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Cover illustration: Vincent van Gogh: *Bulb fields* (1883). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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From the editor

Krystyna Henke

As this publication has been around for more than 40 years, it may be useful to briefly reflect on what a scholarly journal like *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies/Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises* entails. Among others, it is a trilingual forum in which original research articles are published. A requirement is that it must contribute to scholarship and is peer reviewed. In addition, our journal publishes review articles, such as book reviews. As the journal's original editor Adrian van den Hoven (1979, iii) articulated in the very first issue, the topics that are covered are multidisciplinary. They focus on Netherlandic culture in a broad sense and include aspects of Flemish and South African culture, while also relating to the former Dutch colonies and trading posts. Further, each year an issue is dedicated to the Proceedings of the meeting of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies/Association canadienne pour l'avancement des études néerlandaises (CAANS-ACAÉN) where a range of presentations is delivered. As of 2011, due to technological advances and out of financial considerations, the journal ceased its print edition, appearing now only online. It is also an open access publication, meaning that it is available free of charge on the Internet anywhere in the world and without the need for a subscription.

Although the emphasis is on Dutch culture, it is also a Canadian journal. Along with the postcolonial turn, especially over the last number of decades scholarly research has increasingly considered social inequities and particularly racial injustice by applying, for instance, critical race theory (Crenshaw 1988). For these reasons, I feel that the recently discovered mass graves of Indigenous children at Canadian residential schools and the injustices perpetrated against Inuit, Métis, and First Nations should be acknowledged in our journal, even if to begin with only in these few lines. Canada's colonial past, as well as that of the Netherlands, has had enormous consequences and postcolonial scholars are being confronted in their research with the moral dimension that their work demands. This matter invariably comes to the fore particularly in the review by Fenneke Sysling about the book *Data-gathering in colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900: Framing the Other*; the review by Mark Meuwese about the book *Heaven's wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic*

world; as well as the review by Matthew G. Stanard about the volume *The Congo in Flemish literature: An anthology of Flemish prose on the Congo, 1870s–1990s*.

In addition to an original article by Ulrich Tiedau, this issue also contains a great assortment of reviews of recently published titles that all illuminate some element of Dutch culture. Unique among these is the review by Bill Nichols about the newly released documentary *No Hay Camino* (There is no path) by Dutch filmmaker Heddy Honigmann. Given her terminal illness, it is somewhat of a letter of goodbye. This is followed by reviews about art history books, including by Lieke van Deinsen about the work of female artists in the early modern period of the Netherlands and by Marilyn Dunn about a book that offers a feminist lens concerning art produced by Peter Paul Rubens. Meanwhile, Judy Sund and Cliff Edwards focus on a couple of books about Vincent van Gogh. Jeroen Salman's review discusses the role of books in the Dutch Golden Age, while Wim Klooster focuses on a book about Romeyn de Hooghe, and Sébastien Drouin gives a French language account of his take of a book about printer and bookseller Elie Luzac. Nicoline van der Sijs and Tanja Collet each discuss a book within the discipline of linguistics, published by Cambridge University Press and Leiden University Press, respectively. Roel Vismans' review is about a title that offers a historical and personal overview of the Flemish and Dutch studies program at the University of Michigan. Marlene Kadar discusses a book about comparative biographical traditions in various countries, including in the Netherlands. A review follows of an actual biography, namely about the conductor Willem Mengelberg. Also being discussed is a work by William A. Dyrness about the influence of the Protestant Reformation on art and aesthetics in early modern Europe. Kurt Hübner's review is about *How the old world ended: The Anglo-Dutch-American revolution, 1500-1800*, published by Yale University Press. Another title that is being reviewed is about the historian Johan Huizinga, published by Amsterdam University Press in 2019 on the occasion of the centenary of his well-known work *The autumn of the Middle Ages*. A book about the astronomer Anton Pannekoek is discussed by Margaret E. Schotte, while Will C. den Hoonaard focuses on the book *Scientific integrity* by Kees Schuyt about the adherence to rules in scholarly research by academics in the Netherlands. Sol Goldberg's review is about two books on antisemitism, a phenomenon also plaguing the Netherlands. *Immigration and the politics of welfare exclusion: Selective solidarity in Western democracies*, a book by Edward A. Koning in which current Dutch government policy is also examined, is issued a positive review by Willem Maas. The review by Paul Vlaardingerbroek is about a volume that discusses the (violated) rights of children in the Netherlands. In addition, a book about hope is discussed in which scholars, artists, and entrepreneurs in the Netherlands share what gives them hope. Another book that gets some attention is about the history of French wine, which includes the wine

trade in the Low Countries. Finally, Henry Hooghiemstra offers an extensive discussion about *Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands: Landscape and habitations since the last ice age*, as well as a Dutch title about bogs in the Netherlands, their ecology, preservation, management, and restoration.

I am greatly indebted to the many scholars for their contributions. I would also like to express my cordial thanks to Inge Genee for her assistance in getting this issue ready and Tanja Collet for providing French translation. I hope this summer reading issue will be inspiring.

Toronto, June 2021

References

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De la part de la rédactrice en chef

Krystyna Henke

Comme le lancement de cette revue remonte à déjà plus de 40 ans, il serait peut-être bon de prendre un instant pour brièvement examiner ce qu'une publication savante, telle que la *Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises/Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, cherche à accomplir. Tout d'abord, il faut préciser qu'il s'agit d'un forum trilingue qui est voué à la dissémination d'articles de recherche originale. Les articles doivent contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances et subissent une évaluation rigoureuse par les pairs. Du reste, la revue publie également des articles de synthèse, comme des comptes rendus. Tel qu'annoncé par le premier rédacteur en chef, Adrian van den Hoven (1979, iii), dans le tout premier numéro de la revue, celle-ci se veut multidisciplinaire et couvre des thématiques reliées à la culture néerlandaise au sens large, tout en s'intéressant à des aspects de la culture flamande et sud-africaine ainsi que des anciennes colonies et comptoirs de commerce néerlandais. De plus, chaque année, un numéro est dédié aux Actes du colloque annuel de l'Association canadienne pour l'avancement des études néerlandaises/Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies (ACAÉN-CAANS), qui comprend des présentations savantes sur une variété de sujets. Depuis 2011, étant donné les avancées technologiques mais aussi pour des raisons financières, la revue a cessé de produire une version papier, et paraît seulement en ligne. Aujourd'hui, c'est également une revue en libre accès, accessible sans frais sur Internet pour tout un chacun partout dans le monde et sans que l'on ait à être abonné.

Même si la revue est consacrée à la culture néerlandaise, elle est aussi canadienne. Depuis le tournant postcolonial, la recherche scientifique, particulièrement dans les quelques dernières décennies, se penche de plus en plus sur le phénomène de l'inégalité sociale et spécialement sur le problème épineux de l'injustice raciale en recourant, entre autres, à la *Théorie critique de la race* (Crenshaw 1988). Pour ces raisons, il me semble important de reconnaître dans notre revue, même si ce n'est qu'en commençant par ces quelques lignes, les injustices commises dans notre pays contre les Inuits, les Métis et les Premières Nations et, dans ce contexte, également la découverte récente de fosses communes d'enfants autochtones sur les terrains d'anciennes écoles résidentielles. Le passé colonial du Canada, comme celui des Pays-Bas, a eu des

conséquences énormes et les chercheurs postcoloniaux se trouvent, de ce fait, confrontés, dans leurs travaux, aux dimensions morales émanant de leurs recherches. Cette problématique se présente invariablement et se repère tout spécialement dans le compte rendu par Fenneke Sysling du livre *Data-gathering in colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900 : Framing the Other*, dans celui par Mark Meuwese du volume intitulé *Heaven's wrath : The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic World,* ainsi que dans le compte rendu par Matthew G. Stanard de l'ouvrage anthologique *The Congo in Flemish literature : An anthology of Flemish prose on the Congo, 1870s-1990s.*

Outre un article de recherche originale de la plume d'Ulrich Tiedau, ce numéro contient un ensemble riche et varié de comptes rendus d'ouvrages récemment publiés qui mettent tous en relief un aspect de la culture néerlandaise. Le compte rendu de Bill Nichols occupe une place tout à fait unique dans cet ensemble. Il porte sur le documentaire, sorti récemment, de la réalisatrice néerlandaise, Heddy Honigmann, *No Hay Camino* (Il n'y a pas de chemin), qui fait en quelque sorte figure de lettre d'adieu étant donné la maladie terminale dont souffre Honigmann. Suivent ensuite des comptes rendus de livres dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'art, dont celui notamment de Lieke van Deinsen d'un ouvrage examinant les œuvres d'artistes femmes néerlandaises du début de l'ère moderne et celui de Marilyn Dunn d'un livre qui se propose d'interpréter l'œuvre de Peter Paul Rubens dans une perspective féministe. Judy Sund et Cliff Edwards, pour leur part, se penchent sur deux ouvrages s'intéressant à Vincent van Gogh. La place du livre lors de l'Âge d'or néerlandais fait l'objet du compte rendu de Jeroen Salman, alors que Wim Klooster évalue un livre de Romeyn de Hooghe et que Sébastien Drouin offre une analyse rédigée en français d'un ouvrage consacré à l'imprimeur-libraire Élie Luzac. Nicoline van der Sijs et Tanja Collet proposent deux comptes rendus de livres se situant en linguistique, l'un publié par Cambridge University Press et l'autre par Leiden University Press. Roel Vismans se consacre à un ouvrage qui offre un aperçu à la fois historique et personnel du programme d'Études néerlandaises et flamandes à l'University of Michigan. Marlene Kadar, quant à elle, analyse un livre qui compare les traditions biographiques de plusieurs pays, dont les Pays-Bas. Puis suit un compte rendu d'une réelle biographie, notamment du chef d'orchestre Willem Mengelberg. Ensuite, c'est au tour du livre de William A. Dyrness, qui traite de l'influence exercée par la Réforme protestante sur l'art et l'esthétique de l'Europe du début des temps modernes. Kurt Hübner, pour sa part, évalue *How the old world ended: The Anglo-Dutch-American revolution, 1500-1800,* publié par Yale University Press. Un nouveau livre consacré à l'historien Johan Huizinga et publié par Amsterdam University Press à l'occasion du centenaire de son chef-d'œuvre, *Le déclin (L'automne) du Moyen Âge*, fait également l'objet d'un compte rendu. Un livre sur l'astronome, Anton Pannekoek, a retenu

l'attention de Margaret E. Schotte, alors que Will C. van den Hoonaard s'attarde sur le livre, *Scientific integrity*, de Kees Schuyt, qui examine la tendance des chercheurs universitaires œuvrant aux Pays-Bas de respecter ou non les règles éthiques qui sous-tendent le travail académique. Le compte-rendu de Sol Goldberg analyse deux livres portant sur l'antisémitisme, un phénomène qui sévit aussi aux Pays-Bas. Quant à Willem Maas, il se prononce positivement sur le contenu du livre, *Immigration and the politics of welfare exclusion : Selective solidarity in Western democracies*, de Edward A. Koning, qui soumet également à un examen approfondi la politique sociale actuelle des Pays-Bas. Paul Vlaardingerbroek se penche sur un livre qui recense les droits (violés) de l'enfant aux Pays-Bas. Il y a, en outre, un compte rendu de *Hoop* (Espoir), un livre dans lequel des scientifiques, des artistes et des entrepreneurs néerlandais identifient ce qui leur donne de l'espoir. Un autre livre qui a été examiné retrace l'histoire du vin français et touche, dans ce contexte, au commerce du vin dans les Pays-Bas. Henry Hooghiemstra, finalement, offre un compte rendu très détaillé du volume intitulé *Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands : Landscape and habitations since the last ice age*, ainsi que de *Hoogvenen : Landschapsecologie, behoud, beheer, herstel* (Tourbières hautes : écologie du paysage, gestion, protection, réhabilitation).

Je suis particulièrement redevable à tous les chercheurs qui ont soumis des articles de recherche ou de synthèse pour ce numéro. Je tiens également à remercier chaleureusement Inge Genee, pour son aide précieuse dans la préparation de ce numéro, ainsi que Tanja Collet, qui a effectué les traductions françaises pour ce numéro d'été. Je vous souhaite à vous tous une lecture captivante et stimulante.

Toronto, juin 2021

Référence

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Van de redactie

Krystyna Henke

Na een bestaan van meer dan 40 jaar kan het geen kwaad om er even bij stil te staan wat een wetenschappelijk tijdschrift zoals *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies/Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises* nu eigenlijk voorstelt. Onder meer is het een drietalig forum waarin oorspronkelijk wetenschappelijk onderzoek in de vorm van een artikel wordt gepubliceerd. Een vereiste is dat het artikel bijdraagt aan de wetenschap en dat het eerst aan een peer review is onderworpen. Daarnaast neemt ons tijdschrift ook review-artikelen op, waaronder boekbesprekingen. Zoals de toenmalige eerste redacteur, Adrian van den Hoven (1979, iii), het verwoordde in het allereerste nummer van dit tijdschrift, zijn de onderwerpen multidisciplinair georiënteerd op de Nederlandse cultuur in brede zin en omvatten deze aspecten van de Vlaamse en Zuidafrikaanse cultuur, alsook die van de voormalige Nederlandse koloniën en handelsposten. Verder wordt jaarlijks een nummer gewijd aan de Verhandelingen van de bijeenkomst van de Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies/Association canadienne pour l'avancement des études néerlandaises (CAANS-ACAÉN) waarbij een verscheidenheid aan presentaties wordt voorgedragen. Vanaf 2011 wordt het tijdschrift in verband met technologische ontwikkelingen en uit financiële overwegingen niet meer gedrukt, maar verschijnt het on-line. Het is tevens een open access publicatie, hetgeen inhoudt dat het zonder betaling of abonnement overal ter wereld op het internet te lezen is.

Alhoewel de nadruk ligt op datgene dat verband houdt met de Nederlandse cultuur, is het eveneens een Canadees tijdschrift. Gepaard gaand met de postkoloniale stroming wordt er in wetenschappelijk onderzoek vooral gedurende de laatste decennia steeds meer rekening gehouden met maatschappelijke ongelijkwaardigheid en in het bijzonder rassenongelijkheid, bijvoorbeeld door toepassing van kritische rassentheorie (Crenshaw 1988). Mijns inziens behoren daarom de onlangs aan het licht gekomen massagraven van inheemse kinderen bij Canadese kostscholen en de misstanden tegenover Inuit, Métis, en First Nations te worden erkend in ons tijdschrift, al is het om te beginnen maar in deze enkele regels. Het koloniale verleden van Canada heeft net als dat van Nederland enorme gevolgen gehad en postkoloniale wetenschappers worden geconfronteerd tijdens hun onderzoek met de morele dimensie dat hun werk van hen

vereist. Met name in de recensie van Fenneke Sysling over het boek *Data-gathering in colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900: Framing the Other* en de recensie van Mark Meuwese over het boek *Heaven's wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic world*, alsook de recensie van Matthew G. Stanard over *The Congo in Flemish literature: An anthology of Flemish prose on the Congo, 1870s–1990s*, treedt deze kwestie onherroepelijk naar voren.

In deze uitgave bieden wij naast een oorspronkelijk artikel van Ulrich Tiedau een uitermate groot aanbod aan beschouwingen over recentelijk uitgegeven boeken die allen een onderdeel van de Nederlandse cultuur belichten. Uniek is het review-artikel van Bill Nichols over de onlangs verschenen documentaire die is gemaakt door de Nederlandse regisseur Heddy Honigmann, *No Hay Camino* (There is no path), een soort afscheidsbrief gezien haar terminale ziekte. Er volgen besprekingen over kunstgeschiedenis, waaronder van Lieke van Deinsen over het werk van vrouwelijke kunstenaars in de vroegmoderne geschiedenis van Nederland, alsook van Marilyn Dunn over een boek met een feministische kijk op de kunstwerken van Peter Paul Rubens. Daarnaast besteden Judy Sund en Cliff Edwards aandacht aan een tweetal boeken over Vincent van Gogh. De plaats van het boek in de Gouden Eeuw wordt besproken in de recensie van Jeroen Salman, terwijl Wim Klooster een boek over Romeyn de Hooghe beoordeelt en Sébastien Drouin een Franstalige recensie biedt over de boekdrukker en -verkoper Elie Luzac. Nicoline van der Sijs en Tanja Collet behandelen in hun review-artikelen boeken omtrent taalkunde, respectievelijk uitgegeven door Cambridge University Press en Leiden University Press. Roel Vismans besteedt aandacht aan een boek dat een historisch en persoonlijk overzicht geeft over het Vlaamse en Nederlandse studieprogramma bij de Universiteit van Michigan. Marlene Kadar bediscussieert een boek over vergelijkende biografische tradities in diverse landen, waaronder Nederland. Dan komt aan de orde een biografie zelf, en wel over de dirigent Willem Mengelberg. Eveneens wordt behandeld een boek van William A. Dyrness over de invloed van de protestantse Reformatie op kunst en esthetica in het vroegmoderne Europa. Kurt Hübner bespreekt *How the old world ended: The Anglo-Dutch-American revolution, 1500-1800*, uitgegeven door Yale University Press. Aan bod komt ook een nieuw boek over de geschiedkundige Johan Huizinga dat door Amsterdam University Press is uitgegeven in 2019 ter gelegenheid van het honderjarig jubileum van zijn bekende werk *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen.* Een boek over de sterrenkundige Anton Pannekoek krijgt de aandacht van Margaret E. Schotte, terwijl Will C. van den Hoonaard zich richt op het boek *Scientific integrity* van Kees Schuyt over de stand van zaken van academici in Nederland die zich al dan niet aan de regels houden in hun wetenschappelijk werk. Het review-artikel van Sol Goldberg gaat over twee boeken die het antisemitisme onderzoeken, een fenomeen waarmee men eveneens in Nederland te kampen

heeft. Willem Maas spreekt zich positief uit over het boek van Edward A. Koning, *Immigration and the politics of welfare exclusion: Selective solidarity in Western democracies*, waarin ook het huidige Nederlandse beleid aan de tand wordt gevoeld. Paul Vlaardingerbroek bespreekt een boek dat de (geschonden) rechten van kinderen in Nederland waarneemt. Verder wordt er het boek *Hoop* besproken waarin wetenschappers, kunstenaars en ondernemers in Nederland zich hebben geuit over wat hen zoal vult met hoop. Een ander boek dat onder de loep wordt genomen, gaat over de geschiedenis van de Franse wijn en daarbij ter sprake komt ook de wijnhandel in de Lage Landen. Ten slotte biedt Henry Hooghiemstra uitvoerige boekbesprekingen over *Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands: Landscape and habitations since the last ice age*, alsook over *Hoogvenen: Landschaps-ecologie, behoud, beheer, herstel.*

Ik ben de vele wetenschappers die hun medewerking hebben verleend zeer erkentelijk voor hun bijdragen. Tevens zou ik mijn hartelijke dank willen uiten tegenover Inge Genee en Tanja Collet voor beider hulp bij de samenstelling van dit nummer, hetgeen ook het leveren van Franse vertalingen inhield. Ik hoop dat dit zomerleesnummer stimulerend zal werken.

Toronto, juni 2021

Bronvermelding

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1988. Race, reform and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in anti-discrimination law. *Harvard Law Review* 101.7:1331-1387. doi:10.2307/1341398.

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Dutch and Belgian artistic and intellectual rivalry in interwar London

Ulrich Tiedau

This paper compares two major exhibitions of Dutch and Belgian art held in London's Royal Academy of Art in the 1920s. Part of a new strategy of public diplomacy, both ventures owed much to the initiative of binational friendship associations which, aware of Britain's importance in diplomatic and commercial terms, saw in displays of their respective artistic heritage a means to project their image to a wider but also elite British public. Ironically, the rivalry between these organizations led to an expansion of the scale and scope of their exhibitions that, apart from setting the tone for many similar enterprises to come, both necessitated and facilitated increasing international collaboration. In addition to analyzing the function of art as cultural capital in Dutch and Belgian cultural diplomacy of this time, which was even more complicated by both countries' joint origins (what counts as Dutch and what as Belgian? – a difficult question to answer as one goes further back in the history of the Low Countries), the paper also investigates the ways in which this cultural-diplomatic competition contributed to the development of interwar internationalism.

Keywords: Internationalism; interwar period; cultural diplomacy; public diplomacy; Anglo-Dutch cultural relations; Anglo-Belgian cultural relations.

Introduction

Like all cultural production, art can function as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). At various times in history it has been instrumental in gaining influence and (soft) power, politicizing the artistic heritage of a nation. This paper will present a little-known case in point, namely the intellectual and artistic rivalry between London-based Dutch and Belgian organizations in the 1920s, embedded in the wider international climate of the time.[1]

[1] I would like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their helpful feedback on an earlier version of this article.

In order to situate this extraordinary competition, one needs to recall the *political* rivalry between the Belgian and Dutch governments in the interwar period, which is hardly conceivable today. In contrast to the common Benelux idea, developed during and implemented after World War II (and since complemented and superseded by joint membership of the European institutions), Dutch-Belgian relations in the period immediately following World War I and throughout the early 1920s were characterized by a persistent undercurrent of competition, centred on conflicting territorial, economic, and security claims around the River Scheldt estuary (Tuyll van Serooskerken 2017; Middelkoop 2010).

This rivalry was also reflected amongst expatriate communities in the British capital, where Dutch business interests were well established, not least around the big Anglo-Dutch corporations, of which Royal Dutch Shell was the most prominent, whereas the Belgian presence was largely due to the influx of huge numbers of refugees to the United Kingdom (as well as to the Netherlands) during the war. Anglo-Belgian and Anglo-Dutch friendship associations were vying for influence in British academic, government and public opinion, which mattered enormously to both nations as Belgian claims on Dutch territory were discussed at the Paris Peace Conference, and London then was still the centre of the political world system.

The aim of this article is to examine the artistic side of this Dutch-Belgian competition for the favour of British public opinion, which, as will be demonstrated, also played an important role in the development of interwar internationalism in London.

Anglo-Dutch and Anglo-Belgian organizations

What were these binational friendship organizations and who was involved? Firstly, the Anglo-Belgian Union of 1918, a bilateral association with offices in Mayfair, which under the name of Anglo-Belgian Society, the result of a merger in 1983 with the Cercle Royal Belge de Londres of 1922, is still in existence today. The Union was born out of the "brotherhood in arms" of World War I, as its Constitution from April 1918 points out right at the beginning, and its aim was "to maintain and develop feelings of friendship between the British and Belgian peoples, to promote more intimate relations between the two nations, and to commemorate the brotherhood in arms which arose from their mutual loyalty to the treaty of 1839" (Anglo-Belgian Union/Union Anglo-Belge 1918, 1).

Its patrons were nobody less than the two monarchs, King George and King Albert, its initial president the liberal politician and later party leader Herbert Samuel (followed by newspaper baron Viscount Burnham, the Belgian ambassa-

dor Paul Hymans, and again Burnham). They were supported by a provisional committee that on the British side was headed by Herbert Gladstone, the youngest son of the 19th-century prime minister and former governor-general of the Union of South Africa, and on the Belgian side by Comte Eugène Goblet d'Alviella, a liberal senator and rector of the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB). The organization's honorary vice-presidents counted many notable politicians, among them Asquith, Balfour, Cecil, Austen Chamberlain, Bonar Law and Lloyd George on the British side, and Charles de Brocqueville, Paul Hymans, Carton de Wiart and Émile Vandervelde on the Belgian side, as well as the Belgian poets Maurice Maeterlinck and Émile Cammaerts. The Union had offices in Burlington House, at 6 Burlington Gardens, off Piccadilly Street, sharing premises with the Royal Academy of Art before, later on, moving to close-by Albemarle Street. In practical terms, Algernon Maudsley, a prominent yachtsman and philanthropist of independent means, who during the 1900 Summer Olympic Games in Meulan, France, had won two gold medals for the U.K. racing sailing yachts and who during the war had been Honorary Secretary of the Belgian War Refugees Committee, as well as Vicomte Henri Davignon, who had run the semi-official *Bureau de propagande et de documentation* in London for the Le Havre-based Belgian government-in-exile, acted as general secretaries (Anglo-Belgian Union 1936).

Figure 1. Club House of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging te Londen on Sackville Street in London. Source: Eigen haard: Geïllustreerd Volkstijdschrift*, 10:157 (March 5, 1898).*

On the Dutch side, the business community was centred around the *Nederlandsche Vereeniging te London* ('Dutch Association in London'), a gentlemen's club for Dutch expatriates with offices first on Regent Street, then on Sackville Street, off Piccadilly Street, as shown in Figure 1. Founded in 1873 by E. H. Crone, the driving force behind it was very much Frederick ('*Freek*') Cornelius Stoop (1854-1933), seen in Figure 2. Two years after the association's founding, he was elected to its committee and from 1886 to 1932 served as its chairman (Reyneke van Struwe 1923, 13). A banker, stockbroker and financier by profession, from an old family of patricians in Dordrecht, he had moved to England in 1873, where he settled in West Hall near Byfleet, Surrey, and became naturalized in 1878. He used his considerable wealth to build up a growing art collection (Van Gogh and Picasso were among his acquaintances), while also supporting philanthropic activities (Vrijhoff 2015; Wakeford 2016; Byfleet Heritage Society 2015).

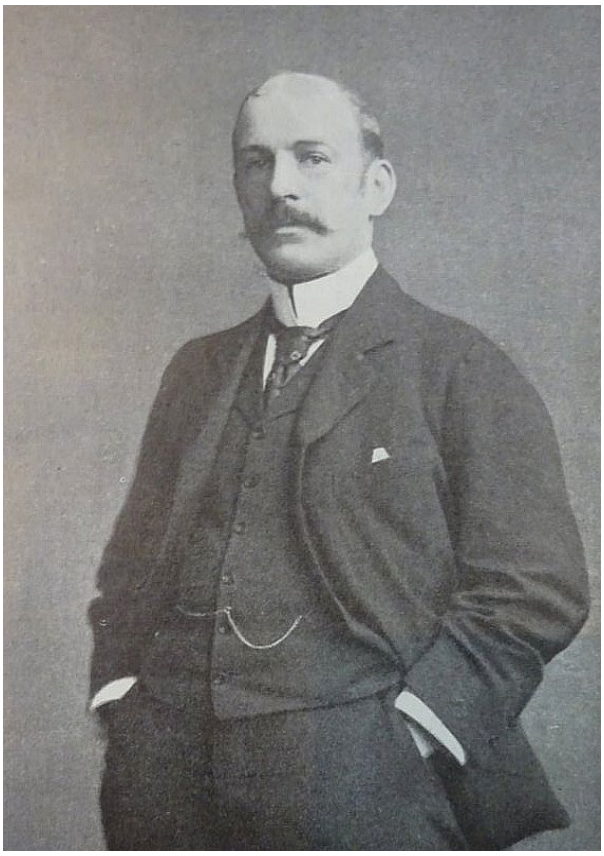


Figure 2. F. C. Stoop, Ridder van den Nederlandschen Leeuw ('Knight of the Dutch lion'), Voorzitter van de Nederlandsche Vereeniging te Londen ('Chair of the Dutch Association in London'). Source: Eigen haard: Geïllustreerd Volkstijdschrift, 10:159 *(March 5, 1898).*

According to the vignette in the biography of Stoop's son Adrian (Cooper 2004), a much-revered gentleman-rugby union player for the Harlequins, whose training ground in Twickenham still bears the name Stoop, and captain of the English national team, Frederick had made his fortune in the early days of oil exploration as London-based managing director of the *Dordtsche Petroleum Maatschappij,* set up by his elder brother Adriaan on Java in 1887. Shrewd investment in refinery technology had allowed the Stoop brothers to remain the last independent oil producer in the East Indies, before in 1911, through an exchange of stock, being merged into Royal Dutch Shell, itself the result of the 1907 merger between two rival Dutch (*Koninklijke Oliemaatschappij* / Royal Dutch) and English (Shell) companies.

The *Nederlandsche Vereeniging* preceded and remained separate from the Anglo-Batavian Society (today's Anglo-Netherlands Society, founded in 1920 and renamed in 1944) that did not primarily cater to the expatriate community like the Dutch Club – actually its membership consisted mainly of Britons – but had the aim of "promot[ing] good fellowship between the English and Dutch races" (Reyneke van Struwe 1923, 47). However, there was a large overlap in membership between the two organizations. The Dutch ambassador in London, Jonkheer René de Marees van Swinderen, was honorary member of both associations and Stoop as well as his fellow *Vereeniging*'s members H. S. J. Maas and H. van den Bergh (from the Anglo-Dutch consumer product company Unilever) also served as vice-presidents of the Anglo-Batavian Society (47).

Both the Anglo-Belgian and Anglo-Dutch organizations aimed to promote bilateral ties of friendship between their respective countries and Britain, particularly in the fields of culture and education. The most prominent outcome of their particular campaigns regarding education was the establishment of the first Chairs for Dutch and Belgian Studies at the University of London (Tiedau forthcoming). There had been widespread concern in Anglo-Dutch business circles about the reputation of the Netherlands, whose neutrality during the war was widely, if not necessarily correctly, perceived as having been more favourable to Germany. In an effort at soft diplomacy, in 1919 a joint university and *Nederlandsche Vereeniging* committee led by Stoop (and presided over by Ambassador van Swinderen) appointed Pieter Geyl – until then London correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* newspaper – as the first professor for Dutch studies at the University of London, the first such university chair ever created in the Anglophone world.

While establishing himself quickly as an eminent and highly original historian in British academia, the former journalist's continued political support for the Flemish movement and the *Grootnederlandse* ('Greater Netherlands') idea – which sought to unite Flanders with the Netherlands culturally, if not politically –

was seen by the Anglo-Belgian Union as so deleterious to Belgian interests that in 1920 it started a fundraising campaign with a view to containing the Dutch Chair's influence on British academic, government and public opinion of the Low Countries with a (counter-)Chair for Belgian Studies. After a decade of delays due to the organization's lack of funds as well as Geyl's behind-the-scenes manipulations of the university bodies, in 1931 this Chair could finally be instituted, with Émile Cammaerts, the Anglo-Belgian poet whose patriotic war poems had been set to music by Elgar, and a collaborator of Davignon's *Bureau,* as first incumbent (both scholars had been long-standing and prominent members of the Dutch Club and the Anglo-Belgian Union respectively).

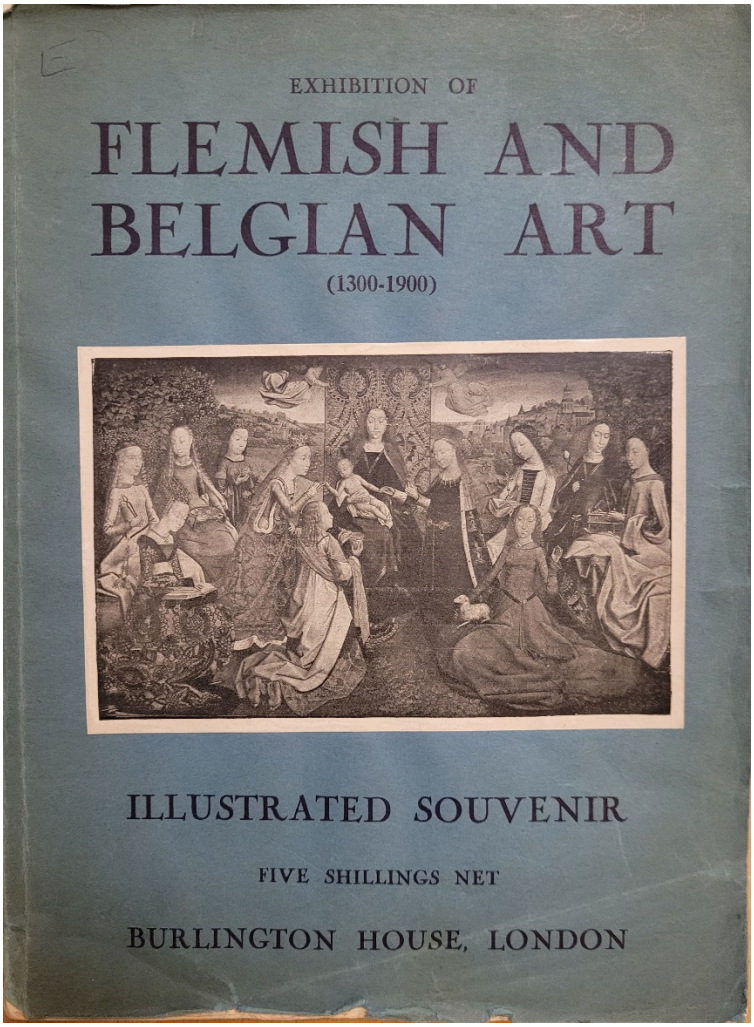


Figure 3. Illustrated souvenir catalogue of the exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art from 1300 to 1900, held in London in 1927. Cover image photographed by author.

Public diplomacy

But the "academic proxy war" between Dutch and Belgian interests, as I like to call this conflict, was only one aspect of the interwar rivalry between the two organizations, for its public-facing side was even more important. Beyond academia, the two organizations directed their attention to the wider public as they sought to capitalize on both countries' rich artistic traditions, supported by their (newly appointed or designated) Chairs. The start was made by the Anglo-Belgian Union, which since 1923 had been working towards staging a high-profile loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art from the 14th to the 19th centuries, opening in January 1927 in the Royal Academy of Arts, one of London's finest addresses for high culture, as illustrated in Figure 3. Co-organized with the Belgian government and with the royal couples of both countries as patrons, it was no doubt the most prominent enterprise of the organization in the interwar period. Only two years after, in 1929, the Anglo-Batavian Society followed suit, with a landmark exhibition of Dutch art in the same venue, likewise with dual royal patronage. Both hugely successful, the two exhibitions established the format of many high-profile Royal Academy exhibitions to follow, with loans from international galleries, governments, heads of state and private collectors, a tradition that continued until World War II and beyond. Having inaugurated this tradition, the Dutch-Belgian artistic and intellectual rivalry thus also contributed directly to the development of the interwar internationalist spirit in the art world.

As has been pointed out before, in T. P. Cowdell's (1980) study of the role of the Royal Academy in English art and Ilaria Scaglia's (2011) investigation of the series of interwar exhibitions as a whole, including large exhibitions of Italian (1930), Persian (1931), French (1932) and Chinese (1935-1936) art along the lines of the Flemish/Belgian and Dutch models (both largely focussing on the Royal Academy's institutional perspective), it was in the spirit of peaceful international cooperation that these pioneering exhibitions were organized, an atmosphere characteristic of the time that Geyl, with regard to education, remembered in his memoirs, written in German captivity during World War II (Geyl 2007), as follows:

> After the war the climate was very much in favour of international cultural exchange between the peoples, and London back then tried to become a large international centre in this respect. University chair after university chair was founded for the language, literature and history of one country after another. We [members of the *Nederlandsche Vereeniging*] did not want to miss out and formed a committee to raise funds: at that time money was easily available and we managed to raise substantial funds. (85)

After the devastation wrought by the war years between 1914 and 1918, international understanding and cultural exchange between the peoples of Europe ('*rapprochement des peuples'*) was clearly a dominant desire, but in the cultural field, this understanding tended to be organized on a bilateral level, despite the newly founded League of Nations with its international outlook. Further, it was often a rather competitive bilateral understanding, and the existence of active Anglo-Belgian and Anglo-Dutch organizations as competing non-governmental actors driving the agenda, helps explain why Belgium and the Netherlands led the development.

An exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art in London had long been one of the Anglo-Belgian Union's favourite projects (*Anglo-Belgian Notes* 1927, 3). There had been earlier successes for Belgian public diplomacy with smaller-scale, if already impressive, exhibitions of Belgian art in Paris (1923) and Berne (1926) (Fiérens-Gevaert 1923; *Exposition de l'art belge* 1923; *Exposition de l'art belge* 1926; Brockwell 1926, 103).[2] Extending the series to London, the capital of Belgium's closest ally and exile for hundreds of thousands of refugees during the war, was a logical consequence, given the desire to continue and solidify the close and beneficial relationship for the future, especially given that the intensity of the alliance had started to ebb off after Belgian demands on Dutch territory at the end of the war, along with the Franco-Belgian military accord of 1920 and Belgian participation in the Ruhr occupation in 1923-25, all to the chagrin of the British government.

The initiative had originated, in early 1923, from Paul Lambotte, the director of Fine Arts in the Belgian Ministry of Science and Arts, who was also an honorary secretary of the Union's Belgian section (Lambotte 1928). The idea was warmly welcomed by its newly appointed president, Viscount Burnham, the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph,* the British newspaper that during the war had most prominently supported Belgian refugees (Caine 1914). Algernon Maudslay, the British section's honorary secretary, was sent to Brussels and managed to enlist the support of the Belgian government, helped by the fact that the just appointed foreign secretary, Paul Hymans, had previously been ambassador in London and also Burnham's predecessor as president of the Anglo-Belgian Union (Annual General Meeting 1927, 59).

With such government aid secured, the challenge became finding a suitable and appropriate venue and, although the Anglo-Belgian Union was occupying premises in Burlington House, for several years the Royal Academy's Council saw itself unable to grant the use of their galleries to an external

[2] The Berne exhibition inspired Robert Walser to compose the prose text "Belgische Kunstausstellung" (Walser 1975).

organization. Other London museums also kept declining until eventually Burnham's and Maudslay's perseverance paid off when Sir Frank Dicksee was elected new director of the Royal Academy and convinced the Council to grant the Union permission to rent their galleries for two months in January and February of 1927.

Like in the case of the professorial appointments, joint committees between the association and the institution were formed.[3] The overall organization was entrusted to the Union's honorary secretaries, Maudslay on the British and Lambotte on the Belgian side (Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art in London 1926, 82). Importantly, because the financial success of the enterprise was in no way guaranteed and considerable risk was taken – the *Anglo-Belgian Notes* of January 1927 expressed the hope that "all members will not only try to attend themselves but will urge all their friends to do likewise, so that the Exhibition may be not only an artistic but also a financial success" (Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1927, 4) – the finance committee had managed to "raise a guarantee fund not exceeding £10,000 in case the receipts did not come up to expenditure" (Annual General Meeting 1927, 3).

For Dicksee the Union's proposal offered an opportunity to take up the tradition of the Royal Academy's winter exhibitions of old masters that from 1870 until World War I had been held annually at Burlington House. Yet it was also much more ambitious than the pre-war series. Not only did it set out to represent the whole range of medieval and early modern Flemish painting for the first time since the 1902 *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands et d'Art* in Bruges, but it also set forth the evolution of Southern Netherlandish painting until the turn of the century by including works by painters from the period after Belgium's independence (1830), who were unknown in Britain. The longitudinal character of the exhibition, stretching from the 14th to the 19th century, projected Belgian nationhood – not incorrectly – back a couple of centuries before independence but also – somewhat more contentiously – established a "national" claim on late-medieval and early 16th-century Netherlandish primitive painters, when there had been no sign of partition in the Low Countries. The dual descriptor in the exhibition's title – Flemish and Belgian – similarly pointed at problems of national delineation.

Originally the plan had been to only borrow pictures from Belgian museums (Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges) and churches, as had been done

[3] Assuming a variety of roles, the committees included Viscount Burnham, Lord Emmott, Sir Robert Kindersley and Sir Cecil Hertslet for the Anglo-Belgian Union and the curators and art historians Sir Frank Dicksee, Sir Lionel Earle, Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, Sir George Frampton, Sir Robert Witt, Sir Martin Conway, Sir Charles Walston, Sir Joseph Duveen, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Ms. Anning-Bell and Ms. A. Alma Tadema for the Royal Academy.

in the exhibitions at Paris and Berne, although not including the brothers Van Eyck's famous Ghent altarpiece, as the rumour of its loan to London had caused outcry in the Belgian press (Kew, FO 370/236/5221; Some comments from the Belgian Press 1926, 101). Soon, the enterprise grew into the largest international loan exhibition undertaken up until that point, with loans being "sent in not merely from England and Belgium but from France, Holland and even the United States" (Exhibitions of Flemish Art 1926, 102). As such, it was a ground-breaking enterprise for internationalist collaboration in the field of art, irrespective of the fact that the exhibition's conception also undoubtedly displayed a nationalist undertone. Further, in terms of format, another novelty was the inclusion of statues, tapestries, and other art forms in an exhibition predominantly made up of paintings.

The Belgian exhibition was rightfully considered the "greatest triumph" of the Anglo-Belgian Union in the first two decades of its existence (Anglo-Belgian Union 1936, 19), as its organ, the *Anglo-Belgian Notes* (1927), proudly noted:

> It has often been the fate of parents to be overshadowed by their brilliant children. This has been the situation of the Anglo-Belgian Union and the Flemish Exhibition. A few friends of Belgium pay a pound a year for the privilege of membership, for reading the "Notes" and making or receiving an occasional visit from fellow members. Suddenly they are responsible for what has been described as the most important event in the artistic world in modern times. The Anglo-Belgian Union is greater than it appeared to be. (57-58)

Netherlandomania

Now the Dutch, who in 1919 had beaten the Belgians in establishing the first Chair at the University of London, an occasion during which Ambassador van Swinderen had not hidden his country's satisfaction at being put in the limelight by the University of London, had to make amends. Preparations for a winter exhibition of Dutch art along similar lines began shortly after the Belgian exhibition opened, "as an aid to the cultural relations between the two countries" (Finest Dutch art show in London 1929, 12). Organized under the auspices of the Anglo-Batavian Society, with Swinderen as (honorary) president and the Earl of Albemarle as chairman, while the Dutch Club ('*Nederlandsche Vereeniging*') extended its hospitality to the committees and the organizing staff (NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913: Meeting of Finance Committee, 30 Jan. 1928), it was open to the public from January 4 to March 9, 1929, and broke all records previously set by the Flemish-Belgian exhibition (Dutch Art Exhibition: The private view 1929).

Figure 4. Souvenir catalogue of exhibition of Dutch art, held in London in 1929. Cover image photographed by author.

As Sir Robert Witt (1929), trustee of the National Gallery and one of the co-founders of the Courtauld Gallery of Art, points out in the introduction to the lavishly produced souvenir catalogue *Dutch Art: An illustrated souvenir* shown in Figure 4, the last major display of Dutch art in Britain had taken place more than a quarter of a century ago (1903), in the Guildhall, and although "some

International Exhibitions have been held [in the meantime], the Rembrandt exhibitions in Amsterdam in 1898 and in London in 1899, the Rembrandt *Tercentenaire* in Leyden in 1906, the Dutch Exhibitions in Paris in 1911 and 1921 and in Rome in 1928, none of these has been comparable in extent with the present" (5). And indeed the scope of the exhibition was breathtaking; lenders included all important Dutch and British museums, as well as private collections including the Royal Households of both countries and overseas collections from "no less than twelve other European countries, with the warm co-operation of their respective Governments; while, through Sir Joseph Duveen, help of the most liberal scale was given by America" (Holmes 1930, xxvii). Many curators and art historians of distinction were involved:

> Major A. A. Longdon acted as Secretary-General, and Dr. W. Martin, Director of the Mauritshuis, Mr. F. Schmidt-Degener, Director-General of the Rijksmuseum, and Sir Robert Witt were chiefly responsible for the selecting, hanging, and arranging of the paintings, Mr. Campbell Dodgson and Mr. A. M. Hind, of the British Museum, and Mr. D. Hannema, of the Bozmans Museum, Rotterdam, doing the same for the drawings and etchings. The catalogue is by Dr. Schneider, of the Mauritshuis, and Mr. W. G. Constable, of the National Gallery, Sir Robert Witt writing the historical introduction. (Dutch Art 1929, 13)

Recalling the hope that was expressed in the introduction to the Flemish exhibition's catalogue, "that such a remarkable collection of works of art might be the precursor of many others" (Witt 1929, 1), Witt adds: "[o]nly two years have passed and the Galleries of the Royal Academy are once again opened to the masterpieces, great and small, of a friend and neighbour nation. Nor, for all the distinguished success of its predecessor, does the present Exhibition fall short of it either in quality or scope, and in some features, may not unjustly claim to surpass it" (1). Even if this can also be read as an expression of curatorial pride about having outperformed a previous success (he also had authored the introduction to the Flemish exhibition catalogue; Witt 1927), a language of comparatives and superlatives pervades the catalogue's introduction, inevitably invoking comparison with the predecessor exhibition. The term "friendly rivalry" is even used explicitly, albeit with reference to the loans of third-country governments (7). Still, on more than one occasion Dutch-Belgian "friendly rivalry" or competitive international understanding, is implied between the lines. It is also explicitly referenced in the letter announcing the Exhibition of Dutch art, as shown in Figure 5.

EXHIBITION OF DUTCH ART, ROYAL ACADEMY, 1929

Patrons: Their Majesties The King and Queen and H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands and H.R.H. Prince Henry of the Netherlands

(Under the auspices of the ANGLO-BATAVIAN SOCIETY)

H. E. Jonkheer R. de MAREES VAN SWINDEREN - *Hon. President*
Minister of the Netherlands

The Rt. Hon. The EARL OF ALBEMARLE, K.C.V.O., C.B. - *Chairman*

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

C. H. Collins Baker, Esq.
Sir George Clausen, R.A., R.W.S.
Sir Martin Conway, Litt. D., M.P.
Campbell Dodgson, Esq., C.B.E.
Sir Joseph Duveen, Bart.
A. M. Hind, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.
Sir Charles Holmes, A.R.W.S., F.S.A.
Sir Robert Kindersley, G.B.E.
W. R. M. Lamb, Esq., M.V.O., M.A.
Sir Charles M. Marling, G.C.M.G., C.B.
Dr. J. Seymour Maynard.
Mrs. Emile Mond.
Sir Philip Sassoon, Bart., C.M.G., M.P.
Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E.
F. C. Stoop, Esq., J.P.
Sir Walter Townley, K.C.M.G.
A. van Anrooy, Esq., R.I.
H. van Den Bergh, Esq.
J. F. van Rees, Esq.
Sir Robert Witt, C.B.E., F.S.A.

Secretary-General
Major A. A. Longden, D.S.O.

Dutch Club
31 Sackville Street, London, W. 1.
Telephone: Regent 0700

12th December, 1928.

Dear Sir or Madam,

As you are doubtless aware, an Exhibition of Dutch Art (15th century to 19th century) is to be opened at the Royal Academy on 4th January, 1929.

The Exhibition will include pictures, drawings and etchings, with some silver, glass, and Delft china. Special features will be the galleries devoted to the works of Rembrandt, Vermeer of Delft, and Frans Hals, while Jan Steen, Hobbema, Cuyp, van de Capelle, Pieter de Hoogh, Metsu, Maes, Terborch, etc., are to be well represented as will be the Primitive School.

It is anticipated that this Exhibition of Dutch Art will fully equal, if not surpass, the great Flemish Exhibition of 1927.

On this occasion it has been arranged to extend the hours during which the Exhibition is open from 9.30 a.m. until 6 p.m., thus enabling visitors to see the pictures before and after the usual hours of business. For the benefit of those specially interested in Dutch painting,

Figure 5. Letter announcing the opening of the Exhibition of Dutch Art, comparing it as possibly superior to the Flemish Exhibition of 1927. Source: Nationaalarchief Den Haag, bestand Gezantschap Londen, Nederlandse kunsttentoonstelling te Londen, inv. no. 2.05.44.913.

As Witt continues, "The outstanding feature of the exhibition is the contribution made by the Dutch Government, exceeding anything that any State has made before beyond its own frontiers" (Witt 1929, 7). Similarly, C. J. Holmes in the more

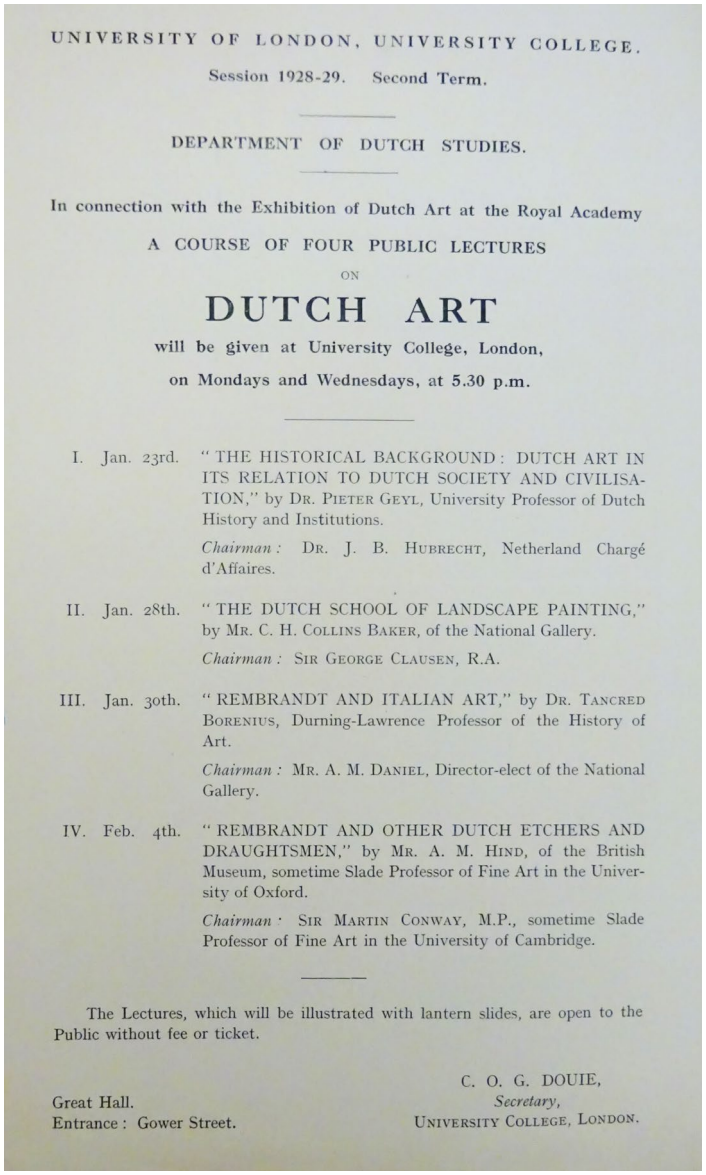
extensive commemorative catalogue published in the year after as a means of permanent documentation writes:

> One of its outstanding features was the magnificent part played by the Dutch Galleries and private owners in Holland, who together contributed 445 out of a total of 963 exhibits. The Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, the Mauritshuis at the Hague, and the Galleries at Rotterdam and Utrecht, lent generously from among their greatest treasures. Never before has a State lent so freely of its finest and rarest works of art beyond its own frontiers.
> (Holmes 1930, xxvii)

A similar kind of language characterizes the rest of the catalogue's text and that of ancillary publications. The competitiveness was also picked up by the press, which reported about the artistic and financial success of the enterprise. As *The Times* reported two weeks into the Dutch exhibition, using the traditional success measure for exhibitions: "In the fortnight since it was opened the exhibition has been visited by 57,000 people. The total number of visitors to the Flemish Exhibition of two years ago, which ran for eight weeks, was 150,000" (The Glasgow "Hobbema" 1929, 10).

As these figures show, the Royal Academy's announcement had led to a real "Netherlandomania" in London's art world, for which the ground, of course, had been paved by the preceding Flemish and Belgian exhibition. During the preparation phase, galleries across Britain competed to have their Dutch paintings included in the exhibition and on more than one occasion protested against non-inclusion decisions by the selection and hanging committees not to exhibit their pictures (The Glasgow "Hobbema" 1929). Other public and private London galleries used the occasion to schedule Dutch-themed exhibitions at the same time. The National Gallery, for example, displayed "some 50 of [their] Dutch paintings normally hung in the Reference Section of the Gallery or lent to other galleries" (Holland in Piccadilly 1929, 10), while the British Museum put up a concurrent exhibition of a large selection of drawings by Rembrandt and of engravings, etchings, and woodcuts by old masters of the Dutch School, such as by Lucas van Leyden and Hercules Seghers. These were on view in the museum's Gallery of Prints and Drawings (Dutch art: Exhibition at British Museum, press clipping s. d. in NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913). There was also the Westend antiquarian Bumpus, who put the Dutch tradition of printing, as exemplified by books, postage stamps, and paper money printed at the office of Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, based in Haarlem, on display at its premises on Oxford Street. It was a printing tradition that in the words of *The Times* indeed recalled "the quality of Vermeer" (Art axhibitions: Examples of Dutch printing 1929, 14). To some extent this effect could already be seen during the Flemish exhibition too, such as in a special exhibition of Flemish

miniatures, mostly of the 15th and 16th centuries, in the British Museum's Grenville Library (Art exhibitions: Flemish miniatures 1927).



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

Session 1928-29. Second Term.

DEPARTMENT OF DUTCH STUDIES.

In connection with the Exhibition of Dutch Art at the Royal Academy

A COURSE OF FOUR PUBLIC LECTURES

ON

DUTCH ART

will be given at University College, London,

on Mondays and Wednesdays, at 5.30 p.m.

I. Jan. 23rd. "THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: DUTCH ART IN ITS RELATION TO DUTCH SOCIETY AND CIVILISATION," by DR. PIETER GEYL, University Professor of Dutch History and Institutions.

Chairman: DR. J. B. HUBRECHT, Netherland Chargé d'Affaires.

II. Jan. 28th. "THE DUTCH SCHOOL OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING," by MR. C. H. COLLINS BAKER, of the National Gallery.

Chairman: SIR GEORGE CLAUSEN, R.A.

III. Jan. 30th. "REMBRANDT AND ITALIAN ART," by DR. TANCRED BORENIUS, Durning-Lawrence Professor of the History of Art.

Chairman: MR. A. M. DANIEL, Director-elect of the National Gallery.

IV. Feb. 4th. "REMBRANDT AND OTHER DUTCH ETCHERS AND DRAUGHTSMEN," by MR. A. M. HIND, of the British Museum, sometime Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of Oxford.

Chairman: SIR MARTIN CONWAY, M.P., sometime Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of Cambridge.

The Lectures, which will be illustrated with lantern slides, are open to the Public without fee or ticket.

Great Hall.
Entrance: Gower Street.

C. O. G. DOUIE,
Secretary,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

Figure 6. Announcement of public lectures on Dutch art to be given at University College London during the 1928-29 session. Source: Nationaalarchief Den Haag, Archief van het Nederlandse Gezantschap/Ambassade in Groot-Britannië (en Ierland tot 1949), 1813-1954, inv. no. 2.05.44.913 Nederlandse Kunsttentoonstelling.

Visits by the Royal Couples of both countries to Burlington House, prominently reported in the press, added to the public appeal (NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913: Royal

Academy to Dutch Legation, 3 Jan. 1929), as did the (incognito) visit, on May 8, 1929, by Emma, the Queen Mother of the Netherlands, who when led around the exhibition, did not approve of the arrangement to shut off each room in turn to afford her a private view of the pictures and insisted on mingling with the public instead (Royalty at Dutch exhibition 1929; Queen-Mother of the Netherlands 1929; Queen Emma sees Dutch art show 1929). A well-attended lecture programme, as in the case of the Flemish-Belgian predecessor, accompanied the exhibition, as illustrated in Figure 6, with both Geyl and Cammaerts prominently featured among the speakers (Landscape in Art: M. Cammaerts' historical survey 1929; NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913: Foster to Swinderen, 25 Jan. 1929 with enclosed programme; Geyl 1929). Following the Burlington house exhibition's closure in March, a smaller exhibition of Dutch art was also held at the Manchester City Art Gallery (Exhibition of Dutch Art 1929, 13; Dutch Paintings in Manchester 1929, 13; NA inv. no. 2.05.44.914).

Not just in terms of collaboration between galleries and governments the Dutch exhibition, like its Belgian predecessor, was an expression of emerging interwar internationalism, but also in terms of its public audience, an international spectacle with global attraction. As the art critic of *The Times* pointed out in a major review, "[T]his is an exhibition not only for London but for the world. (…) [N]ever before, in any country – not excluding Holland itself – has the art of Holland been so triumphantly displayed under one roof" (Dutch art 1929, 13). Calling Burlington House "the international lodestone of connoisseurs of painting" (Millier 1929, C15), the *Los Angeles Times*, on January 3 predicted that "[t]housands of Americans will make journeys to London for the express purpose of visiting the great exhibition of masterpieces of Dutch art gathered there from many countries" (C15). The emphasis was put upon great masters from the 17th century (the Dutch Golden Age), focusing on Rembrandt, Hals, Vermeer, Jan Steen, Cuyp, Ruisdael, and Hobbema in particular, each of which represented "the culmination of a school or tendency" (Dutch art 1929, 13), which of course added greatly to the exhibition's public appeal. A newspaper rendering of the public interest in the exhibition can be seen in Figure 7. Vermeer and Rembrandt, to whom separate galleries were dedicated, constituted the "great moments" of the exhibition. They were, as *The Times*' art critic expressed it, "of emotional depth and pictorial order respectively, and they are wisely separated by several rooms, so that an even distribution of visitors is encouraged" (13), before he came to the inevitable comparison:

> Taking in the exhibition as a whole it is impossible to avoid a mental comparison with the Flemish exhibition of 1927. Allowing for broader style, a more human and less decorative appeal, and the concentrated absence of the small brightness of the Primitives, which inevitably concentrated attention

in the first rooms, there can be no doubt that the organizers of this exhibition have benefited from the experience of that one. It is much better arranged – a smaller reach in time assisting in the effect of homogeneity – and more easily seen. Easily as it can be seen, however, it would be idle to promise even the person accustomed habitually to 'read' exhibitions anything like a proper impression at one visit, and a season ticket is a necessity. (Dutch Art 1929, 13)

Figure 7. Impression from the Dutch Exhibition.
Source: Evening Standard *(London), January 10, 1928;*
NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913 Nederlandsche kunsttentoonstelling

At the end of the show visitor numbers would total 225,000, including student- and season-ticket holders, as well as school visits even "upwards of 255,000," exceeding the box-office sales of the Flemish and Belgian exhibition, of roughly equal duration, by 50 per cent (Holmes 1930, xxvii-xxviii).

Whatever the criticisms were that could also be found in the specialist art historical press, it should not be forgotten that the enterprise's main purpose was one of public diplomacy. And as such it definitely was a resounding success. As the *New Statesman* commented, "The object of the exhibition, we are told, is the promotion of friendly relations between Holland and this country, and no better gesture towards such an end could be conceived than this generous loan of what is in no small part of Holland's wealth. […] The exhibition has a significance which should not be lost as an international event. As peace-propaganda, whether implicit or not, it has a very definitive value" (Earp 1929, 466). And, referring to the naval escort of the Dutch vessel that brought the loan pictures to London (NA inv. no. 2.05.44.913, Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen to Swinderen, December 6, 1928), passing through Tower Bridge on December 11, 1928: "By evidence of goodwill, and encouragement towards it, it might almost cancel out the launching of a new cruiser. At any rate, the two torpedo-boats which, it is reported, guarded some of the pictures on their passage from Holland were engaged on a happier mission than their constructors could have anticipated" (Earp 1929, 466).

Conclusion

What remains to be said about the two largely complementary cultural enterprises, in spite of their initial underlying rivalry? Both exhibitions surpassed the keenest expectations of their organizers. Two catalogues were published for each exhibit. One was an illustrated souvenir catalogue for a general public and the other was a specialist art historical volume for a specialist audience, containing high-quality reproductions and creating a permanent record (*Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900,* 1927; *Dutch Art: An illustrated souvenir* 1929; *Commemorative Catalogue* 1930). In the Anglo-Belgian case, the organizers very well may have been taken by surprise at the scale of their exhibition's critical and public success, so that this improved second publication was only produced later. As Mary Chamot writes in the *Anglo Belgian Notes*:

> Seldom has a publication been awaited with such eagerness as the Memorial Volume of the Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. The manifest imperfections of the catalogue sold at the turnstiles, and the enormous demand for reproductions in any shape or form, to say nothing of the phenomenal success of the exhibition itself, clearly called for such a task to

> be undertaken, and it is a pleasure to record at last that it has been most handsomely performed. The general editor, Sir Martin Conway, his collaborators, and the publishers, The Anglo-Belgian Union and Country Life are alike to be congratulated on the sumptuous volume they have produced.
> (Chamot 1928, 5)

The Dutch exhibition aimed even higher and planned both a popular and a specialist catalogue publication from the outset, using the same publisher as the Belgians, *Country Life* magazine, for the popular catalogue. Concerning the specialist catalogue, a commemorative one with Oxford University Press, the description "stately" (*The Observer* 1930, 7) reflected the catalogue's place at the top of respected academic publishing. It is worth mentioning that *Apollo* magazine and other art critical journals also printed a great number of reproductions from both exhibitions (Lambotte 1928; Gibson 1928; The Dutch exhibition at Burlington House 1929a; The Dutch exhibition at Burlington House 1929; Van Puyvelde 1929).

Regarding the development of interwar internationalism, the initial Dutch-Belgian "friendly rivalry" instigated a series of highly popular large-scale loan exhibitions of the artistic heritage of foreign nations in the Royal Academy (Scaglia 2015). They were international spectacles because, or in spite of, the tension between the internationalist collaboration in making them happen and displaying one nation's artistic heritage in a longitudinal manner, which inherently conveys a nationalist and teleological message – an assessment not just from today's perspective but also one noticed by contemporaries, such as by the art critic Walter Bayes in *The Saturday Review* from January 12, 1929:

> Of a body of artists who bring together a picture show for the delectation of the general public we might reasonably ask […] that it should be made up of pictures artistically comparable, thus incidentally offering to the unfortunate critic a limited theme adapted to his very limited space and getting the public into that mood of appreciation which even the best of painting needs. I do not want to see Hals or Rembrandt – still less Van Gogh – on the same afternoon as I am occupied with De Hoogh and Vermeer, de Witte and Ter Borgh: I should very much like to see the last quartette along with Chardin, with Canaletto, with Hogarth. (Bayes 1929, 147)

From a different angle, Geyl in *The Contemporary Review* admonished both exhibitions for artificially claiming primitive painters for their respective nations, at a time when there was largely still cultural unity in the Low Countries:

> Of this first Netherlands school of painting, as of mediæval Netherlands literature, the great centres were in the south, and they attracted some of their best artists from Holland. Bouts and David, who were represented by

> some fine works at the Flemish Exhibition, were both Hollanders. I do not, of course, mention this because I grudge their glory to the Flemings. On the contrary, my point is that the Flemish and Dutch Primitive schools form a unity, so that it does not much matter whether a particular painter is included in one or other of the two: the most rational thing to do would be to show them together as Netherlands Primitives. (Geyl 1929, 324)

He added that this seemed to be evidence for him that "art critics no less than historians or whatever category of scholars or laymen you like find it difficult, when looking at the past, to free their minds from the conceptions suggested by the present" (Geyl 1929, 324). After World War II, Geyl would expand on his crusade against what he regarded as ahistoric art historians (Geyl 1959; Grasman 1998).

Then again, these exhibitions were "easy to criticize, but it should be borne in mind that displays like the present one are arranged for the general public, which is eager for knowledge, but still more eager for æsthetic sensations, and that the result obtained here is a richer, more complete, more homogenous collection of Dutch art as has [sic] never been seen before," as Leo van Puyvelde pointed out conciliatorily in *Apollo* magazine (Van Puyvelde 1929, 141). And this is what their primary purpose was, using the artistic heritage of both nations (complicated by their joint origins and contested claims as to national "ownership" of certain painters and artistic traditions) as cultural capital for public diplomacy (or to use a more contemporary term "cultural propaganda," although it needs to be borne in mind that this term then had not yet acquired the negative connotation that it has today). The value of the bilateral cultural work did not go unnoticed by the authorities and was, for example, pointed out by the Belgian *Commission permanente des Affaires Etrangères*, proudly cited in the Union's organ *Anglo-Belgian Notes* of July 1926:

> [N]os relations intellectuelles et artistiques avec les autres pays sont de celles qui doivent avoir une répercussion heureuse sur nos amitiés à l'extérieur et éveiller l'intérêt et les sympathies des peuples à l'endroit de la Belgique. (…) Mais ici l'initiative privée peut beaucoup, et on ne saurait assez faire appel à son action pour vivifier au dehors cette propa-gande. (…) Citons à titre d'exemple, l'activité de L'UNION ANGLO-BELGE qui, depuis la guerre n'a cessé d'entretenir avec les Britanniques des relations qui ont abouti à de nombreuses conférences anglaises en Belgique.[4] (Les relations anglo-belges 1929, 74)

[4] *"[O]ur intellectual and artistic relations with other countries are those which must have a positive influence on our friendships abroad and arouse the interest and sympathies of peoples towards Belgium. [...] But here the private initiative can do a lot, and we cannot encourage it enough to*

Both exhibitions were early examples of interwar cultural exchange by way of staging exhibitions, an increasingly popular public space in which internationalism took shape. While the tradition of world fairs and exhibitions, mainly related to manufacturing and technological progress, had been established since the mid-19th century, in the interwar period after the catastrophic experience of World War I, international exhibitions also took on the role of a primary vehicle for international communication and cultural exchange. About the same time that the Belgians devised their art exhibition, the British Empire Exhibition was held at Wembley (1924-25), with the purpose of promoting the unity of the British empire. As one of the largest international exhibitions ever held to that date, it is quite possible that its scale may have influenced the Belgian and subsequently the Dutch plans, as reports about the British Empire Exhibition appeared regulary and in great detail in the *Anglo-Belgian Notes* (Stevenson 1924). Exhibitions as a means of choice for public diplomacy abroad had a tradition in Belgium as the examples in France and Switzerland demonstrate (Brockwell 1926). In the spirit of true reciprocity, the Anglo-Belgian Union also co-organized an exhibition of British art in Brussels (Exhibition of British art in Brussels 1927, 87). Furthermore, in 1927, Belgium was already gearing up for the 1930 centenary exhibitions, celebrating the nation's independence from the Netherlands, as Paul Hymans pointed out in the *Anglo-Belgian Notes* (Annual General Meeting 1927, 57-61). The Anglo-Batavian Society could follow the successful model established by the Anglo-Belgian Union, and, with generous government support, take it to another level, whereas for the Royal Academy – a previously very conservative organization, whose winter exhibitions "[f]or about half a century […] were of old masters, very largely of the English school" ("Holland in Piccadilly" 1929, 4) – these ventures offered a means to re-establish its leadership in the art sector. As the *Manchester Guardian* indicated, it was "a striking development of the Royal Academy's ideas of the use of its beautiful gallery that it should now be given so frequently to exhibitions of the art of other countries. We are all becoming internationally minded" ("Holland in Piccadilly" 1929, 4).

In summary, by competing with each other, the Dutch and Belgian bilateral friendship organizations in conjunction with the Royal Academy established an extremely successful model for internationalist collaboration in the field of art, in spite of, or precisely because of the organization's initial "friendly rivalry," both in the academic-intellectual realm, and as presented here, in the artistic field.

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bring this propaganda alive abroad. [...] By way of example, let us quote the activities of the Anglo-Belgian Union which since the war has not ceased to maintain relations with the British and resulted in many English conferences in Belgium."

Nationalism and internationalism did not necessarily need to be mutually exclusive at this point in time, but could go hand in hand.

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Une compétition culturelle et artistique entre les Néerlandais et les Belges pendant l'entre-deux-guerres à Londres

Cet article compare deux grandes expositions d'art hollandais et belge organisées à l'Académie Royale des Arts de Londres dans les années 1920. Faisant partie d'une nouvelle stratégie de diplomatie publique, les deux entreprises devaient beaucoup à l'initiative d'associations d'amitié binationales qui, conscientes de l'importance de l'Angleterre en termes diplomatiques et commerciaux, voyaient dans les expositions de leur patrimoine artistique respectif un moyen de projeter leur image vers le grand public mais aussi les élites britanniques. Ironiquement, la rivalité entre ces organisations a conduit à une expansion de l'échelle et de la

portée de leurs expositions qui, en plus de donner le ton à de nombreuses entreprises similaires à venir, ont rendu nécessaire et ont facilité une collaboration internationale croissante. Outre l'analyse de la fonction de l'art en tant que « capital culturel » dans la diplomatie culturelle néerlandaise et belge de cette époque, ce qui était encore plus compliqué par les origines communes des deux pays (que peut-on considérer comme « néerlandais », quoi comme « belge », plus on remonte dans l'histoire des Pays-Bas?), l'article examine également la manière dont cette compétition culturelle-diplomatique a contribué au développement de l'internationalisme de l'entre-deux-guerres.

Nederlandse en Belgische artistieke en intellectuele rivaliteit tijdens het interbellum in Londen

Dit artikel vergelijkt twee grote Nederlandse en Belgische kunsttentoonstellingen uit de jaren 1920 die in de Royal Academy of Art te Londen werden gehouden. Beide exposities maakten deel uit van een nieuwe strategie van openbare diplomatie en hadden veel te danken aan de inzet van binationale vriendschapsverenigingen. Vooral omdat ze zich bewust waren van het diplomatieke en commerciële belang van Groot-Brittannië, vonden deze verenigingen door middel van het tentoonstellen van hun betreffend artistiek erfgoed een manier om een bepaald imago bij een breed Brits publiek, waaronder ook de elite, onder de aandacht te brengen. Ironisch genoeg leidde de rivaliteit tussen deze verenigingen tot een grootschalige uitbreiding en reikwijdte van hun tentoonstellingen die enerzijds de toon aangaven voor vele andere soortgelijke exposities, en anderzijds een toenemende internationale samenwerking noodzakelijk en mogelijk maakten. In het artikel wordt een analyse geboden van de functie van kunst als cultureel kapitaal binnen de Nederlandse en Belgische culturele diplomatie van dit tijdperk. De gemeenschappelijke oorsprong van beide landen voegt er een complex element aan toe (vooral wat betreft de vroegere geschiedenis van de Lage Landen is de vraag: wat telt als zogeheten Nederlands en wat telt als Belgisch?). Tevens belicht dit artikel de wijze waarop de cultureel-diplomatieke competitie heeft bijgedragen aan de ontwikkeling van het internationalisme tijdens het interbellum.

Review
Heddy Honigmann (dir):
No Hay Camino (There is no path)

Netherlands: Pieter van Huijstee Film, 2021. 93 mins.
ISAN 0000-0005-5535-0000-7-0000-0000-G

Reviewed by Bill Nichols

No Hay Camino (There Is no path)*, 93 minutes, 2021, Netherlands*

Heddy Honigmann's latest, and perhaps last, documentary film is a stunning journey of memory and melancholia. As she says in an interview at the Walker Art Center in 2020, "In my films, people have left or are leaving," a remark that clearly circles back to Honigmann herself who was suffering from an incurable and terminal illness when she began this film. "There is no path" becomes a mantra for her life and work. She does what the moment calls for; she steps forward regardless of whether there is well-marked path or not, and preferably not. *No Hay Camino* conveys a sense of purposeful wandering as Honigmann returns to

people and places from her past for what may be a final farewell. What will happen in these reunions is unplanned. What will follow in the film from one encounter to another is unknown. Honigmann is a filmmaker of the present moment, however laden with loss and melancholia it may be.

In some ways her films resemble Frederick Wiseman's in that the camera observes what happens but does not intervene, for the most part. But observation does not exclude Honigmann from the frame, as it does Wiseman; quite the contrary. She is on-screen in almost every scene and not only directs the mise-en-scène, from her wheelchair, but guides most of the conversations with her friends and family. This quality aligns her more with another great woman filmmaker, Agnès Varda. Varda, too, but even more persistently, regards her own life, and the magical qualities of cinema, as a vital part of her filmmaking, especially in *Les Glaneurs et la Glaneuse* (*The Gleaners and I*, 2000) and *Varda by Agnès* (2019). And like Varda, but unlike so many documentary filmmakers from Errol Morris to Alan Berliner, Honigmann stresses conversation, with its open-ended, unstructured wanderings in search of a path, instead of interviews, with their carefully structured, goal-directed teleology. Her encounters with friends and family are precisely that: conversations, although there is a definite sense that Honigmann, the director, plays a veiled hand at keeping conversations pointed and probing. At one point, Honigmann states she has never done an interview, although she has prompted monologues and given some shape to them, as in the clip from *Good Husband, Dear Son* (2001) of a survivor of the genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The gentleman walks through a cemetery of white marble obelisks, near Sarajevo, naming relatives buried beneath many of them and succinctly citing one or two of their distinctive qualities from "loved sports" to "loved being unfaithful." Honigmann urges him, in an early take included in this new film, to walk faster. He does. The result is all the more moving.

Loss and regret take a particularly sharp focus in relation to Honigmann's father. An extended conversation with her sister reveals very different memories of this man, a Holocaust survivor who became a highly regarded cartoonist in Lima, Peru, and both a scourge and protector for Heddy as a child and young woman. He was cruel much of the time but also overly invested in Heddy's well-being, as if his more brutal side were mobilized for her own good, to guide her onto the path he envisioned for her. But Heddy was not one to walk down someone else's path and that independent spirit was what took her from Peru to Rome to study film, and eventually to the Netherlands where she would become a citizen and reside the rest of her life, apart from her peripatetic filmmaking.

What becomes remarkable in her conversation with Kristina, her sister, is how their memories of their father diverge. Kristina knows things Heddy does not, partly because she never left Peru, and Heddy recalls her own experiences with

him that were unknown to Kristina. The result is a form of understanding that stands apart from fact-gathering, reasoned analysis or explanation. It is what we may call dialogical truth, understanding that emerges in the interchange between people that did not exist in tangible form prior to that exchange. Unlike most interviews, depositions, interrogations, medical histories and the like, dialogical truth does not arise from setting out to achieve a particular goal. It is the serendipitous result of standing in an open, receptive, exploratory, and unguarded relation to an Other, akin to what Martin Buber described as an "I-Thou" relationship.

Heddy Honigmann embodies this quality not only in the dialogue with her sister but throughout her films. Curiosity, vulnerability, and spontaneity generate a form of knowledge, or *verstehen* ('understanding'), that depends on empathetic connection between participants in a given exchange. This quality is one of the most distinctive features of Honigmann's manner of engaging others and therefore of her films as a whole. Even failed encounters can contain the seeds of dialogical truth. In one scene she is driven around Lima looking for the house where she grew up. Suddenly, an exclamation. There it is! With her son, Henk, the driver, she, lodged in her wheelchair, enters the courtyard, distinguished by a street lamppost, incongruously positioned in the center of the open space. Memories flood back. A woman cracks open a door. A conversation ensues in which Honigmann pleads to be allowed to come inside a little bit to see the house. The woman politely but firmly, and perhaps fearfully, refuses. It is her sister's house; she can't permit it on her own. Honigmann's pleas demonstrate her patience, politeness and her persistence. She does give up easily. The other woman will not allow her mind to be altered. It is a standoff but one that testifies to qualities that would not emerge except in a strained and difficult dialogue such as this.

The film circles around family homes and family relations. Some encounters are with professional colleagues but the most powerful are with family and the memory of family. Honigmann came to see her father as more protective than overbearing, an unstated reason for her departure from Peru, which was more ostensibly to attend film school in Rome when there were no film schools in Peru. She shares this perspective with her sister, and they come to a deeper understanding of how their father, more than their mother, shaped the path which each of them subsequently chose. Surviving the Holocaust marked Victor Honigmann in ways that brought pain and suffering to his children, but as a mature adult Heddy Honigmann now understands this side of him. He was not cruel in his parenting by default; it was what his own experience had imprinted on him, a necessary tool of survival but not one that can be easily modelled for others.

Interestingly, however, although both her sons are in the film, we find neither at the center of any of the scenes, save one with Stefan, who handles some of the cinematography. This absence is in part testimony to the power of non-verbal communication, to trust and comfort, and the lack of a need to revisit and remember that which has been a set of more continuous relationships than with the other people we meet. In part it is also a demonstration of the dictum Honigmann offers at one point: speaking about the subjects in her films, she says she never felt she truly knew them. "I remain detached," she says as a statement of an aesthetic principle, an existential proclamation of the limits of engagement, and a lament for the sense of loss that is a necessary condition of every life no matter how great our powers of empathy.

As another point Honigmann says she is making the film and visiting people important to her to "say goodbye and remember." It is one of the people in Patricio Guzman's *Chile, La Memoria Obstinada* (*Chile, Obstinate Memory*, 1997) who reminds us that *recordar* ('remember' in Spanish) shares an etymological kinship with *corazón* ('heart,' the traditional repository of memory and emotions). Honigmann remembers in precisely this sense: she wends along a path that is not a path, but it is a journey rich in memory and melancholia, love and loss. It is the kind of film that invites us to say, from the heart, "Thank you, Heddy, for this precious gift."

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About the reviewer

Bill Nichols is professor of cinema studies at San Francisco State University (California, U.S.). Earning his Ph.D. in theatre arts and film from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1978, he edited *Movies and methods: An anthology*, volumes 1 and 2 (University of California Press, 1976, 1985), works that helped establish film studies as an academic discipline. He has since published a dozen books, more than 100 articles, and lectured widely in many countries, including in Canada where he was chair of the film studies department at Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario). His *Representing reality* (Indiana University Press, 1992) launched the contemporary study of documentary film, and *Introduction to documentary* (Indiana University Press, 3rd edition, 2017) has become the most widely used introductory textbook in the field. His general introduction to

film, *Engaging cinema* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), is the first overview to film studies that integrates a study of film's formal qualities with its enormous social significance. *Speaking truths with film: Evidence, ethics, politics in documentary* (University of California Press, 2016) explores key issues in documentary film. He has served on film festival juries in a host of countries and writes about film and other topics on his blog billnichols.net.

Review
Elizabeth Sutton (ed):
Women artists and patrons in the Netherlands, 1500-1700
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 177 p.
ISBN 9789463721400

Reviewed by Lieke van Deinsen

Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 33-36

The past decades witnessed a welcome reassessment of women's creative agency in early modern Europe. Dictionaries of women artists and writers, studies on women's arts and authorship, as well as recent exhibitions devoted to the works of female artists such as Clara Peeters and Michaelina Wautier have made an invaluable contribution to the exploration of the terra incognita of early modern female artistry. Current scholarship increasingly challenges traditional historiography and its male-dominated canons, and *Women artists and patrons in the Netherlands, 1500-1700* seamlessly fits this trend by presenting a collection of essays on important and often underestimated Netherlandish female artists and patrons from the 16th through 17th century. It addresses their prominence in their own time as well as their subsequent historiographical neglect. It also proposes a next step in the study of female artists and art history more generally.

In the introductory essay, editor Elizabeth Sutton outlines the volume's ambitions. In order to properly value the contribution(s) of early modern women artists to Western art history, this essay insists, scholars need to move beyond the conventional, male-centered historiography and take long-regarded "inferior" female artistic activities such as needlework, paper cutting, and (reproductive) prints into consideration. According to Sutton, scholars also have to use feminist theory and explicitly acknowledge and embrace the political and topical dimension of their subject. She encourages scholars to draw parallels between the often-undervalued practices of female artists in the past on the one hand and current-day issues of gender inequality on the other. In her words, "the networks and mechanisms employed by women artists and patrons in the early modern period leveraged to their advantage are systems of mutuality that we would do well to underscore and reproduce today as counter model to the hierarchies of capitalism and academe" (18).

The following six essays highlight the creative agency of early modern women painters, patrons, and printmakers, unraveling the (sometimes ambiguous) visual mechanisms they employed. The first two essays deal with female painters. Céline Talon's chapter focuses on the representation strategies of the young and aspiring Antwerp-born female painter Catharina van Hemessen (1528-1588), who, in 1548, made one of the first self-portraits of a painter at work. Talon convincingly argues that Van Hemessen intentionally composed her – on first sight rather conservative – self-portrait as a multilayered, artistic self-advertisement showcasing her ambitions and qualities. By including subtle yet significant references and details, Van Hemessen showed that she was aware of contemporary innovations and artistic discussions. In her contribution, Nicole Elizabeth Cook explores the art works of the renowned Dutch painters Judith Leyster (1609-1660) and Gesina ter Borch (1633-1690) to determine the particular appeal of the night among early modern female artists. Placing their works

in a rich literary context, Cook argues that Leyster's and Ter Borch's nocturnal-themed art not only echoed the period's broader turn to the light (which becomes, for example, apparent from their explorations of artificial light), but also reflected the particular advantages of the night for women artists. Nightfall freed them from their daily labors and thus gave them time for their creative practices.

The next two essays explore how both visual and textual portraits contributed to the reputation of noblewomen and female art patrons. Saskia Beranek's essay presents a new interpretation of the layout of Huis ten Bosch, the royal palace in The Hague. She persuasively argues that architect Pieter Post designed both the building and the gardens as a dynamic built portrait of Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), wife of the late Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry. While the palace celebrates the lost prince, it also promotes and prolongs the social position of the widow-princess. Through iconographical associations with the ancient Greek queen Artemisia and the personification of the Dutch garden maid, the building emphasizes her role as the guardian of the young Dutch Republic. Lindsay Ann Reid's contribution analyzes how Richard Lovelace's seldom-remarked poem "Princess Löysa Drawing" (1649) paints a flattering portrait of the talented Louise Hollandine (1622-1709), daughter of Frederick V of the Palatinate and king of Bohemia and Elizabeth Stuart, comparing the princess to Ovid's Arachne. By contrasting this image with the princess's works and several other sources, Reid raises the fundamental question whether or not we can interpret a discursive character, such as the one presented in Lovelace's poem, as a true image of an identifiable historical woman.

The last two essays of the volume focus on female printmakers and print publishers. Concentrating on the works of Magdalena de Passe (c. 1600-1638), Amy Frederick calls for a reevaluation of reproductive printmaking with a focus on gender. She argues that De Passe's work as a reproductive printmaker as well as her contribution to the workshop of her father has been neglected because of both her gender and the focus on the individual creative genius in art historiography. Frederick presents an alternative interpretation, claiming that De Passe's signed reproductive prints could also be regarded as self-effacing triumphs of her skills and ingenuity as an emulator, thereby contributing to the family brand as well as her own identity as engraver. Finally, Arthur DiFuria's article returns to the question of historiography by examining the legacies of print publishers Mayken Verhulst (1518-1599) and Volcxken Diericx (c. 1525-1600). Whereas traditional art historical scholarship has generally designated their contribution to the business of printmaking as adjunct to the endeavors of their famous husbands – Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Hieronymus Cocks, respectively – DiFuria opts for a more individual evaluation of their entrepreneurial creativity in order to challenge traditional historiography.

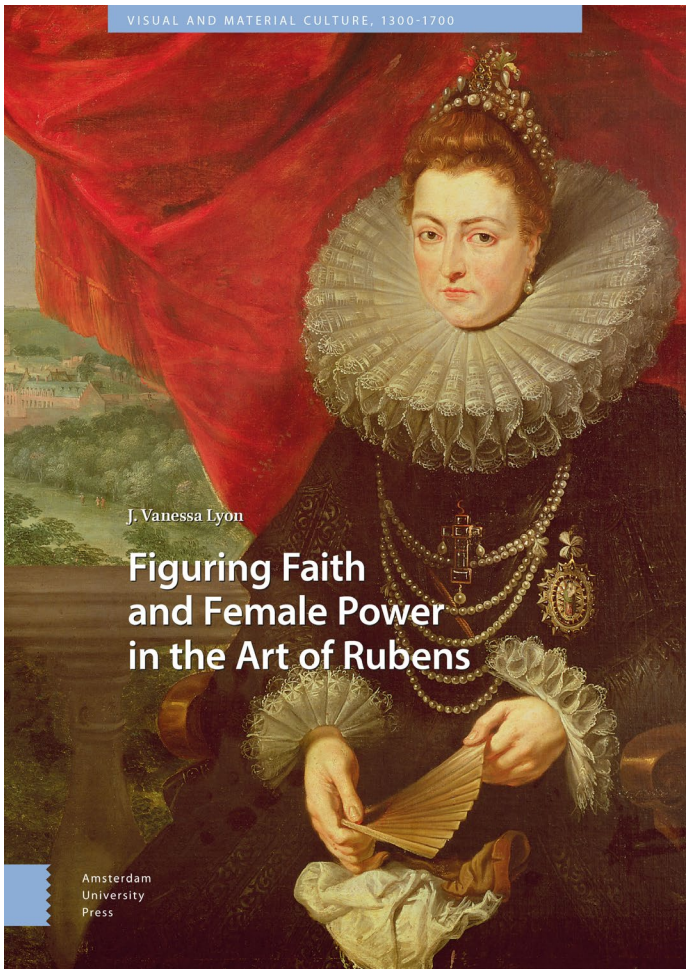
The essays in this volume convincingly highlight women artists' valuable contribution to their field and, in doing so challenge the traditional bias in art historical research. With the noteworthy exception of Cook's essay, they do not, however, answer the volume's ambition to construct a dialogue between gender-related societal issues in the past and those in the present. The absence of broader reflections at the end of the volume on the implications of Sutton's thought-provoking suggestions as outlined in the introduction may be viewed as a missed opportunity, in particular when it comes to her promising suggestions of actively involving students in the process. Nevertheless, aside from that the volume is exactly what it promises to be: an example of the new and promising scholarship on the importance of early modern female artists.

About the reviewer

Lieke van Deinsen is a postdoctoral researcher at KU Leuven (Belgium). She conducts research on the visual and textual representations of female authorship and intellectual authority in the early modern Low Countries. In 2017 she completed her Ph.D. at Radboud University (Nijmegen, Netherlands) on processes of literary canon formation, resulting in the publication of *Literaire erflaters: Canonvorming in tijden van culturele crisis* (Verloren, 2017). In her capacity as Johan Huizinga Fellow of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, she wrote *The Panpoëticon Batavûm: The portrait of the author as a celebrity* (Rijksmuseum, 2016).

Review
J. Vanessa Lyon:
Figuring faith and female power in the art of Rubens
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 248 p.
ISBN 9789462985513

Reviewed by Marilyn Dunn



Feminist scholarship over the past four decades has enriched and deepened our understanding of the art of Peter Paul Rubens through its exploration of the role of gender in his *oeuvre*. J. Vanessa Lyon's *Figuring faith and female power in the art of Rubens* offers a new contribution to this body of gender-oriented studies on the artist by drawing upon and expanding earlier innovative and revelatory scholarship. Noting that Rubens's secular subjects have been the primary focus of these previous studies, Lyon seeks to illuminate how Rubens represents powerful women and female power in religious art and devotional subjects. She endeavors to engage feminist and gender studies with historical theology and Queer theory in her approach to analyzing Rubens's female imagery and patronage within the context of early modern court culture and Catholicism. A limited selection of paintings of gynocentric subjects, including religious as well as some mythological and allegorical themes, forms the focus of her analysis which is organized into five chapters preceeded by a prologue and an introduction. The chapters are structured like independent essays related to the book's central themes; each chapter begins with an abstract and includes its own separate bibliography. Tracing Rubens's career chronologically, thematic chapters seek to demonstrate "that as his career advances, female figures increasingly bear the burden of meaning-making, assuming an ever-greater formal and compositional presence as well as more iconographically complex roles in his art" (25).

Following a prologue that provides a brief contextual background of the social, intellectual, religious, and artistic milieu in which Rubens worked, Lyon's introduction challenges the acceptance of conventional standards of beauty evident in "fat-phobic" critical assessments of Rubens's female figures as excessive or vulgar. She claims that Rubens's "strong and vigorous, well-nourished women" (24) suggest strength and invulnerability in the turbulent times in which Rubens lived and that his treatment of these female forms serves to express the central meaning of his compositions. Lyon argues that in his religious works women often function as *figurae* (typological forms of expression) to tangibly "embody Catholic ideas of the sacred or spiritual" (29) but also acknowledges his use of *figurae* in secular subjects. Lyon's claim that the evolution of Rubens's use of the female form as an expressive instrument of visual rhetoric relates to his changing relationships with the women in his life – wives, patrons, the Virgin Mary, and female saints – is examined in successive chapters.

In chapter 1 Lyon analyzes three paintings of dyadic pairs of male/female couples – *Hercules and Omphale* (c. 1606), *Samson and Delilah* (c. 1609), and his *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant* (c. 1609) – to explore Rubens's strategies for depicting sex difference and negotiating how to represent female power. The mythological and biblical couples represent the dangerous Powers of Women theme popularized in 16th-century prints. Lyon posits these two paintings as

"iconographical and compositional keys" (37) to interpreting the *Self-Portrait*. She sees Rubens as trying to find a way to "simultaneously demonstrate and curtail" the power of such anti-heroines as Delilah and Omphale (55). In contrast to art historians who emphasize the aesthetic, robust male form as Rubens's principal rhetorical instrument in the early 17th century, Lyon calls attention to his increasing interest in the expressive potential of the female body as well. She analyzes Rubens's *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant*, in relation to his earlier depiction of the inversion of perceived notions of gender hierarchy in *Hercules and Omphale*. In his marriage portrait, Rubens compositionally resets gender order, as Lyon demonstrates in an insightful compositional analysis of the positioning and poses of Rubens and his wife. In the portrait Rubens aims to construct his own self-identity as an exemplary married gentleman and aspiring court artist. Isabella's higher social status helps advance his own, but the purported superior status of his male gender is manifested in his placement on the honorific left positioned above his lower-seated wife. Yet Lyon also suggests a more complex reading of the picture. She calls attention to the prominence of the couple's hand-clasp gesture as an allusion to faithfulness and the sacrament of marriage, and she notes that Isabella's expressive gaze and placement of her hand over her husband's imbue her with a power of her own.

Chapter 2 examines how gender relates to painterly style and iconography in Rubens's paintings of religious themes in the second decade of the 17th century. Building on a history of the critical reception of Rubens's *Raising of the Cross* (c. 1611-13) and *Descent from the Cross* (c. 1614) based on traditional notions of masculine and feminine artistic style in the respective altarpieces, Lyon argues that female figures assume greater iconographic and compositional importance, beginning with the *Descent*. In this period, she sees Rubens combining stylistic binaries of Venetian *colorito* ('colouring') and central Italian *disegno* ('fine art drawing') in his *Assumption* from c. 1613, but Lyon asserts that Rubens had not yet resolved how to represent virtuous female power. The chapter concludes with a discussion of paintings featuring lactation imagery in which Rubens eschews depictions of the Madonna actively suckling the Christ Child. Lyon claims that Rubens instead chose to emphasize nursing as a Christian charitable activity, but curiously she does not include any examples that represent the charitable theme. She does, however, make the interesting suggestion that lactation images may be used by Rubens to express an analogy between the "creative power of nursing and the creative power of painting" (107). Lyon persuasively demonstrates this analogous connection in her analysis of a mythological scene of lactation, *Juno and Argos* (c. 1610-11).

Figuring female power is addressed in chapter 3 through a comparison of Rubens's large-scale decorative cycles from the 1620s for Marie de' Medici, queen

mother of France, and Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in which Lyon contrasts both historical contexts and conceptual strategies for creating the self-image of each female ruler. Her analysis concentrates on Rubens's representations of his female patrons rather than on the iconography and compositional details of the larger programs. Although acknowledging the contribution of feminist scholarship on the Marie de' Medici cycle, which has added nuanced evaluations of its program and imagery, Lyon judges the cycle as a brilliantly calculated but spectacular failure at political self-fashioning, and she sets it as a foil to Rubens's very differently conceived *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series for the archduchess Isabel. Commissioned as an ex-voto in thanks for the Spanish victory over the Dutch at Breda, the tapestries celebrate a Catholic triumph in the form of the doctrine of the Eucharist. The series was intended as an expression of Isabel's devotion, of her affection for the community of Poor Clares at Descalzas Reales in Madrid, in whose church the tapestries were hung on certain liturgical occasions, and as a political statement in which a military victory achieved through Isabel's policies represented the triumph of Catholicism and Isabel as its defender. Lyon focuses her analysis on the *Defenders of the Eucharist*, the only image in the series in which the archduchess actually appears. Here Isabel is depicted in the guise of the Franciscan St. Clare of Assisi holding a monstrance with the Host in the center of the composition. In contrast to the multiple guises assumed by Marie de' Medici – biographical, mythological, allegorical – Isabel's identity is fused with St. Clare as a "*figura* made flesh"; "a post-Tridentine Catholic for whom the medieval St. Clare is the prototype" (170). At this point in Rubens's career, Lyon believes that he recognized the intellect and agency of certain powerful women with whom he was associated. Unfortunately, the color plates corresponding to this chapter are mis-ordered and mis-numbered, and the paintings' locations listed in the captions are incorrectly scrambled between the images.

Turning in the next chapter to a large-scale allegorical project, the Whitehall Palace Banqueting House in London that celebrates the male ruler King James I, Lyon focuses her analysis on a small oil sketch for the figures of Peace and Plenty that appear in the scene of the *Peaceful Reign of King James I* on the ceiling. Rejecting the proposal that these figures relate to Righteousness kissing Peace in Psalm 85, she offers a convincing argument relating the two affectionately embracing females to Psalm 122 which links Peace and Prosperity (Plenty) to good government. Rubens uses these female bodies to invoke Old Testament references to kingship as exemplified by Solomon, builder of the Holy Temple and a prototype of King James. Lyon asserts that the poses, expressions, and supple flesh of bare-breasted Peace and Plenty convey a desired mutuality. Like the other female figures in the ceiling's canvases, they play a principal role in actively

expressing the political allegorical meaning in human terms. Lyon considers the amorous female couple of Peace and Plenty through a queer gaze and relates them to an interest in female same-sex desire in contemporary literature and art associated with the English court. Suggesting that Peace and Plenty's embrace rhetorically prefigures the union of church and state desired by Rubens's patron King Charles I, she asserts that this image of female same-sex desire reflects the artist's use of loving female personifications to convey hopeful civic allegories and casts female affection in a politically and morally positive light.

The final chapter considers the feminization of Rubens in the 17th century through an examination of his critical reception structured by stylistic binaries of traditional gendered and regionalist classifications of painting that identified the artist as the consummate practitioner of Venetian colouring despite his accomplished skills in masculine-defined Tuscan design. Not only was Rubens a painter of women, but the Venetian coloristic, painterly, tactile style he embraced was gendered as feminine in the critical discourse on art. Lyon claims that Rubens's adoption of Venetian models was not simply a stylistic choice but an ideological one that was tied to his understanding of gender. She links his turn to a painterly *colorito* style from the middle of the second decade of the 17th century onward with a simultaneous increase in the number of female figures which were both visually delightful and iconographically significant. Lyon argues that Rubens recognized the powerful rhetorical capacity of the female body and reconceptualized the power of women in a positive way that privileged "femininity's unique capacity to figure artistic expression" (230).

This overarching argument of the book is appealing, but while Lyon's insightful analysis of figures like Peace and Plenty successfully demonstrates how these female bodies are bearers of rhetorical meaning, more of a discussion in chapter 3 of how the nymphs, bare-breasted, and fluidly gendered personifications in the Medici cycle, to which she alludes in chapter 5, function to efficaciously express iconographic meaning, would help to substantially reinforce this important argument. The case studies of individual chapters introduce many intriguing ideas and observations about the paintings she considers, though detailed, multifaceted discussions and rich contextual material sometimes bury her major points and their relation to the thread of her larger thesis. Lyon skillfully engages in some thoughtful visual analyses to explicate her points. However, a few descriptions do not match details visible in the paintings illustrated, as, for example, in her reference to a bare-breasted figure of Plenty in an anonymous copy (fig. 4.5) of Lucas de Heere's *An Allegory of Tudor Succession*, apparently not noting that the figure's breast, bare in the original painting, is fully covered in the copy illustrated. Nevertheless, Lyon's book represents a useful source for new perspectives on Rubens's relation to women and the representation of the female

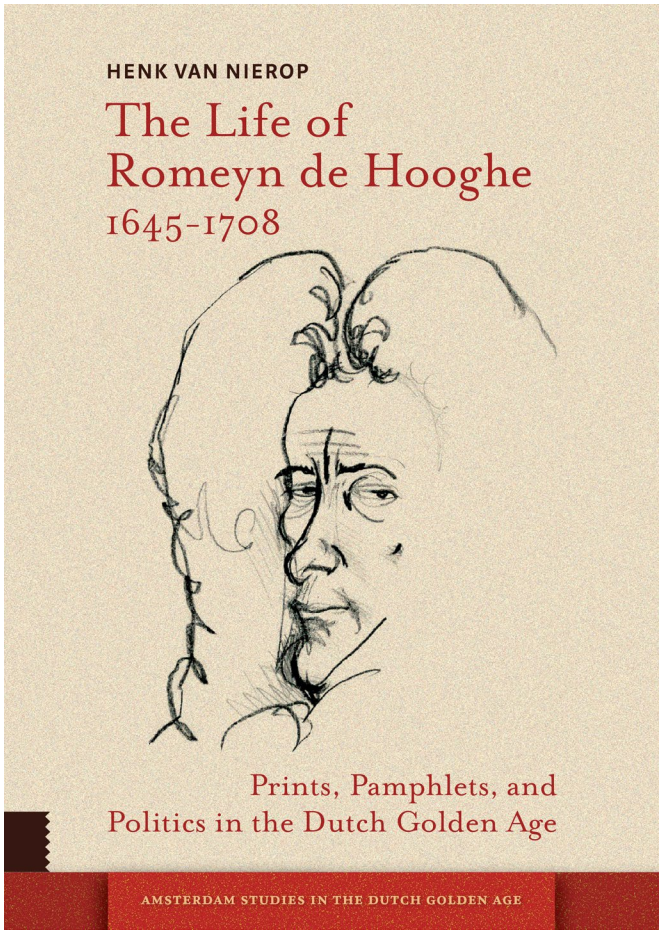
form. Her concluding epilogue, advocating for new modes of inquiry that expand feminist methodology beyond the scope of her book, points to a growing awareness of critical race studies, intersectionality of gender and race, and Queer theory by early modern art historians that opens new and welcome approaches to the history of art.

About the reviewer

Marilyn Dunn is associate professor emerita of art history and former associate faculty member of the women and gender studies program at Loyola University Chicago (Illinois, U.S.). She earned her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1985. A specialist in Renaissance and Baroque art, her research has focused on art patronage and on issues of women and gender and art. She has published extensively on religious communities in 17th-century Rome and the role of women and nuns as patrons of art and architecture. Among her recent publications is *Convent networks in Early Modern Italy* (Brepols, 2020, coedited with Saundra Weddle). Currently, she is coeditor with Andrea Pearson of Lund Humphries's *Illuminating women artists: Renaissance and Baroque* book series.

Review
Henk van Nierop:
The life of Romeyn de Hooghe 1645-1708:
Prints, pamphlets, and politics in the Dutch Golden Age
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018. 452 p.
ISBN 9789463725101

Reviewed by Wim Klooster



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 43-46

Anyone interested in the Dutch Golden Age has seen his prints. He was, after all, the country's leading artist in the last decades of the 17th century. But unlike the more famous painters who were one or two generations his senior, Romeyn de Hooghe had not been the subject of a biography prior to Henk van Nierop's fine and nuanced study.

Romeyn was first and foremost an etcher, printmaker, and print-seller. Within ten years of striking out on his own, he became the leading Dutch printmaker. After two decades, he was the Republic's premier graphic artist. Romeyn defied the slumping art market by producing illustrations for the early modern version of coffee table books, although he illustrated every other kind of book as well. At the same time, he ignored the rules of depicting the past by combining events that happened in different eras and by showing ancient gods, Christian angels, and humans in the same image. What made him stand out, writes Van Nierop, was his "intimate knowledge of ancient history and mythology and his skill in mixing the allegorical and the historical" (p. 359). His audience was therefore in the first place educated and middle-class.

In his later years, Romeyn kept developing himself by crossing boundaries into new areas, trying his hand at painting, designing the stadholder's gardens at Het Loo, and as the anonymous author of the world's first satirical periodical. He thus lived up to his ideal of the universal artist, well-versed in multiple disciplines.

Obviously ambitious, Romeyn probably decided at a young age to overcome his humble background as son of a button maker and become a gentleman. Although the lack of funds at home prevented him from enrolling at a university, he tried to elevate his social status in whatever ways possible. Romeyn bought rural property, filled a post of magistrate at the Minor Bench of Justice in Haarlem, sought in vain to become the Pensionary of that same town, and earned a law degree, all calculated steps to present himself as a gentleman. Nor did he shy away from lies if they were useful in promoting himself, boasting for example that the king of Poland had granted him a noble title. Scholars have accepted this claim, but Van Nierop sets the record straight. It was not the only time that Romeyn distorted the truth as he sought to further his social or artistic ambitions. For the same reason, he committed large-scale fraud on at least one occasion, and betrayed his close collaborator Ericus Walten to save his own skin.

One factor blocking his ambitions was his character. As Van Nierop shows, there "was an unbalanced and roguish streak to his character that drove him to take vast and unwarranted risks, threatening to destroy his career time and again" (p. 27). Romeyn appears to have been a larger-than-life, extravert libertine who flouted social conventions. He invited moral opprobrium by allowing his wife sexual encounters with other men and by making and peddling pornographic prints. His "indecent lifestyle" (151), which was no secret to his neighbors and

employees, gave rise to the publication of a work in which many of the rumors spread in Amsterdam were featured. That work was a novel based on a French original, into which various obscene stories were inserted that were centered around the figure of Romeyn de Hooghe without mentioning him by name. Consequently, his reputation, "an essential part of one's social capital" (151), was badly damaged, forcing him to move with his wife to nearby Haarlem. From there, he would regularly commute to Amsterdam, which remained the center of the global publishing industry.

Pornography was not the only accusation leveled against Romeyn. He was also said to have been a thief and a blasphemer. Blasphemy cases, as Van Nierop points out, were rare in the Dutch Republic, but it was considered a serious crime. It is clear that by contemporary standards Romeyn was guilty of blasphemy. Witnesses declared that he had called the Reformed doctrine of predestination a fraud, that the Revelation of St. John was "nothing but dreams" (298), and that the prevailing notions of resurrection and the immortality of the soul were examples of deceit. Romeyn appears to have rejected the literal truth of the Bible and wrote explicitly that religion was a human invention.

That Romeyn was able to hold his own despite the rumors was partly due to the support of the Haarlem city council. But at least as important was the protection he enjoyed among leading Orangists. Romeyn had asserted himself as a follower of William for the first time in 1672, when the latter became stadholder. In that Disaster Year, when invasions by France, England and two German countries threatened the existence of the Republic, Romeyn manifested himself as the Orangist printmaker par excellence. He would keep that up for a few years and return to making propaganda for the Orangist camp during the Glorious Revolution. Initially he seems to have sided with the prince without an ulterior motive. He did not strive at the time to find employment in court circles, although that did not make his propaganda any less effective. By presenting the prince as wise and unambitious, Romeyn contributed in no small measure to William III's victory over the troops of the English king.

As was true for the majority of the population, Romeyn was a moderate Orangist. Unlike more radical Orangists, he condemned the mob that lynched the De Witt brothers in 1672, who had been sworn enemies of the prince. He remained loyal to William for the rest of his life, which he expressed, among other things, in his unconditional support for the prince in his feud with the Amsterdam regents, whom Romeyn mercilessly attacked. After the stadholder died in 1702 with no successor on the horizon, Romeyn changed his political allegiance, but he would never criticize his former patron. The artist may have engaged in fraud and deception, but in the realm of politics he was no chameleon.

In Henk van Nierop's expert hands, this book leaves few questions about Romeyn de Hooghe unanswered. The author has succeeded in presenting his subject as the complex figure that he was: an overly ambitious libertine who did not hesitate to throw a friend under the bus, but also a brilliant artist whose style would leave a legacy far beyond his death.

About the reviewer

Wim Klooster is professor and Robert H. and Virginia N. Scotland Endowed Chair in History and International Relations at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts (U.S.), where he has taught since 2003. Earning his Ph.D. from Leiden University (Netherlands) in 1995, he has published widely on the Dutch Atlantic, smuggling, Jewish history, and the age of revolutions. His twelve books include *Revolutions in the Atlantic world: A comparative history* (New York University Press, new edition 2018), *The Dutch moment: War, trade, and settlement in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world* (Cornell University Press, 2016), and *Illicit riches: Dutch trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (KITLV Press, 1998). His latest books are *Spanish American independence movements: A history in documents* (Broadview Press, 2021) and *Realm between empires: The Second Dutch Atlantic, 1680-1815* (Cornell University Press, 2018, coauthored with Gert Oostindie). Klooster is currently editing the three-volume *Cambridge history of the age of Atlantic revolutions*.

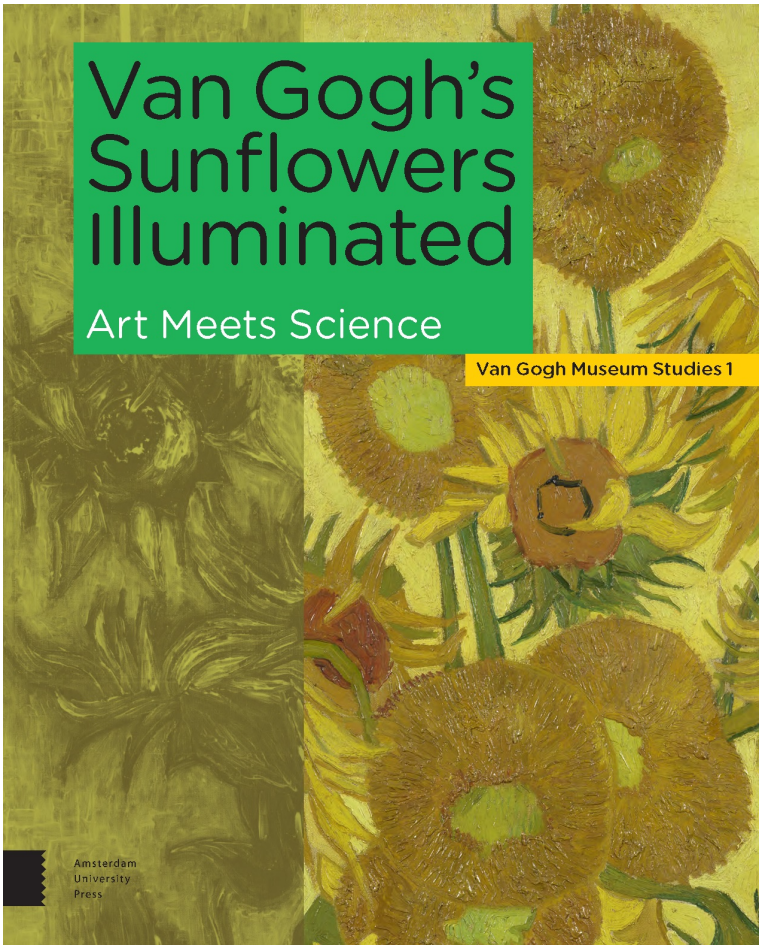
Review

Ella Hendriks, Marije Vellekoop, Maarten van Bommel, Muriel Geldof, and Van Gogh Museum (eds):

Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated: Art meets science

Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 256 p.
ISBN 9789463725323

Reviewed by Judy Sund



Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated: Art meets science shines a narrowly focused high beam on a small if well-known subset of the artist's production. Within that subset, this volume centers more specifically upon a masterful still life of 15 sunflowers in an earthenware jar (now in the collection of the National Gallery, London) and a "free repetition" of that work (now owned by the Van Gogh Museum) that Van Gogh made for Paul Gauguin in anticipation of an exchange that never came to pass. Both pictures were painted at Arles: the London *Sunflowers* in the summer of 1888 – a period of peak production in which Vincent van Gogh attained what he'd later, in a letter dated March 24, 1889, to his brother Theo, call a "high yellow note" – and the Amsterdam repetition in January 1889, as the artist struggled to recover from the breakdown he'd suffered at Christmastime.

Over the course of the last quarter-century, conservators in London and Amsterdam have done comparative chemical and structural analyses of the visually resemblant London and Amsterdam *Sunflowers*, using increasingly sophisticated techniques. These range from x-radiography and infrared reflectography (both of which allow investigators to look beneath the surface of a painting to determine over-paintings and view underdrawings) to Raman spectroscopy (which helps identify and distinguish pigments) and UV-Vis-NIR optics reflectance and luminescence spectroscopy (a non-invasive means of molecular analysis that takes measurements in situ from a polychrome surface rather than relying on micro-samples removed from one). In the main, this book is a compendium of conservators' concerns about and approaches to Van Gogh's oil paintings – written by and for those in that field. High tech prevails, and the most conventional of art historical methods – side-by-side visual comparison – is not afforded to readers of this book; though it is full of charts, graphs, and microscopic close-ups, and features full-page illustrations and multiple details of both the London and Amsterdam *Sunflowers*, this volume is void of a single instance in which the two paintings are pictured next to one another.

The capstone to a long-term, multifaceted, and evolving scientific investigation, *Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated* – coauthored by more than 30 individual researchers – also looks to the uncertain future of paintings that have significantly deteriorated since Van Gogh completed them in 1888-89. The paint surfaces of these heavily impastoed still lifes have flaked, chipped, cracked, and in some areas pustulated, and the vibrant coloristic interactions and tonal harmonies the artist intended have diminished as pigments have changed and become less distinct from one another. In response to the brilliant sunlight and vibrant hues of Provençal summer, Van Gogh deployed "bright but fugitive" geranium lake pigments and chrome yellows that inevitably "turn dark" (Monico et al. 2019, 130, 138). The conservators who collaborated on this volume note that while they

cannot turn back the clock, they are determined to minimize further damage by establishing appropriate guidelines for gallery lighting (Monico et al. 2019, 154).

Both the London and Amsterdam *Sunflowers* also have suffered the effects of 20th-century relining and varnish – the latter locking in place not only flaking paint, but attendant particles of dust and soot. Varnish removal, as described in detail by those who've examined the stratigraphy and composition of the varnishes on Van Gogh's *Sunflowers*, is controversial. Always tricky, such cleanings are especially complicated when layers of varnish differ in thickness and chemical composition; a team of 13 scientist-contributors to *Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated* ponders the means and feasibility of varnish removal from paintings with already-compromised surfaces (Van den Berg 2019).

General readers daunted by the dense, techno-specific chapters of *Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated* probably will find the one that chronicles early efforts to conserve/restore the Amsterdam *Sunflowers* more accessible. Recent investigations of that painting's physical state are here used to discern and reconstruct the materials and methods of Jan Cornelis Traas (1898-1984), who "restored" the Amsterdam *Sunflowers* in 1927, as his career was taking off, and again in 1961, as he neared retirement. This chapter offers interesting glimpses into now-outmoded (and discredited) attitudes and practices – such as infusing paintings with wax-resin to "freeze" their condition – and traces the ramifications of such misguided attempts to reverse or still the effects of time. Conservators who have studied Old Master paintings Traas restored for The Hague's Mauritshuis note his predilection for tinted varnishes of the sort he apparently used on Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* to heighten its warm, tonal palette. The authors remark that even in Traas's day, such treatments were debated, and they note that Van Gogh's sister-in-law, Jo – who had inherited the lion's share of the artist's production – adamantly opposed varnishing any of the paintings in her possession. "I know it spoils the beautiful aspect," she wrote. "Van Gogh's technique does not agree with varnish" (Van Gogh-Bonger 1923, cited in Hendriks et al. 2019, 183).

A more significant nod to Van Gogh's broad fan base is made by the book's chapter on "The Sunflowers in perspective," co-authored by art historians Nienke Bakker and Christopher Riopelle, curators at the Van Gogh Museum and National Gallery, respectively. Although theirs is hardly the first endeavor to home in on and contextualize Van Gogh's sunflower still lifes (Bailey 2013; Dorn 1990, 1999; Van Tilborgh 2008), it is a brisk and information-packed overview of Van Gogh's engagement with a motif he first took up in 1887 in Paris and would continue to include in his post-Arles production, if only from afar (Bakker and Riopelle note the sunflowers' appearance as minor elements in Van Gogh's late landscapes).

Gauguin plays a key role in the *Sunflowers* saga Bakker and Riopelle recount. An early aficionado, Gauguin traded a scene he'd painted in Martinique

in 1887 (*At the Pond's Edge*, Van Gogh Museum) for two of the sunflower still lifes Van Gogh made in Paris that year. Doubtless with Gauguin's enthusiasm in mind, Van Gogh painted his best-known Arlesian *Sunflowers* (including the London painting) as he prepared for Gauguin's move to the south. He decorated the bedroom his friend would occupy with a suite of park views and a pair of sunflower still lifes (the one in London and its pendant, now at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Neue Pinakothek, Munich). Gauguin was duly impressed – perhaps even taken aback – by the great strides Van Gogh had made at Arles, and as Douglas Druick and Peter Kort Zegers have noted, Gauguin soon began to rewrite the *Sunflowers*' history (Druick and Kort Zegers 2001, 242).[1] The portrait Gauguin made of *Van Gogh Painting Sunflowers* (1888, Van Gogh Museum) suggests, to the casual viewer, that Gauguin was on hand for the pictures' creation – a misrepresentation that Gauguin committed to print in his memoir, *Avant et après* (1903). There, Gauguin casts Van Gogh as a hapless amateur in the fall of 1888, "floundering" and "still trying to find his way." By his own account, Gauguin saved the day by undertaking "the task of enlightening him," and asserts, "From that day, my Van Gogh made astonishing progress . . . The result was that whole series of sunflowers upon sunflowers in full sunlight" (Druick and Kort Zegers 2001, 242).

Gauguin routinely "borrowed" from his colleagues. Both Paul Sérusier and Edgar Degas compared Gauguin to a "pirate," and his onetime mentor, Camille Pissarro, characterized Gauguin's mature work as "a sailor's art, picked up here and there," while Cézanne expressed worry that Gauguin would steal his style, and Emile Bernard was embittered that his contribution to Gauguin's abrupt stylistic shift in summer 1888 went unacknowledged (Naifeh and White Smith 2011, 659; Gayford 2006, 60; Ward 1996, 108). Van Gogh perhaps sensed early-on that his friend aimed to muscle in on his turf; Bakker and Riopelle detail the push-pull over *Sunflowers* that commenced almost as soon as Gauguin left Arles in December 1888. In early January 1889, when Gauguin wrote to suggest that Van Gogh give him the "sunflowers on a yellow ground" (i.e., the London *Sunflowers*), Van Gogh not only resisted, but felt obliged to assert ownership of the motif, telling Gauguin that "I have taken the sunflower" (Bakker and Riopelle 2019, 32). Loath to part with a painting that "grows in richness the more you look at it" (32), Van Gogh offered Gauguin two "absolutely equivalent and identical repetitions" (32) of the *Sunflowers* that hung in his room at Arles (one of these "repetitions" is the Amsterdam *Sunflowers*). Months later, as Vincent prepared to retreat to an asylum at St.-Rémy, he shipped his sunflower still lifes to Theo in Paris. He was

[1] This publication is the catalogue of an exhibition that brought together three of Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* and occasioned a pioneering joint technical study conducted by Kristin Hoermann Lister, Inge Fiedler, and Cornelia Peres; their findings appear as an appendix to the catalogue.

willing for two repetitions to go to Gauguin – "who has a complete infatuation with my sunflowers" – on the condition that something "better than mediocre" was offered return, as Vincent van Gogh wrote in a letter dated February 3, 1889, to his brother Theo, but the trade never occurred. When Theo died in 1891 – just months before Gauguin set off for Tahiti – the paintings passed to his widow, Jo.

But Van Gogh's *Sunflowers*, if out of sight, were not out of mind. Gauguin, having grown sunflowers from seed in the South Seas, made his own, exoticized, sunflower still lifes in 1901 (two of the four are illustrated in *Van Gogh's Sunflowers illuminated*). As Bakker and Riopelle tell it, Gauguin's late-life, sunflower-centered paintings may be read as "surrogate portraits" of his late friend, Vincent, who had committed suicide more than a decade before.[2] This is not a new interpretation, as Gamboni (2014, 356) argues that Gauguin was thinking back to Van Gogh's paintings of his and Gauguin's empty chairs (*Gauguin's Chair*, Van Gogh Museum; *Vincent's Chair*, National Gallery, London) – paintings that evoke their absent owners through the chairs themselves, their surroundings, and the inanimate objects that each contains. Recently, this explication has gotten renewed play when Gauguin's sunflower still life was presented as an allusive evocation of Van Gogh in *Gauguin's Portraits*, an exhibition organized by Cornelia Homburg and seen in Ottawa and London. Charming as that read may be, it seems equally likely that Gauguin – a master of co-option and reliably more cynical than sentimental – simply saw a chance to plunder. Working at some distance from the places and period in which Van Gogh staked his claim to what critic Albert Aurier (1890) proclaimed "this other sun, this vegetal star, the sumptuous sunflower," Gauguin may well have seen fit to make the motif his own at last. If so, the attempt was in vain; this volume reminds us yet again that the sunflower is forever Van Gogh's.

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[2] Although Naifeh and White Smith (2011) have floated the notion that Van Gogh was murdered by a cowboy-crazy teenager, their preposterous theory is not grounded in any credible evidence. It is important that responsible scholars counter sensationalist fiction with the fact that Van Gogh died by his own hand.

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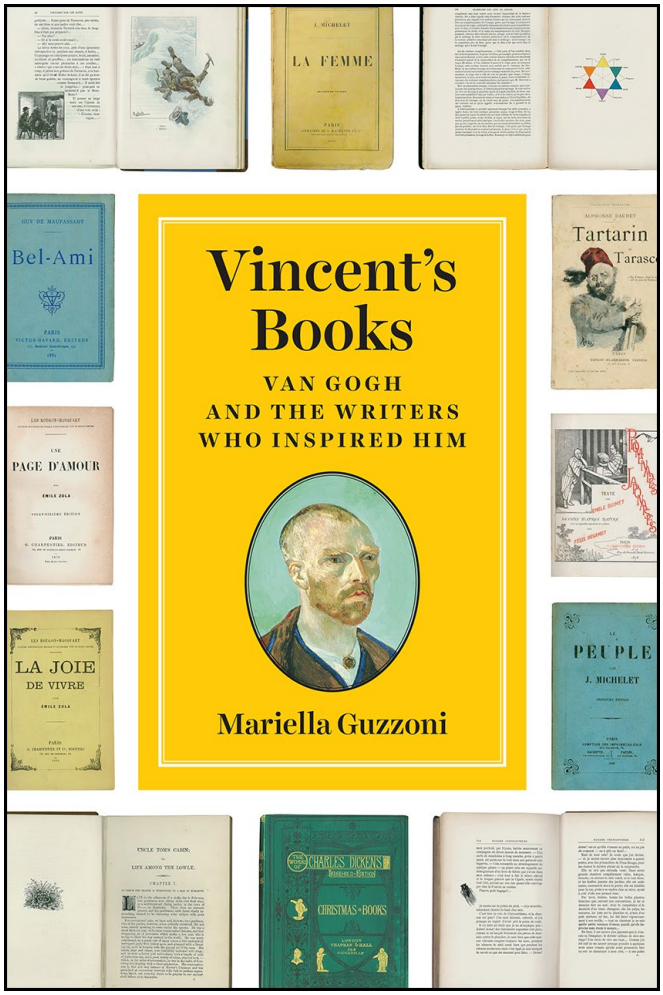
About the reviewer

Judy Sund, professor of modern European art and art of the Americas at the City University of New York (U.S.), has authored two books and several essays on Van Gogh. She received her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1983. Her most recent book, *Exotic: A fetish for the foreign* (Phaidon, 2019), probes appropriation and construction of the Other in Euro-American visual culture. Her other research interests include visual artists' responses to texts (from Biblical parables to naturalist novels) and intersections of high art and popular culture (world's fairs, Hollywood movies, advertising, fashion).

Review
Mariella Guzzoni:
Vincent's books: Van Gogh and the writers who inspired him

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020. 232p.
ISBN 9780226706467 (cloth) / ISBN 022670646X

Reviewed by Cliff Edwards



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 53-57

The author of this beautiful volume is an independent scholar and art curator living in Bergamo, Italy. In a previous publication, *Van Gogh: L'Infinito specchio*, Guzzoni (2014) focused on Van Gogh's self-portraits and signatures. She has curated library exhibits on Van Gogh and books and has made a personal collection of editions of books read by the artist.

The current volume should appeal to readers and viewers on many levels. Its chronological biography of Van Gogh's reading includes well over a hundred beautifully presented images, many in colour. These images include Van Gogh paintings related to books and readers, prints collected by Van Gogh, and illustrations and cover art of the book editions Van Gogh viewed and read.

It becomes obvious that the entire volume profits greatly from the author's ability to work closely with scholars and artists of many backgrounds. She has worked particularly closely with scholars connected to the Van Gogh Museum and Library in Amsterdam and the book benefits from these associations as well as from her own wide reading.

Seven chapters take the reader-viewer chronologically through Van Gogh's early work as teacher and evangelist, his development as painter of the countryside and peasants, his work as artist in Paris, Provence, and Auvers, to thematic chapters on "Vincent and the readers," and his favorite books and their contribution to his thought and art. Beyond those seven chapters there is a twenty-page "Selective chronology" of Van Gogh's "Life among books," a page of "Illustration credits," and a six-page "Index." Interesting themes explored by Guzzoni include the "modern reader" and the turn toward silent, private, subjective reading, the occasional use of "literary code" by Vincent when writing his brother Theo, his focused re-reading (repetition) of favorite works, and his growing interest in the classics of world literature toward the end of his life.

In view of Guzzoni's several contributions in this volume, it might seem excessive to find faults and ask for more depth on certain subjects, but Van Gogh's serious search for both breadth and depth through his reading encourage a closer, critical look at Guzzoni's work.

First, a peculiar error should be noted. The author refers to the Apostle Paul's Letter to the Galatians as "Apocrypha" (33) rather than as Canon. This may simply be one of those inexplicable mistakes that creep into manuscripts and get overlooked in editing. But more subtle and significant, I believe, is the author's apparent sense that the Bible is essentially viewed as a single "book" by Van Gogh rather than as a very diverse library of books with significant differences in meaning and value. She never notes, for example, that the artist writes his friend Émile Bernard that while much in the Bible "arouses our despair and our indignation," at its center is the figure of Christ, "a greater artist than all other artists" (Van Gogh 1888, letter 632), who speaks in amazing parables as presented

in the Gospels. And even within the Gospel books, Van Gogh can single out the Gospel of Luke with its lowly manger scene as surprising home of the Infinite among the poor and dispossessed, placing that Gospel along with the letters of Paul at the apex of art and philosophy. Van Gogh's close reading of the letters of Paul finds special meaning in Paul's realization of the paradoxical unity of apparent opposites, as in his several quotations from Second Corinthians regarding the nature of the Christian life: "sorrowful yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things" (2 Cor. 6: 10). Also, I would guess that a lifetime of reading Paul's letters had a significant effect on the purpose, form, and language of Van Gogh's own letters, a topic not explored in Guzzoni.

I will close with one illustration of the significance of the above understanding of Van Gogh's preference for certain books of the Bible to a deeper understanding of his reading other literature and its influence on his art. Guzzoni shows us Van Gogh's famous painting *Still Life with Bible* (with a yellow paperback of Zola's *La joie de vivre*) on page 87. On the previous page she writes, "Its title is misleading, for it is not a joyous story; on the contrary, it is one of Zola's most pessimistic works" (86). Though there are interpreters who agree with her, I suggest that a deeper understanding of Van Gogh's close reading gives us quite a different message that relates his painting, the Isaiah passage to which the Bible is opened, and Zola's novel. The Bible is clearly marked as open to the Suffering Servant Songs, Isaiah chapter 53, describing the mysterious Servant as "despised and rejected" (Isa. 53:3), "led to the slaughter" (Isa. 53:7), yet we are told that "by his bruises we are healed" (Isa. 53:5), and "out of his anguish he shall see light" (Isa. 53:11). By Isaiah chapter 54 we are invited to sing and by chapter 60 those songs announce that we will "arise and shine" (Isa. 60:1) for the wounded servant has brought us a gospel of joyous song and feasting.

The above-mentioned paradox of suffering bringing joy seems clearly presented, whether the servant is a messiah, prophet, or other figure. The Zola novel beside the ponderous Bible tells the story of an orphan girl, Pauline Quenu, put under the care of a selfish bourgeois family that robs her of her inheritance and treats her miserably as their servant. Despite her suffering, she becomes an angel of charity in their poor fishing village, healing the sick and caring for the neglected. Rather than presenting us with a dark and pessimistic ending, as asserted by Guzzoni, Zola concludes the story of the servant girl with the same celebratory note as the Isaiah passage. She would remain unmarried in order to work for the universal deliverance. And she was, indeed, the incarnation of renunciation, for love for others and kindly charity for erring humanity: "She had stripped herself of everything, but her happiness rang out in her clear laugh" (Zola [1884] 1915, 317). Van Gogh, I believe, finds the same message of healing and joy

of living in Isaiah and Zola. In fact, he may well be equating the great writer/artists of his time with the great prophets of biblical days and suggesting his understanding of his own role.

A close reading of certain biblical books, Van Gogh's letters, and Zola's novels brings together a philosophy of paradox, where suffering and healing, sorrow and joy, darkness and light find their unity. Further, we might extend this paradox to Van Gogh's completing of his own life in the arts by giving up his painting and sacrificing himself for the welfare of brother Theo, Theo's wife Johanna, and their child, Vincent's godchild.

In concluding this review of Guzzoni's book, I point to the review's opening with its description of the volume's contributions, the thoughtful blending of words with relevant images relating to Van Gogh's reading and focus on readers. My critique is simply intended to offer a reminder of the depth and breadth of Van Gogh's search for meaning, the need for further emphasis on his many years of living with his critical choices among the books of the Bible, and the need for careful attention to the philosophical and artistic development of his search for meaning.

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About the reviewer

Cliff Edwards served as Powell-Edwards Distinguished Professor of Religion and the Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia (U.S.), until his retirement in 2020. He earned degrees from Drew University (Madison, New Jersey), Garrett Theological Seminary (Evanston, Illinois), and the Ph.D. from Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois). He studied at the University of Strasbourg in France, the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, Oxford University in England, the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School in Jerusalem, and Daitokuji Zen Monastery in Kyoto, Japan. As a Coolidge Fellow he spent two terms doing research at Columbia University's art libraries. Among his books are *Christian being and doing: A study-commentary on James and I Peter* (Board of Missions' Joint Commission on Education and Cultivation, 1966), *Everything under heaven: The life and words of a nature mystic, Issa of Japan* (Virginia Commonwealth University, 1980), *Van Gogh and God: A creative spiritual*

quest (Loyola Press, 1989), *The shoes of Van Gogh: A spiritual and artistic journey to the ordinary* (Crossroad, 2004), *Mystery of The Night Café: Hidden key to the spirituality of Vincent van Gogh* (SUNY Press, 2009), *Van Gogh's ghost painting: Art and spirit in Gethsemane* (Wipf and Stock, 2015), and *Van Gogh's second gift: A spiritual path to deeper creativity* (Broadleaf Books, 2020). Dr. Edwards lives in Gainesville, Florida.

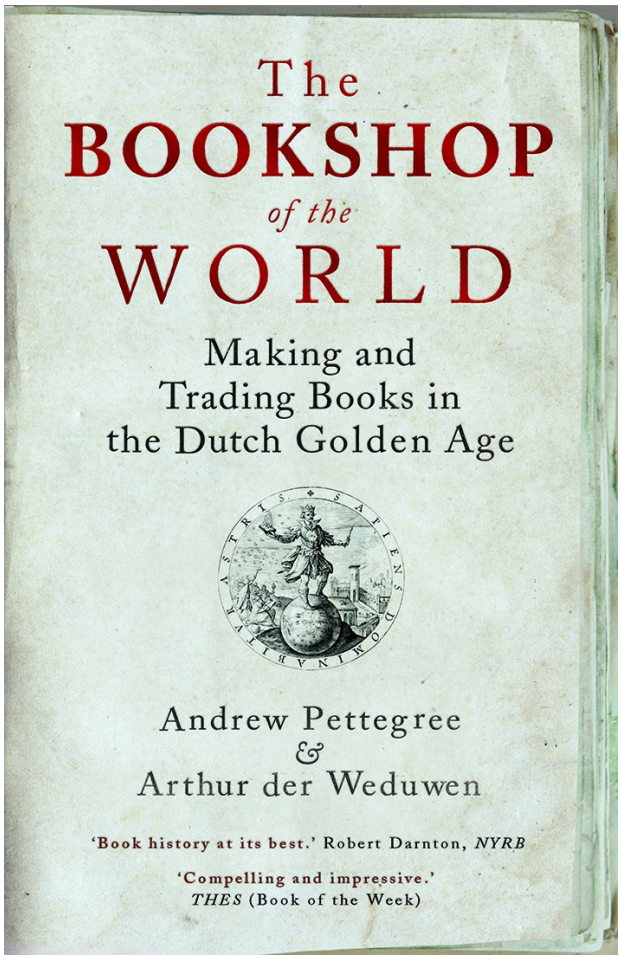
Review

Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen:

The bookshop of the world: Making and trading books in the Dutch Golden Age

New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. 485 p.
ISBN 9780300230079

Reviewed by Jeroen Salman



This book offers a comprehensive, integrated study of the history of the book in the 17th century Dutch Republic. The main title, *The bookshop of the world*, underlines the international dimensions of this phenomenon. To my knowledge, this is the first book-historical synthesis about such a famous period in the history of the Dutch publishing industry. The title reminded me of another classic work, *Le magasin de l'univers* (Berkvens-Stevelinck et al. 1992), which also discusses the exceptional international role of the Dutch early modern book trade. However, that book is a collection of separate studies based on a conference and does not aim to provide one clear focus. *The bookshop of the world* on the other hand, written by two authors, tries to offer a more coherent narrative. The work is cutting edge, offering a new perspective on the field. Many topics and analyses will be familiar to book historians of the period, but the book also contains, at least for me, new insights such as concerning advertising or dissertations, while sometimes establishing unexpected inter-connections, as for example regarding the impact of the Dutch book trade on Denmark.

The authors, Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, both based at the University of St. Andrews, have chosen a thematic-chronological approach to structure this book. The four parts (A new republic; Pillars of the trade; True freedoms; Catastrophe and redemption) represent a consecutive phase in the development of the Dutch book industry, with each offering a different perspective. Each part is equally divided into four chapters that discuss specific fields of the production, innovative features of the book trade or ways to study book buying and collecting. Together these chapters introduce a wide array of genres and categories of print, ranging from travel journals to atlases, devotional works, schoolbooks, medical books, news, and historical works. Within this structure and framework, the authors try to cover the whole communication circuit (production, trade, and consumption), and connect this to the development of the Dutch Republic as a new state.

What I find appealing about this book and what makes it a pleasant read is that the book historical knowledge is embedded in a broader political, economic, and cultural context. It demonstrates how blossoming pamphlet production and political crises in the Republic, such as the Truce-conflicts (1618-1619) were inextricably intertwined. It also makes the reader aware of the large impact the founding of the East India Company (1602) and West India Company (1621) had on the popularity of maps, nautical handbooks, atlases, and travel journals (such as the famous journal of Willem Ysbrantsz Bontekoe, published in 1646). It explains the origin of the alleged tolerance and lack of censorship, by pointing at the origin of religious diversity as well as the decentralized political structure of the Republic. Intriguing is also the impact of the printed *Declaration*, William the Third's justification for his invasion of England, the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

One of the main questions this book tries to answer is how the publishing industry contributed to the economic and cultural success of the Dutch Republic. A related question is why the Dutch book industry was so exceptionally large and vital, especially in comparison to other European countries in that century. This integrated approach underpins the notion, which I support, that book history is an interdisciplinary crossroad and that it thrives in dialogue with other disciplines. Having made these choices, the book is useful for book historians as well as for cultural historians, social-economic historians, political historians, historians of science and other disciplines.

The authors tried to be as inclusive as possible, making no distinction between the most prestigious and more marginalized works. The reader encounters canonical works such as Galileo's (1638) *Two new sciences* or Francis Bacon's (1605) *The advancement of learning* but is also introduced to the world of newspapers, bibles, catechisms, and pamphlets. The authors praise the inventiveness of the great pioneers on the international market and also have an eye for smaller businesses on the domestic market. What I found refreshing is that the authors not only acknowledge the large successes, but also look at the sectors that were not so successful, such as the publication of the works of well-known Dutch scholars, including those of Herman Boerhaave, Christiaan Huygens and Antonie van Leeuwenhoek.

The book introduces and discusses some interesting concepts and topics, such as predatory capitalism. This refers to the new commercial strategies Dutch publishers employed to penetrate the German, but also the French and English market. Dutch traders, for instance, bought books cheaply in Germany and sold them in other European countries for a higher price. Between 1691 and 1780, 61% of all unbound books imported into England came via the Dutch Republic. Dutch entrepreneurs, such as the Janssonius family, were also successful in setting up local bookshops in foreign cities such as Copenhagen.

Much attention is paid to the favorite topic of Pettegree and der Weduwen: lost books. The concept comprises ignored categories such as everyday print of government administration or university dissertations as well as the books that are absent in public collections because they have not survived the ravages of time (broadsheets, almanacs, lottery tickets and so on). That is one of the reasons the authors dedicate many words to the rise of the newspaper industry in the 17th century. Among other functions, this medium opened up the possibility of promoting books and other goods. It was an essential form of communication between booksellers themselves and between booksellers and their intended customers. Due to its frequency and continuity, newspaper advertisements became a crucial source for reconstructing a printed world we have lost.

In chapter 16, the final one, the authors oppose the notion that the book trade was in decline in the 18th century. Thanks to the advanced and stable infrastructure and the strong domestic market that had already been created in the 17th century, the Dutch book trade did surprisingly well in the following century.

This book will certainly become a standard introduction to the history of the 17th century Dutch publishing industry. It is comprehensive and learned, but also well-composed and eloquently written. Its functionality is enhanced by a practical timeline and an essential index of topics and names. Besides its appeal to a broad audience, I would certainly recommend this as a handbook for (book) history students at an undergraduate as well as a postgraduate level. I am sure that also senior researchers in the field will profit from its wide scope, its many references, and its new insights.

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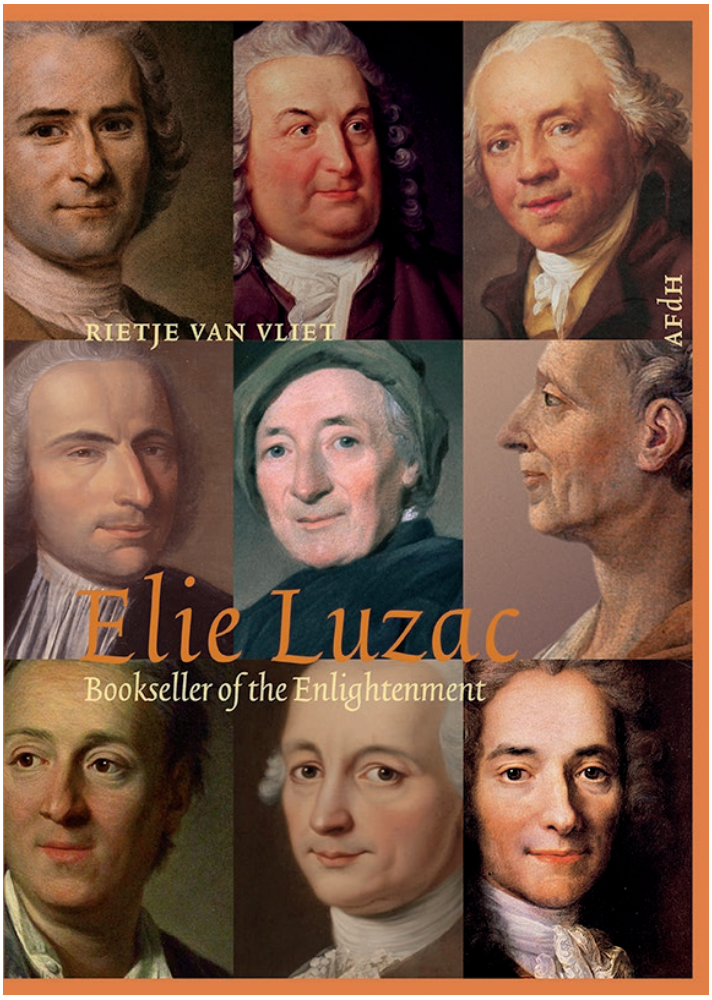
Berkvens-Stevelinck, Christiane, Hans Bots, Paul G. Hoftijzer, Otto S. Lankhorst, eds. 1992. *Le magasin de l'univers: The Dutch republic as the centre of the European book trade*. Leiden: Brill.

About the reviewer

Jeroen Salman is assistant professor of comparative literature at the University of Utrecht (Netherlands). His main research interests include early modern book history, cultural history, and the history of science and popular culture. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Leiden (Netherlands) in 1997. Among his recent publications are a coedited volume with Massimo Rospocher and Hannu Salmi, entitled *Crossing borders, crossing cultures: Popular print in Europe (1450–1900)* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019); a coedited volume with Daniel Bellingradt and Paul Nelles, entitled *Books in motion in early modern Europe: Beyond production, circulation, and consumption* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and the monograph *Pedlars and the popular press: Itinerant distribution networks in England and the Netherlands 1600-1850* (Brill, 2014). From 2016 to 2018, he led an international project that facilitated and stimulated innovative research on the European dimensions of popular print culture (EDPOP). In addition to being an affiliated member of the University of Utrecht's Centre for Digital Humanities, he is a member of its Descartes Centre for the History and Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities, and he is a board member of the Dr. P. A. Tiele-Stichting, whose mission is to promote scholarly study of the book. He is also coeditor of the Dutch historical book series *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen Boekhandel* ('Contributions to the history of the Dutch book trade') (BGNB).

Compte rendu
Rietje van Vliet:
Elie Luzac (1721-1796): Bookseller of the Enlightenment
Enschede: AFdH Publishers, 2014. 334 p.
ISBN 978 90 72603 40 1

Compte rendu par Sébastien Drouin



Tout d'abord paru en 2005 sous le titre de *Elie Luzac (1721-1796) : Boekverkoper van de Verlichting*, cet ouvrage en constitue une traduction qui donnera à un plus large public accès à cette masse impressionnante d'analyses et de documents consacrée à Élie Luzac, l'une des plus importantes figures des Lumières hollandaises. Dans cet ouvrage érudit et synthétique à la fois, Rietje van Vliet propose une sorte de biographie intellectuelle d'Élie Luzac en débutant son étude avec la présentation du contexte socio-économique et confessionnel de Luzac - « Just another refugee family »- pour diriger résolument l'étude vers une analyse très fouillée de l'activité professionnelle de Luzac.

Il faut dire qu'Élie Luzac n'a rien du caricatural libraire-imprimeur plus ou moins lettré et d'humeur maussade comme ils sont souvent décrits dans les correspondances de membres de la République des Lettres. Au contraire : Luzac est un authentique intellectuel qui se passionne pour les plus importants débats philosophiques contemporains en plus d'avoir signé lui-même plusieurs ouvrages. Quand on pense qu'il est l'homme derrière la publication de la première édition de *L'homme-machine* de La Mettrie (et qu'il a même écrit une réfutation de ce subversif essai), quand on note qu'il est entré en lice avec nul autre que Jean-Jacques Rousseau et qu'il a tenu une riche correspondance avec Samuel Formey (éditée par Hans Bots et Jan Schilling), on réalise sans peine que nous sommes face à un personnage hautement atypique, mais qui, en même temps, incarne parfaitement l'idée du citoyen de la République des Lettres au mi-temps du 18e siècle.

L'ouvrage est réparti sur sept chapitres très bien agencés et d'une richesse toujours égale, alors que les deux premiers chapitres se concentrent sur l'émergence professionnelle de Luzac sur la scène des intellectuels libraires, un peu comme l'a fait plus tôt dans le siècle le grand libraire et auteur amstellodamois Jean Frédéric Bernard. Le second chapitre permet d'étudier le début de la collaboration entre Luzac et Formey (A Berlin scholar and his publisher, 54-66). Toujours au sujet de l'Allemagne, le troisième chapitre, « Crossing borders, the international bookseller Elie Luzac », est entièrement dédié aux liens commerciaux et intellectuels entre Luzac et divers personnages orbitant autour des villes de Göttingen, Halle et Leipzig (avec entre autres une sous-section fort intéressante sur la présence des libraires hollandais à la Foire du livre de Leipzig (Dutch booksellers at the Leipzig Book Fair, 106-117). Le quatrième chapitre, « Strategic alliances », absolument fascinant pour l'histoire des relations professionnelles chez les libraires hollandais, relate les divers partenariats de Luzac avec d'autres collègues et aussi compétiteurs. J'ai lu avec intérêt la section consacrée à son association avec un autre grand personnage de la même envergure : Marc-Michel Rey, l'éditeur de Jean-Jacques Rousseau (140-148).

Les deux derniers chapitres portent enfin sur l'intérêt marqué par Luzac pour la politique et les effets de l'implication du libraire de sympathie orangiste dans les affaires publiques, notamment au moment où la Grande-Bretagne déclare la guerre aux Provinces-Unies. Dans l'âpre conflit qui oppose les Patriotes aux Orangistes, Luzac devient, avec d'autres libraires de sa sensibilité politique, une cible récurrente des attaques des pamphlétaires (253) et se voit à maintes reprises publiquement brocardé. L'ouvrage se termine sur un intéressant chapitre proposant d'évaluer l'œuvre et la carrière de Luzac à l'aune de sa propre époque. La trajectoire du libraire et auteur correspond dans une certaine mesure, rappelle Rietje van Vliet, à l'évolution du monde de la librairie hollandaise au 18e siècle, alors que la seconde moitié du siècle voit la stagnation puis le déclin progressif de la domination hollandaise sur le marché du livre.

C'est donc ce grand lettré, libraire ambitieux et auteur d'essais philosophiques que nous donne à voir, pour la première fois en anglais, la traduction de ce remarquable ouvrage de Rietje van Vliet publié chez AFdH Publishers et paru en 2014. En ces temps faméliques pour la production de livres, alors que mêmes les éditeurs les plus prestigieux passent aux publications électroniques, le lecteur amateur de beaux livres sera d'emblée séduit par cet ouvrage magnifique, de grand format, très richement illustré, et qui contient de surcroît de riches annexes sur un disque inséré dans la dernière page.

Notice biographique

Sébastien Drouin est professeur agrégé à l'Université de Toronto (Ontario, Canada). Il détient un doctorat en littérature française de l'Université Laval à Québec et en histoire moderne de l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (France) en 2006. Ses travaux portent sur les réseaux savants dans la première moitié du 18e siècle, la circulation des hétérodoxies et sur l'histoire littéraire. Il s'intéresse aussi à l'histoire de la presse et du livre dans les Provinces-Unies aux 17e et 18e siècles.

Review

Luc Renders and Jeroen Dewulf (eds):

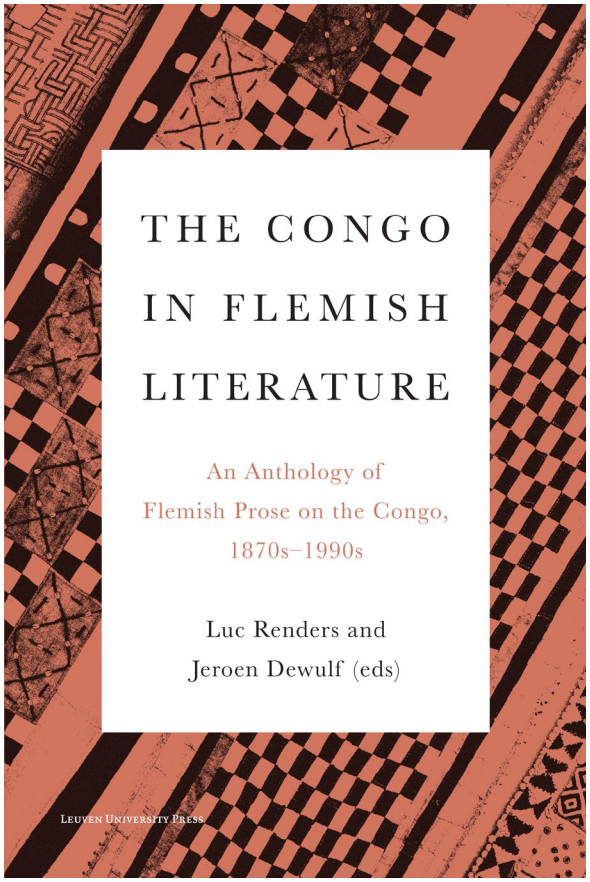
The Congo in Flemish literature: An anthology of Flemish prose on the Congo, 1870s–1990s

Grady Tarplee (trans.)

Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020. 190 p.

ISBN 978 94 6270 217 2 / e-ISBN 978 94 6166 336 8

Reviewed by Matthew G. Stanard



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 67-71

Scholarly interest in recent overseas empire and European literature dates back at least to Edward Said's *Culture and imperialism* (1993). Most of this attention has been directed toward writing that emerged from British and French colonies and their respective metropoles, with less focus on literature arising from the "lesser" European colonizing powers, including Belgium. Although recent years have witnessed significant research into francophone Belgian colonial writing, little has appeared regarding Flemish "colonial" literature, even though most Belgians who went to the Congo were Dutch speakers. It is this lacuna that *The Congo in Flemish literature* seeks to redress.

Luc Renders and Jeroen Dewulf have pulled together twenty-four brief selections from Flemish prose that emerged from the Belgian colonial experience. These anthologized texts extend over a broad chronological range, from before Leopold II's 1885 declaration of the Congo Free State (CFS), through the CFS (1885-1908) and Belgian state rule (1908-60) eras, on through the colony's independence and the Congo crisis, into the post-colonial era and to the turn of the 21st century, with the most recent publication having appeared in 2001. Renders and Dewulf's concise introduction provides a thumbnail sketch of Belgian colonial history and identifies characteristics of Flemish prose inspired by the Congo, and each brief excerpt is preceded by a short discussion of its author and their work. Most of the anthology's authors traveled to the Congo, but not all. All excerpts derive from novels, short stories, memoirs, or travelogues; none are from *bandes dessinées* ('Franco-Belgian comic strips'), which have been a frequent topic of analyses of "colonial" literature. The editors admit that while the anthologized texts represent historically important literature, few would count as great, even if several are by acclaimed authors like Lieve Joris and Jef Geeraerts.

Naturally, Dewulf and Renders chose which works to include in what is a short, selective anthology. One finds only passing mention of authors like André Claeys, who wrote *Zonen van Cham* ('Sons of Cham', 1964), or Guido Tireliren, author of (among others) *Uit stenen geboren* ('Born of stones', 1979). Others, including Henriette Claessens, are omitted entirely. This reviewer remains curious about certain decisions, such as the inclusion of an excerpt from *Dans van de luipaard* ('The leopard's dance', 2001) rather than one from Lieve Joris's better-known *Terug naar Congo* ('Back to the Congo', 1987); or one from *Schroot* ('Scrap', 1963) instead of a passage from one of the well-known novels in Jef Geeraerts's "Gangreen" cycle.

One thread running through the book is support for evangelizing activity in colonial Congo tempered by respect for what Dutch speakers believed were more "authentic" African cultures. Not only were some of the authors missionaries themselves – most of those who went to the colony were Flemish – but on the whole the writings imply a confidence in the "civilizing mission,"

including a belief in the goodness of missionary action. Accompanying this self-confidence was a fundamental belief in European preeminence and the inferiority of Africans. Many authors openly conveyed support for foreign white rule over backwards Congolese, and a nostalgia for a "lost Congo" is found in many texts created at the end of colonial rule or in the first months of Congo's independence. Some writers criticized the methods of Belgian rule, but rare were those who questioned colonial control as such.

Although the book brings to light authors and works heretofore difficult to find in English translation and never before assembled in one publication, the editors could have provided more analysis regarding their larger significance. *The Congo in Flemish literature* reveals how prose writing reflected Flemish conceptualizations and convictions about colonial rule, but the editors say nothing about the reception of this literature or the degree to which it reshaped Dutch speakers' ideas about central Africa and colonialism. The question is significant, especially considering Belgium's unique position as an imperial power, bordered by two others, France and the Netherlands; the country shares a common language with each, and both represent large book markets. Is it possible that Flemish views of overseas empire were more influenced by other European writers of empire than their Flemish counterparts?

The editors' spare introduction leaves it to readers to tease out what these anthologized works reveal about the history of Belgian colonialism. The excerpts are presented chronologically, from which one might draw conclusions as to the intensity of Flemish interest in the colony over time, but from which one can also infer certain characteristics of Belgian colonial rule. The first anthologized work appeared in 1877, six appeared during the CFS era, only one from 1908-1930, four from 1931-35, none from 1936-48, and eight from 1949-63. Perhaps few appeared between 1908 and 1930 because those years followed the era of scandal and anti-Leopoldian attacks that led to the 1908 turnover of the Congo to Belgium, not to mention the devastating experience of World War I, a conflict that separated metropole from colony. That no selected texts were drawn from the period 1936-48 is likewise unsurprising given the drop in the white population in the Congo during the Great Depression (25,679 to 18,683 from 1930-36) and because of World War II, which severed metropole-colony connections. The proliferation of creative works in the last decade of the colonial era – which spilled over into the years immediately following Congo's sudden independence in 1960 – seems to reflect the height of Belgian presence and control: the number of Belgians in the Congo grew from 23,643 in 1945 to 88,913 by 1959.

Only two excerpts are set in the post-1960 Congo even though the book's chronological reach embraces the first four decades of Congo's independence. That Flemish novels and stories appearing after 1960 are set in colonial Congo

suggests two things: first, the centrality of the colonial experience to Belgians' understanding of central Africa; and second, how nearly all Belgians left the former colony. Some 38,000 fled the country in the first weeks after independence and most others left within a few years. One example is Daisy Ver Boven, whose family departed for Ruanda-Urundi before returning to Belgium in 1961, and whose excerpted work *De rode aarde die aan onze harten kleeft* ('The red earth which clings to our hearts', 1962) captures a Flemish view of the refugee experience at the time of decolonization. Of the twenty-four texts assembled here, only two are based in post-independence Congo: Markus Leroy's *Afrika retour* ('Africa retour', 1993), which is set in Mobutu's Zaïre, and Joris's *Dans van de luipaard*, which is based on her travels in the Congo following Mobutu's 1997 fall from power.

To mention Joris raises another characteristic of Belgian colonial rule revealed in this collection: men dominated the colonial experience. Before 1885 almost no European women went to the Congo, very few traveled there before 1908, and European men outnumbered white women in the colony throughout the Belgian state rule period. Joris and Ver Boven are the only female authors among the twenty-four in *The Congo in Flemish literature*.

The editors are largely silent on yet another important trait that emerges across the anthology: aside from one Dutchman (Henri van Booven), all the authors are native Belgians. Renders and Dewulf make plain that the book's focus is on how literature reflected Flemish speakers' views of the Congo, noting that although the reader will encounter Congolese characters and viewpoints, there is an absence of the colonial "Other" in Flemish literature on the subject. But is it to be presumed that only "'*oorspronkelijke' Belgen*" ('"native" Belgians') can produce Flemish literature written in Dutch? There exists a robust literature in French by Africans and Black Europeans. The editors note a colonial-era aversion to Dutch among Congolese, who, if they learned any European language, learned French, the official language of the colony. Many perceived unintelligible (to them) Flemish "as a language used to keep things secret" (16). Yet even if few Congolese learned Dutch during the colonial era, there has been a growing number of Flemish speakers of African descent in Belgium in the post-colonial era. Considering the long, intertwined history that Belgium and the Congo share, it is remarkable not to find a single African voice among the works collected here.

This anthology raises several questions, one being how Flemish colonial literature changed over time. There were seismic shifts in central Africa's political situation from the 1870s to the 1990s. Local autonomy suffered Leopoldian intervention from the late 1870s, and the king's rule gave way to Belgian state control, which was in turn upended by Congolese independence. The editors identify a key element of constancy, namely a "song of praise for the mammoth

civilizing task" that sounded "uninterrupted and vociferous throughout the entire colonial period" (15). Were there changes over time in terms of the trajectory of Flemish literature on the Congo? What do these anthologized texts say about Dutch-language literature in Belgium more generally? How do these authors and what they wrote tell us about European colonial literature more generally, if anything? That this anthology raises as many questions as it answers is a compliment. Renders and Dewulf have not merely provided Dutch-language texts on the Congo in one place in English, they also have assembled an anthology that unveils much about the nature of Belgium's colonial experience and how it reverberated in the metropole, all while raising questions as to what this literature means.

About the reviewer

Matthew G. Stanard is professor of history at Berry College in Mount Berry, Georgia (U.S.), where he teaches courses on world history, modern Europe, modern Africa, and imperialism and decolonization. Stanard's most recent books are *Decolonising Europe? Popular responses to the end of empire* (Routledge, 2020, coedited with Berny Sèbe) and *The leopard, the lion, and the cock: Colonial memories and monuments in Belgium* (Leuven University Press, 2019). Stanard has been a Wolfsonian Fellow at the Wolfsonian-FIU in Miami Beach, Florida, a Belgian American Educational Foundation Fellow in Brussels, a Chancellor's Fellow at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, and a participant in the National History Center's Decolonization Seminar in Washington, D.C.

Review

Ninke Stukker and Arie Verhagen:

Stijl, taal en tekst: Stilistiek op taalkundige basis

Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2019. 281 p.
ISBN 978 90 8728 321 6 / e-ISBN 978 94 0060 340 0 (e-PDF) /
e-ISBN 978 94 0060 341 7 (e-PUB)

Reviewed by Tanja Collet

Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 73-79

Stylistics, generally defined within the Anglo-Saxon tradition as "the description and analysis of the variability of linguistic forms in actual language use" (Mukherjee 2005, 1043), has found itself relegated to a marginal position in Dutch studies since at least the second half of the 20th century. At least two developments, one specific to the area of Dutch studies and the other more general in the field of linguistics, gradually led to the marginalization of the study of style. In the Dutch language area, the gradual abandonment of classical philology following both World Wars contributed to the establishment of the study of language and the study of literature as two separate fields of inquiry,[1] within which there was little room left for the study of style, though it intersects with both disciplines. In linguistics, more generally and almost simultaneously, the wide attention gained by structuralism in the 1950s followed by the Chomskyan revolution of the 1960s and 1970s shifted the attention of researchers away from actual language use and refocused it nearly exclusively on the system of language or on the concept of *grammar*, whether particular to a language or universal, transcending all languages. Later developments, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, which led to a renewed interest in style analysis, such as the growing proliferation of research in cognitive linguistics in the 1990s, were largely ignored by researchers working in the Dutch language area. Now, in *Stijl, taal en tekst: Stilistiek op een taalkundige basis* ('Style, language, and text: Style analysis grounded in linguistic theory'), authors Ninke Stukker and Arie Verhagen set out to reclaim stylistics' rightful position as a multidisciplinary endeavour at the centre of Dutch studies, situated at the intersection of disciplines such as linguistics and literary analysis. To achieve this goal, the authors adopt an approach that is two-pronged. They first propose a theory of style solidly grounded in cognitive linguistics, particularly in cognitive semantics, and then present a style analysis method that style analysts can apply to a broad range of texts, be they literary or non-literary. We will attempt to summarize both to the best of our abilities.

Style, as Stukker and Verhagen contend, concerns a relationship that has received much attention in linguistics: the relationship between form and meaning in language and, especially, in texts. Indeed, style is generally regarded as a consequence of the choices offered by the language system, which allows for any given content to be encoded in more than one linguistic form. A question that remains the subject of much debate, however, concerns the nature of the form-meaning relationship at the basis of style in texts. There are at least two opposing views: monism and dualism. The monistic view holds that form and meaning are

[1] Classical philology was heavily dominated by German scholars, from Friedrich Schlegel and Franz Bopp to Friedrich Nietzsche. Anti-German feelings and increased influence from Anglo-Saxon scholars may have played a role in the weakening of its position within academe from the 1950s onwards.

one, and consequently that changes to the linguistic form necessarily entail a change of meaning, however subtle. The dualistic view, often attributed to Aristotle, on the contrary, separates form and meaning, arguing that a same or similar meaning can be expressed by different linguistic forms. For the dualist, for instance, the active and passive forms of a sentence are synonymous, whereas for the monist, they are not, since the focus has shifted. Stukker and Verhagen end up rejecting both views. They propose instead a compromise informed by recent developments in cognitive semantics. Following Langacker (1990), they argue that in actual language use "objects" (the thing, situation or idea that is the topic of the actual language use) are not simply evoked or referred to by linguistic forms in sentences or texts but conceptualized. "Objects of conceptualization" can indeed be construed or mentally structured in different ways, depending, for instance, on the viewpoint adopted by the speaker. Consequently, linguistic expressions that refer to the same "object" and evoke the same conceptual content can nonetheless be semantically distinct because they construe that "object" in alternate ways. It follows, then, that for Stukker and Verhagen the active and passive forms of a sentence are not fully synonymous but represent different linguistic construals of a same "object of conceptualization." It is this variation in the linguistic construal of a given "object of conceptualization," a phenomenon that is an inherent characteristic of human communication and language use, that underlies style in texts, according to the authors.

The direct link between style and construal, posited by Stukker and Verhagen, limits what can be probed by the stylistic analysis of a text. Only linguistic signs (in the Saussurean sense of a linguistic form associated with a particular meaning through social convention) and combinations thereof are acceptable material for a style analysis. Literary devices traditionally included in stylistics, particularly in literary stylistics, such as rhyme, rhythm, and alliteration, are excluded by the authors. Though such devices contribute to the overall aesthetics of a text, they play little or no role in the semantic construal of the "object of conceptualization," the phenomenon underpinning style in text according to the authors' linguistically grounded interpretation of stylistics, since they do not constitute linguistic signs. As for classical rhetorical devices, such as metaphor, hyperbole, oxymoron, and so on, which do play a role in construal, they are not independently needed as categories. Within Stukker's and Verhagen's approach to stylistics, they are simply understood as combinations of linguistic signs that construe "objects of conceptualization," which is precisely the material that a style analysis rooted in cognitive semantics is concerned with.

By now it should be clear that style and meaning, and hence text interpretation, are closely related. Indeed, for Stukker and Verhagen, style analysis looks to establish correlates between the linguistic components of a text (its

lexical and syntactic characteristics, for instance) and the content that is so encoded or construed, and ultimately decoded by the reader. Style analysis operates, hence, at two distinct but interrelated textual levels: at the micro-level of the linguistic elements of the text, such as types of pronouns, verbs and their tenses, types of sentences, and so on, that linguistically construe an "object of conceptualization," and at the macro-level of the overall interpretation of the text as it derives from the text's micro-level features. The authors are quick to add, however, that text interpretation is not simply a question of adding all of the linguistic construals executed at the micro-level of the text; other factors, such as the reader's background knowledge about the topic of the text, its author, and genre, for instance, also play a role. In other words, when interpreting a text, readers do not only rely on the information gleaned from the linguistic micro-level features of the text; they also use extra-linguistic background knowledge. Be that as it may, stylistics is mainly concerned with the linguistic choices operated at the micro-level of the text, and the consequences of these choices at the text's macro-level.

Finally, before moving on to Stukker's and Verhagen's method of style analysis, it is important to point out that the concept of style is inherently comparative: it refers to what is unique to a text, thus to what sets a text apart. But apart from what, one may wonder. Ordinary, neutral language use, some would argue. The authors opine, however, that actual language use is never truly neutral (nor ordinary or normal), as all instances of language use, at least according to the tenets of cognitive linguistics, construe "objects of conceptualization" from a wide spectrum of perspectives. In other words, the idea of "construal" is incompatible with that of neutral language use. The authors resolve this issue by favouring a comparative approach to style analysis that makes use of a textual reference: a comparable text (also written in Dutch) with a similar topic or "object of conceptualization" belonging to the same genre, era, and so on, but which construes that "object" differently. The comparison of both texts should highlight micro-level differences of a lexical or syntactic nature that lead to differences in construal and hence in text interpretation at the macro-level.

To identify these micro-level and macro-level linkages, Stukker and Verhagen propose a well-thought-out three-step method that can be applied to all manner of texts, literary but also non-literary. The first step of the three-step method consists of a detailed analysis at the micro-level of the text, geared towards the identification of micro-level features deemed relevant for the text's style, such as particular language patterns and their localized construals. To assist the analyst in this crucial first step, the authors have compiled a stylistics checklist roughly based on the *Checklist of linguistic and stylistic categories* first introduced by Leech and Short ([1981] 2007) for the English language. The checklist,

presented on pages 72 to 75 of *Stijl, taal en tekst*, is comprised of various linguistic means (for instance, lexical and syntactic patterns, text structure patterns, and so on) available to the writer in the Dutch language and which, when selected, contribute to create a text's unique style. It is important to note here that Stukker's and Verhagen's checklist constitutes a major empirical contribution to the area of Dutch stylistics. Indeed, the checklist is much more than simply a practical tool for the style analyst; it also greatly reduces the subjective nature of style analysis by making it possible for the analyst to approach the text in a systematic and hence more scientific manner. The following step in the three-step method, a second style analysis but at the text's macro-level, seeks to uncover correlates between the micro-level features identified in step 1 and various elements of the text's overall meaning. As for the third and final step, it uses a contrastive analysis by means of a comparable text or reference to verify the results obtained in step 1 and 2.

The three-step method just described is carried out over at least three rounds of data collection and analysis, with each round involving all three steps: a data exploration round; a data systematization round; and a final round of data verification. During the data exploration round, the analyst lays the groundwork for the detailed style analysis that will be carried out in round 2. The analyst surveys the text and notes several micro-level and macro-level style characteristics based on a subjective and rather intuitive reading of the text. A literature review is then undertaken, among other things to confront these initial findings with those of other researchers, if available. It is also during this first round that the researcher looks for an adequate reference text for step three's contrastive analysis. During the next round, the data systematization round, the analyst applies the stylistics checklist to uncover relevant linguistic patterns at the text's micro-level, looks for likely macro-level correlates, and contrasts these results with the style characteristics of the reference text. Given that both texts focus on similar "objects of conceptualization," which they construe differently, however, the comparison should yield differing micro-level linguistic patterns with corresponding macro-level differences. Then, during the third and final round, the analyst checks the results of the style analysis one last time for consistency and coherence before concluding the style analysis.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of *Stijl, taal en tekst* are dedicated to the theoretical framework and the checklist method summarized above. The three remaining chapters before the book's conclusion present a series of case studies, some of which have also been published elsewhere. The case study comparing the parliamentary speeches of Dutch politicians Geert Wilders and Ella Vogelaar is a case in point. Interested readers less familiar with the Dutch language will be happy to find an English-language version of Maarten van Leeuwen's study

included in *From text to political positions: Text analysis across disciplines*, published in 2014 by John Benjamins. The study uses the checklist method to identify a series of micro-level linguistic means (such as the use of abstract nouns, sentence length and complexity, and complementation) that contribute to the differing macro-level characteristics of Wilders' and Vogelaar's speeches. It should be said here that speakers of Dutch intuitively judge Wilder's style as clear and unambivalent, while Vogelaar's speeches tend to be qualified as *woolly*, as unclear, fuzzy, and full of complexities. The uncovered micro-linguistic means are shown to play a role in these macro-level intuitions, that combine furthermore to create the impression that the controversial and populist Wilders is more in tune with the Dutch voter (some might even say folksy), than the seemingly cerebral and "academic" Vogelaar. The case studies in the other two chapters concern writings by some of the Dutch literary giants, such as Maarten Biesheuvel, Jan Arends, Harry Mulisch, and Gerard Reve. Together the style analyses in these three chapters of a wide range of texts underscore the book's claim that style is a universal communicative phenomenon not limited to the literary realm. The analyses demonstrate, moreover, that Stukker's and Verhagen's theoretical framework and checklist method capture the universal nature of style rather well. For the reviewer, incidentally, it is this aspect of the authors' approach to style in texts that is particularly appealing: its applicability to all sorts of texts, including so-called specialized texts, whether academic, political, or journalistic.

To conclude this review, *Stijl, taal en tekst* is a well-researched but also somewhat densely written book that should appeal to a wide range of Dutch language specialists interested in actual language use, from semanticists to discourse analysts and literary specialists. As such, it succeeds in placing the study of style once again in a more prominent position in the multidisciplinary field of Dutch studies.

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About the reviewer

Tanja Collet is an associate professor of linguistics in the French Studies program at the University of Windsor (Windsor, Ontario, Canada), where she lectures in

Applied Linguistics, Translation and Lexicology / Terminology. Her research interests concern the intersection between terminology, text linguistics and LSP (languages for special purposes), with a main focus on term-text dynamics in specialized discourse, whether academic or political. Her work has appeared in journals such as *Discourse & Society*, *Discourse and Interaction*, *JosTrans: The Journal of Specialised Translation*, *Meta: Translators' Journal*, *Terminology: International Journal of Theoretical and Applied Issues in Specialized Communication*, and *TTR (Études sur le texte et ses transformations)*. Originally from Belgium and a native speaker of Dutch, she is also the current president of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies (CAANS).

Review

Michael T. Putnam and B. Richard Page (eds):

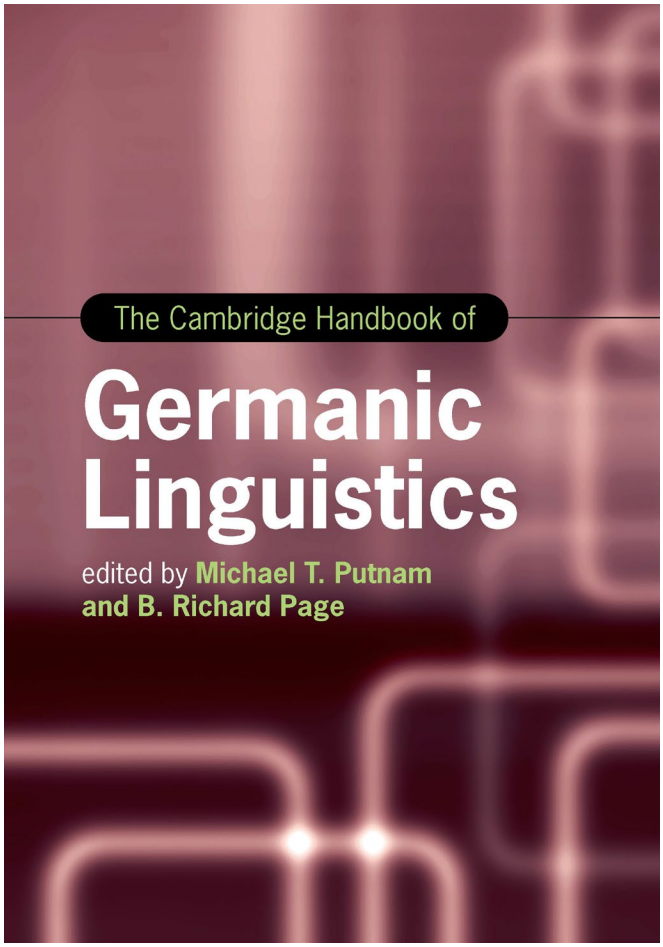
The Cambridge handbook of Germanic linguistics

[Cambridge handbooks in language and linguistics]

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 870 p.

ISBN 978 1108421867

Reviewed by Nicoline van der Sijs



The Cambridge handbook of Germanic linguistics is the team effort of 40 internationally renowned and experienced linguists, and the result is an impressive achievement. The *Handbook* builds on many existing in-depth studies of the individual Germanic languages, such as English, Dutch, German and North Germanic languages, but it takes a thematic, comparative approach and in doing so also includes nonstandard varieties as well as regional and minority languages, such as Frisian and Low German. The *Handbook* examines different aspects of the Germanic languages, arranged into five sections, namely (1) phonology, (2) morphology and agreement systems, (3) syntax, (4) semantics and pragmatics, and (5) language contact and nonstandard varieties. The focus is on contemporary Germanic languages and synchrony, but various chapters mention relevant diachronic aspects, which is appropriate, since the explanation of linguistic similarities (and differences) is generally to be found in the common origin of the Germanic languages.

The phonology section starts with an overview of phonological processes typically occurring in modern Germanic standard and nonstandard languages, such as assimilation, dissimilation, epenthesis and deletion. The following chapters discuss conspicuous Germanic features such as syllable structure, the role of foot structure, word stress, quantity, the phonetics and phonology of Germanic laryngeals, tone accent, and intonation. For some phenomena the similarities between the various languages are striking, for instance where Marc van Oostendorp concludes that Germanic syllable structure is remarkably stable across the various languages. Other phenomena, such as vowel quantity (described by Page), appear to have been elaborated and (re)interpreted very differently in the separate Germanic languages.

In the morphology section six basic topics are treated: inflectional morphology of verbs and nouns, word formation, grammatical gender, case, and complementizer agreement. In this section it turns out that the modern Germanic languages have all simplified the Proto-Germanic morphology, but to very different degrees. The description of the various morphological systems and the comparison between them is very illuminating, especially in those cases where the authors include Germanic varieties and dialects, and venture an explanation of the phenomena by involving linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The syntactical section consists of 9 chapters centering on word order variation among modern Germanic languages. These of course form only a selection of the existing syntactical variation, but the most important topics are covered, such as the distinction between basic Verb Object and Object Verb ordering, the placement of finite verbs, binding, and verbal particles. In the section on semantics and pragmatics additional topics related to syntax are discussed, such as modality, tense and aspect, prepositions and particles, polarity and

information structure. From these two sections it becomes abundantly clear that syntactical and pragmatical constructions are governed by different sets of rules from one Germanic language to another.

The last section on language contact and nonstandard varieties is I think the most original part of the book, since it reflects relatively new research and new research methods. The first chapter centres around second language acquisition, focusing on how people acquire and use a second language, notably German and Dutch. The author, Carrie Jackson, places the findings within the larger debate on the question whether adult language learners can acquire nativelike proficiency, and whether L1 and L2 acquisition rely on the same underlying mechanisms or on fundamentally different mechanisms and strategies. The jury is still out on these questions, but surveys as given by Jackson are helpful in gaining a better understanding.

In the second chapter of this section Pia Quist and Bente Svendsen give an overview of new contact-induced urban speech styles in multilingual neighborhoods in Northern European cities. The authors show that these speech styles are characterized by a clustering of syntactical, morphological, phonological, and lexical features, for instance variation of the verb second constraint and variation of grammatical gender. Young people recognize such clustering of features and assess them rather negatively with having low social status, although they are used in informal settings as in-group marker.

The next two chapters (by William Keel and Charlotte Gooskens) describe the West and North Germanic dialect continuum, the linguistic differences between the languages and dialects in the language area, and the consequences of these differences for mutual intelligibility. Since most of the dialects under discussion are mentioned in one or more of the previous contributions, these interesting chapters with revealing maps could perhaps better have been placed at the beginning of the book.

The final three chapters focus on contact varieties of Germanic languages. Johannessen and Putnam describe Germanic heritage languages spoken in North America. They define these languages as the first language of individuals who speak a language at home that is not the dominant language of the larger society, and they observe that the majority of heritage speakers speak moribund vernaculars, and that the languages are no longer passed on to the next generation. The authors discuss structural aspects of heritage languages and show how these can add to our knowledge of how and why languages change, and what impact these empirical findings have on theoretical analyses as language attrition and incomplete acquisition.

Mark Louden sketches the sociolinguistic situation of Germanic languages spoken in minority communities around the world and draws up a typology of

these languages. Speakers of minority languages pass their minority language on to their children, and in doing so they differ from heritage speakers. In spite of this, the majority of the 21 minority languages appear to be endangered. Of the nine languages that are not, six are tied to a particular religious group (Amish Alsatian German, Amish Swiss German, Hutterisch, Pennsylvania Dutch, Plautdietsch and Yiddish), and three (Afrikaans, German in Denmark and Belgium, Swedish in Finland) are officially recognized by the governments of the nations in which they are located and have deep historic roots there.

The final chapter by Roberge concentrates on new languages or radically different language varieties – pidgins, creoles, and bilingual mixed languages – resulting from language contacts between linguistically heterogeneous groups. From the Germanic languages English gave rise to the most of these contact languages, but Dutch and German also played a role.

My final assessment of *The Cambridge handbook of Germanic linguistics* is very positive: the comparative perspective and cross-linguistic comparison is a welcome addition to the arsenal of books about the Germanic language family. The chapters are up-to-date, well-written and offer of wealth of empirical data and theoretical analyses. I have one minor reservation, and this concerns the lack of overarching summaries at the end of each of the five sections. Such summaries would give the readers additional information by assembling the facts, analyses, and conclusions of the individual chapters into a general picture, and by showing how the topics of the individual chapters are interconnected – for instance, inflectional morphology, gender and case are closely intertwined, and changes occurring in one of these have effect on the others. Writing such summaries could perhaps be an instructive student assignment.

In conclusion, I have no doubt that *The Cambridge handbook of Germanic linguistics* will be an invaluable resource for generations of students and scholars. I highly recommend this varied and rich volume to every professional in the field.

About the reviewer

Nicoline van der Sijs is professor and chair of Historical Linguistics of Dutch in the Digital World at Radboud University in Nijmegen (Netherlands) and senior researcher at the Institute for the Dutch Language in Leiden. She studied Slavic languages and literature at the University of Utrecht. She completed her Ph.D. at Leiden University in 2001. She specializes in historical linguistics and etymology, and has written more than 25 books and hundreds of articles on these subjects. She has ample experience with crowdsourcing and (historical) corpus linguistics, and she set up a number of large databases with etymological and dialect information, including the linguistic websites Etymologiebank.nl, the *Uitleenwoordenbank* (http://uitleenwoordenbank.ivdnt.org/) and the *Elektronische*

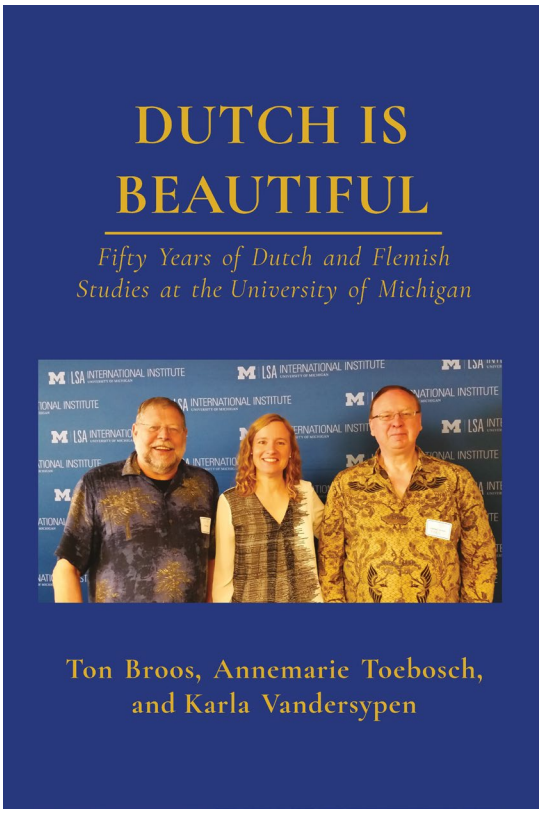
Woordenbank van de Nederlandse Dialecten (http://ewnd.ivdnt.org/). She is editor of the journals *Trefwoord* and *Internationale Neerlandistiek*.

Review

Ton Broos, Annemarie Toebosch, and Karla Vandersypen:
Dutch is beautiful: Fifty years of Dutch and Flemish studies at the University of Michigan

Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, 2019. 99 p.
ISBN 978 1 60785 517 0 (paperback) /
ISBN 978 1 60785 518 7 (ebook) / ISBN 978 1 60785 585 9
Available as Open Access e-book at
https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11461566

Reviewed by Roel Vismans



As its subtitle suggests, this volume marks fifty years of teaching Dutch and Flemish studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (U-M). Its eleven chapters present a mixture of reflective writing and factual information about U-M's Dutch and Flemish programme, which together are intended to provide "a narrative that gives an account of our endeavors, an explanation of our past attempts to promote Dutch and Flemish culture and language." At the same time, however, *Dutch is beautiful* appears to have the ambition to present its current pedagogic philosophy, "a description of how the teaching of Dutch language, culture, and history can be a tool to look at a world of diverse identities." Both aims of the book are briefly touched upon in the introductory chapter. First, U-M's current director of Dutch and Flemish Studies, Annemarie Toebosch, explains how the teaching of Dutch and Flemish studies is rooted in U-M's policies on diversity, equity, and inclusion. Next, her predecessor, Ton Broos, introduces the rest of the volume after a short overview of some of the programme's highlights. The fact that *Dutch is beautiful* is written and edited by both the previous and current director of the Dutch and Flemish programme at times gives the volume the flavour of a handover document, of the baton passing from one runner to the next in an academic relay course marked by continuity and change.

Chapter 2, "Wringing beauty from an obscure language," is the integral text of a keynote lecture by Ton Broos at the 2016 Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies. Four years after his retirement, in what he admits is hardly "a concise and intelligent lecture with sound advice," he looks back at the ups and downs, and the things and people that inspired him over his 30 years as the face of Dutch studies at U-M. In a few places he also vents his frustration with the bureaucratic *rendementsdenkers* ('the for-profit bean counters without imagination') he has encountered over those years. Humorous as this chapter is, what it describes is the fate of most academics, especially in niche subjects like Dutch studies. We constantly must deal with sponsors' rejections as well as support from unexpected quarters. It is the creativity with which we balance those vicissitudes that marks us out, and by all accounts Broos has sometimes had to be very creative.

Chapters 3 to 8 contain factual information about U-M's Dutch and Flemish programme. Chapter 3 charts the history of Dutch teaching between 1968, when a Dutch course was first documented, and the academic year 2019-20, including the testimonies of seven alumni from the five past decades. However, from chapter 4, on the Netherlands Visiting Professorship, we learn that the relationship between U-M and the Netherlands was in fact established some 20 years earlier with the agreement in 1947 for the annual appointment of "a distinguished Dutch scholar." Impetus for this agreement, which was not enacted until 1950, was the 100th anniversary of the establishment of a Dutch colony in

Holland, Michigan. The professorship lapsed in 2010 when the Dutch funder, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, withdrew its support "for budgetary reasons" (reference Broos' complaint about *rendementsdenken*). A similar fate befell the Dutch writer-in-residence programme, which is documented in chapter 5. It was inaugurated in 1981 with the author Bert Schierbeek and continued until 2005, after which it "lacked further commitment from the institution in the Netherlands." The institution concerned was the then *Literair Produktie Fonds* ('literary production fund').

Authors for chapters 3 to 5 are not listed, unlike the following chapter, on U-M's Dutch and Flemish library holdings, which is co-authored by Ton Broos and Karla Vandersypen. I found this chapter an eye opener for the library's apparent enduring commitment to its Dutch-Flemish collection as well as the collection's richness. Its foundation was laid over a century ago by what seems to have been a visionary librarian and the collection has been nurtured over the decades well beyond the more traditional Dutch studies areas, for example in music.

Chapter 7 lists events, lectures, and conferences, starting with a "rather grand convocation" which was held in 1947 to mark the centenary of Holland, Michigan. A special lecture series, the annual De Vries-Van der Kooy Memorial Lecture, is detailed in chapter 8. Inaugurated in 1996, the series with distinguished speakers continues to this date (at least 2019; presumably there was no lecture in 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic).

There is one further chapter with factual information: chapter 10, with a list of selected publications, is rather oddly positioned between two more substantive pieces by Ton Broos and Annemarie Toebosch respectively. Chapter 9, "Reflections on Anne Frank in past and present," is the text of another public lecture, this time delivered in 2015, when Indiana University, Bloomington, celebrated the 50th anniversary of its Dutch programme. In it, Broos discusses his most successful course at Ann Arbor, which boosted his student numbers whereby "to a certain extent Anne Frank did save Dutch Studies." Chapter 11, "A race and ethnicity focus," gives details of a handful of outreach events, but mainly consists of an updated reprint of an article Toebosch published in *The Conversation* in 2019. It concerns the exclusion of Indonesian victims of Dutch military action from the Netherlands' annual Day of Remembrance. Although interesting and relevant, these two pieces disappoint in the context of this book. Broos writes more about Anne Frank herself and about the Dutch Holocaust experience than about the course he taught. Readers might like to know more about how it developed since its inception in 1993, how it has been kept fresh (and hence successful) over the years, and about the student experience. Likewise, Toebosch' article does not give any insight into the pedagogy that "engages students in guided dialog of inquiry-based learning that allows them to examine their own cultures and histories

through the lens of what appears to many to be an accessible foreign culture," as she writes in the book's introduction. Nor does it demonstrate how a piece in *The Conversation* gives "marginalized Dutch communities a voice and a platform not directly available to them" (also in the introduction).

Despite these shortcomings, *Dutch is beautiful* is a worthy celebration. Dutch and Flemish Studies remains a niche subject which constantly must justify its existence. Often it thrives because of the enthusiasm and drive of one or two individuals, combined with a certain amount of (albeit often tacit) long-term institutional support. This book documents how this has worked successfully in one institution and shows that it can be done.

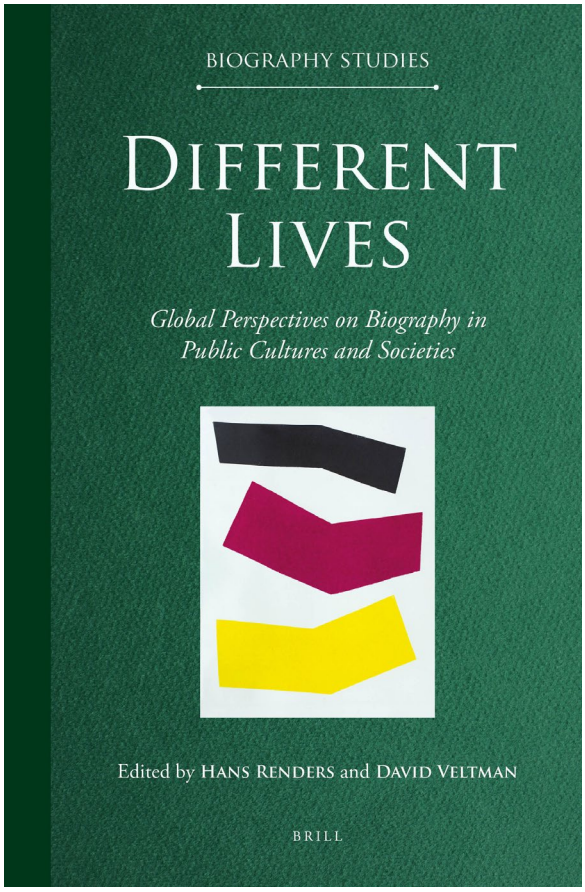
About the reviewer

Roel Vismans is professor emeritus of Dutch studies at the School of Languages and Cultures of The University of Sheffield in the U.K. Between 1979 and 2019 he also taught Dutch at the universities of Manchester and Hull, earning his Ph.D. from the Free University Amsterdam (Netherlands) in 1994. He is a linguist with an interest in pragmatics, particularly politeness. He has written about durative constructions, modal particles, constituent structure, forms of address, and the history of Dutch studies in the U.K. Professor Vismans was the founding president of the Association for Low Countries Studies in Great Britain and Ireland.

Review
Hans Renders and David Veltman (eds)
[in collaboration with Madelon Nanninga-Franssen]:
Different lives: Global perspectives on biography in public cultures and societies

[Biography Studies, Biography Institute, volume 1]
Leiden: Brill, 2020. 278 p.
ISBN 9789004428126 (hb)

Reviewed by Marlene Kadar



Hans Renders and David Veltman – both at the University of Groningen – have collected 18 essays by diverse scholars and writers, including well-known biographers, each of whom focuses on one biographical tradition or another. Not all countries are represented, of course, but an attempt has been made to engage with many: Iceland, Belgium, Denmark, and the Netherlands; Spain and Italy; Australia and New Zealand; Canada and the United States; the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic; China and Iran. A central assumption of the book is that we learn from difference and that historical events and crises shape the genre of biography, while also preserving a biographical impulse, a need to tell the story of a memorable subject.

The contributions in this collection grew out of an international conference held at the University of Groningen in September of 2018 where one of the editors, Hans Renders, teaches and is director of the highly reputable Biography Institute. An important collection, *Different lives* is also the first volume in a new English-language series, Biography Studies. As the well-known biographer Nigel Hamilton writes, "Biography, for its part, is a hardy plant; it has survived thousands of years in the Western world, in differing cultural manifestations and against many headwinds, from censorship to the arrests and executions of its practitioners" (19). As many authors in this collection imply, the biographical impulse can also fulfil a corrective impulse and challenge norms that may irritate the culture and the genre. The prominent Dutch biographer and scholar Elsbeth Etty stresses the generic chasm that might deflect from "high" biography ("scholarly sound" according to Renders), but it may also provide a corrective commentary on the idea that "truth is relative." At the same time as Etty defends the good, the ethical and the revolutionary, she underlines that the "more painful the revelations" in biographical accounts, the "greater the need for verifiability" (215). I am not sure that this claim is itself verifiable, but I do concur that the victims of history benefit when the story about their lives is based in what the majority call "fact." In my view, Etty has always been on the right side of history and continues to press against our assumptions of both history and fact through the supple generic contexts of biography.

Nowhere is the link between biography and history more crucial than in the multilingual example of "La pauvre Belgique," a phrase taken from Charles Baudelaire, as Veltman explains (57). Belgium is a country with three "official" language groups, or "pillars" (French, Dutch, German), and a complicated political history that reflects the contours of traumatic memory in rich ways. Veltman spells out that the two "main" language groups in Belgium – French and Dutch – vied for the "correct" remembrance of the Second World War, and their remembrances have shaped a biographical tradition in Belgium that is late-blooming and complex. The Walloons and French-speaking culture(s) and the Flemish and

Dutch-speaking culture(s) have long-lived prejudices about each other: these prejudices construct biographical events and, in some cases, delay them and their visions for a democratic nation. The Walloons, for example, consider themselves the "moral victors of the war" (57); they believe the Flemish collaborated with the Nazis. Veltman demonstrates how such prejudices are reflected in the tradition of biography in Belgium. As the title of the collection implies: different lives focus differently. Focusing on the ideological consequences of pillarization continues to construct and deconstruct biography (and life writing) to this day. Antisemitism is still a news story in Belgium, and its influence on the subject of biography is unmistakeable.

This book primarily samples Western European and North American traditions of biography-making, but it also invites comparisons with radically different traditions such as China's and Iran's, and in one interesting case, the Danish biographical tradition is analyzed by Joanna Cymbrykiewicz at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Cymbrykiewicz has written about an agenda or a "pretext" that underwrites well-known subjects, and also the "undeservedly forgotten" ones who emerged in the biographical boom of the 1980s. About the latter, this reader, at least, is keen to know more. Cymbrykiewicz mentions, for example, women's biographies, such as those written by Sidsel Eriksen and Birgitte Possing (206). The paucity of women's biographies is a repeated theme, as illustrated in the graph detailing gender in Canadian biography by Daniel R. Meister (36).

Indeed, as the author of "Hidden and forbidden issues in works of Iranian biography," Sahar Vahdati Hosseinian, writes: "to get a better understanding of differences between societies, biographical works should be studied comparatively" (147). Extreme social measures that construct womanhood in Iran also construct its biographical themes and constrain its reception. Iranian biography vies with biographies that either celebrate women's independent histories, or ply historical and micro-historical story lines in order to reveal "progress," a steadfast motivating force in biographical motifs.

Comparison is an obvious methodological aim of *Different lives*. On occasion, as in the case of New Zealand, biography is discussed alongside autobiography, and in other essays the authors cannot avoid referring to memoir because the generic differences in life writing traditions may soften or blend in exciting or complicated ways. Doug Munro makes the point that sporting auto/biographies – Munro uses the virgule – are favoured by New Zealanders. He insinuates that auto/biography is used in the sports genres because athletes do not always have the writing skills to carry out the story of their lives. The extent to which a coauthor is involved in the telling is not easy to measure, as in the case of *The Kiwi pair* (2016) where authorship looks like this: "Hamish Bond and Eric

Murray with Scotty Stevenson."[1] Munro rightly asks: what does "with" really mean? He later speaks of group biography, which includes the history of great white men but is also adapted to include Maori, women, and other social groups.

Certainly representation is an issue for biography studies in every language and every country: consider Spanish examples during Franco's fascist era, as indicated by María Jesús González; or, the omissions in the "historical biography" of Canada's First Nations as a result of the long arm of colonization as explained by Daniel R. Meister; the extreme silences in Iranian biography as mentioned above; the other extreme political influence of apartheid in South Africa, as Lindie Koorts explains.

Koorts talks about biography in her country as "discourse," and successfully posits that "the majority of South African lives are simply not that well-documented" (41) given the country's history of extreme racial inequalities and obvious relations of power that mostly served white men. To her credit, Koorts aims to defy power relations that continued to ossify in the period of nation building in South Africa. Because of the country's post-apartheid anxieties, Koorts admits that there is variation in the quality of biographies written. She notes: "the space for dispassionate biography is extremely limited" (56). In a country where inequalities linger, she writes, the well-documented and well-preserved lives are elite lives, mostly white, reflecting "the preoccupations" of a white state (42). Koorts suggests that since 1994, great white men's lives have been replaced by great black men's lives – leaving room for innovation in biography in the current period.[2]

As important as representation is to most of the authors, the relationship between history and biography is also key to the idea of "different lives." There is some debate about the relationship between the life writing genres and historical biography especially in the Canadian context. According to Meister, there is a continuing need for biography to illuminate past heinous injustices but also a need to address the wide-ranging consequences of these injustices in the current period. He lands on the example of the enormous prejudice settler cultures imposed on Canada's First Nations and suggests that biography does not always serve Indigenous women, men, or their communities either in the past or in the present. In spite of this reservation, Meister still hopes for biography's power to achieve "positive change" (40) – a vague term that begs for further comment in Meister's next work.

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[1] Without being able to verify the title in a library during the current lockdown due to the pandemic, internet sources indicate that the title is *The Kiwi pair*, not *Kiwi pair*. The latter is cited in a footnote (150) and the bibliography (233) in Renders and Veltman (2020).

[2] Unfortunately, Lindie Koorts' own biography is missing from the "Notes on contributors" (ix-xv).

In the case of Chinese biography, there are two essays whose political views differ. Liu Jialin reports that since China's Reform and Opening-Up in 1978, biography and theoretical studies of biography have been revived (229), whereas Kerry Brown notes that in spite of the "immense achievement of Sima Qian over two thousand years ago" (97), there are "significant cultural and political restraints" (97) that have constrained the shape and the subject of stories about individuals within the People's Republic of China. As in other essays, language and source are significant to Brown's analysis, choosing to treat only biographies where the original is written in Chinese. Such diverse interesting views as Liu Jialin's and Kerry Brown's invite further consideration.

Language and nationality intersect often in *Different lives*. This leads us to understand that this is an enterprising project and, at times, overwhelming in its cultural details. Biography itself is, as theorists and critics like to say, "a notoriously difficult form to define" (Hoberman 2001, 109), and here we have the evidence. Biographical truth itself is a moving target and although I prefer to believe Richard Holme's view that biography is an act of friendship, a "handshake across time, across cultures, across identities" (2), the essays in this collection force us to reconsider the adage and its contradictions, especially its relationship to nationalism and nation building. Although Holmes is speaking specifically of the West and "menacing" pressures in America in particular, Nigel Hamilton has put it succinctly: "biography … was and remains the natural outcome of man's desire to commemorate the lives of the dead, and even the living – but its *interpretation* of those lives has always been constrained by the pressures of the society in which such commemoration and interpretation take place" (18). The essays in *Different lives* are salient and compelling exactly because of constraints and the variety of forms in which they are expressed socially, culturally, and eventually in the story of a life.

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About the reviewer

Marlene Kadar is a professor in the Department of Humanities and the School of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at York University in Toronto (Ontario, Canada). She is founding editor of the Life Writing Series at Wilfrid Laurier

University Press and currently coeditor with Sonja Boon. Her publications are primarily in the field of Life Writing theory, especially in relation to historical events such as the Holocaust and the post-war period of immigration to Canada. She earned her Ph.D. in comparative literature from the University of Alberta in 1983. Recently, she completed a collection of short stories, one of which – "Cultivating Gullibility" – is featured in *Life writing outside the lines: Gender and genre in the Americas* (Routledge, 2020). She also recently participated in a "Conversation Piece" about "Necrography: Death-writing in the colonial museum" for *British Art Studies* at https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/issues/issue-index/issue-19/death-writing-in-the-colonial-museums.

Review
Frits Zwart:
Conductor Willem Mengelberg, 1871-1951: Acclaimed and accused
[volume 1 and 2]
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 1354 p.
ISBN 9789462986053 (hb) / ISBN 978 946298 606 0 (tpb)

Reviewed by Deborah Nemko

The monumental work *Conductor Willem Mengelberg, 1871-1951: Acclaimed and accused* by scholar and former director of the *Nederlands Muziek Instituut* ('Netherlands Music Institute') in The Hague for forty years, Dr. Frits Zwart, documents the life and work of influential 20th-century Dutch conductor Willem Mengelberg. A tour de force in its scope, the two-volume work of more than 1300 pages is an in-depth account of Mengelberg's rise to prominence as one of the premier conductors in the world to the conductor's veritable ruin as an outcast in Switzerland for having been linked with the Nazis as a collaborator in World War II. Although it is clear that the author feels admiration for the conductor and his manifold accomplishments, there is still a sincere and careful attempt to examine the accusations against Mengelberg throughout.

Mengelberg, whose tenure as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra spans fifty years, from 1895-1945, energized the ensemble, bringing it from a small, provincial organization to its celebrated international fame under his leadership. Frits Zwart, a focused and ardent researcher, has contributed a mammoth narrative on the man, his life, and music. The writing is detailed and sometimes obtuse, straining to account for the entire life of Mengelberg from his beginnings as a music student, through his prominence at the helm of the Orchestra, to his sanctioned ban from the musical stage and final years.

Willem Mengelberg, from an artistic family – his uncle was the prominent composer and musicologist Rudolf Mengelberg and his father the Dutch-German sculptor Friedrich Wilhelm Mengelberg – was a kind of musical prodigy, excelling at composing, performance, and conducting. Willem Mengelberg, who began his musical career as pianist and composer, then becoming an afficionado of choral music and conducting, made a swift ascent to the podium of the Concertgebouw at the precocious age of 24 in 1885. It was a post he held until his removal in 1945 by the Dutch government for his Nazi sympathies and cooperation with Nazi occupying forces in the Netherlands during the war. While the modern-day Concertgebouw Orchestra owes much to Mengelberg, his name is still awaiting its "cultural rehabilitation."

Zwart divides the career and life of Mengelberg into six periods which is a bit unwieldy given that this is three periods greater than is usually assigned to the life of Beethoven. This approach may be symptomatic of the often-heroic light in which the conductor is painted. Often in demand as a guest conductor throughout Europe and The United States, Mengelberg was a long-time conductor of the London Symphony (1911-1914) and served as guest conductor of the New York Philharmonic (1905-6). He championed the music of Richard Strauss – the latter dedicated his *Ein Heldenleben* to Mengelberg and the Concertgebouw in 1898 – and Mengelberg was dedicated to promoting the symphonies of Gustav Mahler when the world viewed his music as too modern or "too Jewish." The Concert-

gebouw Orchestra Mengelberg was presented with early in the 20th century was, according to Mengelberg's accounts, undisciplined and lacking sophistication. Mengelberg's strong musical personality hewed from it an ensemble that played in tune and worked together. He saw purpose in bringing conductors from abroad to work with the Concertgebouw Orchestra and he was essentially an enthusiastic cheerleader both for the ensemble and for his own career prospects. Recordings of the ensemble during the Mengelberg tenure are a testament to the musician's profound stamp on the orchestra.

Scholars have previously addressed the so-called "problem of Wagner" – that of whether one may essentially address the merit of the art and leave the personal failings of the artist behind. The significance of the words in Zwart's biography's subtitle – "Acclaimed and accused" – hints at a narrative that attempts to straddle both sides of the debate, celebrating the career of the noted conductor, while describing the many instances in which Mengelberg openly supported the Nazis. Many examples in music history, chief among them the problem of Wagner's blatant antisemitism, require us to weigh the importance of the musician in relationship to the musician's political and/or personal views. Zwart writes that Mengelberg was heartened by early reports of Hitler and believed, like so many others, that he would bring a broken post-World War I Germany to a better future. Mengelberg was one of the first to champion the works of Jewish composer Gustav Mahler, referring to him as the Beethoven of the 20th century.

Zwart suggests that perhaps Mengelberg's authoritarian tendencies – he was, after all, a conductor with a strong temper who wielded the baton through unquestioned strength – meant that the conductor was drawn to Hitler's vision. Still, Mengelberg must have begun to realize that the vision he so admired in the Nazis included dangerous tendencies. The conductor received several letters from Jewish musicians asking for help in the late 1930s and he watched as countries like Poland and Austria were summarily invaded. He refused to bring together politics and music and claimed that his conducting appearances in Germany and Austria were simply reflective of a man dedicated to his art. According to Zwart, even in the face of mounting evidence of escalating antisemitism and ruthless aggression, Mengelberg never made a public statement against Hitler or the Nazis, a factor that ultimately led to his own downfall. His pro-Nazi rhetoric culminated in the conductor reportedly toasting the invasion of the Nazis in the Netherlands in May 1940, although Mengelberg later believed he had been misquoted.

Zwart points out that not a single statement survives that describes the conductor's regret for his support of Hitler and the Nazis. His public statements and appearances with Nazi leadership, including the notorious *Reichskommissar* ('commissioner') Seyss-Inquart of the occupied Netherlands, resulted in public

opinion turning against him. Mengelberg was largely thought to be a traitor. In 1945, following the war, the Netherlands' Honour Council for Music banned the conductor in absentia for life though the ban was later reduced to six years. In addition, in 1947 Queen Wilhelmina revoked his previously awarded Medal of Honor. Mengelberg, forfeiting both his passport and reputation, lived the remainder of his life in Switzerland never to conduct the Concertgebouw Orchestra again.

History may have dealt a harsh blow to Mengelberg because, though he did try to intervene on behalf of the Jewish musicians in his orchestra, the efforts were simply not enough to dispel the stink of complicity that surrounded him. Mengelberg did advocate for Jewish musicians, and the list includes distinguished names like the harpist Rosa Spier, concertmaster Ferdinand Helmann, and singer Hermann Schey. His cordial relationship with Seyss-Inquart meant that he was able to act on behalf of a few select Jews. One wonders, given his powerful place as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, favorable relationship with Nazi leadership, and the fact that he was a member of the influential *Nederlandsche Kultuurraad*, if he could have been a greater force for good. The author includes a discussion of missed opportunities – the ways in which Mengelberg could have redeemed himself in both the eyes of his Dutch compatriots and, for that matter, in the historical record. The text is a meticulous description of the life and work of Willem Mengelberg and truly the life work of Zwart. In creating a narrative of such detail and care, the reader senses the struggle the author had with the subject of his admiration. One can feel throughout the narrative that the author himself wanted to give Mengelberg the opportunity to "set the record straight," only to realize again and again that there is not enough evidence to redeem the conductor from his ill-gotten fate. Nevertheless, the extensive document of a flawed but still musically admired conductor is worth the read and will remain, perhaps indefinitely, the premier scholarly work on conductor Willem Mengelberg.

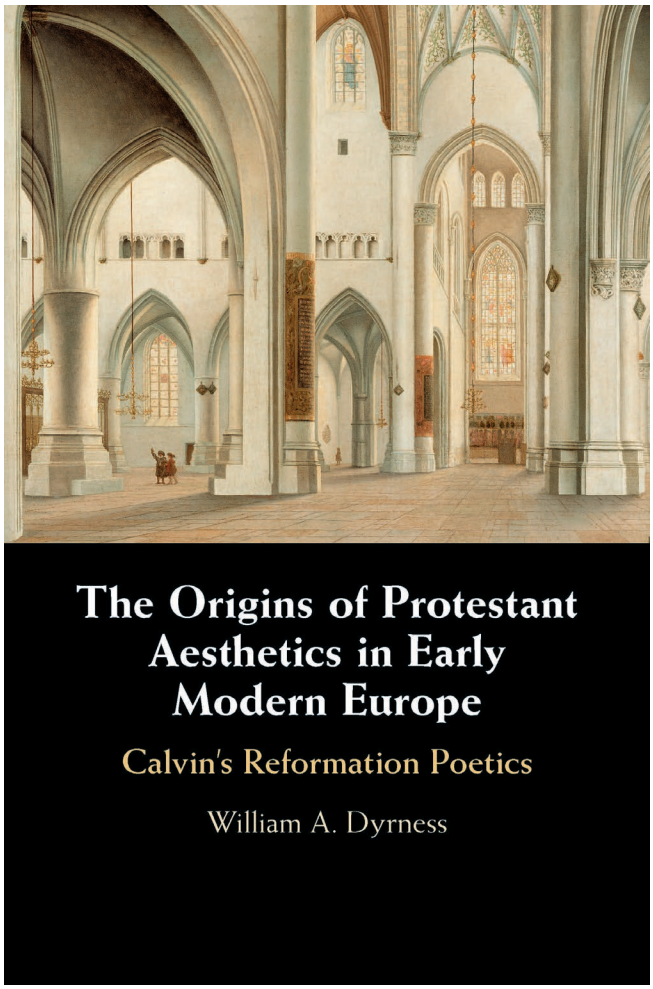
About the reviewer

Deborah Nemko is professor of music at Bridgewater State University in Bridgewater, Massachusetts and faculty member of New England Conservatory's Piano Preparatory School in Boston, Massachusetts (U.S.). A pianist, she completed her D.M.A. at the University of Arizona in 1997 and regularly appears in concert throughout the United States and abroad as soloist and collaborative artist. She has performed in prestigious venues including Carnegie Hall, the Shanghai Oriental Arts Center, and Amsterdam's Bethaniënklooster. After completing her 2015 Fulbright Fellowship to the Netherlands for her project, "Suppressed and forgotten Dutch composers of World War II," for which she also received a Bridgewater State University Presidential Fellowship, she developed innovative recitals and workshops on Dutch composers of the Holocaust. In 2019

she performed music by victims of the Holocaust for the Anne Frank Awards celebration in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Dutch Embassy. She has served as visiting faculty at the Utrecht Conservatory in the Netherlands, the International Master Classes in Belgium, and the Grumo International Music Festival in Italy. Currently, she is a board member of the International Alliance for Women in Music.

Review
William A. Dyrness:
The origins of Protestant aesthetics in early modern Europe: Calvin's Reformation poetics
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 232p.
ISBN 978 1 108 49335 2

Reviewed by Michael N. Jagessar



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 103-107

The Protestant Reformation in Europe was both a turning point in European history as much as the history of Churches in the West and its consequent global reach. Literature, ranging from academic to popular, across all disciplines on the Reformation and the Reformers abound. Albeit the best intention of what may be perceived as objective scholarship, within discourses on the history, the core theological disputes and articulation, and evolving practices of the Protestant Churches are stereotypes and subjective representations. This volume by William A. Dyrness addresses one such stereotype, the Reformers' and the Protestant churches' response and contribution to aesthetics. Is it the case, as a popular stereotype goes, that the Reformers rejected art, material culture and aesthetics, replacing image with word? It may be the case that too much focus was given preaching and teaching, hence the popular view of associating Protestants with cognitive and confessional dispositions. But is it the case that it therefore follows that the Reformers and Protestantism considered the arts and the gift of imagination as outside the scope of grace?

The origins of Protestant aesthetics in early modern Europe: Calvin's Reformation poetics is an incisive and well-researched volume. It takes on this stereotype by making a case that the Reformation, the Reformers (Calvin and Luther and those around them) and the Protestant Churches developed their own aesthetic values, rather than rejecting art and aestheticism. The volume makes a good case for that aesthetics of everyday life, as reflected in art museums and galleries throughout the western world, is the result of a profound shift in aesthetic perception that occurred during the Renaissance and Reformation. The author's contention is that events following the Reformation prepared some of the basis for the multiple ways in which art and aesthetics developed. In retrospect it is reasonable to see the Reformation along with the contributions of the Reformers as critical engagement to the development of medieval practices and not that of an extreme severing with the inherited deposits of the past.

The second part of the title of the volume (*Calvin's Reformation poetics*) may not give a proper picture of the breadth of what is covered in the book. For the author makes a convincing case around the Reformers' conceptual and theological frameworks on the role of the arts, albeit at times in slant ways, and how these influenced the rise of realistic theatre, lyric poetry, landscape painting, and architecture in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The arguments of the book and direction of travel are introduced and located in the medieval context (chapter 1) and summed up and evaluated in an epilogue (chapter 8). The main discourse around the main thesis is then explored and developed in a further six chapters. In "Presence and likeness in Holbein, Luther and Cranach" (chapter 2), Dyrness reflects on the work of two significant artists, Hans Holbein (1497-1543) and Lucan Cranach (1472-1553), regarding them

as key signifiers on the way the Lutheran Reformation went. Both of their works both reflect influences from Luther's refreshing discourse on presence. It is Cranach's imagining though, that reflects Luther's influence and his "new spiritual hermeneutics" (34) as he invited viewers through his art to see, feel and respond to Luther's didactic exhortation. The emphasis shifts from an idolatrous fixation towards a response (affective) of the viewer to their role as an active participant in God's world. The image or depiction serves as a sign or heuristic tool towards enactment of the biblical story.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus mainly on Calvin, specifically on how language and time evolved in the Reformer's discourses and in different ways have influenced his aesthetic. A timely distinction between the medieval framework of the Mass as a centripetal focus with that of Calvin's teaching or re-reading of the liturgical drama as centrifugal (moving outwards), pushes Luther's understanding further towards a working-outwards outside the space of church. Believers were called to respond, to become "living images" (58) enacting the word in a larger "living space" (59) where the encounter with God's saving grace will be lived out in the world. Here, Dyrness notes the impact of this understanding on the consequent architecture of Protestant churches. Preaching then, given the view of a centrifugal movement, must be geared towards forming and shaping congregants to live out the way of Christ in the world – the *theatrum mundi* ('the world as theatre'). The spectacle or drama shifts from the liturgy in the sanctuary to the *polis* (which is Geneva in the case of Calvin), effectively moving the performance from priest to *laos* ('people'). Dyrness' contention is that the Reformers' logo-centrism ought to be located in the implications of the larger vision their rhetoric hinted at, offering possibilities for refreshing aesthetics. Dyrness points especially to the potential that the vision offered playwriting and poetry in the area of language. Calvin's discernment into the dramatic potential of everyday life presented believers with a new aesthetic mirror. To become a living image, believers must take on as aesthetic music, performative preaching, drama, and writing, among others. Creation as the locus of God's creative and re-creative activity in Calvin's rhetoric (preaching and teaching) – was intended to arouse believers to take up their role/perform their part in the theatre of God's world.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 examine how the Protestant Reformation contributed to the development of aesthetics in England, Holland, and France. These chapters offer some fascinating insights. In England, for instance, the veneration of a commonwealth of God and monarchy is interpreted in the context of a displacement (regarding religious rituals), resulting in a vacuum that was filled with "the cult of Elizabeth" (134-135). Dyrness passes over this distortion of living image as mere slippage (from and of Calvin's rhetoric), although it clearly served as an underlying premise for much of the colonial invasion and rape of the so-

called new world. Postcolonial theologians would contend that this is one of the issues they have been highlighting long before Dyrness, especially on how the work of the Divine in restoring creation became equated with the view of England as God's chosen to bring light to benighted parts of the world.

Slippage aside, Calvin's emphasis on humanity's role as performing the work of renewal in the drama of God's world influenced drama, literature and music in England. On the continent (Holland and France in particular) the reconfiguration of the social world resulting from Calvin's insights continues this influence, opening up "shared and ordered public space" (168) and giving "streets and workplaces – a moral gravity" (170). There is little doubt that the Calvinist vision (framed in the Belgic Confession as one example) influenced an open gaze towards landscape and portrait representation with creation and the created seen as a theatre of God's goodness and splendour. And beyond landscape, elaborate texts of historical events started to be inscribed in decorated frames and old altarpieces. The word has journeyed and evolved to become an image (a perpetual sermon). Of interest here would also be the work of Huguenot architects who conveyed the message through their work outside the walls of the church: restoring a fallen creation to a perceived original sense of beauty and splendour. While not the aim of the author, it did occur to me that corresponding historical events in the period and the duration of the Reformation, especially the colonial expansion towards the new world, were fed by this idea of the *theatrum mundi* and the believers' role in enacting God's salvific drama. As many still carry the scars and legacies of such aesthetics the need for further work here should be a matter of urgency.

The origins of Protestant aesthetics in early modern Europe is, no doubt, a significant interdisciplinary addition, from a cultural and to a lesser extent theological perspective, to the many volumes on the Reformers and the Protestant Reformation. The vigour and scholarship with which the author interrogated a (mis)conception about the Calvinist and Protestant suspicion of icons and symbols, making a case for the slant and indirect ways that the Reformation influenced how Europe and the West continue to see, feel, and approach drama of the world, is commendable. I hope, though, that the same vigour and scholarship will also be directed at necessary work to help European Protestantism come to grips with how these very ideas were deployed to exploit and impoverish whole nations and peoples. What shall beauty, splendour, and aesthetic sensibilities profit us in our obsessive genuflecting to an economic model that impoverishes many, commodifies every living aspect of creation, and degrades the *theatrum mundi*? If accountability to the Divine, as the Reformers contend, must be translated into one's life in the world, what has gone wrong?

Perhaps, in good *semper reformanda* ('always to be reformed') tradition, this is still work in progress.

While the book is loaded with excellent references, at times the author's reiteration of the main argument can be distracting in its repetitiveness. It is, however, an invaluable resource for theologians, church historians, art historians, cultural critics, and liturgical scholars.

About the reviewer

Michael N. Jagessar is Secretary for Europe at the Council for World Mission in London (U.K.). Previously, he was associated with the United Reformed Church as an ordained minister, as well as moderator of its General Assembly and head of its Global and Intercultural Ministries. He has worked in Guyana, Grenada, Curaçao, and the United Kingdom in theological education, teaching and writing in the areas of ecumenical theology, interfaith studies, contextual theologies, and postcolonial themes. He studied theology, ecumenism, and missiology at the University of Utrecht (Netherlands) where he was awarded his Ph.D. degree in 1997. His books include *Full life for all: The work and theology of Philip A. Potter* (Boekencentrum, 1997); *Black theology in Britain: A reader* (Routledge, 2007, coedited with Anthony G. Reddie); *Christian worship: Postcolonial perspectives* (Equinox, 2011, coauthored with Stephen Burns); *At home with God and in the world: A Philip Potter reader* (World Council of Churches Publications, 2013, coedited with Andrea Fröchtling, Brian Brown, Rudolf Hinz, and Dietrich Werner); *Ethnicity: The inclusive church resource* (Darton, Longman & Todd, 2015).

Review

D. L. Noorlander:

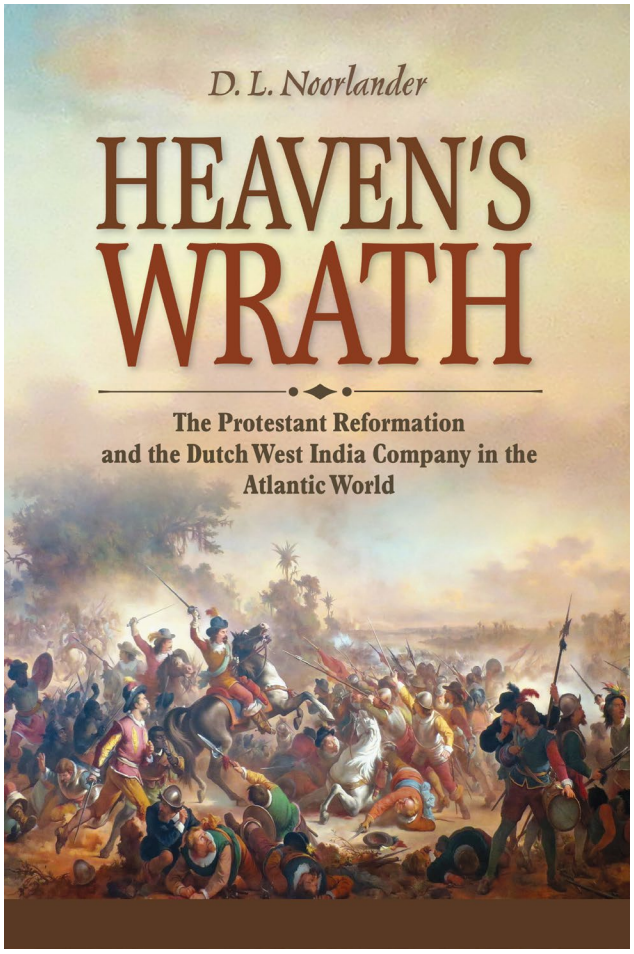
Heaven's wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic world

[New Netherland Institute studies]

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019. 289 p.

ISBN 9780801453632 (cloth)

Reviewed by Mark Meuwese



While the title of Noorlander's monograph suggests that it is about a very narrow topic, *Heaven's wrath* revisits a number of critical issues in the history of the Dutch in the Atlantic world during the 17th century. One issue concerns the extent to which the Dutch were driven by commerce in their pursuit of overseas expansion. Unlike the Atlantic empires of other European powers, the Dutch colonies and outposts in the Americas and West Africa were governed by the West India Company (WIC), a private corporation chartered by the Dutch state in 1621. Because of the WIC's commercial character as well as due to the general reputation of the Dutch in early modern Europe as being primarily interested in trade, the view in the English-speaking world developed that the Dutch and their trade companies such as the WIC were only concerned about making money. Intent on dismantling this myth, Noorlander argues that the WIC was sincerely committed to building and expanding a godly society based on Calvinist principles in its overseas possessions. Another myth Noorlander challenges is the assertion that since the WIC was supposedly a purely commercial enterprise, the Company was content to dispatch to its colonies poorly motivated and inadequately trained Reformed clergy. Furthermore, Noorlander seeks to revise the common idea that the Dutch were uninterested in converting non-European peoples. Finally, the author challenges the myth of Dutch toleration in its overseas colonies. Noorlander examines these issues in a tightly argued and well-researched book of eight chapters and a conclusion.

Throughout the book, Noorlander details the close relationship between the Reformed Church and the WIC. Both institutions were shaped during a time of great political and religious upheaval in the Dutch Republic. The founding of the WIC in 1621 came in the wake of the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619) in which the Reformed Church secured its orthodoxy. Moreover, both the WIC and the Reformed Church were strongly in favour of renewing the war against the Catholic Spanish Habsburg Empire which had been temporarily halted during the Twelve Year Truce (1609-1621). The Reformed Church viewed the WIC as a righteous instrument to strike against the popish Habsburg enemy in the Atlantic world. The close relationship was also revealed by the involvement of many Company directors in the Reformed church councils or consistories of Dutch cities. A substantial number of directors from Amsterdam and Zeeland, the two most dominant WIC Chambers, served as elders and deacons in the consistories of Amsterdam and Middelburg. The pious directors were also actively involved in the selection of lay preachers and ministers that were to be sent to the colonies. Another indication of their strong Calvinist conviction was that the Amsterdam directors donated a portion of their profits to Protestant charity. Noorlander suggests that the yearly financial amount the WIC spent on supporting the Reformed Church through salaries, church buildings, and schools was so sub-

stantial that it contributed to the decline of the West India Company in the third quarter of the 17th century.

The close ties between Reformed clergy and WIC officials also existed in the Dutch Atlantic colonies. Both groups were strongly committed to rooting out sinful behaviour among soldiers, sailors, and settlers. In their struggle against popery and the Habsburg Empire, Reformed ministers and Company officials often likened themselves to ancient Israelites fighting heathen enemies. This idea of a holy struggle against a common enemy was especially evident in northeastern Brazil which the WIC governed from the early 1630s to 1654. Contrary to historians who claim that the WIC was tolerant towards the Portuguese Catholics who formed the majority of the free colonial population, Noorlander argues that the Company authorities worked together closely with Reformed ministers in limiting Catholic rights in Brazil as much as possible. Even Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, the celebrated enlightened governor-general of Dutch Brazil from 1637 to 1644, is portrayed by Noorlander as a committed Calvinist who was sympathetic to the ministers who were trying to bring about a strict Reformed orthodoxy in Brazil. The outbreak of the popular Portuguese rebellion against Dutch rule in 1645, which eventually resulted in the collapse of the WIC colony, was largely driven by Catholic outrage about the repressive religious policies endorsed by Company officials. A similarly strong commitment to Reformed orthodoxy existed in other WIC colonies. In New Netherland in North America, director-general Petrus Stuyvesant, himself a devout Calvinist, did not hesitate to expel Jews, Quakers, or other religious dissenters, even though the colony was in need of more European settlers.

The attempts by Reformed ministers and lay preachers to bring the gospel to Black Africans and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas is the subject of chapter seven. The attitude of the Reformed Church towards Black Africans was largely determined by the WIC's growing involvement in the Atlantic slave trade during the 1630s. Before the Dutch had acquired any plantation-colonies in the Atlantic world, WIC directors initially hesitated whether to participate in the slave trade. A special committee was formed in the early 1620s to investigate if the WIC should join the nefarious business. Although some of its members were critical of the slave trade, soon after the WIC consolidated its conquest of northeastern Brazil in 1635, the Company fully embraced the slave trade because enslaved Black Africans were viewed as indispensable for the production of sugar. The WIC's decision was justified by the minister Godefridus Udemans who wrote *The spiritual rudder of the merchant ship* in 1638. Udemans argued that, although slavery was unnatural, some people could be justifiably enslaved because of their sinful behavior. As long as slaves were purchased for a fair price and instructed in the principles of Christianity, Dutch Calvinists could participate in the slave trade and

own slaves. Significantly, many of the ministers in Dutch Brazil owned African slaves.

While Reformed ministers in Brazil were not much concerned about the spiritual or physical well-being of African slaves, Dutch clergy did initiate a considerable effort to educate the Tupi-speaking Indigenous people of Brazil. The Tupis, who were important military allies of the Dutch and who had already been introduced to Christianity by Catholic missionaries before the WIC invasion, were viewed by the Calvinist ministers as promising targets of their missionary program. Several ministers prepared a catechism for missionary work among the Tupis which was translated into Portuguese and Tupi. However, the Reformed churches of Amsterdam and Zeeland rejected the Tupi catechism on the basis of faulty theological interpretations. According to Noorlander, a major reason why the missionary program among the Tupis and other non-European peoples proceeded slowly was because of the constant interference by the Reformed churches in the Republic.

In the book's conclusion, Noorlander casts a wider lens by comparing the experience of the Reformed Church in the Atlantic with that of its counterpart in the colonies of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Asia. Like the WIC, the VOC also maintained a close relationship with the Reformed Church. One critical difference between the two trade companies was that of geographic distance. Unlike the nearby Atlantic, where the consistories of Amsterdam and Zeeland maintained close supervision of the churches in the American and West African colonies, the Reformed Church in the Republic was unable to maintain much control over the much more distant Dutch Calvinist churches in Southeast Asia. Noorlander concludes his book by drawing another comparison, this time between the evangelization efforts of the Dutch Reformed Church and those of the Catholic Church. Although the Reformed Church was a much younger religion than the Catholic Church, and even though the Catholic Church had specialized missionary organizations such as the Jesuits, the Reformed Church still managed to dispatch an impressive number of religious personnel to the Dutch colonies. Noorlander calculates that the ratio of ministers to settlers in Dutch colonies was about the same as that of ministers to residents in the Dutch Republic.

One perspective that could have received more attention in the book is that of ordinary people. In the discussion about toleration in Brazil, Noorlander doesn't discuss how ordinary Portuguese or Dutch settlers negotiated the religious regulations imposed on them. Some scholars such as Stuart B. Schwartz have argued that Catholics and Protestants in Dutch Brazil were more tolerant of each other than commonly believed. Similarly, in his analysis of the missions to the Tupis in Brazil, Noorlander doesn't discuss how the Indigenous people interpreted and adopted the Reformed religion. Why and how the Tupis as well as

some Black Africans embraced Dutch Calvinism remains unclear. Despite this criticism, Noorlander clearly demonstrates that religion was not an afterthought for the WIC but instead a central component. Clearly, religion and trade went hand in hand in the Dutch Atlantic Empire.

About the reviewer

Mark Meuwese is professor and chair of the history department at the University of Winnipeg in Winnipeg, Manitoba (Canada), where he has taught since 2004 when he earned his Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame in Notre Dame, Indiana (U.S.). His teaching and research interests are European-Indigenous relations in the Americas. He is the author of *Brothers in arms, partners in trade: Dutch-Indigenous alliances in the Atlantic world, 1595-1674* (Brill, 2011) and *To the shores of Chile: The journal and history of the Brouwer expedition to Valdivia in 1643* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

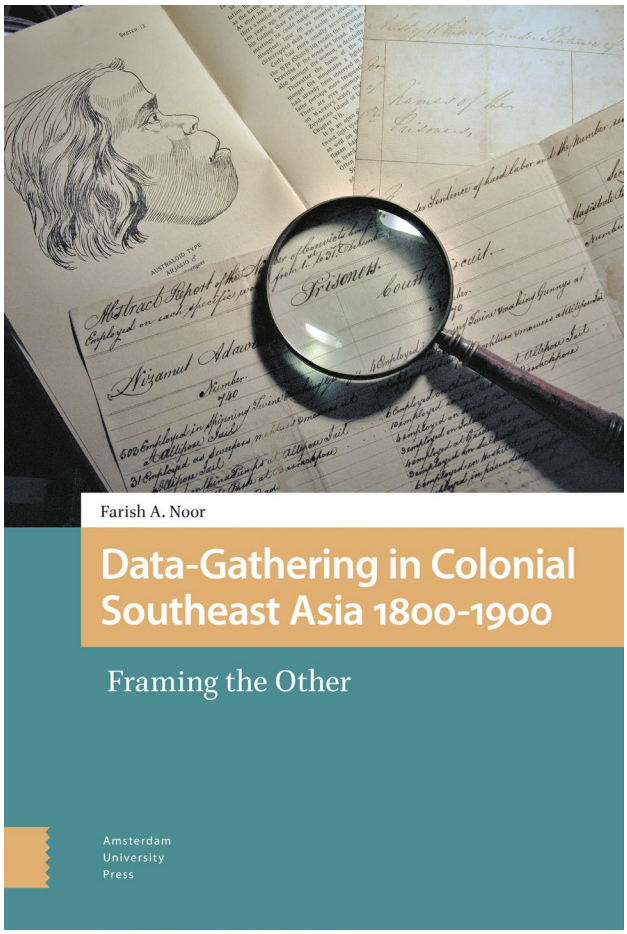
Review

Farish A. Noor

Data-gathering in colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900: Framing the Other

Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 265 p.
ISBN 9789463724418

Reviewed by Fenneke Sysling



At the outset, it is important to mention what this book is not: it is not a book about colonial censuses, about statistics in the service of Empire or about intelligence gathering in the sense of Chris Bayly's *Empire and information*. Also, most of the book is not about the Dutch colonies but about British presence in Southeast Asia. *Data-gathering in colonial Southeast Asia* is best described as a thorough re-reading of several British imperial classics in geography and anthropology. These publications brought to Europe information upon which the growing imperial presence in the region was built. Farish A. Noor analyzes six of these classics in more detail, taking the reader to Java, British Borneo, Burma, and the Malayan peninsula. His argument is by now a familiar one: these books opened up areas for Westerners to know and to rule, and as part of this process Indigenous people were framed as the essentialized colonial Other.

Chapter 1 is the most interesting for students and scholars of the Dutch colonies as it deals with Stamford Raffles' 1814 *Java regulations*, written during the British interregnum in the Dutch East Indies that began in 1811 and lasted until 1816. While Raffles' *History of Java* (1817) is better known, his *Regulations for the more effectual administrations of justice in the provincial courts of Java* were perhaps even more important for the colonial governance of Java. The 173 regulations, from which Noor quotes extensively, show how Raffles planned to rule Java. The importance of information for Raffles becomes apparent in regulations such as number 15, which ordered a village head to provide the colonial officers with all details of strangers who arrived to settle in the village. According to Noor, this meant that village heads were to "keep an eye on their own people and to provide the British authorities with as much information as they could gather on their friends and neighbours" (41). Another argument of Noor in this chapter is that the Javanese were featured in the regulations as both useless and useful people: they were useful in the agricultural sector and as revenue collectors, but at the same time they were seen as lazy natives with no interest in science and technology.

Chapter 2 analyzes John Crawfurd's *Journal of an embassy from the Governor-General of India to the court of Ava* (1829), a report of his visit to Burma. Crawfurd's report was "a prelude to an invasion" (72), with its information about the strengths and (military) weaknesses of the kingdom of Ava. What makes this chapter worthwhile is that Crawfurd published, as an appendix to his book, the interviews on which it was based, again quoted extensively. Crawfurd's informers were mostly Europeans and Americans, taken prisoner by the Burmese, and their stories give us a glimpse of the life of European and American commercial agents, missionaries and translators who happened to spend part of their lives in a Burmese prison. These informers portrayed the Burmese as a degenerate people

living under tyranny, but they were themselves regarded by Crawfurd as "worthless characters of the lowest order" (81).

Chapter 3 follows Hugh Low's *Sarawak: Its inhabitants and productions; being notes during a residence in that country with H.H. the Rajah Brooke* (1848) and Spenser St. John's *Life in the forests of the Far East* (1862), both about the geography and society of Sarawak in British Borneo. Chapter 4 deals with Dominick D. Daly's *Surveys and explorations in the native states of the Malayan peninsula* (1882) and Hugh Clifford's *A journey through the Malay states of Trengganu and Kelantan* (1897), which both focus on the Malay states and Malay people of what is now Malaysia. The aim of these books was again, writes Noor, to secure British power of the Malay lands.

Chapter 5 functions as a conclusion in which Noor argues that a close reading of these books reveals several things: the building of an all-seeing and all-knowing colonial apparatus, the way in which these books sanitized their own involvement in the colonial affair, the lack of Indigenous voices, the framing of Indigenous Asians as the Other of the West and the importance of pseudo-scientific racial science in these books.

One of the merits of this book is that it is based on a close reading of texts that today are only read cursorily by a handful of scholars. Noor himself, he admits, finds "strange comfort in staying up late at night reading the appendices of books that nobody reads anymore" (31). This kind of reading is the basis of good scholarship. It is a pity then that Noor really hammers home his arguments. This repetition does not make his claims more convincing but leaves open questions such as how these books each functioned differently in the different phases and geographies of Empire-building. The book would also have benefitted from a better definition of oft-repeated terms such as racialized colonial-capitalism, data (versus information and knowledge) or echo chamber. Apart from that, the book is a careful re-reading of fascinating material.

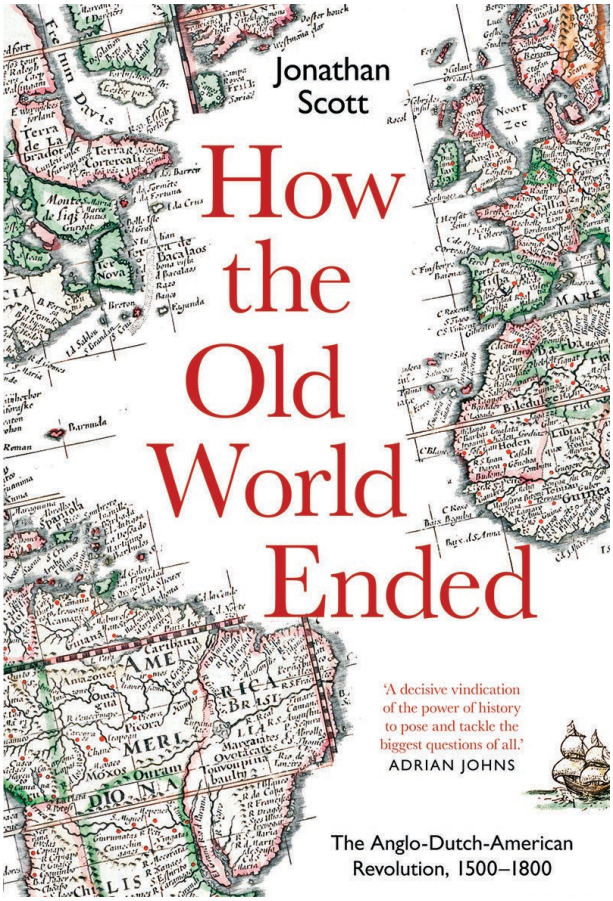
About the reviewer

Fenneke Sysling is a historian specializing in the history of science and Dutch colonialism and works as an assistant professor at the University of Leiden (Netherlands). Her interests include colonial heritage, museum objects, race, the body and natural history. Earning her Ph.D. from the VU University Amsterdam in 2013, she is the author of *Racial science and human diversity in colonial Indonesia* (NUS Press, 2016).

Review
Jonathan Scott:
How the old world ended: The Anglo-Dutch-American revolution, 1500-1800

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020. 392 p.
ISBN 9780300243598

Reviewed by Kurt Hübner



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 119-122

What can be more exciting in times of hegemonic struggles between China and the U.S. than reading an ultimate analysis of the spectacular rise of British hegemony in the era of Dutch dominance? Jonathan Scott's *How the old world ended* promises to deliver what is needed to get some orientation. History, as the text on the book sleeve reminds us, has the power to pose and tackle the question of today by inspecting the past. His answers to the puzzle, though, are only partially helpful to understand the current conundrum. One could say that this is no surprise as history does not repeat itself, and developments of today are fundamentally different from the ones of the past. Scott avoids running into this problem as his book comes forward with several hypotheses that, aggregated, come close to a (universal) model that consequently provides insights to current processes in the global political economy. The subtitle of the book positions the "end of the old world" in the period 1500 to 1800, thus stressing the long period where something ends and something new starts. This idea is not new as authors like Wallerstein and Braudel earlier made the point that changes are time-consuming, not least as the resilience of "the old" hinders and blocks the emergence of "the new." What is different in Scott's analysis is his idea that

> England's republican revolution of 1649-53 [was] […] a – perhaps the – turning point in modern world history. It was a spectacular attempt to change not only the English government but social and moral life in the direction pioneered by the Dutch Revolt and republic from the late sixteenth century. It enacted a revolution in the military-fiscal and especially naval resources of the state to confront and overcome Dutch competition. One result was the Plantation and Navigation system that nationalized and weaponized the Anglo-American economic relationship. It was only within the context of this navally protected trading monopoly that more than a century later the Industrial Revolution could be triggered by the alchemical power of American shopping. (2)

Unlike many world-system scholars or models of hegemonies, Scott makes clear that the key independent variable is political.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands are sometimes labelled as the first hegemon of the modern world-system, and Scott makes the point that the rise of England was only possible due to the model character of the United Provinces that was so carefully copied and adjusted by the English. Command of the waters was an essential element of Dutch hegemony by ways of engineering feats like canals, and also by building a formidable fleet for its far-reaching commercial enterprises: "Guided, and goaded, by Dutch example, the English republic ruthlessly modernized the state's political economy and transformed its military-fiscal power. In the process, it created a maritime culture of imperial and

global reach" (289). This insight very much follows the work put forward by scholars like Wallerstein and Taylor. What Scott adds to those analyses is the work of a historian using a wide variety of contemporary sources to illustrate the argument that British merchants quickly were installing a deep and wide commercial network which was supported by the common language as well as a shared cultural and legal system in its new markets. Scott's underlying main idea is that Britain's interaction with the United Provinces of the Netherlands and with its colonies in North America was the critical ingredient for the event that eventually changed the world: the Industrial Revolution. Rather than focusing his analysis on this argument, though, he dedicates quite some pages on the Republican Revolution of 1649-53, which he characterizes as the turning point of making the modern world.

Given the weight of the triangle relations of England, the United Provinces and North America, the book disappoints when it comes to the empirical support of the main hypotheses. One would have expected a discussion of the work of cliometric historians on trade structures and trade dynamics of the triangle that suggests that trade effects were not as substantial for the emergence of the Industrial Revolution, compared to productivity advances in the agricultural sector. The real disappointment of the book is the discussion of the financial underpinning of Dutch and British hegemony. Giovanni Arrighi convincingly showed in the case of the United Provinces that superior banking techniques at the Amsterdam Bourse and financial hubs of Amsterdam helped to make the Dutch merchant class into leaders of the growth model. It was the advanced financial infrastructure that allocated idle capital to all kinds of commercial activities, not least supporting cross-border trade ventures. The same can be said for England, where financial institutions early on engaged in the triangle relations and played an influential role in state formation. Scott only casually mentions this critical ingredient of Dutch and English hegemony. He hints, for example, at the jump of joint-stock companies from 15 in 1689 to 150 in 1695, but he does not actually provide an economics-driven explanation for this explosion. Nor does he, at any point, discuss the role of the banking sector – think about the relevance of Amsterdam's exchange bank – or the function of the Guilder and Pound for international transactions.

I am not convinced that Scott's analysis of the ending of the old world provides us with essential clues to interpret and understand the current hegemonic struggle. Rather than pretending that his study can shed light on the global current, Scott closes his book with an eye on Brexit. He rightly points to the argument which he stressed quite a few times in his book: it was the intensity, complexity, and quality of England's relationship with its neighbours rather than distinction or even isolation that made it strong and dominant. Brexit is exactly

the opposite. In this respect, Scott's book makes a substantial contribution as he can convincingly show that what is needed is an open-minded as well as an outward-looking political-economic class for it to succeed in a global economy. And yet, much of his arguments are of a qualitative rather than of a quantitative nature, leaving it thus up to the reader to accept or reject them.

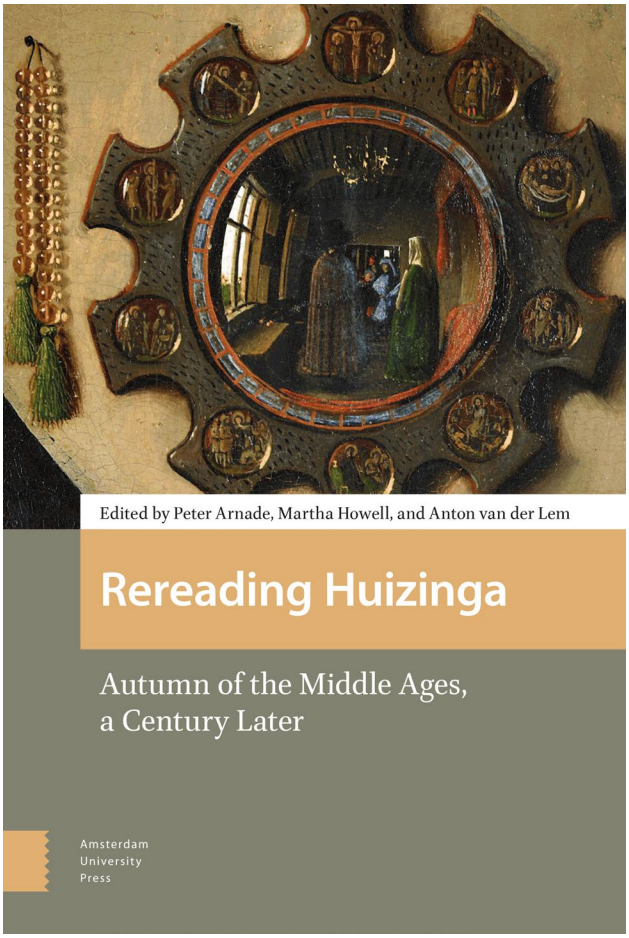
About the reviewer

Kurt Hübner is professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver (British Columbia, Canada) where he holds the Jean Monnet Chair for European Integration and Global Political Economy and is interim director at the Institute for European Studies. He received his Ph.D. in economics and political science from the Free University Berlin (Germany) in 1988. His expertise is in the field of European integration in the context of the global political economy. His focus is on the Euro, specifically the role of the Euro in global currency relations as well as the economic mode of governance. A further area of his expertise is the relationship between international competitiveness, innovation, and climate policies. Over the last couple of years, his work has focused also on trade policy issues, notably on the agreement between Canada and the European Union. He was a visiting research professor at University of Birmingham, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, National University in Singapore, Science Po in Grenoble, LUISS University in Rome, The Institute for Advanced Studies at Waseda University in Tokyo, and Ben-Gurion University in Israel, where he is also an associate professor. Among the books he authored and edited is *National pathways to low carbon emission economies: Innovation policies for decarbonizing and unlocking* (Routledge, 2018).

Review
Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and
Anton van der Lem (eds):
Rereading Huizinga: Autumn of the Middle Ages, a century later

Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 363 p.
ISBN 978 94 6298 372 4 / e-ISBN 978 90 4853 409 8 (pdf)

Reviewed by Koen B. Tanghe



The year 2019 was the centennial of the publication of one of Johan Huizinga's (1872-1945) best known works: *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (1919), translated into English as *The waning of the Middle Ages* (1924) and *Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1996). As its subtitle indicates, this masterpiece of Western medieval scholarship is a study of the forms of life, thought and art in France and the Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries. This was a hinge period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: the Middle Ages came to an end, while at the same time, the seeds of the Renaissance were sown.

Huizinga denied, though, that it can or should be considered as a prelude to the Renaissance, as the Swiss historian of art and culture Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) had assumed in *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860). As he put it in the preface of *Autumn*: "When studying any period, we are always looking for the promise of what the next is to bring. […] So, in medieval history, we have been searching so diligently for the origins of modern culture, that at times it would seem as though what we call the Middle Ages had been little more than the prelude to the Renaissance" (Huizinga 1924, 7). Rather, he wanted to present the late Middle Ages as an epoch in its own right, one that was foremost characterized by a marked waning: medieval life forms (stories, rituals, paintings, and so on) were becoming, or had become, meaningless and empty. In this, Huizinga seemed to follow the organicist philosophy of history of Burckhardt's teacher Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). The latter had always insisted upon treating every historical epoch in its own right instead of as a prelude to a later epoch. He also assumed that at critical junctures in the European past, cultures had dissolved.

Huizinga's Rankean study of the Middle Ages was at the same time also Burckhardtian, though, as he focused on the visual arts, in the same way that Burckhardt in his study of the Italian Renaissance had relied heavily on visual culture. As Huizinga explained in an article published in 1916 on the art of the Van Eycks:

> The notion came to me that the late Middle Ages were not the herald of something that was to come, but the fading away of something that has passed. This thought, if one can speak of it as a thought, revolved above all around the art of the Van Eycks and their contemporaries, which considerably occupied my mind at the time.
>
> (cited in Arnade et al. 2019, 125)

On the eve of the centennial of the publication of this melancholic masterpiece (November 10, 2016), Columbia University's Dutch studies program hosted a workshop of scholars in history, literature and art history at Flanders House New York. Participants aimed at assessing Huizinga's arguments, considered the intellectual culture in which he wrote and examined the impact of his work on

subsequent scholarship. In particular, they tried to develop a better understanding of what might be called the enigma of *Autumn*: it is deeply flawed, yet at the same time, it is also widely popular and remarkably enduring as a work of scholarship. Logically, that is also the main goal of the book that followed from that workshop: *Rereading Huizinga* tries to explain, "why, despite all the book's flaws, all its omissions and unevenness, Autumn is considered one of the masterpieces of Western historical scholarship" (13). Unfortunately, nowhere in *Rereading Huizinga* are the various strands of the answer to that conundrum woven together, not even in the epilogue "Reading together" by Willem Otterspeer.

The enigma of its success reminds me of another eclectic and remarkably successful 20th-century non-fiction work: *The structure of scientific revolutions* (1962), written by Thomas S. Kuhn (1922-1996), a physicist turned historian and philosopher of science (Huizinga was a Sanskrit scholar turned historian). The resemblances between both works are manifold and striking. For example, due to the various academic fields that inspired *The structure* and the background of its author, it became a work which was difficult to categorize. As two of the editors (Peter Arnade and Martha Howell) of *Rereading Huizinga* point out in the introduction, *Autumn* also "seems to fit nowhere" (12). As a work in the history of science, *The structure* tried, with its atypical and largely ignored general developmental pattern of sciences (modern historians rather focus on specific episodes or figures in the history of science), to contribute to "a historiographic revolution in the study of science […]" (3). Instead of seeking "the permanent contributions of an older science to our present vantage" (3), modern historians attempt "to display the historical integrity of that science in its own time" (3). This anti-Whiggish approach evidently resembles the way Huizinga interpreted the late Middle Ages as an epoch in its own right. Secondly, as a philosopher, Kuhn tried, but failed, to provide the modern, critical and non-Whiggish history of science with a fitting, post-positivist philosophy of science.

Nevertheless, *The structure* became enormously influential. Also, like *Autumn*, it was widely read and very popular in non-academic circles. The most specific and also most surprising resemblance is that, like *Autumn*, *The structure* was inspired by the domain of art, more particularly by an analogy that Kuhn had discerned between the history of art and the history of science (Pinto de Oliveira 2017). Both were characterized by what might be called "punctuated equilibria," a phrase that was coined by the palaeontologists Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge (1977) for a discontinuous interpretation of macroevolution that was partly inspired by *The structure*: periods of stasis (an artistic style and "normal science"), punctuated by rapid transitions (artistic and scientific revolutions).

Like *The structure*, *Autumn* was also in several ways a flawed analysis. Its main claim – the late Middle Ages did not herald the Renaissance – is unconvincing. Also, as Peter Arnade and Martha Howell point out, Huizinga's sources were too homogeneous (French language, literary and narrative) and his references to late medieval art idiosyncratic and selective. He focused on Burgundian court culture and paid little attention to civic life and particularly to commerce in what was one of Europe's most densely urbanized and commercial regions, a shortcoming that is highlighted in Jan Dumolyn's and Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin's contribution "Huizinga's silence." Even the religious fervour of the day, harbinger of the Reformation to come, was depicted "as a calcified expression of decayed spirituality" (13). Further, he referenced few secondary historical studies and little of the important contemporary work in sociology and anthropology. Lastly, he did not follow the modern principles of original corpus analyses. No wonder that Huizinga's colleagues – medievalists and art historians – largely ignored *Autumn*.

So whence, then, its huge popularity and influence? The short answer is that, with his powerful evocation of the Burgundian splendour and mentality and his literary style, Huizinga brought medieval history to life as few writers had done before or have done since. Also, as a scholar, Huizinga was, in several respects, ahead of his time. Here again, he resembles Kuhn, who also foreshadowed and stimulated several later developments in the study of science (it would lead us too far astray, though, to discuss this important aspect of *The structure* in detail).

This is the *file rouge*, the leitmotif, of *Rereading Huizinga*. For example, Andrew Brown ("Huizinga's Autumn") states that "the 'cultural turn' since the 1970s and attempts to build integrated narratives of cultural manifestations and to understand societies from a multiplicity of viewpoints, have given *Autumn* renewed currency" (27). Jun Cho ("The forms behind the vormen") attributes *Autumn's* enduring attraction to two characteristics of this work. He offered a view of the late Middle Ages that was not distorted "by a modernizing lens" (87) and that was "akin to the new concerns of the post-1960s, especially the 'cultural turn'" (87). This anti-Whiggish perspective of *Autumn* is also highlighted by Carol Symes ("Harvest of death"). It criticized traditional, nationalist medievalism that claimed that modern nations and national sentiments could be traced back to the Middle Ages.

Walter Simons ("Wrestling with the angel") examines how several key themes of *Autumn* have found their way "into the new approaches to religious history developed from the 1960s onward by historians associated with the French Annales school, charmed by Huizinga's inroads into historical psychology" (41). Myriam Greilsammer ("A late and ambivalent recognition") analyzes in more detail how, with *Autumn*, Huizinga "attained, in a little less than 60 years, his

rightful place in the pantheon of the pioneers of the Annales school" (306). Diane Wolfthal ("Art history and Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages*") points out that "Huizinga foreshadowed the recent art historical turn away from positivism and toward a broader range of study objects and an embrace of interdisciplinarity, the new materialism, emotions, and erotica" (140). One could say that this post-positivism of *Autumn* offers yet another resemblance to *The structure*. Peter Arnade ("Huizinga: anthropologist avant la lettre?") states that Huizinga's anthropological leanings "seem to anticipate the emergence of symbolic anthropology, especially the work of Clifford Geertz" (271). Lastly, Birger Vanwesenbeeck ("Huizinga, theorist of lateness?") positions *Autumn* with regard to the modern debate on late style and lateness.

Of course, *Rereading Huizinga* offers the reader much more than an analysis of the reasons why *Autumn* is considered to be one of the masterpieces of Western medieval scholarship or why it was ahead of its time. For example, two contributions examine Huizinga's methodology ("The making of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* I" by Graeme Small, and "The making of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* II" by Anton van der Lem), while Larry Silver ("Did Germany have a medieval Herbstzeit?") examines the adoption of Burgundian court culture as an instrument of statecraft by Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519), whereas Marc Boone ("Yet another failed state?") reconsiders the controversy between Huizinga and the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne (1862-1953) on the question whether a "Burgundian state" existed. Not surprisingly, Huizinga believed that the notion of a Burgundian state was a creation of modern historiography and that a true Burgundian nation existed only between the death of Duke Charles the Bold (1433-1477) in 1477 and the start of the revolt of the northern provinces against King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) in 1572.

One fears that the general reader may occasionally get lost in these and countless other erudite meanders and esoteric digressions in *Rereading Huizinga*. For the serious Huizinga scholar, however, it is an indispensable work. Lastly, historians of various stripes will find much of use and interest in this rich volume.

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About the reviewer

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Review
Chaokang Tai, Bart van der Steen, and
Jeroen van Dongen (eds):
Anton Pannekoek: Ways of viewing science and society

Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 322 p.
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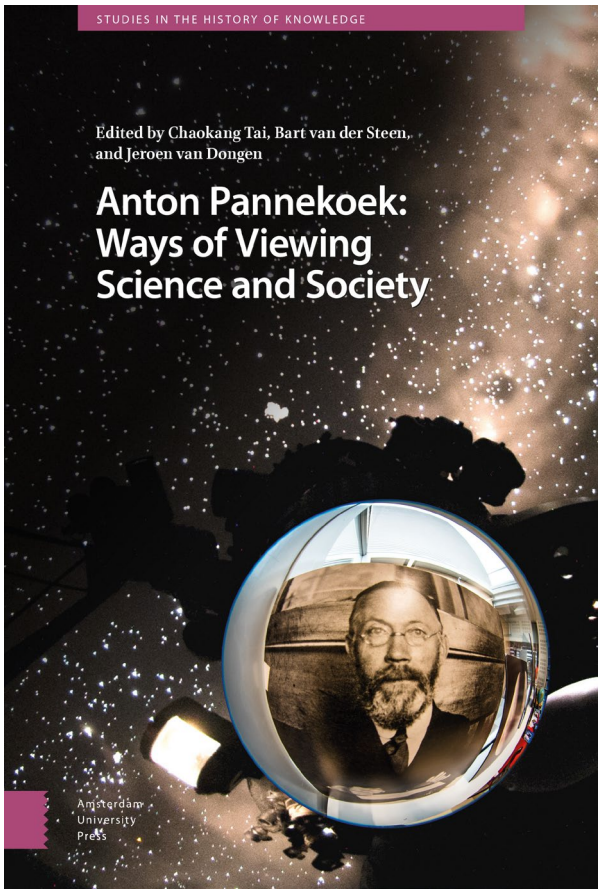
Open Access e-book https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvp7d57c

Reviewed by Margaret E. Schotte



The Dutch astronomer Anton Pannekoek (1873-1960) is remembered for two seemingly disparate accomplishments: he was an influential socialist and he was also the founder of the field of astrophysics in the Netherlands. During Pannekoek's lifetime, his political activities had a negative effect on his astronomical career – in 1919 the Dutch government blocked him from taking up a professorship at the University of Leiden due to his reputation as a socialist. As a result, in later years Pannekoek kept these spheres distinct, going so far as to write two separate autobiographies. In this collected volume, however, editors Chaokang Tai, Bart van der Steen, and Jeroen van Dongen present a convincing case for considering both pillars of Pannekoek's life together.

Anton Pannekoek: Ways of viewing science and society begins with a concise biography of Pannekoek written by Edward P. J. van den Heuvel, himself a leading astrophysicist and former director of the Anton Pannekoek Institute for Astronomy at the University of Amsterdam. As a young man, Pannekoek became involved with the German Social Democratic Party, teaching at party schools in Berlin and Bremen, but he returned to the Netherlands at the outbreak of the First World War. He taught secondary school physics until he was invited to lecture on astronomy at Leiden University, his alma mater. After the prime minister derailed his promotion there, Pannekoek was hired by the University of Amsterdam, an institution without a telescope. Due to these material constraints, in his late forties Pannekoek turned from observational to theoretical astronomy, becoming the first Dutch astronomer to work in the field of astrophysics.

Various chapters in this volume illuminate Pannekoek's collaboration with astronomers around the world. Once at his post in Amsterdam, he relied on the theoretical work of Indian astrophysicist Meghnad Saha. He travelled extensively – to Canada, Finland, Java, the United States – to make first-person observations using borrowed telescopes, and later, to accept an honorary degree from Harvard. At a time when American observational astronomy was rising to pre-eminence, Pannekoek made considerable effort to translate Dutch research into English.

The *Ways of viewing* editorial team includes two historians of science, Van Dongen and Tai, as well as a labour historian, Van der Steen. Certain chapters provide straightforward political or scientific background: Gerrit Voerman traces Pannekoek's radical strand of socialism in the broader Dutch and Russian contexts. David Baneke discusses the state of astronomy in the first half of the 20th century in the Netherlands, while Robert W. Smith surveys the wider field. However, in light of the volume's project to unite the two halves of Pannekoek's career, most chapters interrogate the relationship between socialism and science. Using this approach Klaas van Berkel assesses the astronomer's utopianism, while Bart van der Steen and Annemarie Rullens each examine his conception of scientific socialism.

Pannekoek wrote extensively about the nature of science, social sciences, and history in his political treatises, enabling us to see the consilience between his areas of speciality. Marx, in Pannekoek's view, had turned both socialism and the social sciences into natural sciences. The nature of history – "certain rules from the past" – thus enabled Pannekoek to "say something about future developments" (142). He also viewed scientific progress as an integral part of the socialist project of human liberation (150).

Historians of science will appreciate how the authors connect Pannekoek's oeuvre to major themes in that field, including histories of observation and objectivity (see Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 2007), as well as Darwinism. Bart Karstens explores Pannekoek's connections to the sociology of knowledge (SSK). The shadow that socialism cast over Pannekoek's scientific prospects brings to mind the abortive career of Austrian historian Edgar Zilsel, but the Dutch astronomer was not subject to the same lasting censure. Jennifer Tucker presents Pannekoek as a popularizer of science, striving to educate the masses. Indeed, his general interest *History of astronomy* (1951, English translation 1961) and a number of his political pamphlets remain in print.

A particularly rich pair of chapters offer contrasting interpretations of Pannekoek's pioneering depictions of the Milky Way. Chaokang Tai, who is working on a larger study of Pannekoek, argues that the astronomer took inspiration for his method of "visual photometry" from socialism. Tai finds answers in Pannekoek's Marxist writings about the philosophy of the human mind, where he asserted that "humans have an innate ability to analyse and synthesize sense perceptions" and that they were influenced by prior experience (221). In the early years of the 20th century, photography was not immediately trusted or accepted by astronomers. Pannekoek did use cameras but attempted to eliminate individual subjectivity by combining multiple observations into a single composite image (228). He then supplemented these isophotic diagrams (composed of lines of equal brightness) with verbal descriptions as well as naturalistic drawings. For Pannekoek, his images of the Milky Way, like all scientific laws, were human constructs.

In the following chapter, Omar W. Nasim also analyzes the multifaceted Milky Way images. Instead of turning to Pannekoek's Marxism to understand the hybrid drawings, Nasim focuses on their manual component. He claims that "handwork" can not only overcome ideology and metaphysics, but also serves as a bridge between "Pannekoek-the-socialist and Pannekoek-the-astronomer" (251). For Nasim, the Milky Way drawings were used not just for presentation but as tools for observing, and as such "the acts of seeing, knowing, and drawing" all effectively became "a form of scientific labour" (270).

The final two chapters move in a different direction, to artistic interpretations of the Milky Way drawings. In the 1920s they were incorporated into the projections of Zeiss planetariums. A century later, they served as inspiration for German artist Jeronimo Voss, here in conversation with professor of political aesthetics Johan Hartle. Voss's 2016 installation, "Inverted Night Sky," brought together the same three concerns that animated Pannekoek's life: art, astronomy, and radical politics. Art and media historian Alena Williams offers a concluding analysis of Voss's astronomical oeuvre.

The chapters by Tai, Nasim, and Voss are enhanced by numerous illustrations. An index of selected names makes it possible to trace topics through the volume although a full index is lacking. *Anton Pannekoek: Ways of viewing science and society*, produced as an open-access publication, succeeds in alerting a wider audience to this fascinating thinker. It also provides a valuable model for how to recover the interconnections between an actor's political convictions, philosophical and historical theories, and his or her scientific practices.

About the reviewer

Margaret E. Schotte is associate professor of history at York University in Toronto, Ontario (Canada). She earned her Ph.D. in the history of science and technology at Princeton University (Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.) in 2014. She is the author of the prize-winning monograph *Sailing school: Navigating science and skill, 1550-1800* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019). Her research brings together book history, maritime history, and the history of early modern science and technology.

Review

Kees Schuyt:

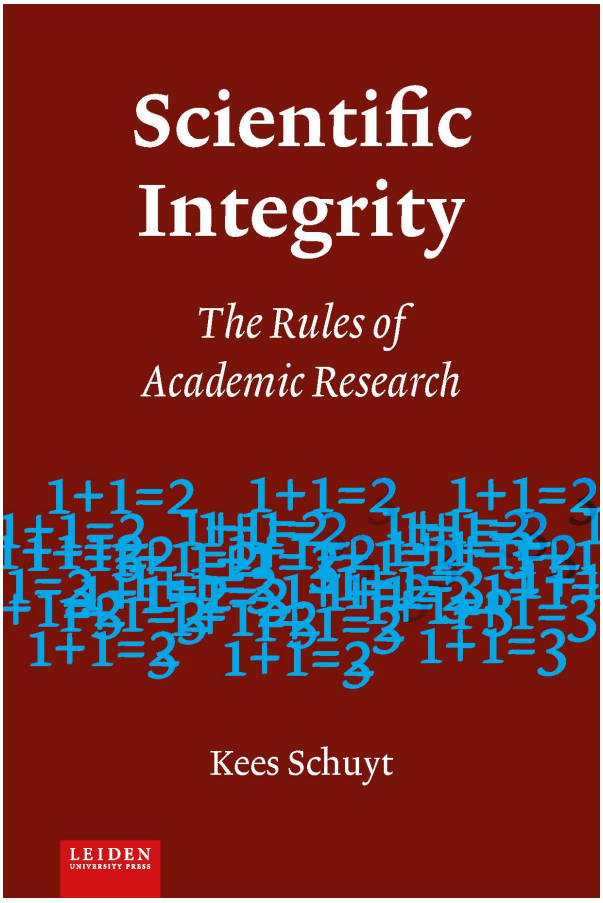
Scientific integrity: The rules of academic research

Maghiel van Crevel (trans.)

Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2019. 182pp.

ISBN 978908728230

Reviewed by Will C. van den Hoonaard



Given the important theme of *Scientific integrity*, I am bound to explain my own inadequacy to review this volume. I conduct qualitative research (and my interests and knowledge are far removed from the kind of science that Kees Schuyt describes in his book). I can only offer some tangential remarks. What is more, I have always upheld the notion that the imposition of the medical research-ethics framework on the social sciences is a form of colonization.

As a book primarily intended for the academic community, *Scientific integrity* is a "scientific essay from which one can draw inspiration for one's own work" (10). Chapter 1 describes the concept of integrity and the social values behind it. Chapter 2 details the standards of integrity in terms of the relevant codes. Chapter 3 focusses on fraud and dishonest behaviour in scientific research and if there has been an increase in those violations. Chapter 4 reveals how the academic community in the Netherlands handles such violations. Chapters 5 and 6, respectively, touch on plagiarism and the distinction between "sloppy" and "dishonest" research. Chapter 7 examines how universities self-regulate integrity and how the "scientific spirit" of integrity can be passed on to the next generation of researchers.

The book represents a culmination of the author's analysis starting in 2006 when Kees Schuyt served as Chair of the Netherlands Board on Research Integrity. It was a 14-year term, but, as he said, the topic "continued to fascinate" him (7). It is a study of the new codes, especially since 1985 when these codes became current. The book also relates to his discovery of "suspected violations" many of which he was asked to investigate. Schuyt connects these violations to the development of research-ethics policies in the Netherlands.

For me, several aspects of *Scientific integrity* stand out. First, the author is interested in the extent to which fraud is committed in science (and that speaks to the urgent need for policies that govern the avoidance of fraud). Second, there are abundant references to those who committed scientific fraud. Third, the idea how the social structures in the community of scientists account for the rise of fraud is merely hinted at. Fourth, *Scientific integrity* leaves out any consideration of the social sciences.

Using other sources of information, Schuyt informs us that 1-2% of scientists are guilty of fabrication and falsification. If one extends the notion of fraud, between 3% and 30% of scientists are guilty of fraud (62). One self-reported survey involving American criminologists said that 2% have committed "some form of plagiarism" (62) (there is no escape from the irony that plagiarism is considered theft). In Belgium, "one in twelve" physicians reported to have carried out some form of data manipulation (59). However, Schuyt tells us that, "[t]he best conclusion that we can draw [...] is simply that we just don't know how much fraud is taking place in the scientific world" (25).

In contemporary times, *Scientific integrity* specifically names eleven researchers in medicine, four biologists, three clinical psychologists, three physicists, two economists, one political anthropologist, one historian, one political scientist, and one writer/illustrator. Schuyt mentions the names of at least 27 people (I do not list them here given the fact that some of them have already been rehabilitated; and I have no interest in perpetuating the names of others). Two in this cluster were women; and *Scientific integrity* describes in some detail one woman as a whistle blower. The book also mentions the work of governmental agencies in altering data or findings.

The author of *Scientific integrity* does not delve directly into the social system that sustains fraud (beyond the culpability of certain individuals), but he leaves us with some hauntingly key hints as to the composition of such a social system. As a sociologist (like the author himself), I find it fascinating that throughout the book Schuyt leaves us with the notion of how the social structure of the community of scientists impacts their behaviour, including fraud. He speaks of power relations in research centres (29), the existence of well formulated and unambiguous ethical rules (42), the promulgation of the "Protocol" (43), the treatment of colleagues and subordinates (44), relations among scientific practitioners and with students (47), about not delaying or hindering the work of other researchers (53), about decisions concerning what constitutes the number of publications (57), competition for scarce resources (63), the linkages among editors, assessors, professors, and so on (64), the role of individual universities, the causal relationship between this pressure and scientific fraud, the intensification of competition (65), the power of prestige (66), the pressures to perform (67), the relationship between scientific research, industrial exploitation and economic application (69), the characteristics of the social system (75), the role of supervision and mentorship (77), relentless university gossip (88), the lack of time (105), an exaggerated administrative formalism in science, the unfortunate consequences of today's overly competitive scientific world (116), power relations (119), the lack of social control in large research projects, the pressure to accumulate as many publications as possible (134), and peer pressure, supervision, compulsory courses, bonuses, and punishment (168) – all these denote the active presence of a social structure that constitutes the sinews of the behavior of scientists, whether for good or bad. The remainder of the book contains more of such incidental references to the existence of a social structure of sorts. Each of these observations deserves a full treatment if Schuyt decides to offer a new volume on the topic.

I was pleased with the fact that *Scientific integrity* left out the notions of ethics in the social sciences (with a few rare exceptions). As explained above, I have for a long time felt that the medical research-ethics frame is quite inappro-

priate for the social sciences (excluding psychology that seems to uphold the medical frame of research ethics). In my own personal list of bibliographies, there are probably some 800 scholarly articles (and some books) that have a tangle with the medical framework; and there are probably some 30 scholars worldwide who are furthering the distinctive frame of the social sciences (with some averring that doing away with any ethics codes is probably the most handsome approach to this dilemma). Terms like "protocol" (for example, 43) misrepresent the structure of say, ethnographic, inductive or qualitative research. Yet, all these scholars do academic research (referring to the subtitle of *Scientific integrity*).

Scientific integrity is a skillful presentation of placing the frauds of researchers in the context of how the academic community in the Netherlands has come to terms with them. Schuyt provides a detailed historical analysis. It is probably beyond the scope of *Scientific integrity* to step outside inventing motives of those committing fraud, to use in-depth ethnographic/qualitative studies of these individuals to see how or why they committed fraudulent behavior. Those studies do not seem to be available, let alone carried out as empirical studies. We cannot invent their motives; we need to learn from them what steps or process they went through.

On a final note, it struck me that the index should have covered more topics. A good proofreader might have also caught the mysterious references in the literature to "*the* Buck" (79). Even Schuyt's own voluminous work deserved to be further referenced, either as "2014a" or "2014b" in the bibliography, or "2006a" or "2006b" within the text itself. These are minor distractions, however, especially in light of *Scientific integrity's* attempts to give substantial coverage to what the Netherlands has done to curb scientific fraud or to encourage scientific integrity.

About the reviewer

Will C. van den Hoonaard is professor emeritus in sociology at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, New Brunswick (Canada). He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Manchester (U.K.) in 1977 and has been a longstanding field researcher who has investigated marine resource management policies in Iceland, the social history of the Bahá'í community, and the world of mapmakers. His areas of research have covered qualitative and ethnographic research, research ethics, gender issues, human rights, and multiculturalism. He has served on the (Canadian) Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics. He is also a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and an author of 13 books. His book *The seduction of ethics: Transforming the social sciences* (University of Toronto Press, 2011) was listed by *The Hill Times* news service as one of the top 100 annual Canadian non-fiction books. It also received an Honorable Mention by the Charles H. Cooley Award Committee of the

Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction in 2012. The same Society awarded him the 2017 George Herbert Mead Award for Lifetime Achievement. Currently, he is engaged in writing another book on the problem of ethics in the social sciences, as well as a new children's book about the mapping of the dark side of the moon.

Review
Alvin H. Rosenfeld (ed):
Resurgent antisemitism: Global perspectives

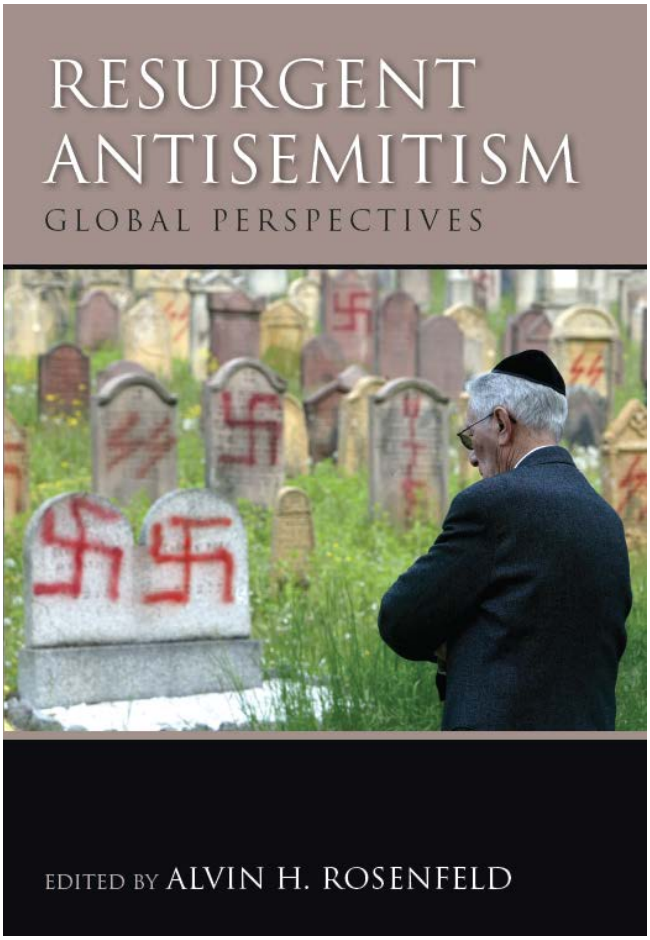
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013. 568p.
ISBN 9780253008787

Deborah E. Lipstadt:
Antisemitism: Here and now

New York: Schocken Books, 2019. 304 p.
ISBN 9780805243376

Reviewed by Sol Goldberg

Since antisemitism continues to plague our world, the investigation of its forms and causes will, and should, continue to occupy scholars. Both Alvin H. Rosenfeld's edited volume, *Resurgent antisemitism: Global perspectives*, and Deborah E. Lipstadt's epistolatory monograph, *Antisemitism: Here and now*, take up this explanatory task as a moral imperative. Indeed, beyond any light which they respectively shed on what antisemitism has looked like over the past few decades and what conditions have led to its recent rise, their most significant contribution resides perhaps in their efforts to convince readers that contemporary antisemitism deserves serious attention within and beyond the academy. To some, this point might appear obvious. No reasonable and respectable person could deny that acts of blatant antisemitism, like the mass shooting at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, should be understood so that they could be more successfully inhibited. But not all antisemitism is so incontrovertibly blatant, and some reasonable and respectable people seem either unable to recognize its various manifestations or unwilling to regard their occurrence with the urgency that other social ills require. Changing such people's attitudes towards antisemitism, it seems to me, is the best way to understand the general purpose of these two books. Since, however, they pursue this common purpose in very different ways and are otherwise quite dissimilar, I mostly discuss each book separately in this review.

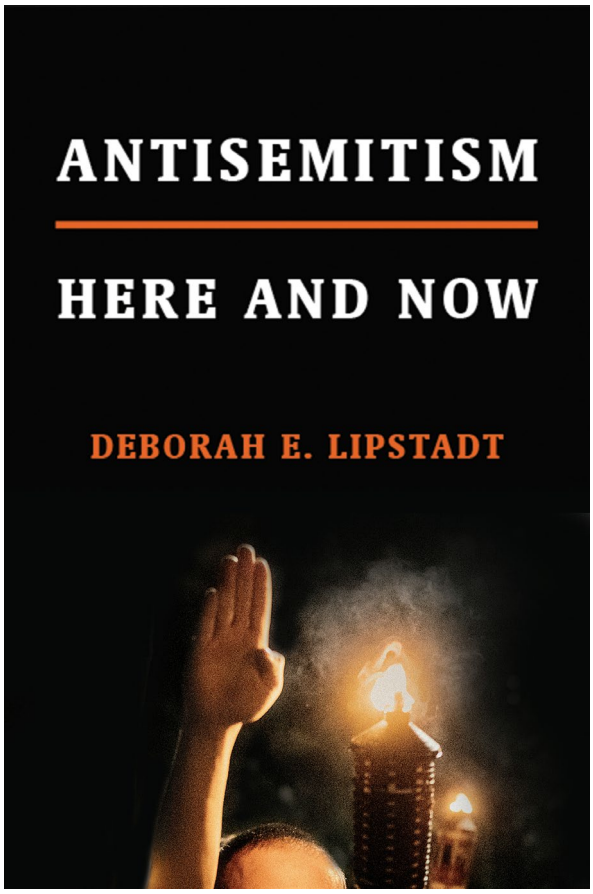


It is, to be frank, difficult to speak in a single breath about the Rosenfeld volume as a whole. One could perhaps say that all nineteen chapters in it address the recent history of antisemitism in one way or another. But even that capacious summary would require some qualifications as soon as one began to look more closely at each chapter. Several chapters have as their theme the "new" anti-semitism, that is, anti-Zionism (often) in contrast to criticism of Israel, while in some chapters the focus is the continuation, until now, of "traditional" (which is not to say unchanged or unchanging) antisemitism. Most chapters discuss anti-semitism or anti-Zionism in a particular national context. Great Britain, Spain, Poland, Norway, Turkey, Iran, and Israel each get a chapter, while Hungary and Romania are considered comparatively in a single chapter. But there are also chapters that zoom out to a region, whether the European Union, the Middle East,

or formerly Communist states, as well as one chapter which zooms in on the campus politics at San Francisco State University. Additionally, some chapters, which are more philosophical than historical, consider in abstracter or less contextual terms anti-Zionism/antisemitism as, say, an immoral project of delegitimation, as a rhetorical strategy that vilifies its victims and champions its perpetrators, or as a phenomenon helped by Jewish alibis. And, finally, there are the historically oriented chapters that range across contexts when considering Holocaust denial and minimization, the connection between communism and radical Islam, or the growing distance from the Holocaust, which, so goes its thesis, consequently, no longer inhibits antisemitism as it once did. Little, in short, warrants the volume's subtitle: *Global perspectives*. Put aside the fact that large chunks of the globe are discussed either not at all (for example, the Far East, Africa, and South Asia) or only scantily (such as, Central and South America). Most chapters offer a decidedly "local perspective" without much bearing on each other. The kind or cause of antisemitism in, for instance, Norway, has little to do with the antisemitism elsewhere, like in Iran or Poland. Nor are these accounts local in any uniform way, for some chapters focus on the social conditions that produce antisemitism whereas others analyze antisemitism as expressed in film or literature. In other words, the volume overall shows – probably contrary to its intention – that the resurgence of "antisemitism" today actually takes a variety of forms stemming from several mutually independent causes.

Considered individually, the chapters vary in quality, as one might expect in a volume of this size. At the more disappointing end of the spectrum is Robert Wistrich's chapter, "Communism, radical Islam, and the Left." It endeavors to correct the view of "Most historians [who] tend to regard the ideologies of communism and radical Islam as mutually incompatible" (402). The mass of details offered to support the contrary shows, as far as I can tell, nothing more than that both contain, perhaps centrally, antisemitic elements. Is the discovery of anti-semitism in variants of communism or Islamic factions a claim still or ever in need of defense? And is this single point of intersection enough to call, in any interesting way, the two ideologies compatible? I doubt it. Fortunately, though, several chapters do present interesting theses that deserve scholars' attention, even where they might ultimately disagree. Elhanah Yakira's "Antisemitism and anti-Zionism as a moral question" builds to the interesting hypothesis that "Judeo-phobias have always been enterprises of deligitimation," which strikes me as a novel way to situate the extreme version of the anti-Zionist project within the history of antisemitism. Likewise, though not persuaded by Dina Porat's "Holo-caust denial and the image of the Jew," which attempts to connect the now more prevalent tendencies to trivialize, minimize, or relativize the Holocaust with hard-core denial of it as not only effectively analogous but also jointly motivated by a

negative image of the "Jew" as other, I found the claim compelling enough to want to argue against it. Most of the chapters fall somewhere in between. Although some pieces suffer from tunnel vision in that they discuss antisemitism without consideration either of other forms of discrimination and prejudice or of counter-tendencies like antiantisemitism or philosemitism, they are generally yeoman efforts to report on elements of antisemitism's recent history for scholars who share specific regional or theoretical interests.



Lipstadt's book, by contrast, isn't for scholars of antisemitism primarily. It targets instead the interested non-specialist – or, more accurately, certain types of interested non-specialists. Her intended audiences are obvious in the very form in which Lipstadt presents her account of antisemitism, namely, "a series of letters to […] 'Abigail,' a whip-smart Jewish student" and "'Joe,' a colleague [of Lipstadt's] who teaches at the law school" (xi-xii). Lipstadt divides her exchange with Abigail and Joe into seven sections. The first four present what might be called her general

theory of antisemitism. It consists of (I) a definition (an endorsement of Helen Fein's (1987, 67); (II) a taxonomy (from extreme, through enabling, to polite and clueless antisemitism); (III) some contextualization (how it fits into broader discourses about racism of various sorts); and (IV) a prominent technique of rationalization (a discussion required because Lipstadt regards antisemitism as irrational and many people who appear rational are or contribute to anti-semitism). The exchange next moves on to (V) Holocaust denial, a phenomenon with which Lipstadt is acquainted not only as a scholar but also through her legal victory in the libel suit brought by notorious Holocaust denier David Irving. Then the final two sections cover (VI) antisemitism on university campuses, especially in the form of BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) and (VII) the Jewish responses to antisemitism that tend either to emphasize victimhood and isolation or to rest on a more expansive engagement with Jewish culture and an appreciation of non-Jewish allies. Although Lipstadt addresses Abigail and Joe throughout as friendly rather than skeptical interlocutors, it is in this final section, "Oy versus joy," where she speaks to them as sharing in a common cause not only against antisemitism, but also for Jews as one of several minority groups in a democratic, inclusive, multicultural society.

Lipstadt's book won't change how scholars understand or investigate antisemitism, and the more discerning among them will find reasons to nitpick. For instance, her account waffles about whether the ideational dimension of antisemitism causes or follows from its emotional component, hatred. And her taxonomy of antisemites includes antisemitic enablers, who, though they take advantage of stereotypes about and hostility towards Jews, aren't obviously antisemitic according to her account. (By analogy, it would be odd if a taxonomy of drug users listed, alongside the addict and the recreational pot smoker, the drug peddler, who does, however, obviously belong in the explanation of the drug problem.) One might therefore lament that her fictional interlocutors, largely deferential to her expertise, never challenge Lipstadt by, say, voicing contrary positions from within the scholarship on antisemitism. An opportunity might have been missed here. But there is still something in the book that might nevertheless interest some scholars, namely, Lipstadt's "hot takes" on countless cases of anti-semitism in leftist and rightist politics, culture wars, campus debates, and more. If I were her colleague, I could imagine asking for her breakdown of each item when it hit the news. Are Steve Bannon and Breitbart News antisemitic? What about Trump? What's going on with Britain's Labour Party? Her analyses of individuals and episodes are interesting, even if they don't amount to, or perhaps even strive for, a theory of antisemitism free of internal contradictions. Most conversations over a long period don't coalesce into a well-wrought account of a complex phenomenon like antisemitism; but their ad hoc insights are not therefore any less

valuable. In gathering and thoughtfully analyzing a wide variety of cases, Lipstadt has provided a real service for everyone interested in understanding contemporary antisemitism.

Resurgent antisemitism and *Antisemitism: Here and now* have limitations of different sorts. But both also make valuable contributions to the academic and extra-academic efforts to sort out what antisemitism is and why it continues to occur. Hopefully this review helps readers maximize the distinct utility of each book.

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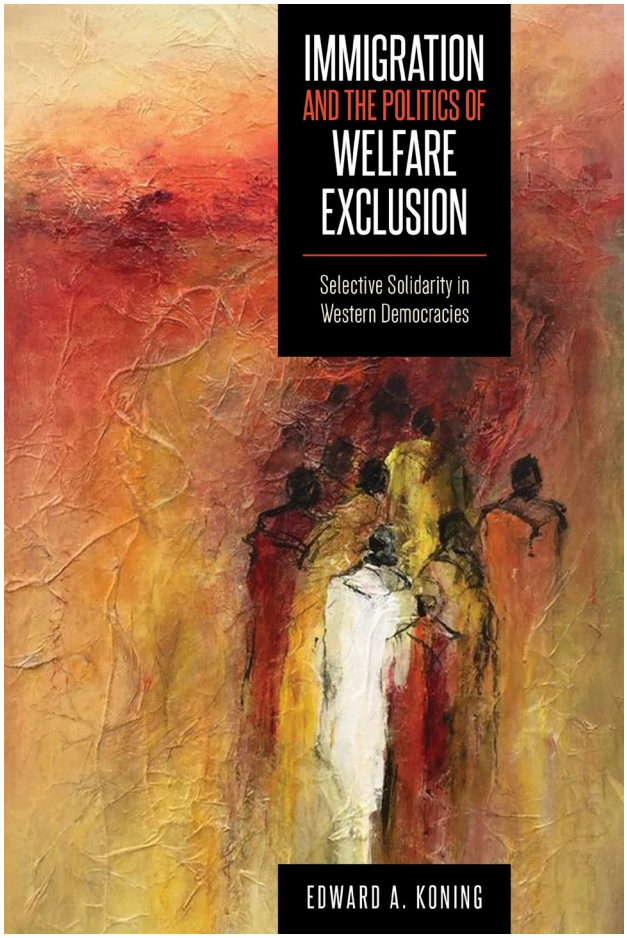
About the reviewer

Sol Goldberg is an associate professor (Teaching stream) in the Department for the Study of Religion and the Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto (Ontario, Canada). He earned his Ph.D. in philosophy from the Hebrew University in Jersusalem (Israel) in 2009. He coedited (with Scott Ury and Kalman Weiser) and contributed to the recently published volume *Key concepts in the study of antisemitism* (Palgrave, 2021).

Review
Edward A. Koning:
Immigration and the politics of welfare exclusion: Selective solidarity in Western democracies
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. 307 p.
ISBN 978 1487504663

Reviewed by Willem Maas



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 145-148

Different countries respond in strikingly different ways to the tension between immigration and welfare. Some countries exclude immigrants from social rights while others maintain benefit levels or even increase access. Economic rationales do not support excluding immigrants from social benefits and services, argues Edward A. Koning in this compelling comparative study. Instead, politics and political logics explain why some countries go much further than others in reducing or eliminating immigrants' access to social rights. Combining a general theoretical framework (chapter 1) and comparative empirical analysis demonstrating the limited utility of economic explanations (chapter 2) with detailed examinations of the politics of three case studies – Sweden, Canada, and the Netherlands (chapters 3, 4, and 5) – demonstrates clearly that politics determines the timing and level of restrictions, as summarized in the conclusion (chapter 6). Two pithy sentences in the conclusion are that, all in all, "the politics of immigrant social rights seem mostly detached from economic reality" (202) and that "country-level differences in the dominant discourse on immigrants' social rights turn out to be much more important than party-level differences in ideological orientation" (203). Ideologically different parties in one country are more likely to agree with each other than with ideologically similar parties elsewhere; while parties of the left are more likely to advocate inclusion than parties of the right, "the more striking observation is that in each of these three countries, political parties are by and large in agreement about the desirability of IEWRs" (203-204), Koning's acronym for immigrant-excluding welfare reforms. Thus, the variation *between* countries is much more significant than the variation *within* them.

Koning is a political scientist (the book originates in his political science Ph.D. dissertation) and admirably uses the methodology prized in contemporary political science: a mix of quantitative data and careful qualitative study, including interviews and extensive policy and documentary analysis of both primary and secondary sources, which are documented in the book's 33-page bibliography. One might wonder whether a Dutch-born political scientist working in Canada selected the Netherlands and Canada as cases for pragmatic reasons while ignoring other more appropriate cases, but Koning convincingly demonstrates the relevance of these two cases, along with Sweden. All three countries have had significant immigration and similar economic fortunes over the past two decades, but they differ dramatically in ways that affect the politics of immigration and welfare: the structure of the welfare state (generous and universal in Sweden; more contributory and means-tested in the Netherlands, and even more basic in Canada), popular conceptions of national identity (inclusive egalitarianism in Sweden, Dutch nationalism that has become more exclusionary over the last few decades, and a history of immigration that is crucial to the self-imagery of Canada), and variation in the popular discourse on immigration (a growing mino-

rity of immigration sceptics in Sweden, anti-immigrant commentary becoming a central feature of public debate in the Netherlands, while the vast majority of political and public commentary in Canada discusses immigration in positive terms). This tripartite comparison leads to the book's main finding, that "the politics of immigrant welfare exclusion are more about general opposition to immigration and multiculturalism than about concerns over the economic effects of immigration and the sustainability of the welfare state" (5).

Though rooted in the three case studies (which are very well done), the book aims to explain the more general phenomenon of political contestation over the social rights of immigrants. The possible universe of contemporary cases ranges from California's 1994 "Proposition 187" referendum, in which 59 percent of voters supported denying undocumented immigrants access to health care and education – later overturned by a federal court, but then transformed into U.S.-wide policy through the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, part of a Republican-led effort to facilitate deportation and lower levels of and access to welfare benefits more generally, including for American citizens – to similar policy changes enacted over the past two decades in countries such as Austria, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom (one might add some countries in central and eastern Europe which have not been particularly welcoming towards immigrants but also have relatively low levels of social benefits; or indeed the analysis could be extended to other regions of the world, which similarly see tension between immigration and access to social rights). The book's overarching goal is to understand why there are "such large differences across time and place both in how often attempts at welfare exclusion occur and in the extent those attempts are successful" (4).

The book finds the answer in deep-rooted historical features of a country's political system, particularly the structure of the welfare system and the prevailing sense of national identity. Contestation between the belief that the welfare state should primarily protect native-born citizens (what Koning terms "selective solidarity") and more universalistic beliefs results, Koning argues, from differences in principled attitudes about the proper place of immigrants in a welfare system. Focusing on reductions in immigrants' social rights (which remain relatively underexplored in the academic literature) suggests that excluding immigrants from benefits can be a popular strategy politically, even as such proposals often face legal prohibitions on differential treatment. Furthermore, "immigration can become such a politically volatile issue that it can affect policy-making in areas that are at most indirectly related" (8); attempts to appear tough on immigration can result in policy solutions that are related only tangentially to the problems they are meant to solve. In sum, this book demonstrates convincingly that politics

rather than economics explains policies towards immigrant social rights, and perhaps towards immigration more generally.

About the reviewer

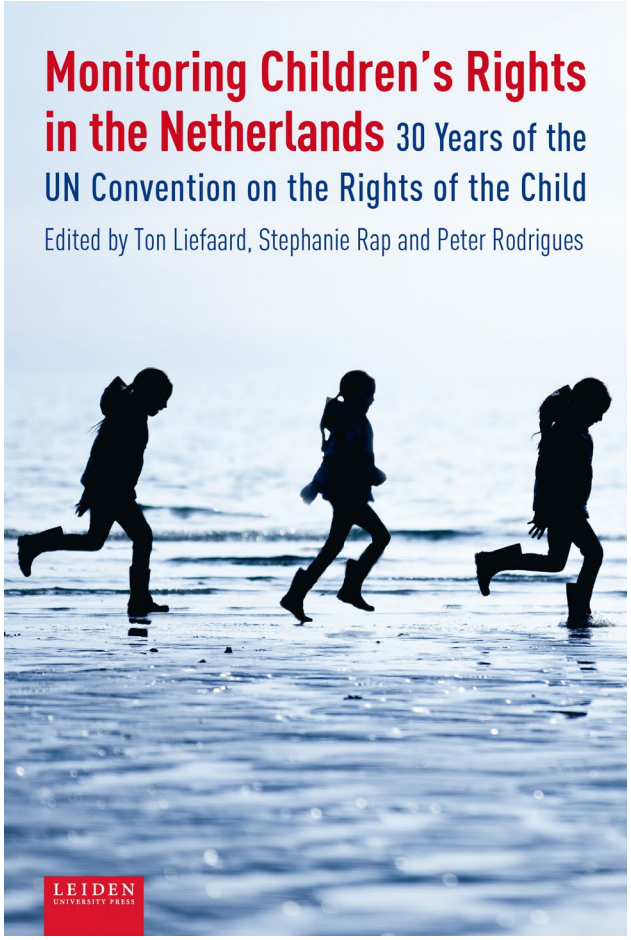
Willem Maas, Jean Monnet Chair and Professor of Political Science, Public & International Affairs, and Socio-Legal Studies at York University, chaired Glendon Political Science for three and a half years, Glendon Faculty Council for four, and is also active in professional service. Professor Maas has held appointments at Yale, New York University, Radboud, Leiden, European University Institute, and elsewhere, and writes on EU and multilevel citizenship, migration, borders, free movement, and politics focusing on Europe and North America. He co-edits the new Oxford Studies in Migration and Citizenship book series and also heads the Canadian part of the Whole-COMM project, investigating the integration of migrants in small communities. Among other courses, Maas teaches an intensive summer seminar on the Netherlands and Europeanization.

Review

Ton Liefaard, Stephanie Rap and Peter Rodrigues (eds):
Monitoring children's rights in the Netherlands:
30 years of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2019. 127 p.
ISBN 978 90 8728 338 4

Reviewed by Paul Vlaardingerbroek



As is common knowledge, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) advocates for children in every country around the world. UNICEF regularly publishes reports on the state of childhood, children's education, education equality, and children's health and welfare to help understand what the needs are. Several years ago, UNICEF ranked countries in order of children's happiness. The Netherlands is placed at the top of this list. According to the ranking criteria, Dutch kids' education, their material well-being, their behaviours, and the relatively minimal risks they face, were considered to be the most ideal globally. The happiness of Dutch children is attributed to a non-competitive, low-stress school culture and a good work-life balance for parents, among other reasons. Of course, it is nice to read children in the Netherlands seem to be so very happy. However, the question arises whether this ranked list really is a mirror of the position of children in the Netherlands. In the book *Monitoring children's rights in the Netherlands: 30 years of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* that I reviewed, one finds a much more critical approach to the situation of children in the Netherlands.

This book is the first volume of a new – bi-annual – academic series on the monitoring of children's rights, specifically in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This series aims to capture the development of children's rights in the Netherlands and in doing so to contribute towards understanding of the dynamic around children's rights' implementation and monitoring in the Netherlands.

The editors of the book (Ton Liefaard, Stephanie Rap, and Peter Rodrigues) live in the Netherlands and are very well informed about children's rights and the legal status of children in that country. As an example of what issues authors in the book focus on, I can mention the chapter on "The protection of children's personal data in a data-driven world: A closer look at the GPDR from a children's rights perspective" by Simone van der Hof, Eva Lievens, and Ingrida Milkaite. They conclude that children are (too) often confronted with the use of their data by unknown persons and, for instance, agency providers. Even very young children are daily users of mobile phones, computers, game consoles, internet-connected toys, fitness trackers, GPS trackers and many other modern technologies. It is amazing to see how the internet has changed our daily life and how young some children are who find their way around the internet, with all the inherent risks, such as the use by others of their personal data, private photos and movies that can be sent to anyone. The General Data Protection Regulation (GPDR) guarantees each person the right to protection of personal data and so, the GPDR also fully applies to children as data subjects. However, it is not always clear how exactly the rules are interpreted with regard to children. In their contribution, the authors give a variety of examples of problems and risks that may arise for children in our data-driven society. They also found that – until recently – data protection and

children's rights were two separate worlds. They further conclude that the GPDR offers sufficient possibilities for these two worlds to intersect with each other and to grow together in the long run. As they see it, courts and Data Protection Impact Assessments (DPIAs) will have to interpret the relevant provisions in more detail. They are pleased that the European Data Protection Board (EDPB) has planned to issue guidelines on children's data. They also welcome the initiatives of the Council of Europe and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (78, 117-119, 121). In my opinion, this is a very interesting chapter, because it gives a good overview of the developments in better protecting children through regulations. The question arises whether more and better regulations will give children better data protection. The role of parents, guardians, teachers, social care workers, and the like in protecting children against the risks of using modern technology and the prevention of data is as important as creating better and more regulations. Therefore, it is crucial that all children be properly informed about the risks of using the internet, mobile phones, and so on, before they enter the digital world. Here, then, lies an important task in the field of prevention for governments. Although this chapter is not specifically confined to Dutch children, it is very interesting because of the emphasis the authors place in their plea for better personal data protection of children everywhere.

In "New frontiers in the monitoring of children's rights" Ann Skelton focuses on the wide range of issues that must be monitored by the Commission on the Rights of the Child (CRC). She is concerned about the workload of the CRC, because the work of the CRC spans an incredibly wide range of issues that must be monitored in 196 countries. Tasks of the CRC are extensive and complex and will become more so as every year a growing number of children claim remedies to the violation of their rights.

In yet another chapter, which will be of special interest to experts outside the Netherlands engaged in comparative studies, we find a noteworthy and critical "Report on the rights of children in the Netherlands 2016-2018." In the first part of this report, key facts and figures are given about the (legal position of) children in the Netherlands. It is remarkable that one third of all youngsters has drunk alcohol, while 6% of children has smoked and 6% has used cannabis in the past 12 months prior to being interviewed. Many children grow up in a single-parent family and a great number of them have a higher risk of growing up in poverty, experiencing social exclusion and/or more health problems. Indeed, too many children grow up in low-income households with often negative consequences, including poverty, unhealthy food intake, health problems, language delay, difficulties at school, including with their academic performance. The chapter also provides statistical data on the protection of children, on children in the justice system (juvenile delinquency, victims) and on children on the move. In 2018

almost 5000 young asylum seekers came to the Netherlands to find a safer and better place to live there. Remarkably, a number of these young children disappeared during the asylum procedure, while the authorities do not know where they went (family?, prostitution?, criminality?). In 2019, that number was 480 children.

Statistical information has been considered along three themes: inclusion and exclusion, safety and security and participation, and access to justice and citizenship. All three themes have been elaborated on and give a good insight into the legal position of children in the Netherlands. The authors conclude that children's rights need to be given more specific attention by the Dutch authorities and the Committee on the Rights of the Child, especially regarding child justice, the sale of children, child prostitution, child pornography, and children's rights in relation to the digital environment. I think another issue could be mentioned, namely the natural environment of children, which cries out for close attention too.

When looking at the figures that are annually collected by UNICEF, the conclusion could be drawn that children living in the Netherlands are the happiest in the world. However, the book's numbers paint an unvarnished, realistic view of problems and concerns about Dutch youth. The figures regarding youth care reveal that about 11% of all children of minority age in the Netherlands received care in 2019. The number of children with care even increased over the last three years. Unfortunately, (too) many children are confronted with discrimination, exclusion and even with poverty in this small country, despite the Netherlands being one of the richest countries in the world. The authors provide – in my view – an accurate description of the problems with which Dutch children are confronted.

I recommend this book to those who wish to have a closer look at the statistical data on children who grow up in the Netherlands. Certainly, it offers important insight concerning a variety of problems with which Dutch children are confronted. I was impressed by the professional and critical discussions contained in all the contributions in this edited volume, which together provide a good mixture of statistical data and in-depth information based on the literature and jurisprudence.

About the reviewer

Paul Vlaardingerbroek is professor emeritus of family and youth law at Tilburg University (Netherlands), Deputy Judge at the District Court of Rotterdam and Deputy Judge at the Court of Appeal in 's-Hertogenbosch. Previously, he served as president of the International Society of Family Law and as chair of the youth section at the Council for the Administration of Criminal Justice and Protection of

Juveniles. He earned his Ph.D. from the Katholieke Universiteit Brabant (Netherlands) in 1991. Among his publications, he co-authored *De bijzondere curator, stem voor het kind in het recht* (Uitgeverij SWP, 2017, with Veronica Smits, Liesbeth Groenhuijsen, and Marjolein Rietbergen), about the role of court-appointed legal guardians in the Netherlands.

Review

Mark Geels and Tim van Opijnen (eds):

Hoop: 100 wetenschappers, kunstenaars en ondernemers vertellen wat hun hoop geeft: Joris Luyendijk presenteert

[Serie Nederland in ideeën, 5]
Amsterdam: Maven Publishing, 2019. 287 p.
ISBN 978 94 9249 364 4

Reviewed by Marte Rinck de Boer

Hoop ('Hope') is the fifth publication in the series *Nederland in ideeën* ('The Netherlands in ideas'), published annually – in Dutch only – since 2014. Mark Geels and Tim van Opijnen, natural scientists and the publication's initiators/editors, invite a so-called curator to provide a striking question to be answered by around 100 mainly Dutch scholars, artists, entrepreneurs, and opinion makers – 50% to 60% of them regularly contribute to the series. This formula results in an exhibition of narratives disclosing a variety of ideas.

Joris Luyendijk, a renowned Dutch journalist, bestselling author, anthropologist, and public speaker is the 2019 publication's curator. He asks: "What keeps you hopeful?" or "What gives you hope? Which specific step, milestone or happening in your field of expertise do you see as sign of forthcoming improvements of the world at hand?" (17).[1]

In the introduction to the book, he explains the need for his focus on hope with reference to societal developments since the 1990s. Idealism declined, and healthy skepticism was replaced by nihilism and cynicism resulting in lack of trust in institutions and space for manipulation. Hope, so he argues, could function as a counterforce to global cynicism; hope as a conscious belief that things will be fine, will be all right; hope as "*buitenboord motor*" ('outboard motor') for movement needed in times of "*windstilte*" ('the doldrums') (16). Luyendijk does not conceptualize hope within existing discourses on hope in theology, philosophy, sociology, or psychology. He uses the concept pragmatically to present positive human action – signs of hope. The collected answers are clustered (unfortunately without clarifying rationale and in several cases raising questions) in 13 categories: activism, architecture, art, attitude to life, climate, education, entrepreneurship, health, human being, innovation, life lessons, music, nature, parenthood, politics, and privacy.

The reader is treated to an exhibition of *petits récits* (Lyotard 1984, 60) of hope; in fact, one hundred *petit récits* visualize personal perceptions of hope across the spectrum of natural sciences; artificial intelligence and information technology; (cognitive, neuro, experimental) psychology; economy; ecology; liberal arts and humanities, (art) history, literary and media studies; philosophy, sociology; anthropology; architecture; culture; and entrepreneurship. In this sense, the crossing borders collection partly embodies practices of what one of the contributors, the composer Merlijn Twaalfhoven (52), perceives as a sign of hope, namely giving the floor to inquisitive storytellers, to people with an artist's gaze who can "observe and listen" and interrogate the rich beauty of the world and have others take part of it; to those "who can ask the questions […] to share the richness of the world with others." Likewise, the architects Thomas Rau and

[1] All English translations from the original Dutch text in *Hoop* in this review are by the reviewer.

Sabine Oberhuber (225) "see that the time is ripe for a new way to observe the surrounding world" which "is the most hopeful message." And harpist Lavinia Meijer concludes that "perhaps it is not intended to hold hope but just to pass it on" (218).

It is the beauty of this exhibition that one can stroll through and hang out with these little narrated fragments of human action, and that one can compare and contrast the exhibited ideas that touch the mind and the heart. It creates encounters with a variety of visions and impressions, with hope and concerns, with unquestioned love and critique. Any reception is contextualized. Some stories might feel comfortable as they mirror and confirm our own hopes. For instance, José van Dijck (a professor of media studies at the University of Utrecht) sees *The New York Times* as a beacon of hope in times of fake news and marginalization of quality journalism. Hans Schnitzler, a philosopher, addresses the "*Bildung Academie*" founded by students from the *Vrije Universiteit* and *Universiteit van Amsterdam* to enhance *Bildung* ('pedagogical growth') across educational institutions. Other texts function as eyeopeners. Hilde Geurts (a professor of clinical neuropsychology and an autism researcher at the University of Utrecht) pleads for mutual understanding and cooperation among persons with autism, their loved ones, social workers, and scholars, to avoid one-sidedness and instead provide a multicoloured picture of autism. And author Alfred Birney criticizes the biased investigations into the Dutch decolonization after World War Two and the hopeful bridging activities of young scholars and documentary makers joined in *Histori Bersema* ('shared history'). Of course, there are texts that require interrogation, like those that celebrate technological innovation for health care (such as expressed by health care specialist Marleen Hendriks) and relating to economic progress (articulated by columnist Marianne Zwagerman). Along the way, the broad scope of the exhibition, in combination with some shallowness in the line of argumentation across several narratives becomes a bit too much to keep the reader's attention.

The book informs and gives insight into human activities that can be considered hopeful. Nonetheless, it invites critical engagement with one's own experiences of hope and might stimulate altering one's view on and understanding of the world and enriching those views. In this sense, the book can be considered a hopeful experiment as reflected in the writing of art historian Gerdien Verschoor (156) on the use of paper instead of electronic notebooks by exhibition visitors: "By writing down what you think, from your words new words will grow; from your thoughts, new thoughts, from the images you see, new images. The paper notebook is the pars pro toto of slow creativity; that will conquer the world – our hope for the future."

It is questionable, however, whether the book moves beyond the individual level and could be of added value for political, economic, and societal problems. Unfortunately, the curator Luyendijk does not contribute an interpretive reflection on the value and impact of his exhibition for Dutch society – his anthropological voice is not heard. My main point of critique, prompted and informed by a feeling of discomfort about the book, stems from the fact that the contributors represent an elitist and exclusive social stratum within Dutch society that is mainly located in the Randstad, a geographical area comprised of the four largest cities in the Netherlands from where high(er) educated and successful people are often heard across various Dutch media. I can only assume the target audience will also be found in that same social stratum. No doubt they will recognize and reinforce the expressed hope. As such, the thinking that is expressed in *Hoop* represents only that which is considered important to a specific group of people based on their shared worldview. Yet, no author speaks as an authentic, isolated individual: thoughts and ideas are rooted in viewpoints of specific social groups and in turn affect action in the social context (Mannheim 1936). It is debatable, however, whether the presented viewpoints reflect the thoughts and concerns of those less privileged in Dutch society, the ones who face the complex political, economic, and societal problems day by day. If they were to read the book, would they recognize the presented ideas as signs of hope? Mannheim (1936) decisively warned us about disguised ideology in hopeful and utopian thinking; a focus on change could actually be a reinforcement for existing oppressive conditions. If hope is to be a path to counteract (an inclination toward) cynicism in society, it is essential to understand and thus include everybody's perception of hope for the future.

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About the reviewer

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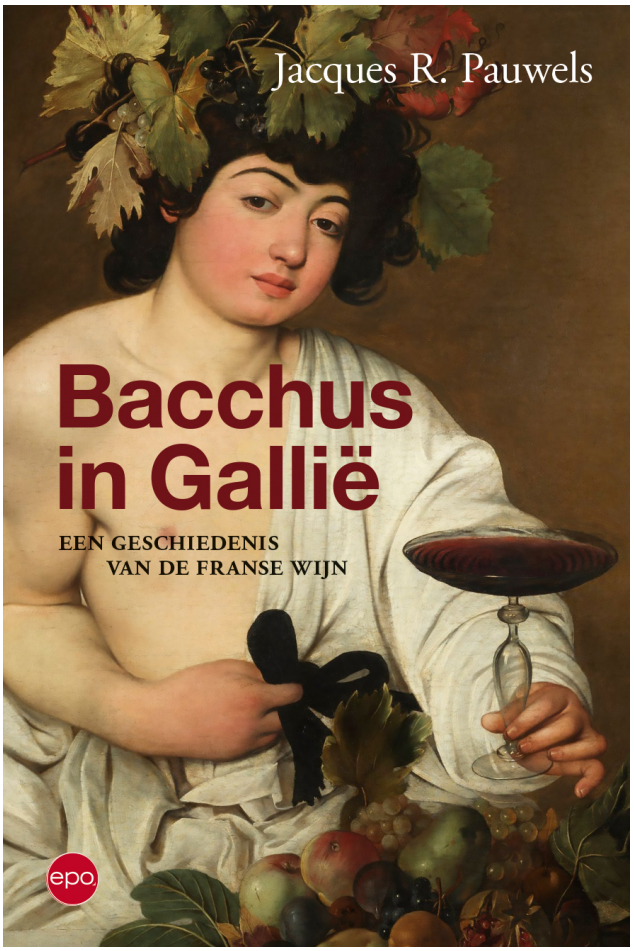
!mpulse to find out: An encounter with innovating teachers, utopia and ideology, she applied anthropological participant observation in a Dutch secondary school to study a Dutch school innovation movement in the first decade of the 21st century.

Recensie
Jacques R. Pauwels:
Bacchus in Gallië: Een geschiedenis van de Franse wijn
Berchem: EPO, 2020. 360 p.
ISBN 9789462672062

Besproken door Mariëlla Beukers



Can. J. of Netherlandic Studies/Rev. can. d'études néerlandaises 41.1 (2021): 161-164

Franse wijn en de geschiedenis daarvan spreekt tot de verbeelding. In Frankrijk zelf is de wijngeschiedenis onderwerp geweest van tal van overzichtswerken, waarvan die van Roger Dion ([1959] 2011), Marchel Lachiver (1988) en Gilbert Garrier (2005) waarschijnlijk de bekendste zijn. Daarbuiten is de geschiedenis van Franse wijn ook internationaal goed bestudeerd, niet alleen in detailstudies maar ook in brede en vlotte studies als die van Hugh Johnson (2020) en Rod Philips (2000). Beide laatste uitstekende werken zijn ook vertaald in het Nederlands. Door een Nederlandstalig auteur was er nog geen beschrijving die zich uitsluitend richt op de lange en rijke Franse wijngeschiedenis. In die lacune heeft historicus Jacques R. Pauwels nu voorzien, al is zijn boek *Bacchus in Gallië* geen origineel werk. De genoemde drie Franse auteurs (Dion, Lachiver en Garrier) en hun werken worden in *Bacchus in Gallië* veelvuldig aangehaald, aangevuld met andere reeds bestaande literatuur en helaas ook met veel internetpagina's, die lang niet altijd een wetenschappelijke inhoud hebben. Eigen onderzoek heeft Pauwels voor deze studie niet of nauwelijks gedaan.

Naast aandacht aan de wijnproductie besteedt Pauwels ook aandacht aan de handel in wijn, onder andere de handel door Hollanders in de vroegmoderne tijd. Naar dit aspect gaat de aandacht van deze bijdrage dan ook hoofdzakelijk uit. Handel in wijn naar de Lage Landen vindt al plaats sinds de Romeinse tijd. De inwoners hadden er dankzij de aanwezigheid van de Romeinse cultuur wijn leren drinken, en hebben het gegiste druivensap sindsdien altijd hoog gewaardeerd. Wijn werd aangevoerd zowel uit het Duitse Rijnland als uit Frankrijk en zelfs van de landen en streken rond de Middellandse Zee. Aanvoerhavens in de middeleeuwen waren in eerste instantie de belangrijke Vlaamse steden als Brugge, Gent, Damme en later Antwerpen. Daarnaast was er aanvoer van wijn uit Noord-Frankrijk en Bourgondië via de rivier de Schelde, evenals transport over land. Transport over water, zowel over zee als over rivieren, was echter veel goedkoper en meestal ook minder risicovol dan landtransport.

Vanaf de 16e eeuw namen Zeeuwse en Hollandse steden steeds vaker de rol van de middeleeuwse Vlaamse handelssteden over. Eerst Middelburg en haar voorhavens, later ook Rotterdam en Amsterdam speelden vanaf de tweede helft van de 16e eeuw een steeds grotere rol in de wijnhandel met Frankrijk. Deze vroegmoderne wijnhandelsstromen tussen Nederland en Frankrijk zijn recent uitgebreid bestudeerd door De Bruyn Kops (2007) en Wegener Sleeswijk (2006). Het proefschrift van de laatste, over Franse wijn in de Republiek in de 18e eeuw, is echter tot op heden niet gepubliceerd, wat het voor onderzoekers inderdaad lastig maakt er kennis van te nemen. Pauwels heeft geen van beide geraadpleegd en baseert zich voor zijn hoofdstuk over "Hollandse kopers op de kust" vooral op oudere werken. Pauwels gaat onder andere in op de invloed die de Hollanders op de productie ter plaatse hadden. Dit is een nog minder bekend aspect van de

vroegmoderne Frans-Hollandse wijnhandelsrelatie, hoewel dit aspect in Frankrijk wel onderzocht is door onder andere Schirmer (2010). Jammer dat Pauwels ook dit werk niet betrekt in zijn overzicht.

Zowel langs de Loire als in de Gascogne, in de nabijheid van Bordeaux, oefenden handelaren uit de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden hun invloed uit. Dit kwam tot uiting in de keuze van druivenrassen, de gebruikte wijnmaaktechnieken, de behandeling van de vaten voor transport en de samenstelling van de wijnen. Op het gebied van de druivenrassen danken we vooral de aanplant van minder kwalitatieve druivenrassen als Gros Plant aan de Hollanders, gebruikt voor de productie van brandewijn. Schirmer (2010) heeft echter aangetoond dat de druif die nu het meest aangeplant staat in de streek bij Nantes, de Melon de Bourgogne, zijn introductie niet te danken heeft aan de Hollanders. In oudere werken wordt dit nog wel eens gesteld. Wel is zeker dat de uitbreiding van het aantal hectaren met Melon de Bourgogne onder invloed van de Hollanders geschiedde. De naam Muscadet, waarmee druif en wijn sinds 1615 worden aangeduid, zou mogelijk wel op een Hollands gebruik terug te voeren zijn. Zij zouden *noix de muscade*, nootmuskaat, toegevoegd hebben aan de wijn voordat deze gedistilleerd werd. Hierdoor kwamen de basiswijnen bekend te staan als Muscadet.

Tot het eind van de 17e eeuw vormde de Republiek vooral een markt voor zoete wijnen, zowel van hoge als van mindere kwaliteit. Om die reden ontstonden nu nog bekende wijngebieden als de Côteaux du Layon en Montbazillac, waar tot op de dag van vandaag zoete witte wijnen van hoge kwaliteit worden gemaakt. Voor wijnen van mindere kwaliteit ontwikkelden handelaren uit de Republiek een techniek om zure basiswijnen op te peppen met een zoete, sterk gezwavelde most, die zij stomme noemden. Voor het veilig transporteren van wijn over langere afstanden stonden Hollanders bovendien aan de wieg van het sterk zwavelen van vaten, waarvoor zij de zogenaamde *allumette hollandaise* ontwikkelden, een brandend stukje in zwavel gedoopte stof op een metalen haak die in de houten vaten werd gehangen. Op die manier werden de vaten voorbereid voor transport. Tot slot was er nog hun invloed op de productie van brandewijn. Dit hoogalcoholische gedistilleerde product staat aan de wieg van port en madeira zoals wij dat nu kennen, maar werd in de 17e en 18e eeuw veel breder ingezet voor het opwaarderen van wijn.

Pauwels geeft in zijn hoofdstuk over de Hollandse handelaren slechts zeer beperkt zicht op deze boeiende aspecten en ontwikkelingen. Al met al is de waarde van *Bacchus in Gallië* dat het de lezer die slecht Engels of Frans leest een globaal zicht geeft op enerzijds de geschiedenis van wijn in Frankrijk, anderzijds enige aspecten van de handel in wijn met de Lage Landen. De lezer moet dan echter wel een oudere visie op deze geschiedenis voor lief nemen, waarin

moderne werken op dit vlak niet of nauwelijks verwerkt zijn. Daarnaast kent het boek veel onnauwkeurigheden, vooral op het gebied van druivenrassen. Om het bij één voorbeeld te houden: van Pinot Gris druiven kan geen vin gris gemaakt worden volgens Pauwels, omdat Pinot Gris een witte druif is. Pinot Gris heeft echter een bijna roodbruine schil als hij rijp is, en is daarom bij uitstek een mogelijke leverancier van vin gris.

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Over de recensent

Mariëlla Beukers studeerde in 2010 af als Vinoloog van de Wijnacademie in Maarn (Nederland). Daarvoor studeerde zij ook geschiedenis en mediëvistiek aan de Universiteit Utrecht. Naast haar werk in de museum- en erfgoedsector doet zij onderzoek naar diverse aspecten van geschiedenis van wijn in Nederland. Dit heeft onder andere geresulteerd in publicaties over de Utrechtse wijnhandel in de middeleeuwen, de wijnkelder van Utrecht in de 16e eeuw, moderne Nederlandse wijn en over de relatie die Nederlanders al twintig eeuwen met wijn hebben. Haar populair-wetenschappelijke werk, *Wijnkronieken: Twintig eeuwen Nederlanders en wijn* (Het Zwarte Schaap, 2018), heeft geleid tot de start van een promotie-onderzoek aan de Universiteit Utrecht naar de geschiedenis van wijngaarden in Nederland tussen 1000 en 1800. Zij hoopt haar onderzoek in 2026 af te ronden.

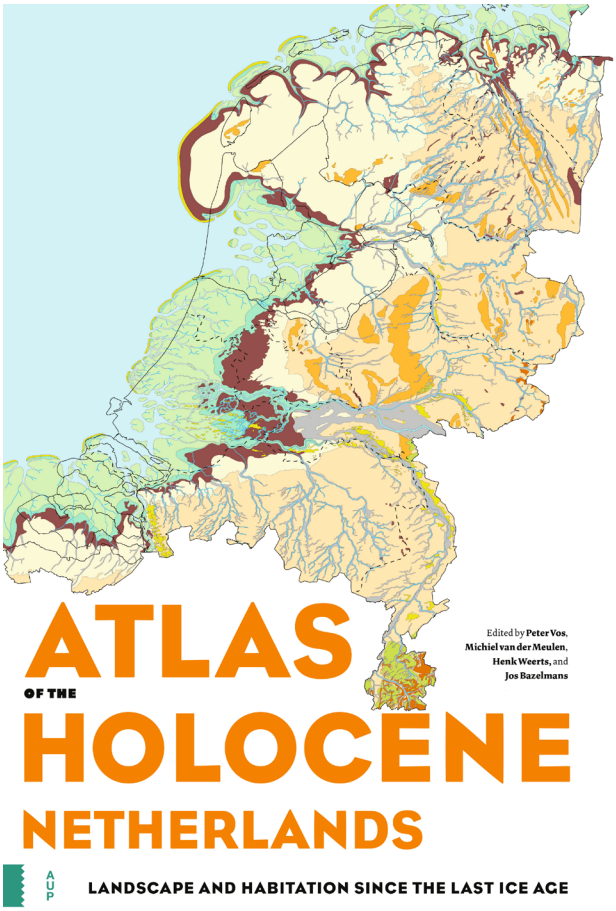
Review

Peter Vos, Michiel van der Meulen, Henk Weerts, and Jos Bazelmans (eds):

Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands: Landscape and habitations since the last ice age

Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 96 p.
ISBN 9789463724432

Reviewed by Henry Hooghiemstra



The Netherlands is a very appropriate name in reference to its low elevation and flat topography, with only about 50% of its land exceeding 1 meter above sea level and nearly 17% falling below sea level. It is often said that the Netherlands is a present of the rivers Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt. In the *Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands*, a team of authors has examined this geological gift. Two geologists from the Netherlands Institute of Applied Geosciences and two researchers from the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency directed a team of another thirty scientists, together covering a welcome and broad multidisciplinary field concerning the central topic of this atlas, as indicated in its subtitle: *Landscape and habitations since the last ice age*. Like humans, landscapes are mortal. They are born, thrive, and they eventually disappear. The presentation of environmental development in this atlas begins at the last glacial maximum, some 20,000 years ago when the Netherlands was covered by a windy polar desert almost devoid of vegetation. Fine-grained sands were blown around. Towards the end of the last ice age, climate conditions became less cold, increasing precipitation and triggering a metamorphosis from mainly treeless steppe-like plains to a forested landscape. At this very turn in environmental conditions, reflecting the start of the Holocene 11,700 years ago, the atlas starts its focus. The reader is given the opportunity to experience 13 stops for a careful view of the constantly changing landscape. With stunning detail readers may discover the history of their favourite landscape or their birth ground. The contours and land cover of the Netherlands have changed dramatically during the Holocene. By examining the scholarly set of palaeo-geographical maps in the atlas, the reader will obtain a new perspective on the environment, a skill which may be extremely helpful when exploring and assessing scenarios for the future.

Based on a large body of data, geologists, sedimentologists, hydrologists, palaeoecologists and archaeologists have visualized sedimentological structures and patterns of past vegetation in a three-dimensional space to reconstruct the palaeogeography. Over the last two decades, computerized geological models have greatly stimulated the synthesis of data from tens of thousands of prospective bore holes (De Mulder et al. 2003). The atlas is divided into an introduction (pages 9-34) and a section with 13 maps of strategically chosen time windows (pages 35-87). Further, it contains a glossary (pages 88-93) and an acknowledgements section (pages 94-96) in which sources in the text and those of the figures are explained, guiding the user of this atlas to a wealth of publications where more information can be found. The introduction is well-structured and gives a first impression of what can be expected in units such as "The Netherlands in the Holocene"; "What came before?"; "Rising sea levels," (seen in Figure 1 of this review); "Tides and waves shape the coast"; "The big rivers

fill the delta"; "Peat covers the land"; "Human intervention"; "How the maps were compiled"; and "Notes on the map legends."

The palaeogeographical maps presented in this atlas go back to the pioneering work of geologist and palaeobotanist Waldo Zagwijn. He was the first to show on spatial-temporal maps how the Netherlands was shaped during successive stages (Zagwijn 1986). He became well-known for his popular scientific palaeogeographical maps that demonstrated how the Low Countries got their shape over the course of the Pleistocene and Holocene epochs. At the turn of the 21st century, palaeogeographical understanding of the Netherlands expanded rapidly. Meticulous data collection in the field and advanced computerized data syntheses enabled the development of the present set of 13 palaeogeographical maps, showing the landscape with stunning detail.

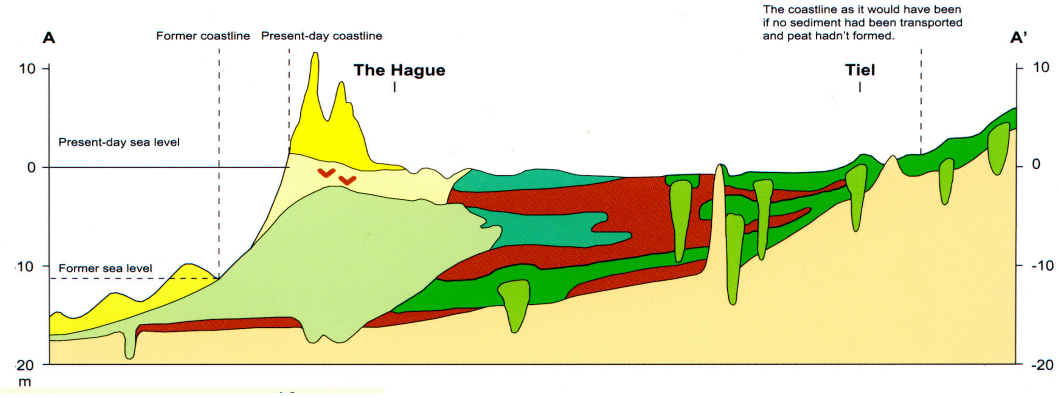
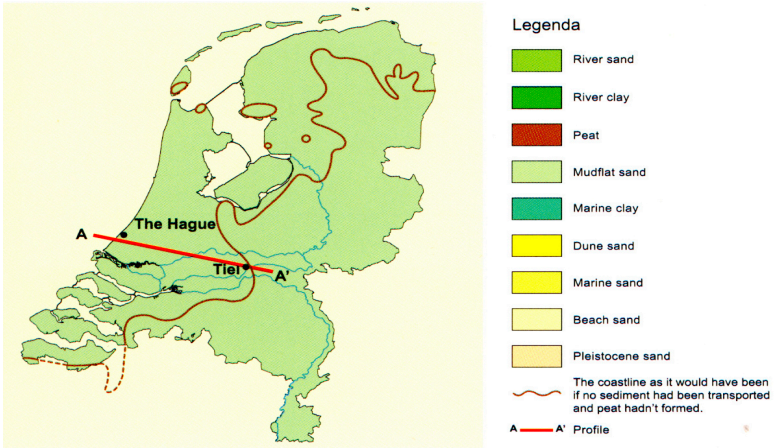


Figure 1. Top (cross section) and below (map and legend): the western Netherlands showing sediment deposited and peat formed due to Holocene era sea level rise. The diagram indicates the sea level in about 6000 BCE and where today's coast would be in the absence of this sedimentation and peat formation (Vos et al. 2020, 15). Reproduced from Atlas *with permission.*



Providing snapshots of the Holocene past, the atlas' explanatory text to the palaeogeographical maps follows the flow of time and each period is briefly characterized. Around 9000 years Before the Current Era (BCE), the Netherlands consisted of an open and dry landscape with vigorous winds transporting large amounts of sand that covered the surface. Today, these cover sands, as they are called, serve as the foundation layer for millions of formerly wooden poles, now made of concrete, on which buildings in most parts of the Netherlands are built. Sea level was about 50 meters lower than it is today. The North Sea was largely dry land, and it was home to fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, who shared these steppes with mammoths, horses, steppe wisent, rhinoceros, and hyenas (Mol et al. 2008).

Between 9000 and 5500 BCE, the sea level rose rapidly, approximately 60 to 75 cm per century. Around 5500 BCE (illustrated on the map featured on the cover of *Atlas*), rising water levels in the coastal area caused the formation of vast peat lands at 20 to 25 meters below the present sea level, but at that time above sea level. At several kilometers distance from the present coastline beach barriers were present. The river delta revealed the presence of Pleistocene river dunes, which were high and dry locations. Nomadic people lived in temporary seasonal camps, as they focused on hunting, fishing, and foraging for roots, nuts, and fruit. At a local level they had quite some impact on the landscape, in particular through burning and clearing the forest.

By about 3850 BCE, the deposition of mainly riverine sand and clay lifted the surface of the mainland at a similar rate as sea level rise. As a consequence, the Netherlands stopped declining in size. Sea level was 4 to 5 meters below the current mean. Vast peat lands developed in the low coastal zone as well as in elevated southern and eastern parts of the Netherlands. Hunter gatherers lived in the Rhine and Meuse deltas, the levees of the Rhine, and other stream valley peat bogs and beach zones. They hunted red deer, wild boar, beavers, otters, and gradually developed livestock farming of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, and small-scale horticulture. All parts of the landscape were exploited.

Around 2750 BCE, the ice caps of North America and northern Europe had almost completely melted. The isostatic subsidence now became the main reason for sea level rise in the Netherlands. The coastline in the western Netherlands closed and the current contours of the country became established. Inland peat growth continued and grew several meters above their surroundings, relying on rain for their water supply. Peatlands stretched from western Brabant to northern Drenthe. The Netherlands was inhabited by farming communities with agriculture and livestock farming on drier, more elevated ground.

Around 1500 BCE, the entire western Dutch coastal landscape had turned into one vast peat bog, as illustrated in Figure 2. Large lakes had appeared in the

IJsselmeer region, which continued to expand over time as wave action caused their shores to crumble away. The inhabitants of farming settlements carried out ever-greater interventions in the landscape, such as large-scale tree felling. Cattle farming ensured a stable supply of animals for food. The stone flint disappeared as a cutting tool, as it was gradually replaced first by copper and later by bronze.

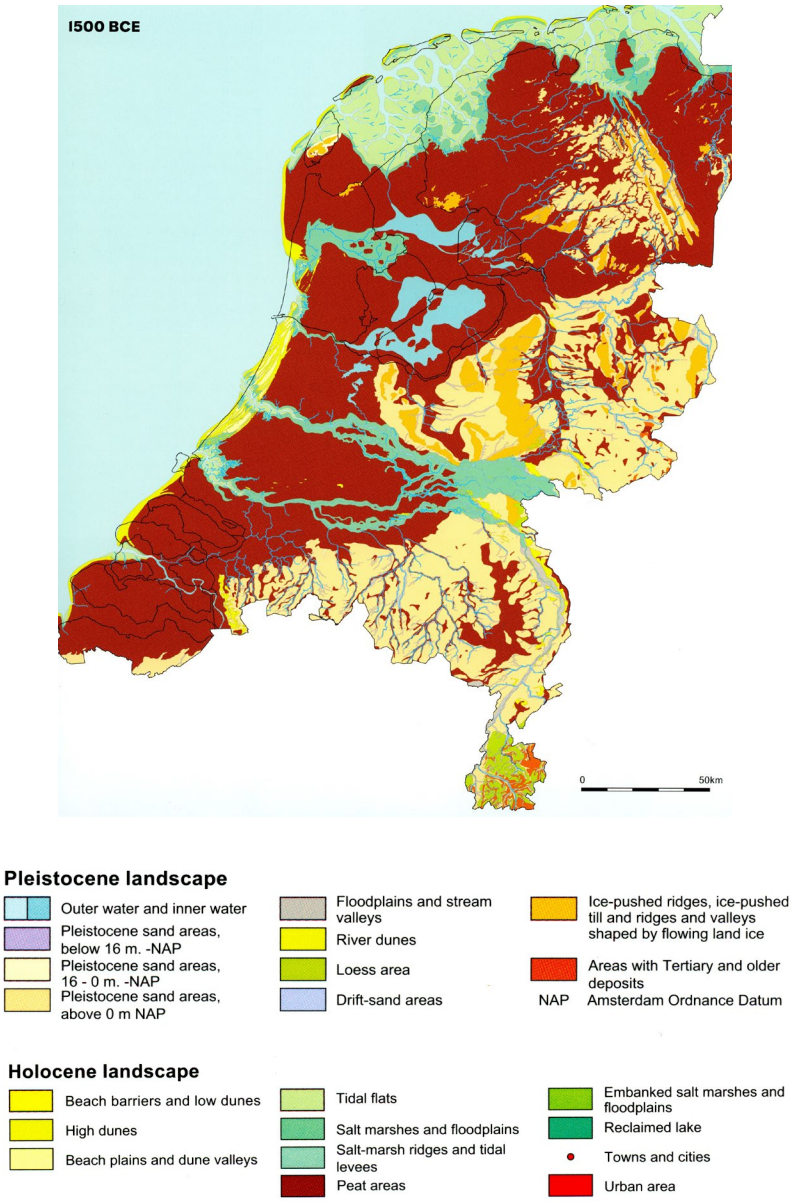


Figure 2. Palaeogeographical map of the Netherlands 1500 BCE (Vos et al. 2020, 53). Reproduced from Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands *with permission.*

Around 500 BCE, as a consequence of massive deforestation in Germany, the Rhine began supplying an abundance of clay, while peat bogs in the eastern Netherlands were overlain with river clay. An increasing surface of land was being cultivated on the sandy soils of the southern and eastern Netherlands. The last remnant of primary forest disappeared and heath vegetation advanced. Farmers would build and rebuild their byre houses anew each time at some distance from the previous one. Hunting had lost its relevance. For the first time iron was used.

Around 250 BCE, the coastline of Zeeland was gradually broken up as sand supply from the south stagnated. In the elevated parts of the Netherlands peat continued to expand until eventually only the highest Pleistocene features in the landscape, such as the ice-pushed ridges, remained uncovered. Houses were occasionally clustered together in a small group and sometimes settlements were ditched. Salt was used as a flavoring agent to preserve meat and dairy products, and to process animal skins. For the first time people began building dwelling mounds ('terpen') in the northern Wadden area to protect their houses from floods of the North Sea.

By 100 CE, the salt marshes and peatlands in the coastal area became inhabited. Similarly, the tidal systems from Zeeland to Groningen became populated, seeing cultivation of the land. Human impact started to shape the landscape. By improving the natural drainage with ditches and canals, along with the digging up of peat for fuel and salt extraction, subsidence of the peat surface resulted. The inaccessibility of peatlands north of the Oude Rijn suggests why the Romans had chosen this river as the northernmost border of the Roman Empire. Although the Netherlands occupied only a peripheral position within the Roman Empire, its main importance was as a route connecting the Rhineland and Britannia. Its absorption into a state structure triggered various processes of change in the political, social, cultural and economic spheres, known as Romanization. Cattle and horses were important. The Romans introduced chicken in the diet, while cats developed into the new pets, and black rats became an enduring part of the fauna.

By 800 CE, human intervention in the southwestern Netherlands had caused a large tidal area to evolve which now reached its maximum extent. Large-scale Roman reclamations, involving the drainage of peatlands, had caused significant subsidence. Ultimately, these reclamations had catastrophic consequences. The process of subsidence, increasing tidal volume, expanded tidal channels, and peat erosion was self-perpetuating, causing the Zeeland peat to disappear at a great rate. The Zuiderzee had become a large inland sea as the Flevo lakes merged to become one body of water. Texel was cut off from the mainland in about 800 CE when a tidal area formed there and developed into an island. Along the rivers, peatlands were being covered by riverine clay. The departure of

the Romans triggered a significant drop in population after the 3rd century. Human impact on the landscape also declined. When population numbers rose anew several centuries later, the inhabitants once again began to fell trees on a vast scale and to build water-management systems.

In the Middle Ages, around 1250 CE, humans became the dominant factor in the shaping of the landscape. Peatlands were opened up on a vast scale and dams and embankments were built on the high salt marshes and along rivers. In this period the foundations were laid for the manmade landscape that we know today. By about 1250 CE, most of the coastal and river region was enclosed by dykes. Large-scale peat erosion occurred on the shores of the Zuiderzee, which by now had almost reached its maximum size. The peat area south of Wieringen was lost, to some extent due to cultivation, making it part of the Zuiderzee. As the forests on the sandy soils were used for wood extraction and extensive cattle grazing, they turned into a landscape with more open woodland vegetation. The increase in cultivated area was accompanied by improvements to the plough and the development of the horse collar, which was a wooden yoke that unlike earlier horse gear did not interfere with the horse's breathing.

Towards 1500 CE, much of the coastal and river region had become one vast area fully enclosed by dykes and with its own water management system. Surplus water was drained artificially when water levels outside the dyke were low, initially by opening a sluice. However, as the ground surface inside the dykes continued to subside, additional mechanisms using handmills and horse-driven mills were introduced. Windmills were first used for this purpose shortly after 1400 CE. The Biesbosch was once a vast polder landscape and was lost during the St. Elizabeth Flood of 1421 CE. The St. Felix Flood of 1530 CE led to the permanent loss of parts of Zuid-Beveland and the creation of the Westerschelde. In the elevated sandy regions of the Netherlands virtually all the remaining closed forest disappeared in this period, making way for fields and intensively grazed, open woodlands with much heathland. The settlement pattern acquired a more definitive form and the number of towns and villages rose sharply in the 14th and 15th centuries. By about 1500 CE, the vast majority of today's towns and villages were already in existence.

By 1850 CE, the Netherlands had more or less acquired its present landscape. Although we consider this as "natural," almost all of it is the result of far-reaching human intervention. Present-day urbanization increased dramatically, while each hectare of the Netherlands has been designed by the Dutch.

The authors of this atlas reached an unprecedented level of disciplinary integration, painting in amazing detail the history of the Netherlands with maps and texts. Very often human impact on the landscape was the cause of later catastrophes. However, the human intrusion in the landscape was always, as it is

today, driven by objectives within the human dimension, not within the dimension of centuries or millennia (Kroonenberg 2010, 2017). During the Holocene, the Netherlands was the outcome of a balancing act between sea level rise and land surface subsidence, sediment erosion and accretion, and land loss and land reclamation. One lesson learned is the devastating impact throughout history of deforestation and drainage. Indeed, a team from Wageningen University and Research articulated a visionary landscape of the Netherlands for 2120 in which water and forests would receive more space (Baptist et al. 2019). This atlas therefore serves a broad readership, which is potentially everybody who is involved in measures affecting the landscape. The Holocene history of the Netherlands is a learning site for coastal sedimentary landscapes all over the world. The international community is indebted to this team of experts that shared their deep understanding of landscape evolution. Learning the lessons from this atlas may prevent future catastrophes. It is the main reason why this book deserves very wide distribution.

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About the reviewer

Henry Hooghiemstra is professor emeritus at the University of Amsterdam's Institute for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Dynamics (Netherlands). He was appointed professor at the University of Amsterdam in 1992, after receiving his Ph.D. in biology at the same institution in 1984. Soon he became interested in earth sciences. He specialized in terrestrial and marine palynology in the tropical areas. He focussed on palaeoenvironmental and climate reconstructions of the

Quaternary, palaeobiogeography and biodiversity of Central and South America, Saharan Africa, East Africa and Indian Ocean islands. Over the course of his career, he studied very long records from sediment cores drilled in the deep sedimentary basins of the Colombian Andes. For more than 25 years he taught a course in Big History, showing that environmental and climate changes impacted early civilizations. Human impact on the landscape was meticulously reconstructed in Mauritius (related to the extinction of the dodo) and in the Dominican Republic (related to the arrival of Columbus). He has published more than 180 papers in international peer-reviewed journals and was elected a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW) in 1999. Dr. Hooghiemstra continues to give university lectures in the Netherlands and in Colombia, including for the courses Future Planet Studies and Big History. He is also engaged in ongoing international research studies in paleoecology and human ecosystem interference, such as human influence on island ecosystem dynamics, as well as long-term human impact on aquatic ecosystems.

Review

André Jansen and Ab Grootjans (eds):

Hoogvenen: Landschapsecologie, behoud, beheer, herstel

Gorredijk: Uitgeverij Noordboek, 2019. 392 p.

ISBN 9789056155520

Reviewed by Henry Hooghiemstra

This book is about peatlands in the Netherlands. Edited by André Jansen and Ab Grootjans, who are two experts in the field of peat and landscape ecology, it is richly illustrated, featuring informative figure legends, as well as English summaries along with the use of Latin plant names, making *Hoogvenen* ('bogs') likely also of interest and accessible to those from outside the Dutch speaking part of the world. In a nutshell, it describes how a gift from nature, consumed by humans, is being conserved in its final stage of existence.

In flat coastal areas, nature sequestered huge amounts of atmospheric carbon in peatlands. This occurred during periods of sea level rise. Further inland, at higher elevations, sea level rise caused the water on its way to the sea to stagnate in the river valleys. That is where peatlands developed. Peat consists of undecomposed plant remains. As this water-soaked plant mass makes no contact with the air, it is protected from decomposition. It harbors a lot of carbon and hydrogen, which are the carriers of energy. Plants use energy from the sun and produce their plant tissues with a photochemical process (photosynthesis). In undecomposed plant tissue much energy is left. After sea level rise the opposite takes place and thick coastal peat layers are covered by sands (the source of sandstone) and clays (the source of shales). Millions of years later, these buried and compressed plant remains developed into natural oil and gas. Thus, the earth has accumulated and stored huge amounts of energy in endless numbers of cycles of sea level change.

The last natural cycle of sea level change was interrupted by humans when the big ice sheets were rapidly melting. Rising sea levels caused the coastline to be pushed higher on the continental slope. As coastal areas are attractive for settlements, the coastal parts in the Netherlands became occupied by humans around 5000 BC at the start of the Neolithic Period (Vos et al. 2020). The peat previously accumulated during the Holocene had no chance of further increasing in thickness and being buried afterwards in the natural cyclical process that would have followed. Humans tried to control the design of the coastal area themselves. In the Netherlands, peat started to expand in coastal areas about 8000 years ago and around 2500 years ago peatlands reached their maximum expansion, covering more than half of the Netherlands. Since Roman times, the draining of peatland to improve accessibility for exploitation increased rapidly. Sun-dried blocks of peat became a source of energy and salt was produced by burning peat which had been soaked with seawater. Peat drainage and extraction disturbed the natural defense capabilities of coastal peatland. Peatlands were eroded by the sea and dramatic losses of land surface were first experienced in the province of Zeeland. At higher ground, in the provinces of Drenthe, Overijssel, and Brabant, peat developed from the Middle Ages onwards as the most important source of energy. Beginning in the 17th century, these provinces provided rapidly growing cities in the western

parts of the Netherlands and Flanders with fuel. During the era of industrialization, the role of low-energetic peat became replaced by high-energetic coal. In the 19th and early 20th centuries peat was industrially harvested at an unprecedented speed and today only fragments of peatland are left.

Figure 1a. Dike in Bargerveen separating the nature reserve into hydrological compartments. The dike surface is relatively dry and covered by Vaccinium *dominated vegetation in mid-September 2012. To the left and right peatland is in restoration. In the background the open water reflects an earlier stage of restoration. Photo by Henry Hooghiemstra.*

Physical geographers have calculated that the Netherlands lost 99% of its peatland during the last millennia, reflecting a loss of about 24 km3 of peat. The tiny remnants form "peat monuments" in the Dutch landscape. The undecomposed plant remains, leading to peat, are either in contact with nutrient-rich groundwater, producing fens, or they are hydrologically isolated from deeper soils and totally dependent on nutrient-poor rainwater, resulting in bogs. Today, all Dutch bogs are restricted to being a nature reserve, an example of which can be seen in Figure 1a and Figure 1b. Until recently, former peatlands were of military importance, given that it was hard to cross such a landscape. The military chose peatlands to form a natural border between countries, as has been the case between the Dutch province of Drenthe and Germany. The study of the macroscopic plant remains itself was initiated for military-economic reasons, too. When oil supplies were embargoed during the First World War, governments realized

peat could be used as an alternative source of energy. Initial peat studies from 1916 by the Swedish geobotanist Lennert von Post (Birks and Berglund 2017) tried to assess peat's distribution and volume, estimating the potential energy stocks and addressing the question to what degree peat could be used to satisfy the country's demand for energy. Succow and Joosten (2001) published a first landscape ecological overview of peatlands. A thorough compilation of mires and peatlands in all European countries was elaborated on by Joosten et al. (2017). For North America and Canada, the studies by Ritchie (1987), Woo (2002) and Matthews (1989) provided well-illustrated accounts of how mires and peatlands have developed since the last ice age.

Figure 1b. Hydrological compartment in Bargerveen showing a phase in bog regeneration. Floating Sphagnum *in the shallow water body, surrounded by* Juncus *vegetation transitional to bog covered by* Betula *trees in mid-September 2012. Photo by Henry Hooghiemstra.*

Returning to the book *Hoogvenen* itself, it provides scientific understanding, while remaining an easy-to-read text, as it discusses the last tiny fragments of peatland in the Netherlands and introduces the reader to a little-known landscape. The book summarizes in chapters 1 to 13 what is understood about bogs in general and how they function. Chapters 14 to 31 present information about the Dutch bogs, while their potential future is discussed together with the required measures. Chapter 32 shows how the European *Natura 2000* conservation regulations do not adequately protect Dutch bogs and chapter 33 is a reflection on the current

status of bogs, showing what the future may hold. The book contains a helpful glossary, references, an index, and the professional affiliations of the 59 contributing authors, whose aim is to share their knowledge with active professional nature conservationists, as well as with students in related disciplines.

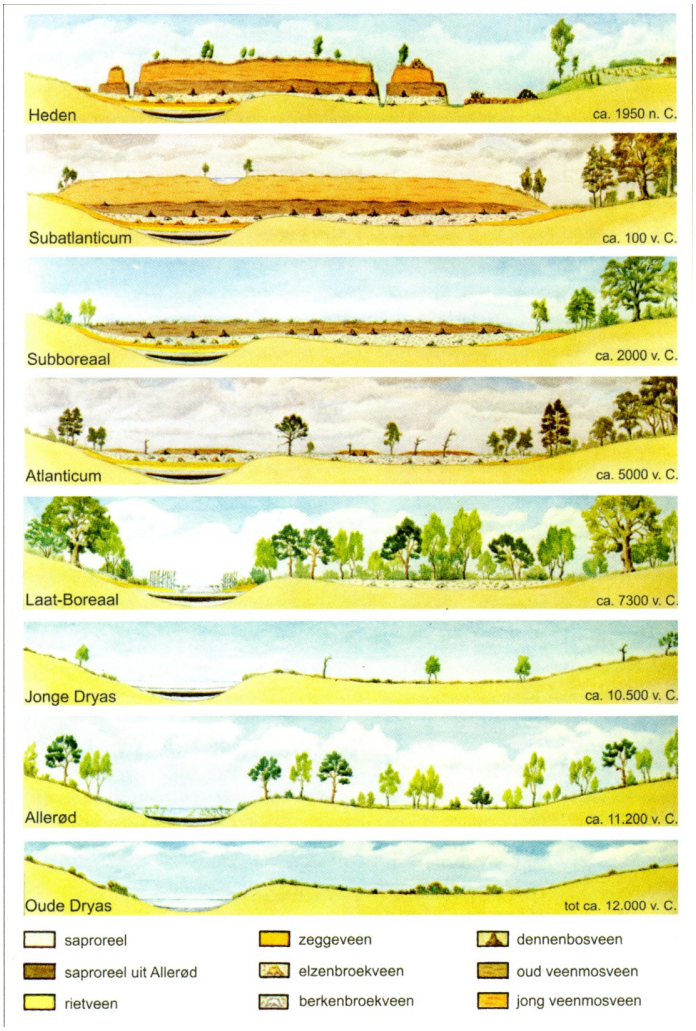

Figure 2. Development of a bog over the course of eight time periods from 12000 BC to 1950 AD (Van der Linden and Kooistra 2019, 97).[1] *Reproduced from* Hoogvenen: Landschapsecologie, behoud, beheer, herstel *with permission.*

[1] English translations for the Dutch terms used in the legend at the bottom of Figure 2: *sapropeel* 'sapropel'; *sapropeel uit Allerød* 'sapropel from Allerød interstadial'; *rietveen 'Phragmites* peat'; *zeggeveen* '*Carex* peat'; *elzenbroekveen 'Alnus* dominated peat'; *berkenbroekveen* '*Betuta* dominated peat'; *dennebosveen* 'peat with substantial input from *Pinus'*; *oud veenmosveen* 'old *Sphagnum* peat'; *jong veenmosveen* 'young *Sphagnum* peat'.

Opening this volume, the bizarre, wet, acid, colorful and open panoramic landscape of bogs ('*hoogvenen*') is displayed. Chapter 1 presents a schematic cross section of a bog to illustrate its typical hydrological characteristics. Among bog plants, *Sphagnum* mosses are most important. Between 1865 and 1917, when industrialization progressed rapidly, bog area diminished from 91,000 ha or 910 km² (9% of the original surface) to 26,000 ha or 260 km² (2.6%). Commercial exploitation of peat stopped as late as 1992 when in the Netherlands only 1% of the original bog surface was left. Chapter 2 gives a classification of bogs dealing with the elemental hydrological, chemical and vegetational characteristics. Bog types vary along a nutrient gradient (oligotrophe, mesotrophe, eutrophe) and a pH gradient (acid, light acid, alkaline; varying from pH 2 to 8). Chapter 3 focuses on how bogs are able to keep themselves wet. If air can penetrate into the peat, decomposition of organic material occurs twenty times faster than the new peat can accumulate. Evaporation of bogs is regulated by changing the albedo (reflection) of mosses, and by changes in plant associations. The permeability and storing capacity for water is peat dependent: little decomposed peat (white peat) may contain 50% water, whereas strongly decomposed peat (black peat) could contain only 10% water. In the upper part of a bog, the *acrotelm*, plants will be in a living state and porosity is optimal. Deeper down, porosity decreases and the *cathotelm* consists of dead, little decomposed plant material. Chapter 4 addresses the impact of climate on bogs. Restoration practice is mostly a matter of letting adequate hydrological gradients return. Chapter 5 focuses on the earliest stage of bog formation in coastal and inland locations. Bogs also developed where the soil was impermeable for water, causing a "hanging" ground water level. Such a stagnating horizon might have found its origin in local geological development (presence of a riverine clay or glacial till), podsolization by accumulation of fine organic matter (humus) leading to a water stagnating horizon, or precipitation of iron in a thin layer (plastic horizon). Understanding the local cause of peat formation is relevant for adequate management and restoration. Chapters 6 and 7 show how tiny *Sphagnum* mosses are capable of building huge peatlands. Peat forming mosses are simple plants without roots, growing at the top end, while dead at the bottom side. Most of the cells of the leaves of a *Sphagnum* plant are dead and empty, and each cell has the capacity of serving as a water reservoir. As long as growth at the top overrules decay at the bottom, peat formation is proceeding. Different *Sphagnum* species have their tiny habitat range in the peat surface following local micro-relief, gradients, and regional climate. Carbon from the atmosphere is the most important material required to build a bog. The most relevant nutrients for plants, nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, are virtually entirely relied upon through rainwater, which actually contains few of such elements. Bogs are the most nutrient-poor ecosystems in the world. The

exceptionally low availability of nutrients stimulated bog plants in the process of evolution to develop fascinating adaptations along the vertical wet-dry gradient and the pH gradient to successfully survive such extreme conditions. Ericaceous species live in symbiosis with fungi of which the hyphae penetrate into the cells of the plant. Fungi make nitrogen available from dead plants, and the ericaceous plants make sugars available for the fungus in return. Chapter 8 shows the distribution of bogs in Europe. Nutrient-poor bogs mixed with nutrient-rich fens vary significantly in appearance. Peat formation requires oxygen-poor conditions, which are reached when soil is saturated with water. Therefore, a firm climatic rain surplus is necessary. More than 15 types of bogs and mixed bogs are recognized. As so many generations have left their impact on bog landscapes it is unclear if Atlantic bog landscapes were open. Trees were used for construction and for wooden roads through the peatlands. However, bogs in southern Sweden are often surrounded by pine trees and the open landscapes of the Atlantic peatlands may hint at a long-standing deforestation by humans. Recently, high atmospheric deposition of nitrogen and phosphorus stimulated birch trees to invade open bogs. Chapter 9 explains how pollen analysis in a peat core can disclose the history of the bog over thousands of years. The age of the peat layers is established by radiocarbon dating, while the assemblage of fossil pollen, fern spores and plant macro-remains tell the story of vegetation succession. Being familiar with the habitat ranges of all plant taxa involved allows reconstruction along the depth scale, reflecting the scale of time, and changes in the local to regional environments. Past climate conditions are inferred from vegetation change. Translation of tabular information into a series of scenic landscapes that follow each other in time, as seen in Figure 2, relies on skillful researchers. Such reconstructions are helpful for nature conservation agencies as managers can choose which landscape should be set as the baseline and considered to be the goal of a restoration trajectory. Chapter 10 is about the loss of peat landscapes in the Netherlands. In the second half of the 13th century West-Brabant massively provided peat as an energy source for the Golden Century of Brabant and Flanders. In the 15th century peat was commercially exploited for salt production to serve the growing fish industry. To systematically reap the economic benefits from the peatlands, colonies were developed to house the peat workers. Such villages had to be moved regularly, following wherever the site of peat digging was. Today, such villages are located at regular distance across the former peatland. Peat extraction below the water level was labour intensive. It caused lakes to grow in size, accelerated by wind action eroding the lake shores. Peat is a voluminous, but cheap product, and commercial exploitation was only possible by using bulk transport by ship. This is the reason why peatlands were first connected to larger waterways, in particular through the digging of canals. Chapter 11 points

out the most important plant species making up bogs in space and time. Botanists discovered in many places unexpected remnants of a bog flora as a testimony of the lost peatlands of the past. In contrast to vegetation (chapters 9 and 11), the fauna of bogs can only be studied as far as the present is concerned (chapter 12). Still, an impression of the faunal biodiversity of bogs 500 years ago can be articulated. Human interventions and the recent high levels of nitrogen deposition diluted the extreme nutrient poor conditions. Typical animals of bogs now occurred in other proportions and some species became rare. Fauna from neighboring ecosystems could expand into the bog area, increasing faunal diversity. Most common in bogs are protozoa, bacteria, mites, various types of flies, springtails, dragonflies, bugs, beetles, lice cicada, butterflies, mosquitoes, ants and birds. In chapter 13 an explanation is put forward about the relationship between geographical characteristics of the landscape and the conditions in specific places where bogs and heathland lakes developed during the Holocene. Various local hydrological settings triggered the development of bogs and heathland lakes. It is obvious such understanding should be part of conservation and restoration practice.

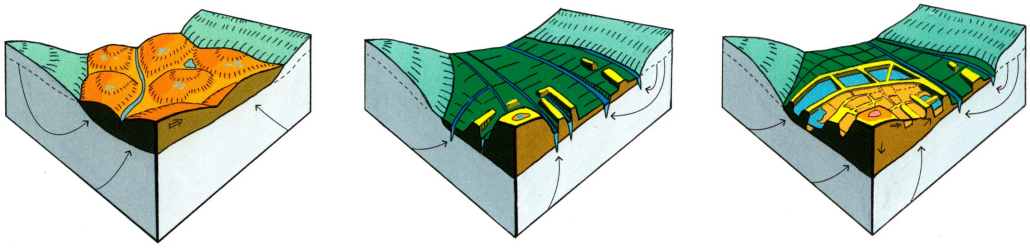

Figure 3. Blockdiagram of the former southern part of the Boertangerveen with Zwartemeer ('Black lake') in the centre (left). After exploiting the high-quality peat, the underlying soil is mixed with the lowermost low-quality peat in reclamation activities to make the area suitable for cultivations. Only a small remnant of the historically large Boertangerveen, called Meerstalblok, remains (center). Following restoration measures, the nature reserve developed again into a coherently functioning system surrounded by a buffer zone that protects the reserve against negative impacts from surrounding agricultural land (Jansen et al. 2019, 345). Reproduced from Hoogvenen: Landschapsecologie, behoud, beheer, herstel *with permission.*

Finally, the book considers the future of bogs, evoking the importance of nature reserves. In chapters 14 to 31 bogs are presented with a description, location on the map, cross section through the peat body, scenic photographs, and documents of past peat exploitation. The people digging up the peat mostly lived in miserable health conditions and their socio-economic status was low. Several of the small-sized bogs are little known and pop up in this book as precious small nature reserves. Eighteen bogs are presented, organized from north to south and most are located at a relatively short distance to the German border: Fochteloër-

veen, Witterveld, Bargerveen, Dwingelderveld, Witte Veen, Aamsveen, Wierdense Veld, Engbertsdijkvenen, Beezerveld, Haaksbergerveen, Lankheet, Mosterdveen en Besthmenerveentjes, Wooldseveen, Korenburgerveen, Groote Peel, Verheven Peel, Koningsven and the Sloping bogs near Brunssum.

This pivotal book combines a thorough presentation of stunning nature, providing a readable explanation for how rain-fed and nutrient-poor bogs function, with a systematic presentation of the last bogs preserved in the Dutch landscape. Most relevant is the view on the future of the remaining bogs. The number of photographs, schematic figures and tables amount to more than 450. The superior quality of the illustrations and the explanatory texts are wonderfully illuminating, inviting the reader to scroll through the book. Whereas the first 13 chapters draw a picture of the prevailing conditions from the time before human impact, which is the baseline, the last two chapters are most relevant in providing politicians and nature conservationists with an appreciation for what is at stake. As bogs in the northern hemisphere share so many characteristics and species, this book, with its focus on the Netherlands, is also of significance for other European and North American countries, including Canada whose bogs merit special attention and conservation efforts as well.

Natural habitats are protected by the European regulations *Natura 2000*. Currently, as few as 7.58 ha or .76 km² are determined to be "active bogs," whereas 7000 ha or 70 km² are designated as "recovering bogs." In the long run, excessive dryness and atmospheric deposition will be a major problem in conservation and restoration of bogs. However, since the 1970s hydrological measurements have shown spectacular improvements. Also, removal of trees helped to open bog areas, reducing evaporation, increasing ground water levels, and the avoidance of decaying leaves bringing too much phosphorus into the bog. Tree extraction should be repeated regularly, which stimulates the growth of *Sphagnum* mosses. As of the 1990s, expensive measures could be arranged, with bog areas divided by artificial dykes into hydrological compartments, as seen in Figures 1a and 1b. Experiments showed that groundwater levels at, or just above the surface, are optimal for the regrowth of *Sphagnum* mosses and to stimulate plant succession in the right direction. The development of a buffer zone around the remnant of peat to prevent drying is crucial; it requires the acquisition of (agricultural) land surrounding the nature reserve. Under natural conditions a bog landscape also contains nutrient-rich lags with blue-grasslands and carr. Bog landscape in the 21st century will be different from how it looked in the 18th to the 20th century. The Bargerveen (1400 ha or 14 km²) is the largest reserve but includes only a part of one original peat dome, as can be seen in Figure 3. Restoration into a complete bog landscape is not realistic. As long as precipitation shows a surplus, hydrological isolation is recovered and stabilized, and nitrogen

deposition is substantially lowered, bog recovery is feasible and will continue. Measures for recovery of bogs are similar as those required for adaptation to future wetter, warmer and drier climate conditions. Such a notion provides some hope that a substantial shadow of the nearly lost bog landscapes will return during this century. This book should be present on the shelves of all nature conservation agencies. Its relatively affordable price ought to make that possible.

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