, 1949, 5-6)

Huizinga describes the outward appearance of a medieval city. This appearance contains the contrast of the city and its natural surroundings. In the use of the adjectives in this sentence, we see the direct influence of the Tachtigers writing style. The city becomes 'stekelig' because of its many turrets, but is 'afgerond' because of its enclosing walls. This technique helps form a mental image. The image of a city as a haphazard expanse of buildings without any limitations must be put away to make way for the contained, enclosed image of the Medieval city, rounded at its edges and pointing upwards with its many turrets. These adjectives help to give the image shape. They describe characteristics which are historically accurate, while at the same time giving form to the mental image.

In the translations, we see that the image of the city changes and is less visual than in the ST. The translations are as follows:

> Between town and country, too, the contrast was very marked. A medieval town did not lose itself in extensive suburbs of factories and villas; girded by its walls, it stood forth as a compact whole, bristling with innumerable turrets. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 2)

> In their external appearance, too, town and countryside displayed the same contrast and color. The city did not dissipate, as do our cities, into carelessly fashioned, ugly factories and monotonous country homes, but, enclosed by its walls, presented a completely rounded picture that included its innumerable protruding towers. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 2)

[51] [Also in the outward appearance of the city and countryside did this duality and lushness reign. The city did not, like our cities do, transition to haphazardly constructed suburbs of barren factories and silly little country houses, but lay enclosed in her wall, a contained image, prickly from innumerous turrets."]

> Town and countryside, too, were dominated in their outward appearance by such contrast and diversity. The city did not dwindle, as our cities do, into slapdash suburbs of decayed factories and silly little country houses, but lay enclosed within its walls, a self-contained picture, bristling with countless towers. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 9)

The main change in the mental image comes from the translation strategies used to translate 'stekelig'. Huizinga's marked word choice conveys a sense of spikes that are tangible to the touch. *Waning* and *Autumntide* have both opted for 'bristling'; in *Autumn* we find 'protruding'. Bristling is often associated with hair, fine points that stand on end. Protruding is more general and can point to anything sticking out of a surface, big or small. By comparison, 'stekelig' has a different semantic scope, having a distinct, thorny shape, or one of triangular points. This is why 'stekelig' is such an apt, visual description of a walled city with many pointed turrets sticking out of it.

The golden spurs

Vivid imagery also helps Huizinga create memorable focus points for historical information. When he tries to convey the presence of life and death in the life of the medieval public sphere, for instance. Characterizing the death sentences as a "schouwspel" [public spectacle], Huizinga informs us that the government did its utmost to entertain, and dressed the high executives that were chased under Huguenot rule in signs that were equal to their standards. One of those was Jean de Montaigu, whose death sentence is described in a cinematographic anecdote.

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maître d'hôtel van den koning, slachtoffer van den haat van Jan zonder Vrees, rijdt naar het schavot, hoog op een kar gezeten, twee trompetters vooruit; hij draagt zijn staatsiekleed, kaproen, houppelande en hozen half wit half rood, en gouden sporen aan de voeten; met die gouden sporen hangt het onthoofde lijk aan de galg. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 22).

We see de Montaigu riding a cart through the streets, preceded by two trumpeters. Like a camera in close-up, slowly moving from the top of de Montaigu's head towards his feet, Huizinga gives a description of the full regalia de Montaigu was wearing. It is a combination of sound (the cart, the trumpeters) and picture (the colourful hoses, the spurs on his feet). The 'close-up' ends at the feet, adorned with golden spurs. Suddenly, Huizinga turns everything upside down. Because he informs us without warning that with those golden spurs, the beheaded body hangs on the gallows.

A gruesome image, with some remarkable narrative techniques. First of all, note how historical information is deferred to side-clauses specifying the subject. The nonrestrictive relative clause following the subject, Jean de Montaigu, very casually provides the reader with the appropriate historical context needed to understand the occurrence and the causal relationship of the historical, social events in relation to the

historical actor. Then, in three short fragments, the scene develops. The first of which describes the what and contains the main verb, then how the subject bears himself, and then a mention of those accompanying him. The words, 'kar', 'schavot' and 'trompetters' remind us, readers, that this is not an event taking place in contemporary society. As does the description of the clothes Montaigu is wearing.
The repetition of 'gouden sporen' becomes the focal point. Serving almost as a metonymy, this feature which already carries a strong mental image because of its specificity, becomes even more prominent when it becomes the first picture associated with the climax of the story, the bodily remains of the executed Montaigu hanging from a rope. Through contrasts and vivid imagery, Huizinga both engages and shocks the reader. The chiasmus in this anecdote is powerfully evocative of Van Deyssel's *Sensatie*, which can be identified by features such as abruptness, dynamics, and startling (Kemperink, 1988, p. 86). Even though we know that de Montaigu has been condemned, and that Medieval justice was characterized by a "gruwelijke openbaarheid" [gruesome publicness] (Huizinga, 1949, p. 6); the death sentence comes as a surprise. The transition from riding the cart, alive and well-dressed, to the dangling corpse is instantaneous.

The English translations are as follows:

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maître d'hôtel to the king, the victim of Jean sans Peur, is placed high on a cart, preceded by two trumpeters. He wears his robe of state, hood, cloak, and hose half red and half white, and his golden spurs, which are left on the feet of the beheaded and suspended corpse. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 4)

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maitre d'hotel of the king and a victim of the hatred of John the Fearless, travels to the gallows seated high on top of a cart. Two trumpeters precede him. He is dressed in his robes of state, cap, vest, and pants - half white, half red - with golden spurs on his feet. The beheaded body was left hanging on the gallows still wearing those golden spurs. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 4)

> Jean de Montaigu, the King's Grand Master of the Household (grand maître d'hôtel) and victim of the hate of John the Fearless, rides to the scaffold seated high on a cart-preceded by two trumpeters; he wears full ceremonial dress: a hood, a long-skirted tunic, breeches that are half-white, half-red, and gold spurs on his feet; it is with those gold spurs that his beheaded body hangs on the gallows. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 13)

Several things have happened in the translation of this scene. Firstly, we see the different stances of the translators in the title and description given to de Montaigu. In the ST, "grand maître d'hôtel van den koning, slachtoffer van den haat van Jan zonder Vrees", in the translations he is "grand maître d'hôtel to the king, the victim of Jean sans Peur" (Huizinga, 1949, p. 4), "grand maitre d'hotel of the king and a victim of the hatred of John the Fearless" (*Huizinga,* 1996, p. 4), and "the King's

Grand Master of the Household (grand maître d'hôtel) and victim of the hate of John the Fearless" (Huizinga, 2020, p. 13). These small variations can nonetheless have a significant effect, especially the way in which there is no emotional incentive behind the victimization of de Montaigu in *Waning*. As we have seen previously, emotions are what drives much of the cultural phenomenon in Huizinga's analysis. De Montaigu was therefore not simply a victim, but one of hatred. The translators also have different attitudes to the translation of French terms. There may be cultural and temporal differences at play here. In *Waning* it is assumed, like Huizinga has done, that a reader interested in Medieval Burgundian culture has sufficient knowledge of French to understand some terminology. *Autumn* has an interesting mix of foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies, adopting the 'grand maitre d'hotel', but translating the nickname of the king. In *Autumntide*, the title is translated and capitalization added to it. This translation refers to the French title between brackets, and translates the king's name. Foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies are inevitably going to influence the mental image of the scene. To what extent is de Montaigu French, is he a distant foreign figure or less so?

Secondly, it cannot escape a comparative reader that the description of the regalia that de Montaigu wears has been generalized in all three translations. Webb wonders, "why mystify the reader – and slow down the story – with 'houpland' when this can be rendered by 'long-skirted tunic'?" (Huizinga, 2020). While this is meant as a rhetorical question, it deserves serious consideration. For slowing down the story to let the chiasmus of the gold spurs take effect seems to be exactly the point of the enumeration of de Montaigu's costume. But most importantly, the historical jargon serves more than one function in this small excerpt. It represents the embellishment present in almost every aspect of late Medieval culture that Huizinga notices. The garments are what makes the contrast between the historical figure of de Montaigu and the cart clattering down the streets and the beheaded body on the gallows more glaring; which is the vital point that Huizinga makes again and again, that the contrasts in Medieval culture were so much greater than what we are now used to. When we as readers take the time to fully understand what de Montaigu was wearing, we can understand that his choice of clothes, or the description of it, was intended to show how the mighty fall. An attire like this was meant for wealthy people. The hood, 'kaproen' was a distinctive piece of clothing for knights and nobles at the time ("kaproen", 2007). None of the translators have decided to use medieval terminology, for which an English equivalent would be 'chaperon'. Instead, the kaproen becomes a 'hood' or 'cap', neither of which sound quite as impressive. As for 'houppelande', *Autumntide* may be the lesser of three evils, with the 'long-skirted tunic' at least giving some idea of the dimensions of the intended garment and how it would be worn though its descriptive translation. The other solutions, 'cloak' and 'vest' give the

sense of an outer garment, which a 'houppelande' is, but none of the translations convey the richness of the gown.

Webb argues that 'houppelande' "does have an English form in the OED [houpland], but it is given as defunct" (Webb, 2020). In Dutch, the terms used to describe de Montaigu's clothes are just as much strange and historical. The Dutch audience would not use 'houpelande' in their everyday vocabulary either. Webb's statement reveals much about the translator's considerations during the translation process. Webb's general reader reads for enjoyment of the text, the voice of Huizinga, but should not have to look anything up while reading. We see this attitude reflected in the addition of illustrations and historical research as well. While this is a noble attempt at completeness, it shows how different the translator's approach to their audience is compared to Huizinga's attitude to his. Hopman and Payton and Mammeritz seem to have drawn similar conclusions; that the text should not contain too much jargon.

In the case of highly specialized registers of language, André Lefevere (1992) notes that "the target language may have no exact equivalents available, forcing translators once more to quietly regularize" (p. 63). While something can be said in favour of not using too much jargon – it does make the text more easily accessible and jargon is often used to exclude rather than include – in this case it polishes away some of the historicity of the event. Gumbrecht (2006), noted that one of the modes of language with which the past can be made tangible is exactly by referring to objects which are old-fashioned (p.324). Removing historical jargon can thus deprive the reader of some of the text's historical experience. In addition, omitting these historifying words does leave little room for the joy of learning a new word and understanding a small element of a world past a little better.

Thirdly, the translations were unable to fully use the powerful visual image created by the chiasmus. The chiasmus of the golden spurs (last in the enumeration of de Montaigu's attire, the first in announcing his fate) has only remained intact in *Autumntide*. However, the use of an it-clause also interrupts the chiasmus. It places perhaps too much emphasis on the golden spurs, so much so that the beheaded body makes less of an impression because it is not preceded by the golden spurs in object position in the clause. *Autumn* creates emphasis and distance instead through separating the last clause and turning it into a sentence.

The historical present

Let us continue the discussion on the anecdote of Jean de Montaigu's death. There is one more aspect that contributes to its vividness: it is one of the many examples of Huizinga's use of the historical present.

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maître d'hôtel van den koning, slachtoffer van den haat van Jan zonder Vrees, rijdt naar het schavot, hoog op een kar gezeten, twee trompetters vooruit; hij draagt zijn staatsiekleed, kaproen, houppelande en hozen half wit half rood, en gouden sporen aan de voeten; met die gouden sporen hangt het onthoofde lijk aan de galg. (Huizinga, 1949, p. 22).

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maître d'hôtel to the king, the victim of Jean sans Peur, is placed high on a cart, preceded by two trumpeters. He wears his robe of state, hood, cloak, and hose half red and half white, and his golden spurs, which are left on the feet of the beheaded and suspended corpse. (Huizinga, 2014, p. 4)

> Jean de Montaigu, grand maitre d'hotel of the king and a victim of the hatred of John the Fearless, travels to the gallows seated high on top of a cart. Two trumpeters precede him. He is dressed in his robes of state, cap, vest, and pants - half white, half red - with golden spurs on his feet. The beheaded body was left hanging on the gallows still wearing those golden spurs. (Huizinga, 1996, p. 4)

> Jean de Montaigu, the King's Grand Master of the Household (grand maître d'hôtel) and victim of the hate of John the Fearless, rides to the scaffold seated high on a cart-preceded by two trumpeters; he wears full ceremonial dress: a hood, a long-skirted tunic, breeches that are half-white, half-red, and gold spurs on his feet; it is with those gold spurs that his beheaded body hangs on the gallows. (Huizinga, 2020, p. 13)

The historical present proves a challenge for the translators. As Webb illustrates in her translator's preface:

> Another difficulty was what I mistakenly took to be his devil-may-care attitude to tenses: [Huizinga] might launch a sentence in the past perfect, for example, switch suddenly to the historic present, then revert briefly to the simple past, only to finish up in the present tense – all in the service of relating events that took place in the fifteenth century. (Webb, 2020)

This is an example of what Langeveld (2008) describes as one of the main issues in translating style: effective equivalence is a difficult balance between faithfulness to the ST and creating a readable text for the reader when it comes to style. In the translation of this section, *Waning* some of the setting is missing by the omitted reference to the gallows. Instead, 'suspended' and 'beheaded' become attributes of the 'body', which 'is left' hanging there after the execution. *Waning* and *Autumn* have opted for a verbal form that is more common in English than Dutch; the passive. But where *Waning* has embraced the passive also in the first sentence, *Autumn* uses the historical present. *Autumn*'s de Montaigu 'travels' by cart whereas *Waning*'s de Montaigu 'is placed' on the cart, creating a mysterious unnamed party who put him there. Though there is some creative licence in Hopman's translation, it is understandable that the travelling by cart would be passive rather than active; de

Maintaigu would have had no choice in the matter. Webb ultimately decided to embrace Huizinga's use of the historical present: "I gave him back his tenses, particularly his beloved historic present," she writes (Webb, 2020). Throughout this passage, *Autumntide* has adopted the historical present.

Discussion

In the previous three chapters, the context, narrative and rhetorical devices of *Herfsttij, Waning, Autumn* and *Autumntide* have been explored. Chapter Three gave a better understanding of the position of the translations and the translator's intentions vis-a-vis the source text and Huizinga's intentions with the book. Chapter Four was dedicated entirely to Huizinga: how he conceptualized the Middle Ages, how his word-choices represented his ideologies as well as some of his key arguments, and how his use of rhetorical devices lured the reader into the affect of historical experience. Some of these rhetorical devices were then analysed in translation in Chapter Five. This chapter was divided into two larger sections: one was devoted to how the sensitivist language Huizinga used was translated, the other to differences in structures. In this discussion, I want to reflect on our findings in these three chapters.

Translating historical experience

The translation of historical experience has proved itself to be quite a task. In literary translation, there is always already tension between faithfulness to the text and writing a readable text for the reader. A stylistic analysis can help the translator by giving insight into the foregrounded features of the text and its iconicity (Langeveld, 2008; Boase-Beier, 2020). Translation for historical experience similarly benefits from a stylistic analysis, but adds the dimension of understanding the ideology or the author, the key concepts of the text, and the relationship between style and affect. The analysis in Chapter Five has shown that elements of historical experience sometimes get lost in translation. In the following sections, I would like to offer some thought on how this may be prevented and summarize the lessons learned from the more successful examples as well.

Thought, language, and affect

In order to understand the relationship between an author's style and the affect of historical experience, the triad of thought, language and affect has been immensely helpful. The triad allowed for a better understanding of stylistic choices by forging a connection between the text, its affects, and the personal and professional convictions of the author. While it will remain hard to convincingly claim to know what the author thought or what their intentions were, the available historical and contextual information used to explain some aspects of the text proved illuminating.

By including the triad of language, though and affect in the model of analysis of the ST, it became apparent which elements of the text are not only important in the sense of style, but also in the sense of understanding the process of meaning creation of this work of history. Thought is an important aspect in the translation of

historical experience, without which language and affect cannot be comprehended fully. As a work of history, the text foregrounds not only style, but also concepts with which to approach the period of time discussed. The author must be understood as a historian as well as a writer in order to fully grasp the text in all its aspects.

Identifying key textual elements

Key concepts in the translation of historical experience can be any concept or motif that the ST author uses to describe the past, with an underlying conviction about that past. It lies mostly in what Kellner (1997) called "the ordinary metaphors" of history, that betray key thoughts on the author's part about the way in which they see history. For Huizinga, we see this in the recurring adjectives that describe the 'veneer' of the late Middle Ages, in the ever-present and multivarious contrast in themes, clauses and words, and in the detailed descriptions which almost seem tautological but add a carefully selected nuance, to name a few.

General lessons from the translations

Particularly concerning the translation of *Herfsttij*, there are some lessons that can be learned from the analyses of chapters three and four.

Firstly, a good understanding of the why of certain rhetorical devices is essential. As already stated, a stylistic analysis in combination with a contextual analysis can help in this respect. Huizinga's ideology of history contains a certain view towards the writing of it. To understand why style is so important to Huizinga will help to know why his descriptions appear tautological, for instance.

Secondly, a translator must have some understanding of the concept of the Middle Ages that Huizinga created. Huizinga reframes the early Renaissance as late Middle Ages, shifting the interpretative frame of two whole centuries. For the translator, it will help to recognise the importance of certain repetitions and identify them as concepts. Words like 'glans' and 'pracht', or the contrast between 'innig' and 'bont', for example.

Thirdly, one must consider the style itself: the repetitions, the coordinating phrases, the imagery, alliteration, etc. The schemes and tropes will not always be essential to the historical experience of the text. Especially when multiple foregrounded stylistic elements are present in one example, it may be hard to prioritize which ones to translate with extra care. In the analysis of the translations, some examples could be seen where figures of speech were naturalized to the effect that they no longer conveyed, or conveyed less, the historical experience in the text. In the translation of historical experience, those stylistic features that affect the reader could be prioritized over generally foregrounded features.

Fourthly, some textual elements are used to either make the past familiar, or the present unfamiliar. These textual elements include directly addressing the audience, devices that engage the reader's imagination, comparisons between past and present, aside from general comprehension mechanisms that we see in most texts. Huizinga engages the reader in certain ways and recognizing this interaction with the audience can help choose appropriate translation strategies (depending on the target audience, of course).

Lastly, the main lesson that can be learned from the comparative analysis is that the translation of historical experience in style cannot be translated by translating literally or word-for-word. Even in *Autumntide*, where faithfulness to word-order could be found most frequently, changes needed to be made to better render Huizinga's style in translation. Faithfulness did not always capture the essential aspects of historical experience, nor was it always the best choice when compared to the strategies of the other translations. A certain creativity and insight is necessary to understand what is at stake in the translation and find solutions accordingly.

Conclusion

This paper started out its analysis by exploring the concept of historical experience. Going back to the source, to *historische sensatie* as Johan Huizinga called it, the early ideas on experience were combined with later theories by notable philosophers of history like Ankersmit and literary critics like Gumbrecht. Departing from those theories, a concept of historical experience has been formulated that applies specifically to its stylistic representation in text. Historical experience was formulated as an affect. Through a model for analysis including the context, narrative and rhetorical elements, the ST and TTs were analysed and some examples were selected for discussion.

Six principles were foundational to the method of this paper. These principles were pivoted in the creating a model for the analysis of historical experience. First, historical experience is seen as an affect present in the interaction between author/text/reader; non-textual forms of historical experience are not considered. Second, style is an important factor in bringing about historical experience. Third, the reader is seen as an ideal reader; the cognitive context of individual readers and how it influences the historical experience of a text is ignored at present. Fourth, the author, as well as his authorly and artistic intentions, is constructed through a combination of the text and selected contexts, while the text is limited to one work. Fifth, affect, as a feature of style, is translatable. Sixth, the translator as author may influence the historical experience of the text through stylistic changes.

Instead of following the traces of a travelling concept, we have travelled to different concepts in order to arrive at a definition for historical experience. Analysing the context, narrative and rhetorical devices of the text helped gain a better understanding of the stylistic features and their need for translation more than using a stylistic model alone would have done. Without contextualization, without continuously looking for the triad of language, thought, and affect, this analysis would have overlooked some of its prime conclusions. But, like a tourist, this thesis is no native to all the concepts discussed. Many texts have probably been overlooked which could have contributed to our understanding.

By discussing several existing theories on experience, historical sensation, presence and *Stimmung*, this paper has tried to make the concept of historical experience more concrete. At the same time, the explicit relationship between language and affect as suggested by this paper also serves as a limitation. Non-textual affects have not been considered. The field of Affect Studies has shown that affects are present in non-textual environments. Often, these studies have close affiliation with art history. Considering the influence of Jan van Eyck's work on Huizinga in his writing of Herfsttij – one of the earlier title ideas for the book was "In den Spiegel van

Jan van Eyck" [In the Mirror of Jan van Eyck] (Huizinga, 2020, p. 542) – a comparative study of the effects of the paintings by van Eyck and Huizinga's text could give a more well-rounded understanding of historical experience.

The rich text of *Herfsttij* offers plenty of opportunities left to explore. During the stylistic analysis, one particular element was touched upon that could result in a study in its own right. This consists of the metaphors and stylistic mirroring or art and song. It would be an interesting way to further explore van der Lem's (1993) theory that Huizinga's unique style in this work is largely indebted by its sources.

The analysis section was brief considering the wealth of comparative examples that could be discussed. A more elaborate analysis of the translations would certainly be possible. Even more interesting would be to see how historical experience, as defined by this paper, functions in other languages than English. Especially languages of cultures with a different understanding of history or the narration of history could prove fertile ground for exploring to what extent historical experience is culturally determined.

In conclusion, despite its undoubted flaws and brevity, this paper has made a youthful but brave attempt to look beyond boundaries. Boundaries between schools of thought, disciplines, and languages. I aspire to continue in this line of research that is based more on looking for connection than it is on establishing boundaries. Bridging the folds, in the words of Brenkman (2020), is certainly the way to move forward, imperfect as this first attempt may be.

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