



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The linguistic coping strategies of three Netherlands in England: Jan van der Noot, Lucas d'Heere, and Johannes Radermacher

Haar, A.D.M. van de

Citation

Haar, A. D. M. van de. (2021). The linguistic coping strategies of three Netherlands in England: Jan van der Noot, Lucas d'Heere, and Johannes Radermacher. *Early Modern Low Countries*, 5(2), 192-215.
doi:10.51750/emlc11333

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Creative Commons CC BY-NC 4.0 license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3492531>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

The Linguistic Coping Strategies of Three Netherlanders in England: Jan van der Noot, Lucas d'Heere, and Johannes Radermacher

ALISA VAN DE HAAR

Alisa van de Haar is Assistant Professor of French Literature and Culture at Leiden University. She obtained her PhD from the University of Groningen (2018, *cum laude*) and is the author of *The Golden Mean of Languages. Forging Dutch and French in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1540-1620* (Leiden 2019). Her research interests include the francophone literature of the early modern Low Countries, the history of French language education, early modern debates on language, and exile literature.

Abstract

Thousands of migrants left the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century for religious, political, or economic reasons. They faced many difficulties as they attempted to rebuild their lives abroad, including linguistic obstacles. Many of them moved to England, but proficiency in English was rare among the Netherlandish community. Nevertheless, as this article argues, the language differences did not only pose problems, they also offered opportunities, especially to members of the higher echelons of the Dutch diasporic community. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were widely reputed to have excellent knowledge of languages, and for good reason. This article concentrates on the linguistic strategies of three multilingual individuals who moved across the North Sea: the nobleman Jan van der Noot, the painter Lucas d'Heere, and the merchant Johannes Radermacher. It studies the ways in which they used their proficiency in multiple languages as starting capital to build new social and professional lives for themselves. For example, they used their linguistic skills to appeal to the local aristocracy in order to ensure patronage, to expand social and professional networks by frequenting particular religious language communities, and to offer language instruction. This article therefore contributes to our understanding of linguistic encounters in the everyday lives and struggles of migrants in the sixteenth century.

Keywords: Jan van der Noot, Lucas d'Heere, Johannes Radermacher, migration, linguistic capital

The Linguistic Coping Strategies of Three Netherlanders in England: Jan van der Noot, Lucas d'Heere, and Johannes Radermacher

ALISA VAN DE HAAR

On 28 October 1568, Jan van der Noot, a nobleman from Antwerp, dedicated a collection of French poems to Queen Elizabeth I of England. He was one of the thousands of inhabitants of the Low Countries who had decided to seek shelter across the North Sea in the wake of the Dutch Revolt. In his French dedication, Van der Noot considers himself lucky for 'having reached a safe harbour' and for being able to 'live and openly praise God in one or the other language under the protection and wings of Your Majesty'.¹ The English translation, which appeared one year later, clarified that the languages Van der Noot had in mind were French and Dutch, the two vernaculars of the Low Countries.² Indeed, Van der Noot was a polyglot poet, and he continued to publish in French and Dutch during his exile on the British Isles, while also having his work translated into English.

Through his multilingual publication strategy, Van der Noot attempted to rebuild his poetic career in England. He was not the only Netherlander who used his language proficiency to do so, as the French language, spoken by many inhabitants of the multilingual Low Countries, was highly esteemed in Elizabethan circles. Multiple refugees recognized this fact and exploited it. They may have left most of their belongings and their professional reputations behind, but their linguistic abilities would accompany them in exile.

Language is generally seen as an obstacle for migrants: a lack of proficiency in the native tongue of the host country must surely hamper professional and social success. The cases of these early modern Netherlanders show that there is a different side to this story. This article contends that their multilingual competencies – and especially their proficiency in French – were a form of starting capital.³ In the linguistic market of the British Isles, these languages were not valued the same as in the Low Countries, and some migrants found clever ways to use their skills in order to establish a new position for themselves.

This article studies the various ways in which three relatively well-documented Netherlanders exploited their linguistic skills during their stay in England. It concerns the

1 Van der Noot, *Le theatre*, sig. A7r: 'Mais nous autres sommes abordés & menez à bon port, en ce vostre Royaume d'Angleterre, la ou (Dieu mercy) soubz protection & les ailes de V.M. viurons & louons Dieu franchement en l'une & l'autre langue conformement.' Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

2 Van der Noot, *A theatre*, sig. A7r: 'in eyther language, the French or the Dutche'.

3 Bourdieu, 'L'économie'; Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire*; Zschomler, "Language Is Your Dignity".

nobleman and poet Van der Noot, the painter and poet Lucas d'Heere, and the merchant Johannes Radermacher. Through the prism of these three men from different walks of life, it becomes apparent that Netherlandish migrants could use their language skills in a wide range of social, professional, religious, and political contexts: to appeal to the aristocracy, to expand their social and professional networks, and to offer language instructions. These various linguistic strategies are indicative of the opportunities that were available to the Netherlandish community in England as a whole. Of course, the fact that the experiences of the three selected men are so richly documented also indicates that they belong to a privileged group of migrants. Their experiences are not those of the average Netherlander, but they do shed light on the opportunities available to a larger group of individuals whose life stories remain unknown due to a lack of source materials.

Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher are not unknown to specialists of early modern Dutch literature: their works have been extensively studied by Werner Waterschoot, Karel Bostoen, and others. The aim of this article is not to uncover new source materials or biographical details about these individuals, although some new suggestions will be made. Its main contribution lies in the comparison of the differing linguistic strategies employed by these three men during their time in the British Isles. These strategies have mostly remained implicit in the existing research, which tends to focus on the relevance of the written output of these three men for the literary culture of the time. This article builds on the existing research on Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher, but foregrounds their linguistic approaches and compares them, in order to gain further insight into how early modern migrants from the Low Countries made their languages work for them.

While the experiences of early modern exiles have attracted increased attention from cultural historians over the past decades, their linguistic travails have often been ignored.⁴ Various historical sociolinguistics studies have concentrated on the impact of the arrival of migrants on the local language, or, conversely, the impact of migration on the written Dutch of the migrants themselves.⁵ A few studies, including those by Chris Joby and Johannes Müller, have concentrated on the refugees' own experiences of linguistic encounters, and their multilingual abilities.⁶ This perspective is valuable, as it shows how language could be used as a tool that provided migrants with a certain level of agency. A comparison of the cases of Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher brings to the fore various tangible – and sometimes overlapping – linguistic strategies.

In order to map the language choices of these three men, and to interpret the underlying value of these choices in their particular context, this article combines approaches from historical sociolinguistics and the cultural history of language. The first approach is based on Joshua Fishman's famous question 'who speaks what language, to whom, and when', in order to make an inventory of linguistic decisions made by the three men during their

⁴ See for instance Janssen, 'Quo Vadis?'; Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*; Müller, *Exile Memories*; Janssen, 'The Republic'.

⁵ Boyce-Hendriks, *Immigration and Linguistic Change*; Goss, *Negotiated Language Change*; Howell, 'Immigration and Koineization'; Trudgill, 'The Role of Dutch'; Van der Wal, 'Early Modern Migrants'.

⁶ Joby, *The Dutch Language*; Müller, 'Transmigrant Literature'. See also Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel*; Murphy, 'Exile and Linguistic Encounter'.

stays in England.⁷ This research builds on the important work of Chris Joby, who has mapped the use of Dutch in early modern England.⁸ This article takes a reverse approach, starting with three individuals and studying which languages they used in which context. Of course, this study wholly depends on the survival of relevant source materials, which are unfortunately incomplete. This lack of comprehensive records makes the interpretation and contextualization of those records that have survived within their cultural and linguistic environment a key factor.

The cultural history of language, largely indebted to Peter Burke, concentrates on the 'complex or system of attitudes to language and images of languages to be found in a given place and time'.⁹ These attitudes determine the value of a particular language on the social market – its linguistic capital. The language chosen by a particular individual is therefore partially determined by the attitudes towards that language in the respective context: Van der Noot delivered the poems he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I in French, because it enjoyed a high cultural status in England at the time.

The first step that is required to fully grasp the linguistic experiences and strategies of Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher is to provide an overview of the linguistic context in which these men lived, both in the Low Countries and England. Next to the roles played by their various languages in different domains – political, commercial, and religious – this study will look into the cultural attitudes towards these languages. Then, following a brief overview of the life of each individual up to and during their time in England, their particular linguistic choices are mapped and analysed. The focus lies on the linguistic strategies that these three men employed in their professional and social lives.

English as 'Broken Dutch'

In order to understand the linguistic framework of Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher, it is useful to briefly reiterate the complex language situation they left behind. The Franco-Dutch language border was highly permeable: in the areas where Dutch was the native tongue of the local population, French nevertheless held an important position. As the interregional language of diplomacy and trade, French would often be heard in the streets of commercial centres such as Ghent – D'Heere's hometown – and Antwerp, home of Van der Noot and Radermacher.¹⁰ The inhabitants of these cities had at least a passive knowledge of French that should not be underestimated.¹¹

Praise from the Italian traveller Lodovico Guicciardini and others for the ability of Netherlandish boys and girls to speak several languages has become commonplace in literature on the topic.¹² Although this testimony should not be taken at face value, it does

7 Fishman, 'Who Speaks What Language'.

8 Joby, *The Dutch Language*.

9 Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 1–2.

10 Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 38–92.

11 Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 51–52.

12 Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 27.

hold a grain of truth when it comes to the French language.¹³ Many schools, especially in the larger cities of Brabant and Flanders, provided French lessons, mostly to children from mercantile environments. In 1576, a total of eighty schoolmasters and seventy schoolmistresses were registered in Antwerp. Seventy-five of the men and fifty-two of the women taught French.¹⁴ Clearly, there was ample opportunity to learn French in Antwerp at this time.¹⁵

French was not only a commercial and diplomatic language, but also the language of the Netherlandish nobility, although for members of the lower noble classes, such as Van der Noot, it was generally not their native tongue. The use of French by the aristocracy was also connected to its high cultural prestige. Poets like Van der Noot and D'Heere were inspired by French poetic developments, leading them to be among the first to write sonnets in Dutch – they probably started practicing in French before inventing their own Dutch sonnets.¹⁶ In general, French was an important intermediary between Greek, Latin, and Italian on the one hand, and Dutch on the other. Many works, such as *Moortje*, Bredero's adaptation of Terence's *Eunuchus*, were translated into Dutch with the help of existing French translations.¹⁷

While the French language played an important role in regions that were primarily Dutch-speaking, this did not hold true for English. As John Florio, the son of an Italian refugee, pointed out: the English tongue 'wyl do you good in England, but passe Dover, it is worth nothing'.¹⁸ Again, although this statement might be somewhat exaggerated, it does contain an element of truth. It was rare for native speakers of Dutch to learn English, even though some did so for commercial purposes.¹⁹ The English language simply did not enjoy the same prestige as French.

The hierarchy of languages was a much-debated topic in the international Republic of Letters in this period. Although diverging views of course existed, the general consensus was that Hebrew was in the leading position, followed by the classical languages, the Romance tongues, and finally the Germanic languages.²⁰ As English was considered a mixture of Romance and Germanic forms, it was, by many, esteemed even less than the Germanic languages.²¹ The hierarchy of languages was in part based on their presumed familial ties, which were equally debated. According to some, such as Richard Verstegan (also known as Richard Rowlands), there was a connection between English and Dutch: the two languages were thought to share Germanic roots.²² Emanuel van Meteren,

13 Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid*, 24–25.

14 Bourland, *The Guild*, 51; Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid*, 40–41.

15 Thanks to the many migrants who moved North, French schools later became omnipresent in the Dutch Republic, too: Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten'.

16 Waterschoot, 'Het sonnet', 9–12; Prandoni, 'Vive la France', 188–189.

17 Hermans, 'Translating'; Van Leeuwen, 'De Franse inspiratiebronnen', 4–5.

18 Florio, *Florio his firste fruites*, 50; Sumillera, 'Language Manuals', 61, 65; Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, 1.

19 Loonen, *For to learne*; Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 115.

20 Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 120–121.

21 Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexam', 211; Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, 133–135.

22 Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 152; Cohen, 'La tour', 31–33; Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*, 58, 72–73; Frederickx and Van Hal, *Johannes Goropius Becanus*, 203–204.

a refugee himself and close to Radermacher, actually argued that English was 'broken Dutch, estranged and mixed with French and Breton terms and words'.²³

Because of its lowly reputation, it is understandable that English was not a popular language in the Low Countries. In Antwerp, for example, only one schoolmaster was registered as an English teacher in 1576, compared to the 127 who taught French. The first English-Dutch language manual was not published until 1586.²⁴ George Whetstone's *The honourable reputation of a souldier* was printed by Thomas Basson, an Englishman who settled in Antwerp and then moved to Cologne and finally Leiden for religious reasons.²⁵ At least in theory, the book could be used both to learn Dutch and to learn English, and its creators wished that through their manual 'either lande, eche others tonge may learne'.²⁶

The need for such an instructional manual had increased considerably during the 1580s, which saw many English soldiers stationed in the Low Countries to aid the Dutch in their revolt against Spain.²⁷ It is well known that Sir Philip Sidney was among them, who died in 1586 from wounds inflicted during the Battle of Zutphen.²⁸ That same year, Basson printed another English-Dutch language manual: a grammar. Its author, Gabriel Meurier, affirmed the importance of learning English: 'What trouble hath bin between the one Nation, and the other sythence the comming of his Excell. into this cuntrye, by reason that the one can not understande the other.'²⁹ It is difficult to determine to what extent the difficulties described in these manuals reflect the historical reality of encounters between speakers of English and Dutch, and to what extent this concerns a topos meant to increase the saleability of their manual.

As the century drew to a close, opportunities to learn English thus became available in the Low Countries, but some historians of language have questioned the need for such lessons. Jonathan Hsy and Chris Joby have pointed to the possibility that English-Dutch pidgins emerged in contact situations.³⁰ Speakers of these languages might have used a mix of the two tongues in combination with gestures in order to communicate. This was a well-known practice in the Hanseatic context, where speakers could build on the Germanic language continuum, but there is little evidence of this happening between the English and the Dutch.³¹ Some literary sources, such as the plays of Thomas Dekker and the anonymous fifteenth-century poem *London Lickpenny*, do contain Netherlandish characters uttering mixed sentences such as 'Mastar, what will ye copen [buy] or by'.³²

While in some situations, such mixed language forms might certainly have been used, this article argues that the role of French should not be underestimated either. In England,

23 Van Meteren, *Historie*, fol. 262r: 'ghebroken Duyts, vervreemt en vermengt met Fransche en Brittaeense termen ende woorden'. See also Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*, 86-87.

24 Whetstone, *The honovrable repvtation*. See also Verbeke, 'Polyglotte publicaties'.

25 Van Dorsten, 'Thomas Basson'; Smith, 'Latin'.

26 Whetstone, *The honovrable repvtation*, 7.

27 Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexam', 210-211.

28 Saenger, *Shakespeare*, 2.

29 Meurier, *The Coniugations*, 5.

30 Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 20; Hsy, *Trading Tongues*, 3, 51-54.

31 Young and Gloning, *A History*, 174-175; Nedkvitne, 'Linguistic Tensions'.

32 Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 20; Hsy, *Trading Tongues*, 3.

French was valued for its aforementioned cultural and social prestige.³³ Historically, it was a key language at the English court, and the cultural radiance of French literature was also felt across the Channel. As in the case of the Dutch language, French constituted an important go-between that connected English with continental literature: many works were translated from Latin, Greek, or Italian into English with the help of a French translation.³⁴ In general, French was essential to Englishmen who wished to converse with non-English speakers.

The importance of French to the inhabitants of the British Isles is reflected in the printed works that were produced there. As John Gallagher has shown, numerous conversation manuals teaching French were available in England in this period, while only a small selection taught Dutch.³⁵ In general, these manuals were focused on assisting the Englishman abroad, but the wave of European migration that washed over England over the course of the sixteenth century made them increasingly useful at home, too. With the arrival of Netherlandish and especially Huguenot refugees from France, French schools flourished in England, with many refugees taking up positions as schoolmasters.³⁶ Huguenot refugees such as Claudius Hollyband (also known as Claude de Sainliens) and Jacques Bellot are among the most famous schoolmasters in sixteenth-century England.³⁷ Netherlandish migrants wishing to make use of their knowledge of French must certainly have experienced competition from the Huguenot population in England, who were native speakers of the language. It is telling that, in one of his publications, Hollyband mocked an Antwerp competitor – probably the aforementioned Gabriel Meurier, who was born in Hainaut – for his French dialect.³⁸ Apparently, Huguenots took the competition from the Low Countries seriously enough to engage with it.

Migrants from the Low Countries started arriving in England in the 1520s, but the largest influx followed the troubles of 1567. After the Iconoclastic Fury had raged over the Low Countries, the Duke of Alba was sent there to restore order: thousands, including Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher, left. Most of them fled in order to avoid persecution, some had other reasons related to the religious and political troubles.³⁹ The three men all settled down in London, where refugees from France, the Low Countries, and Italy had established their own so-called stranger churches to worship in their own language.⁴⁰ These churches were not necessarily visited by native speakers only. The local English population is known to have attended French and Italian services for religious reasons or to

33 Kibbee, *For to Speke*, 94–100.

34 Coldiron, *Printers*, 5.

35 Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, 60. Gallagher reports 146 language manuals containing French, and only twenty containing Dutch.

36 On the school situation in the Netherlandish refugee community: Grell, 'The Schooling'; Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, 117–136.

37 Timelli and Rebouillet, 'Parcours professionnels'; Auger, 'Fashioned through Use'.

38 Kibbee, *For to Speke*, 125. Timelli and Rebouillet, 'Parcours professionnels', 23; Saenger, *Shakespeare*, 2–3.

39 Briels, *De Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie*; Janssens, 'Verjaagd uit Nederland'; Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*; Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*, 2–12.

40 Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans'; Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face'; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*; Spicer, '“A Place of Refuge”'; Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches*.

improve their language skills.⁴¹ Migrants such as the individuals studied here had their own reasons to choose a particular linguistic religious community, as becomes clear when we take a closer look at their particular cases.

Jan van der Noot: A Nobleman Reaching out

Jan van der Noot was born in Brecht, near Antwerp, into a family belonging to the lower aristocracy. His social status probably explains his competence in Dutch and French, although several researchers have remarked that his French was not flawless.⁴² In 1566, van der Noot joined a confessionally-motivated group of political agitators which, in the following March, decided to occupy the Meir, Antwerp's main thoroughfare, demanding, amongst other things, that Van der Noot be named Marquis of Antwerp. These demands met with short shrift, and by the end of the month Van der Noot had sold his house and left the city.⁴³ He fled to London, where he lived with a servant near London Bridge, and attended the French church.⁴⁴ His English sojourn was relatively short, as he moved on to the Rhineland in 1571, roughly three years later.

There are few sources that document Van der Noot's activities in the three years he spent in England. This does not mean that the nobleman was not productive, as he published two poetic works in England, one of which, the *Theatre*, appeared in three languages: Dutch, French, and English. While Van der Noot continued his poetic career after his return to the Low Countries in 1578, he changed his publication strategy: from this point he would publish in both French and Dutch, with the two languages presented side by side.⁴⁵ Karel Bostoën has argued that he wrote in the two languages of his native province of Brabant in order to increase his chances of obtaining financial support from the States of Brabant.⁴⁶ Van der Noot developed the practice of printing individual sheets that contained poems in a variety of languages while in the Rhineland. This practice allowed him to select specific sheets for each individual patron, thus creating a unique volume for every occasion. He clearly saw the financial value of using particular languages in particular contexts.

The nobleman's linguistic strategy during his stay in London has not yet been studied to a satisfying degree. Upon closer scrutiny, his very first publications already resulted from very conscious decisions regarding language that were meant to benefit his social standing. This can be demonstrated, firstly, by looking at the case of the *Theatre*, which knew a Dutch, French, and English edition. This text has been studied for two main reasons: because the young Edmund Spenser was responsible for part of the English translation, and because the *Theatre* combines epigrams and images in such a way that it caused discussion on

41 Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, 3.

42 Brachin, 'Un disciple', 1-2; Forster, *The Poet's Tongues*; Bostoën, 'Van der Noot's Apocalyptic Visions', 49.

43 Van der Noot, *De Poetische werken*, II, 11.

44 Bostoën, 'Van der Noot's Apocalyptic Visions', 49; Hadfield, 'Edmund Spenser's Translations', 149.

45 Van der Noot, *Een cort begryp*; Van der Noot, *Lofsang van Brabant*.

46 Bostoën, *Dichterschap*, 68.

whether it could be called the first emblem book published on English soil.⁴⁷ The linguistic strategy underlying this multilingual project, however, remains obscure.

The *Theatre* is a composite work that contains a collection of poems: six Petrarchan epigrams, eleven sonnets by the French *Pléiade* poet Joachim Du Bellay, and four sonnets written by Van der Noot himself. The poems are followed by a religious prose text which is largely based on Dutch translations of John Bale's *The Image of Both Churches* and Heinrich Bullinger's commentary on the Apocalypse.⁴⁸ The Dutch edition, *Het Theatre*, contains translations of the poems by Petrarch and Du Bellay made by Van der Noot himself, as well as Dutch versions of his own sonnets and the prose text. Each poem is illustrated with a high-quality engraving, made by fellow refugee Marcus Gheeraerts.⁴⁹

The French edition contains the French translations of Petrarch's epigrams by Clément Marot. Du Bellay's sonnets appear in their original French, and Van der Noot added French sonnets of his own making. The edition also includes a French version of the prose commentary. Gheeraert's etchings again adorn the poetry section. They do not appear in the English edition, which instead contains woodcuts with similar imagery.⁵⁰ While the poetry was translated into English by Spenser, Theodore Roest – probably a refugee himself – appears to have been responsible for the prose.⁵¹

Although there has been discussion among scholars on the order in which the Dutch and French editions appeared, it seems that the Dutch edition was printed first, in 1568.⁵² The printer, John Day, collaborated with the Netherlandish refugee community on multiple occasions, and actually employed several French and Netherlandish migrants.⁵³ Surprisingly, Van der Noot dedicated the Dutch text to Roger Martin, the Lord Mayor of London, who does not appear to have had any knowledge of the language. Nonetheless, Van der Noot wrote his dedication in Dutch, too. Martin was relatively generous towards the Netherlandish and French refugee communities, supporting them financially.⁵⁴ Van der Noot's remarkable language choice makes it unlikely that he was hoping to acquire the Lord Mayor's sponsorship. Moreover, the dedication itself does not really seem to address or thank Martin. Rather, the poet fills up page after page with complaints about his exile and the presence of the 'Spanish executioner and his masters the Inquisitors' in the Low Countries.⁵⁵ He actually seems to engage with the diasporic community here, appealing to their shared feelings of loss and betrayal. This would also explain Van der Noot's choice to write in Dutch: he might have been hoping to find a patron amongst his fellow refugees.

47 Rasmussen, "Quietnesse of Minde", 21-22; Bostoën, 'Van der Noot's Apocalyptic Visions', 51-52; Waterschoot, 'An Author's Strategy', 35.

48 Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot', 316.

49 Pleij, 'Marcus Gheeraerts', 1027; Smith, *Het Schouwtoneel*, 16.

50 Friedland, 'The Illustrations'; Smith, 'Petrarch Translated'.

51 Forster, 'The Translator'. Forster has suggested Roest must have lived in England for a longer period of time, as his English was quite good.

52 Bostoën, *Dichterschap*, 60; Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot', 317.

53 Bostoën, *Dichterschap*, 60; Mottram, 'Spenser's Dutch Uncles', 171.

54 Friedland, 'The Illustrations', 109.

55 Van der Noot, *Het theatre*, sig. A7r: 'den Spaenschen beul met syn meesters d'Inquisiteurs'.

Dedicating the work to Martin, who was esteemed by the refugee community, would have authorised his message.

For the French edition, which was published shortly after the Dutch one, Van der Noot aimed higher: the dedication, in French, addresses none other than Queen Elizabeth I, and, this time, the poet really seems to have written it for her eyes – or those of her courtiers. He repeats some of the phrases on his exile and the situation in the Low Countries from the Dutch dedication, but soon continues with an appraisal of his dedicatee. He mentions all of her virtues, and emphasizes the topos that she is a polyglot: he compares her to Mercury, and praises her for allegedly answering all of her ambassadors in their own language.⁵⁶ Van der Noot then returns to the horrors that take place in the Low Countries, but expresses his joy that he has arrived safely in her country, where he can praise God in both French and Dutch. In doing so, Van der Noot highlights his own bilingualism.

Van der Noot ends his dedication by stating that he wishes to thank the queen by offering her this ‘booklet, as the best that I can at this moment find in my bookcase’.⁵⁷ Readers would have seen through this modesty, as the French *Theatre* is clearly, as Werner Waterschoot has called it, a luxury edition.⁵⁸ Van der Noot showed off his poetic qualities in French, placing himself in the tradition of Petrarch, Marot, and Du Bellay. Moreover, the detail and quality of Gheeraert’s engravings was unlike anything that was produced in England at the time, and, as mentioned above, the combination of text and image constitutes an early example of the influence of the emblem tradition that still captures the attention of emblem scholars today.⁵⁹

Waterschoot has concluded that the target audience of the French *Theatre* was confined to the refugees from French- and Dutch-speaking regions residing in London who could read French.⁶⁰ However, the value of the French language on the English social marketplace should not be overlooked. The choice of French might very well have been a conscious one, directed at finding a patron in Elizabeth herself, or one of the members of her court, where both the French language and its literature enjoyed considerable prestige.

The English translation of the *Theatre* appeared in the following year, 1569, and was printed by Day’s colleague Henry Bynneman. It was again dedicated to Elizabeth, by means of an English translation of the French dedication. It seems that Van der Noot made a second attempt at appealing to the English public, this time through their native tongue. There is one significant difference from the French edition, however: the English text opens with an illustration of the emblem and the French motto of the Order of the Garter. The poet once again makes clear that he is aiming for the social circle that surrounds the queen. If Van der Noot was harbouring dreams of capturing a noble, if not royal, patron, the English edition of the *Theatre* would seemingly reap the same, meagre rewards as had its French forebear.

⁵⁶ Van der Noot, *Le theatre*, sig. A4v-A5r.

⁵⁷ Van der Noot, *Le theatre*, sig. A8v: ‘ce mien Liuret, comme du meilleur que ie trouue pour l’heure de maintenant, en mon cabinet’.

⁵⁸ Waterschoot, ‘Beeld breekt woord’, 655.

⁵⁹ Waterschoot, ‘Beeld breekt woord’, 657.

⁶⁰ Waterschoot, ‘An Author’s Strategy’, 42.

After three virtually monolingual – but parallel – productions in Dutch, French, and English, Van der Noot changed his strategy. His last work to be printed in England was *Het Bosken* ('The Little Forest', 1570-1571), a collection of his juvenile poetry that follows French models to experiment with new poetic forms in Dutch.⁶¹ *Het Bosken* is primarily a Dutch text, but it also includes poems in French, Latin, and Spanish. French was used in poems glorifying members of the Nassau dynasty, as it was a language appropriate to their status. The book becomes truly multilingual through the addition of two laudatory poems in Latin and one in Spanish, written by poets in Van der Noot's network. English is conspicuously absent.⁶² *Het Bosken* is thus the first work in which Van der Noot applies the linguistic strategy that is now considered a characteristic of his later oeuvre: impressing his audience through the multilingual character of his publications.

Codicological studies of extant copies of *Het Bosken* have revealed that not one, but two printers worked on it simultaneously: Bynneman and possibly Day.⁶³ Werner Waterschoot has suggested that Van der Noot was hoping to speed up the printing process by dividing the labour.⁶⁴ Moreover, Waterschoot discovered that each of the extant copies was compiled in a slightly different way, which suggests that they have been individualized for particular addressees. For example, the poems about the Nassaus have been omitted from one copy, possibly because they were politically problematic for the patron the poet had in mind.⁶⁵ Van der Noot is known for this practice of individualising his works for his sponsors, which he later also applied in his *Poeticsche Wercken* ('Poetic Works'). According to Waterschoot, all three remaining copies of *Het Bosken* have been tailor-made for specific patrons in the Rhineland, where Van der Noot settled in 1571.⁶⁶ He suggested that Van der Noot was in a hurry to have this poetry compilation printed: he wanted to bring something with him to his new host country, hoping to find a patron there.⁶⁷

However, the dedication once again complicates the story. Van der Noot addressed it to William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, who was known for his Protestant sentiments.⁶⁸ In accordance with the aristocratic title of the dedicatee, Van der Noot wrote it in French, addressing Parr as 'tres-honorable & vertueus seigneur, Monseig. le Marquis de Northampton, &c. du conseil privé de sa Ma. & Chevalier de l'ordre de La Jartiere'.⁶⁹ Besides the language chosen by Van der Noot, the reference to Parr's membership of the Order of the Garter is striking.

A closer look at the content of the dedication to Parr suggests that the two men knew each other, and that Van der Noot had indeed found a patron in him. The poet addresses Parr with the informal *tu*, and praises his skill with the harpsichord, with brush and easel,

61 Bostoën, 'De reclame', 47.

62 Waterschoot, 'An Author's Strategy', 45; Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot', 318.

63 Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot's *Het Bosken*'; Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot'.

64 Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot', 318.

65 Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot's *Het Bosken*'.

66 Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot's *Het Bosken*', 44; Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot', 318.

67 Waterschoot, 'An Author's Strategy', 46.

68 Bostoën, 'De reclame', 47.

69 Van der Noot, *Het Bosken*, fol. 1r: 'most honourable and virtuous lord, Milord the Marquess of Northampton, etc. of the Privy Council of Her Majesty and Knight of the Order of the Garter'.

and even with the astrolabe.⁷⁰ Van der Noot asks that Parr ‘honour[s] all the arts’, which might allude to a potential patronage.⁷¹ Parr had previously supported several other authors, and most of the works dedicated to him are translations into English, including a Spanish work on country life, Antonio de Guevara’s *Menosprecio*. In his dedication, the translator, Sir Francis Bryan, writes that Parr had lent him a French version of the book, so that he might put it into English.⁷² As with Dutch translations from Latin and other languages, the French language appears to have been an intermediary language between English and, in this case, Spanish.

Clearly, Parr seems to have wished to promote translations into English. He would therefore have been a suitable candidate to sponsor Van der Noot, whose French *Theatre* had been translated into English. Karel Bostoen has questioned why Van der Noot would dedicate a primarily Dutch work to an English nobleman, rightfully proposing that it is not known to what extent Parr might have had a passive knowledge of Dutch. Perhaps it was the multilingual aspect of *Het Bosken* that Van der Noot hoped would please this potential patron. Just like the Dutch and French versions of the *Theatre*, *Het Bosken* was a luxury work that was as good for putting on display as it was for reading experimental poetry. Whether or not Van der Noot had found a potential sponsor in Parr, their relationship appears not to have moved beyond the one-way traffic of publicly-expressed admiration in the form of dedicatory letters: Parr died on 28 October 1571, the same year that Van der Noot left England and made his way to the Rhineland.⁷³

Van der Noot’s publishing strategy during his three years in England illustrates that French was a convenient second language: he used it as an intermediary between his native Dutch and the English language. Moreover, he recognised that French was a language with no little cultural prestige at court, and so sought to use his linguistic abilities to find a patron who would help finance his life in England. He may well have found such a patron in Parr, but circumstances dictated that he try his luck elsewhere.

Lucas d’Heere: Jack of All Arts

Van der Noot’s Dutch *Theatre* contains a few laudatory poems by poets who were part of his social network. One Dutch ode actually comments on Van der Noot’s use of language:

Because you show here that our tongue
is not inferior to German or French,
Greek, Latin, or Italian.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See also Bostoen, ‘De reclame’, 46–47.

⁷¹ Van der Noot, *Het Bosken*, fol. 1r: ‘tous les arts tu honores’.

⁷² Among the texts dedicated to Parr are an English translation of a Latin religious treatise and two translations from Italian by Sir Thomas Hoby: Bostoen, ‘De reclame’, 48.

⁷³ The dates do not line up completely, however: Van der Noot wrote a laudatory poem for one Godfrid Upherten from Spiers on September 8, suggesting that he was already in Germany by that time: Van der Noot, *De Poetische werken*, II, 10.

⁷⁴ Van der Noot, *Het theatre*, sig. A5v: ‘Vvant ghy betoont hier dat ons tale/Niet toe en gheeft den Duytsch oft VVale/Griecke, Romain oft Italiaen.’

These words were written by Lucas d'Heere, a painter and poet from Ghent who had fled to England. Although Van der Noot relied primarily on his knowledge of French in his attempts to secure a stable financial position in England, D'Heere points to the importance of his Dutch poetry. Both Van der Noot and D'Heere wrote some of the earliest sonnets and alexandrines in Dutch, which was an important literary development that strengthened the prestige of Dutch.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, in his attempts to rebuild his own professional life in exile, D'Heere, just like Van der Noot, relied on his knowledge of French, a commodity far more valuable in England than knowledge of Dutch. D'Heere was more successful than Van der Noot in this respect.

To get some insight into D'Heere's life before and during exile, it is useful to look at the writings of his pupil Carel van Mander, who devotes several pages of his *Schilder-boeck* to his teacher.⁷⁶ According to Van Mander, D'Heere was born in 1534 in Ghent. His father, a sculptor, sent him to Antwerp to learn the art of painting in the workshop of Frans Floris, after which D'Heere became a respected artist, and started his own school.⁷⁷ Another of his pupils, Marcus Gheeraerts, would later provide Van der Noot with the engravings for his *Theatre*.⁷⁸ Van Mander relates that D'Heere spent some time in France, drawing tapestry designs for Queen Mother Catharine de' Medici.⁷⁹

D'Heere not only knew French, but also took an interest in French literary developments, including the sonnet form, and went on to become an important go-between in connecting French and Dutch literature. In 1565, he published his *Hof en Boomgaard der Poesien* ('Garden and Orchard of Poetry'), which contained translations of poems by Clément Marot and a French sonnet of his own, which had been translated into Dutch by his wife Eleonora Carboniers.⁸⁰ In that same year, he also published his Dutch translation of Marot and Beza's French Calvinist psalms, which leaves little doubt as to his religious leanings.⁸¹

According to Van Mander, D'Heere saved some of Frans Floris's works from the worst of the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566 by moving them to his workshop, an action which failed to prevent his banishment by the Council of Troubles for participating in the religious upheavals in Ghent.⁸² D'Heere was not present to hear his sentence pronounced, however, having already fled the Low Countries.⁸³ He moved to London with his wife, her sister, and a servant, and lived near London Bridge.⁸⁴ He joined the Dutch Church of London, where

75 Waterschoot, 'Marot ou Ronsard?'

76 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fols. 255r-256v.

77 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 255r-v.

78 D'Heere might have brought Van der Noot into contact with Gheeraerts: Bostoen, *Dichterschap*, 61.

79 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 255v. On his time at the court of Catharina de' Medici, see Yates, *The Valois Tapestries*.

80 D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*; Bostoen, 'Marnix en D'Heere'.

81 D'Heere, *Psalmen Davids*; Lenselink, *De Nederlandse psalmberijmingen*, 443-467.

82 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 241v.

83 Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere', 84-85. D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 7.

84 According to the Returns of Aliens, he lived in the Parish of St John the Baptist upon Walbrook in 1568. In 1571 he lived first in the Parish of St Christopher le Stocks, and then in that of St Benet Fink: Waterschoot, *Leven en betekenissen*, 55; Van Dam, 'Tableau Poétique', 27.

he became an elder.⁸⁵ D'Heere stayed in England for about a decade, and returned in 1577 following the Pacification of Ghent.⁸⁶

It was while in England that D'Heere wrote the *Corte beschryvinghe van d'Enghe-landsche gheschiedenissen vergadert uut de beste Chronijcschrijvers* ('A Brief Description of the English Histories Compiled from the Best Chroniclers'), a history of the British Isles designed for an audience of fellow exiles.⁸⁷ It was never printed.⁸⁸ The sole surviving manuscript is adorned with the coat of arms of Elizabeth I, of whom D'Heere also added a portrait.⁸⁹ However, it is unlikely that he intended to present it to her, as the preface explicitly addresses a Netherlandish audience. In fact, it seems that he had produced another manuscript for her eyes, the *Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre* ('Theatre of All the People and Nations on Earth'), a costume book that contains a large number of watercolours that portray the fashion styles of different peoples during various periods.⁹⁰ This manuscript contains several French poems, and the captions accompanying the watercolours are all written in French. While the title page originally contained a Tudor emblem, which suggests that D'Heere made it for Elizabeth, it never reached her, and D'Heere would later paste over it with the coat of arms of Antoon of Burgundy-Wakken and add a dedicatory poem for him.⁹¹ At first glance, it therefore seems as if D'Heere was just as unlucky as Van der Noot in finding a new patron to support his poetic activities at Elizabeth's court.

However, D'Heere was relatively successful as a painter during his exile to England: Van Mander claims that his teacher painted a gallery for Admiral Edward Fiennes de Clinton.⁹² Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, might have owned a painting by his hand, and D'Heere may have produced some work for sir Thomas Gresham.⁹³ Frederica Van Dam has recently discovered a privately-owned manuscript that reveals more details of his career. It shows that D'Heere was not only appreciated for his artistic work, but also for his knowledge of French.⁹⁴

The manuscript in question, which is dated 8 January 1572, bears the title *Tableau poétique* ('Poetic Painting') and is written in French. It is a carefully crafted work: the hand is that of Clement Paret, a calligrapher from Brussels, but the language is D'Heere's. He dedicated the manuscript to Edward Seymour, first Earl of Hertford, who apparently acted as his patron for some time. Van Dam, who has edited the manuscript together with Werner Waterschoot, suggests that it was a showpiece for Seymour to put on display, a display that would simultaneously trumpet D'Heere's poetic abilities to Seymour's network.⁹⁵

85 Waterschoot, *Leven en betekenis*, 73; Bostoen, *Dichterschap*, 62.

86 D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 3.

87 London, British Library, Add ms 28330.

88 Waterschoot, *Leven en betekenis*, 76; Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 336; D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 19.

89 London, British Library, Add ms 28330, fols. 1r, 4r.

90 Ghent, University Library Ghent, HS.2466. For more information on this manuscript, see Conrads-De Bruin, *Het Theatre*.

91 D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 89-90.

92 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 255v; D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 11.

93 Bostoen, 'Marnix en D'Heere', 11; D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 52-55.

94 Van Dam, 'Tableau Poétique'; D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*.

95 Van Dam, 'Tableau Poétique', 22.

In these aristocratic circles, such a high-end manuscript collection of French poetry would certainly have been appreciated. It contains laudatory poems aimed at Seymour himself, such as those which drew on his French mottos 'Foy pour debvoir' and 'Fort d'heur e'd'art'.⁹⁶ Perhaps at Seymour's request, D'Heere also wrote poems for other notable courtiers such as William Cecil and Robert Dudley, as well as for George Buchanan.⁹⁷ There are also poems addressing individuals from the artist's own network, including the 'Ode a ses amis pardela la mer', in which D'Heere recounts his sea voyage to England.

D'Heere's knowledge of French and his poetic skills in this language were valuable to Seymour, and not only because they could present him as a cultural patron: D'Heere may also have been employed to teach French to Seymour's children. The *Tableau poétique* ends with an abecedarium, which contains a moralizing distich for each letter of the alphabet, addressed to Seymour's sons Edward and Thomas.⁹⁸ Such poems were popular in this period for teaching both calligraphy and French.⁹⁹ D'Heere had previous experience in teaching painting, but language lessons were a new trade that he might have picked up in order to make a living in exile.¹⁰⁰

D'Heere's knowledge of French was valuable starting capital for multiple reasons: the fact that it enjoyed cultural prestige among the English aristocracy meant that they wanted to support the creation of French poems, but it also meant that their children needed to be taught the language, which offered plenty of opportunities to French-speaking migrants from France and the Low Countries.

Johannes Radermacher: Trading Languages

Some of the poems in D'Heere's *Tableau poétique* were already known through other sources before Van Dam recovered the Seymour manuscript. Most of these were included in a manuscript compiled by D'Heere's friend and *mercator doctus* Johannes Radermacher.¹⁰¹ Radermacher, who also moved to London, collected short texts and poems that interested him, including one of D'Heere's poems on Queen Elizabeth that he had written in Dutch, French, and Latin.¹⁰² Radermacher's story differs in multiple ways from that of D'Heere and Van der Noot: he occasionally wrote some poetry himself, but he did not depend on his poetic skill in multiple languages during his time in England. However, he did put his linguistic abilities to work in his commercial career, and therefore it remains useful to compare his case with theirs. Finally, Radermacher's personal background is much more complex: he had already moved abroad before he traded Antwerp for London.

⁹⁶ Van Dam, 'Tableau Poétique', 30.

⁹⁷ For a list of names, see D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 91.

⁹⁸ D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 213–215.

⁹⁹ See for example Coornhert, *Nouvel exemplaire*; Heyns, *ABC*.

¹⁰⁰ It seems that he also taught these boys how to paint, as is suggested in a sonnet addressed to his 'disciples': D'Heere, *Tableau poetique*, 222.

¹⁰¹ Ghent, University Library, HS.2465. For a modern edition, see Radermacher, *Het album J. Rotarii*. On Radermacher as *mercator doctus*: Bostoen, *Bonis in bonum*, 11.

¹⁰² Radermacher, *Het album J. Rotarii*, fol. 149r.

Radermacher was born in Aachen, but after his father's death his mother sent him to Antwerp to become an apprentice to the merchant Gillis Hooftman. Radermacher was around sixteen years old at the time.¹⁰³ He had probably been raised as a Lutheran, but became increasingly interested in Calvinism.¹⁰⁴ Hooftman sent Radermacher on a short trading mission to London around 1560, and Radermacher recorded the minutes of a meeting between English and Netherlandish merchants in Bruges in 1565.¹⁰⁵ This means that he had already established some contacts in England before moving there for a longer period in 1567, officially on another trading mission: he became Hooftman's representative in London.

There has been some discussion about Radermacher's true intentions – did he flee to London, or was his decision to cross the North Sea a voluntary and professional one?¹⁰⁶ The answer probably lies somewhere in the middle. He did not explain his exact reasons in any extant documentation, but he was involved in the Protestant Church in London, and in the 1570s he actively supported the Dutch Revolt.¹⁰⁷ The move to England was certainly a profitable one, but staying in Antwerp was probably not an option because of his Protestant beliefs. Radermacher left after the Iconoclastic Fury and would not return to Antwerp until 1580, when the situation there had become less dangerous for Calvinists. After Antwerp was retaken by Philip II in 1585, he moved back to his hometown of Aachen, where he stayed until it too was invaded by Spanish troops. He then made a final move to Middelburg, where he passed away in 1617.¹⁰⁸

Radermacher was proficient in several languages. He was a native speaker of German and Dutch, but he also appears to have been fluent in French, as he wrote at least one French sonnet.¹⁰⁹ Radermacher's friend, the artist Joris Hoefnagel, made a set of drawings on the theme of patience for him, accompanied by poems in Dutch, French, and Spanish, a language also mastered by Radermacher.¹¹⁰ Radermacher himself left behind some Latin poetry, and in his aforementioned miscellany he collected texts in Dutch, French, English, Italian, Spanish, and German, as well as some in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic.¹¹¹ He seems to have been particularly interested in Italian literature.¹¹² When, after his death, his personal library was sold, the auction catalogue mentioned works in Dutch, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, French, and English.¹¹³ Even though the fact that

103 Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 10.

104 Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 18–19.

105 Heezen-Stoll, 'La presse n'opprime', 212.

106 Chris Joby has argued the latter, contrary to Karel Bostoën, Karel Porteman, and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt: Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 13–14; Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 215–216; Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 286.

107 Radermacher and D'Heere were involved in a mission of Philips of Marnix to the English court, who hoped to acquire financial support for the Dutch Revolt: Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 22.

108 Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 15–16; Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 11.

109 Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 39–40, 70.

110 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms Leber 2616.

111 He wrote a Neo-Latin contribution for the album amicorum of Emanuel van Meteren while in London in 1576: Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Douce 68, fol. 9.

112 Bostoën, *Dichterschap*, 58.

113 Anonymous, *Catalogus miscellaneus*. For a study of this catalogue, see Simoni, 'The Radermacher Sale Catalogue'.

he possessed these books does not attest to Radermacher's actual proficiency in the listed languages, it is indicative of his interest in languages in general.

In 1568, shortly after his arrival in London, Radermacher joined the Italian Church. He was not the only non-Italian who attended services there.¹¹⁴ The French and Italian Churches in London frequently received visitors who wished to learn the language through immersion or who were attracted by their cultural prestige.¹¹⁵ This might have been Radermacher's main goal as well, as it offered him an excellent opportunity to practice the language. Chris Joby has suggested another, even more opportunistic explanation. According to him, Radermacher might have hoped to meet Italian merchants at the church and thus improve his commercial position in London.¹¹⁶ This is an interesting idea, as it would mean that Radermacher consciously used his knowledge of Italian to generate social capital, that is, to establish new trading contacts. For the Italian merchants in London, it would have been quite appealing to be able to do business with someone fluent in their language.

It seems that Radermacher's time in England also inspired him to put his knowledge of Dutch to good use. He started writing a Dutch grammar, and though it remained uncompleted, it is the oldest known example.¹¹⁷ It is possible that Radermacher had been inspired by the Italian grammar produced by Michael Florio, a minister of the Italian Church and a refugee.¹¹⁸ Radermacher would later edit and publish another, previously unedited, Italian text by Florio, whose work he apparently knew quite well.¹¹⁹ In any case, Radermacher compares Dutch to English on multiple occasions: 'Take for example the English sound *th*, which they pronounce in a softer way than we do our *d*.'¹²⁰

It is not entirely clear either for whom or for what purpose Radermacher began his grammar. He states that he wished to 'come to the aid of simple, unlearned people who do not have the power nor the time to learn other languages'.¹²¹ However, he does not specify who these people are. Karel Bostoën has suggested that he wrote it for his fellow refugees in England, who wished to teach Dutch to their children.¹²² Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that Radermacher had an adult foreign audience in mind: 'But also adults who know their language well, whenever they wish to speak a foreign tongue, as we notice clearly when foreign nations want to speak our Dutch tongue, and cannot repeat what

114 Other Netherlandish refugees mentioned in the church records include Emanuel van Meteren, Jacob Hoefnagel, and Hendrick Beeckman: Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 10.

115 Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, 3.

116 Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 24.

117 Leiden, University Library, Ltk.2148. Karel Bostoën has been able to identify Radermacher as the author of this work in his 1985 edition: Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*.

118 Bostoën, *Bonis in bonum*, 57-58; Sumillera, 'Language Manuals', 66; Joby, *The Dutch Language*, 70.

119 Florio, *Historia*; Bostoën, 'Editing'.

120 Cited in Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 28: 'Neemt voor exempel der Enghelschen voorseyt th. welk sy sueter wt spreken dan wy onz D.'

121 Cited in Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 31: 'schlechten onghelerden lyeden te hulpe te comen, die de macht noch tyt niet en hebben om andere talen te leeren'.

122 Bostoën, *Kaars en bril*, 11.

we say.¹²³ Perhaps he wanted to provide a tool for Englishmen who wanted to learn the language of the refugees.

Whomever Radermacher felt might comprise his grammar's audience, they were never afforded the opportunity to benefit from it, as it was not only never printed, but appears never to have been finished. Rather than affording him a form of linguistic capital that aided him in his professional life in exile, Radermacher's use of Dutch here might ensue from another linguistic coping device: his interest in Dutch might have been sparked by nostalgic feelings as he resided on the other side of the North Sea. It is certainly remarkable that, around the same time, the philosopher Dirk Volckertsz. Coornhert started working on a Dutch grammar while he was a refugee in the Rhineland.¹²⁴

Conclusion

Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher all used their linguistic skills in order to rebuild their social and professional lives abroad. They all used their knowledge of languages to gain access to particular social and professional environments. Both D'Heere and Radermacher were also involved in language instruction. Such linguistic strategies were not foolproof, as illustrated by the fact that Van der Noot decided to leave England in order to make another attempt at a career in the Rhineland.

Although these three cases cannot simply be taken as representations of the Netherlandish community in England as a whole, they certainly do not stand alone. There are numerous known cases of early modern migrants – especially those belonging to the intellectual or economic elite – who, in some way or another, used their language skills abroad, but the specific linguistic strategies they may have employed often remain implicit in the extant research. A larger overview of early modern migrants' linguistic strategies is yet to be written, but this article has highlighted specific domains in which polyglotism seems to have been particularly valuable: religion (especially in the stranger churches), commercial contexts, aristocratic social interaction, and education.

For the elite of the Netherlandish community, it would have been relatively easy to ascend the social and professional ladder by using their language skills in the listed areas. However, these domains would also have offered interesting opportunities for other, less fortunate migrants. As John Gallagher has pointed out, multilingual servants were in high demand among the English aristocracy.¹²⁵ A merchant in need of an employee who could communicate with foreign clients might have visited the Dutch or French Church to find one. The role of Netherlandish migrants in the multilingual social context of early modern England deserves further scrutiny, and the cases of Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher give important clues on where to start.

¹²³ Cited in Bostoen, *Kaars en bril*, 27: 'Maer ook groten volwassenen lyeden, die seer wel ter talen syn, wanneer sy een vremde tale spreken willen: Als wy meest aen alle vremde nacen merken die onse duitsche tale spreken willen, dat sy niet nae seggen en kunnen wat wy hun voor seggen.'

¹²⁴ No trace of this manuscript has been found: *Twe-spraak*, sig. A5v; Bostoen, *Kaars en bril*, 2.

¹²⁵ Gallagher, *Language Learning*, 8, 19.

Furthermore, Radermacher's case serves to demonstrate the diversity and indefinability of the large group of migrants who moved from the Low Countries to England: for him, the mercantile and religious motives to cross the North Sea were probably strongly intertwined, as were his religious and professional practices in London, for which he used his knowledge of Italian. Moreover, although he departed for London from Antwerp, he was not born in the Low Countries, which means that his linguistic profile was slightly different from many of his fellow migrants. The fact that his native language was German did not make him less interested in Dutch, however, as is illustrated by his attempts to write a Dutch grammar.

This essay has underlined the extent to which French was a valuable language for the migrant community in England. Knowledge of French was much less common in England than in the Low Countries, where it was widespread. The fact that the Netherlandish community therefore had a better overall command of French than the English host community is an element that deserves to be taken into account in research on the exile experience and the attitudes of the host community towards migrants. Of course, there was strong competition from Huguenot refugees, but this did not prevent multilinguals such as Van der Noot and D'Heere from benefitting from the demand for French, even though they occasionally excused themselves for the imperfections in their writing. In the case of D'Heere, it was the combination of his artistic and linguistic skills that made him a valuable workforce in aristocratic circles.

It would also be useful to compare the situation in England to that in Germany, where French was valued differently. For example, Johannes Müller has already shown that refugees from the Low Countries played a key role in Frankfurt's publishing industry.¹²⁶ Cornel Zwierlein's work on Cologne further shows that the founding of the city's first French schools was a consequence of the exodus from the Low Countries.¹²⁷ More research needs to be conducted on the linguistic strategies of early modern migrants from the Low Countries and the impact these strategies had on the language situation in northwestern Europe.

It remains unclear to what extent Van der Noot, D'Heere, and Radermacher made an effort to learn the local English language, and what problems they might have faced because of their potential lack of English skills. However, this closer look into their linguistic strategies does show that language was not only an obstacle for early modern migrants, but that it also offered a range of opportunities.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Ghent, University Library, HS.2465, *Album Amicorum* of Joannes Rotarius.

Ghent, University Library, HS.2466, Lucas D'Heere, *Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers, tant anciens que modernes, diligemment peints au naturel par Luc Dheere peintre et sculpteur Gantois*.

¹²⁶ Müller, 'Transmigrant Literature'.

¹²⁷ Zwierlein, 'Religionskriegsmigration'.

Leiden, University Library, Ltk.2148, Johannes Radermacher, Voorreden van den noodich ende nutticheit der Nederduytscher taelkunste.

London, British Library, Add MS 28330, Lucas D'Heere, Corte beschryvinghe van d'Enghelandsche gheschiedenissen vergadert uut de beste Chronijcschrijvers.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 68, Album amicorum of Emanuel van Meteren.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Leber 2616, Joris Hoefnagel, Patientia.

Printed Sources

Böhm, M., *Sprachenwechsel. Akkulturation und Mehrsprachigkeit der Brandenburger Hugenotten vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2010).

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan (ed.), *Kaars en bril. De oudste Nederlandse grammatica* (Middelburg 1985).

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, 'De reclame van een Renaissancedichter. De relatie auteur-publiek getoetst aan de hand van twee gedichten van Jan Vander Noot', in J.J.M. Westenbroek et al. (eds.), *Verleidskunst- sten der Muzen* (Muiderberg 1986) 39-57.

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, *Dichterschap en koopmanschap in de zestiende eeuw. Omtrent de dichters Guillaume de Poetou en Jan van der Noot* (Deventer 1987).

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, 'Marnix en D'Heere in tegenspoed', *Literatuur* 5 (1988) 11-19.

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, 'Van der Noot's Apocalyptic Visions. Do You "See" What You "Read"?', in Bart Westerweel (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden 1997) 49-62.

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, *Bonis in bonum. Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538-1617), humanist en koopman* (Hilversum 1998).

Bostoën, Karel Johan Stephan, 'Editing, Printing, Publishing and Selling the Life and Death of Lady Jane Grey in 1607', in L. Hellinga, A. Duke, and J. Harskamp et al. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade, 1473-1941* (Houten 2001) 119-130.

Bourdieu, Pierre, 'L'économie des échanges linguistiques', *Langue française* 34 (1977) 17-34.

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris 1982).

Bourland, Caroline Brown, *The Guild of St. Ambrose, or Schoolmasters' Guild of Antwerp, 1529-1579* (Northampton 1951).

Boyce-Hendriks, Jennifer, *Immigration and Linguistic Change. A Socio-Historical Linguistic Study of the Effect of German and Southern Dutch Immigration on the Development of the Northern Dutch Vernacular in Sixteenth/Seventeenth-Century Holland*. PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998.

Brachin, Pierre, *Un disciple de Ronsard. Jan van der Noot, 'Patrice d'Anvers'* (Paris 1959).

Briels, Johan, *De Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie, 1572-1630* (Haarlem 1978).

Briels, Johan, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten in Noordnederland, 1570-1630. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van het schoolwezen in de Republiek', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 14 (1972) 89-169.

Burke, Peter, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2004).

Catalogus miscellaneus variorum ac insignium imprimis Latinorum, Italicorum, Hispanicorum, Gallicorum, Anglicorum, Germanicorum, & Belgicorum librorum. Doctissimi viri D. Ioannis Radermacheri (Middelburg: Johannes Hellenius, 1634).

Cohen, Paul, 'La Tour de Babel, le sac de Troie et la recherche des origines des langues. Philologie, histoire et illustration des langues vernaculaires en France et en Angleterre aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles', *Études Epistémè* 7 (2005) 31-53.

Coldiron, A.E.B., *Printers without Borders. Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge 2015).

Collinson, Patrick, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 20 (1964) 528-555.

Collinson, Patrick, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face. The Stranger Churches in Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent', *Studies in Church History* 2 (1979) 71-102.

Conrads-De Bruin, Marian, *Het Theatre van Lucas d'Heere. Een kostuumhistorisch onderzoek* (Houten 2006).

Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz, *Nouvel exemplaire pour apprendre à écrire* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1567).

- Dorsten, Jan Adrianus van, 'Thomas Basson, 1555-1613. English Printer at Leiden', *Quaerendo* 15 (1985) 195-224.
- Esser, Raingard, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1996).
- Fishman, Joshua A., 'Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?', *La Linguistique* 1 (1965/2) 67-88.
- Florio, John, *Florio his firste fruites which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also a perfect induction to the Italian, and English tongues* ([London]: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, [1578]).
- Florio, Michelangelo, *Historia de la vita e la morte de l'illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia gia Regina eletta e publicata d'Inghilterra. E de le cose accedute in quel Regno dopo la morte del Re Edoardo VI* ([Middelburg]: Richard Schilders, 1607).
- Forster, Leonard, 'The Translator of the *Theatre for Worldlings*', *English Studies* 48 (1967) 27-34.
- Forster, Leonard, *The Poet's Tongues. Multilingualism in Literature* (London 1970).
- Frederickx, Eddy, and Toon Van Hal, *Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519-1573). Brabants arts en taalfanaat* (Hilversum 2015).
- Friedland, Louis S., 'The Illustrations in *The Theatre for Worldlings*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 19 (1956/2) 107-120.
- Frijhoff, Willem, *Meertaligheid in de gouden eeuw. Een verkenning* (Amsterdam 2010).
- Gallagher, John, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford 2019).
- Goss, Emily L., *Negotiated Language Change in Early Modern Holland. Immigration and Linguistic Variation in The Hague (1600-1670)*. PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2002.
- Grell, Ole Peter, 'The Schooling of the Dutch Calvinist Community in London, 1550-1650', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 2 (1986) 45-56.
- Guicciardini, Lodovico, *Descrittione di tvtti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore. Con piu carte di geographia del paese, & col ritratto naturale di piu terre principali* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1567).
- Haar, Alisa van de, *The Golden Mean of Languages. Forging Dutch and French in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1540-1620* (Leiden 2019).
- Hadfield, Andrew, 'Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay in Jan van der Noot's *A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings*', in Fred Schurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation* (Basingstoke 2011) 143-160.
- Heere, Lucas d', *Psalmen Davids na d'Ebreusche waerhey, en d'alder beste exemplairen, oft translatien, liedekins-wijs in dichte ghestelt. Op de voysen en mate, van Clement Marots Psalmen* (Ghent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1565).
- Heere, Lucas d', *Den hof en boomgaerd der Poë sien* (Ghent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1565).
- Heere, Lucas d', *Tableau Poetique. Verzen van een Vlaamse migrant-kunstenaar voor de entourage van de Seymours op Wolf Hall*. Frederica Van Dam and Werner Waterschoot (eds.) (Ghent 2016).
- Heezen-Stoll, Barbara A., 'La presse n'opresse. Een zestiende-eeuws devies van Antwerpse kooplieden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992) 209-218.
- Hermans, T., 'Translating "Rhetorijckelijck" or "Ghetrouwelijck". Some Contexts of Dutch Renaissance Approaches to Translation', *Crossways* 1 (1991) 151-172.
- Heyns, Peeter, *ABC, ov Exemples propres povr apprendre les enfans a escrire, contenant plusieurs sentences morales pour l'instruction de la ieunesse* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1568).
- Hoftijzer, Paul, 'Henry Hexham (c.1585-1650). English Soldier, Author, Translator, Lexicographer, and Cultural Mediator in the Low Countries', in Sara Barker and Brenda Hosington (eds.), *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads. Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden 2012) 209-225.
- Howell, Robert B., 'Immigration and Koineization. The Formation of Early Modern Dutch Urban Vernaculars', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 104 (2006/2) 207-227.
- Hsy, Jonathan, *Trading Tongues. Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature* (Columbus 2013).
- Janssen, Geert H., 'Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566-1609', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011) 472-500.
- Janssen, Geert H., 'The Republic of the Refugees. Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience', *The Historical Journal* 60 (2017) 1-20.

- Janssens, Gustaaf, 'Verjaagd uit Nederland. Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 75 (1995/1) 102-119.
- Joby, Chris, *The Dutch Language in Britain (1550-1702). A Social History of the Use of Dutch in Early Modern Britain* (Leiden 2015).
- Kibbee, Douglas A., *For to Speke Frenche Trewely. The French Language in England, 1000-1600. Its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam 1991).
- Leeuwen, Charles van, 'De Franse inspiratiebronnen van Joost van Den Vondel', in Guy Janssens, Sabrina Sereni, and Erik Spinooy (eds.), *N/F. Onderzoek en praktijk in de Franstalige Neerlandistiek* 4 (2004) 23-39.
- Lenselink, Samuel Jan, *De Nederlandse psalmberijmingen in de 16e eeuw van de Souterliedekens tot Datheen met hun voorgangers in Duitsland en Frankrijk* (Assen 1959).
- Linden, David van der, *Experiencing Exile. Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700* (Farnham 2015).
- Loonen, P.L.M., *For to Learne to Buye and Sell. Learning English in the Low Dutch Area Between 1500 and 180. A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam 1991).
- Mander, Karel van, *Het schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe ieught den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604).
- Meteren, Emmanuel van, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder na-buren oorlogen ende geschiedenissen* (The Hague: Hillebrant Jacobsz., 1614).
- Meurier, Gabriel, *The coniugations in Englishe and Netherdutch, according as Gabriel Mevriar hath ordayned the same, in Netherdutch, and Frenche. De coniugation in Engelsch ende Nederduytsche, also de selue door Gabriel Meurier in Nederduytsche ende Franchoyse, zijn gemaect ende gheordonneert* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1586).
- Mottram, Steward, 'Spenser's Dutch Uncles. The Family of Love and the Four Translations of A *Theatre for Worldlings*', in José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2014) 164-184.
- Müller, Johannes, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt. The Narrated Diaspora, 1550-1750* (Leiden 2016).
- Müller, Johannes, 'Transmigrant Literature. Translating, Publishing, and Printing in Seventeenth-Century Frankfurt's Migrant Circles', *German Studies Review* 40 (2017) 1-21.
- Murphy, Emilie, 'Exile and Linguistic Encounter. Early Modern English Convents in the Low Countries and France', *Renaissance Quarterly* 73 (2020) 132-164.
- Muylaert, Silke, *Shaping the Stranger Churches. Migrants in England and the Troubles in the Netherlands, 1547-1585* (Leiden 2020).
- Nedkvitne, Arne, 'Linguistic Tensions between Germans and Natives in Scandinavia Compared to Eastern Europe', in Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (eds.), *Using the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy II* (Turnhout 2014) 87-97.
- Noot, Jan van der, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greete joyes and plesures which the faithfull do enjoy* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1569).
- Noot, Jan van der, *De Poeticsche werken van Jonker Jan van der Noot. Analytische bibliografie en tekstuitgave met inleiding en verklarende aantekeningen*, 3 vols. Werner Waterschoot (ed.) (Ghent 1975).
- Noot, Jan van der, *Een cort begryp der XII. boeken Olympiados. Abregé des doze livres Olympiades* (Antwerp: Gillis van den Rade, 1579).
- Noot, Jan van der, *Het Bosken van H. I. Vander Noot. Inhoudende verscheyden poëtix wercken* (London: Henry Bynneman, s.d.).
- Noot, Jan van der, *Het theatre oft Toon-neel waer in ter eender de ongelucken ende elenden die den werelts gesinden ende boosen menschen toecomen* (London: John Day, 1568).
- Noot, Jan van der, *Le theatre. Auquel sont exposés & monstrés les inconueniens & miseres qui suiuent les mondains & vicieux, ensemble les plaisirs & contentemens dont les fideles iouïssent* (London: John Day, 1568).

- Noot, Jan van der, *Lofsang van Braband. Hymne de Braband* (Antwerp: Gillis van den Rade, 1580).
- Pettegree, Andrew, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford 1986).
- Pleij, Herman, 'Marcus Gheeraerts als dichter', in Marc Van Vaecq, Hugo Brems, and Geert Claassens (eds.), *De steen van Alciato. Literatuur en visuele cultuur in de Nederlanden* (Leuven 2003) 1019-1029.
- Porteman, Karel, and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur. Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen* (Amsterdam 2008).
- Prandoni, Marco, 'Vive la France, à bas la France! Contradictory Attitude Toward the Appropriation of French Cultural Elements in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century. The Forewords of "Modern" Poetry Collections', in Bettina Noak (ed.), *Wissenstransfer und Auctoritas in der frühneuzeitlichen niederländischsprachigen Literatur* (Göttingen 2014) 179-194.
- Radermacher, Johannes, *Het album J. Rotarii. Tekstuitgave van het werk van Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538-1617) in het Album J. Rotarii, Handschrift 2465 van de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent*. C.A. Binnerts-Kluyver and Karel Bostoen (eds.) (Hilversum 1999).
- Rasmussen, Carl J., "'Quietnesse of Minde". A Theatre for Worldlings as a Protestant Poetics', *Spenser Studies* 1 (1980) 3-27.
- Rubright, Marjorie, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas. Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia 2014).
- Saenger, M., *Shakespeare and the French Borders of English* (New York 2013).
- Simoni, Anna, 'The Radermacher Sale Catalogue, 1634', www.johanradermacher.net (Accessed on 30 December 2020).
- Smith, Paul J., 'Petrarch Translated and Illustrated in Jan van der Noot's *Theatre* (1568)', in Jan Papy and Karl Enenkel (eds.), *Petrarch and his Readers in the Renaissance* (Leiden 2003) 289-325.
- Smith, Paul J., *Het schouwtoneel der dieren. Embleemfabels in de Nederlanden (1567-ca. 1670)* (Hilversum 2006).
- Smith, Paul J., 'Latin et langues vernaculaires dans la ville universitaire de Leyde. L'officine de Thomas Basson (1555-1613)', in Elsa Kammerer and Jan-Dirk Müller (eds.), *Imprimeurs et libraires de la Renaissance. Le travail de la langue* (Paris 2013) 271-283.
- Spicer, Andrew, 'A Place of Refuge and Sanctuary of a Holy Temple'. Exile Communities and the Stranger Churches', in Nigel Goose and Liên Luu (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton 2005) 91-109.
- Sumillera, Rocio G., 'Language Manuals and the Book Trade in England', in José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2014) 61-80.
- Timelli, Maria Colombo, and André Rebouillet, 'Parcours professionnels au XVII^e siècle. Berlaimont, Hollyband, Meurier', *Le français dans le monde. Recherches et applications* 23 (1998) 21-23.
- Trudgill, Peter, 'The role of Dutch in the Development of East Anglian English', *Taal & Tongval* 65 (2013) 11-22.
- Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst, oofte Uant spellen ende eyghenscap des Nederduitschen taals* (Leiden: Christophe Plantin, 1584).
- Van Dam, Frederica, "'Tableau Poétique". A Recently Discovered Manuscript by the Flemish Painter-Poet Lucas D'Heere (1534-84)', *Dutch Crossing* 38 (2014) 20-38.
- Verbeke, Demmy, 'Polyglotte publicaties in de vroegmoderne tijd', in Toon Van Hal, Lambert Isebaert, and Pierre Swiggers (eds.), *De tuin der talen. Taalstudie en taalcultuur in de Lage Landen, 1450-1750* (Leuven 2013) 71-92.
- Wal, Marijke van der, 'Early Modern Migrants in a Language Contact Setting. Characteristics of the Dutch Heusch Correspondence (1664-1665)', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 4 (2018/2) 253-280.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas D'Heere', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (1974) 16-126.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Lucas d'Heere en Willem van Oranje', *Jaarboek De Fonteyne* 35 (1986) 81-102.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Jan van der Noot's *Het Bosken* Re-Examined', *Quaerendo* 22 (1992), 28-45.

- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Het sonnet van Eleonora Carboniers', in Henk Duits, Arie Jan Gelderblom, and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt (eds.), *Klinkend boeket. Studies over renaissancesonnetten voor Marijke Spies* (Hilversum 1994) 9-12.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Marot ou Ronsard? New French Poetics Among Dutch Rhetoricians in the Second Half of the 16th Century', in Jelle Koopmans (ed.), *Rhetoric – Rhétoriciens – Rederijkers* (Amsterdam 1995) 141-156.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'An Author's Strategy. Jan van der Noot's *Het Theatre*', in Bart Westerweel (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden 1997) 35-47.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Beeld breekt woord. Illustratie en tekst in *Das Buch Extasis* van Jonker Jan van der Noot', in Marc Van Vaeck, Hugo Brems, and Geert Claassens (eds.), *De steen van Alciato* (Leuven 2003) 655-672.
- Waterschoot, Werner, 'Jan van der Noot Among English and German Printers', *Quaerendo* 42 (2012) 316-321.
- Whetstone, George, *The honovrable repvtation of a sovldier* (Leiden: Jan Paedts Jacobsz., 1586).
- Yates, Frances A., *The Valois Tapestries* (London 1975).
- Young, Christopher, and Thomas Gloning, *A History of the German Language Through Texts* (New York 2004).
- Zschomler, S., "'Language Is Your Dignity". Migration, Linguistic Capital, and the Experience of Re/De-Valuation', *Languages* 4 (2019) n.p.
- Zwierlein, Cornel, 'Religionskriegsmigration, Französischunterricht, Kulturtransfer und die Zeitungsproduktion im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Francia* 37 (2010) 97-129.