

# Formulaic Language and Regularisation in the Administrative Processes of the States General of the Dutch Republic (1576-1796)<sup>1</sup>

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The governance of the Dutch Republic by the States General, its supreme ruling council, was organised around the resolutions or decisions that were taken in its daily meetings in the 220 period that lasted from 1576 to 1796. The resolutions were recorded by the office of the Griffie, led by the Greffier. The digitised archive contains almost 500,000 pages of handwritten and printed resolutions in over 600 volumes.<sup>2</sup> Textual representations of these pages have been made through HTR, after which the text has been segmented into paragraphs and individual decisions.<sup>3</sup> The archive consists of almost 1 million decisions and 150 million words.

As the volume of the States General's business grew with the Dutch Republic, so did its administrative burden and the office of the Greffier. More administrative workload called for regularisation. In this paper we will argue that the increasing regularisation was reflected in and mediated by an increased use of formulaic language and administrative templates in the recording of the resolutions.

In earlier work, we have noticed that in the eighteenth century, when the resolutions were printed, they were characterised by a striking use of highly formulaic language.<sup>4</sup> Some explorative research showed that it shares this characteristic with other administrative corpora while genres like newspapers, book reviews and literary texts have a much freer form. This appears mainly from differences in textual repetition,

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.01.02>

<sup>3</sup> <https://republic.huygens.knaw.nl/index.php/en/republic-english/>

<sup>4</sup> M. Koolen and R. Hoekstra, *Detecting Formulaic Language Use in Historical Administrative Corpora*. Proceedings of the Computational Humanities Research Conference 2022. Antwerp, Belgium, December 12-14, 2022. [https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-3290/long\\_paper5740.pdf](https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-3290/long_paper5740.pdf)

which is higher in administrative corpora, and which is especially notable in the large number of highly frequent phrases of five or more words.

Further explorations of the use of these formulaic expressions showed that their frequency increased in time. It is possible to discern eleven different periods in the use of formulaic expressions that mark different stages in their use. We also noticed that the use of formulaic expressions is cumulative, with the effect of an increasing regularisation of the resolutions' recordings.<sup>5</sup>

## Dealing with variation

At the same time, we struggled with the variation in the use of formulaic expressions. While some phrases seem to be fixed, especially in the eighteenth century, there are still many varieties concurrent at the same time. The source of variation is varied:

- *Spelling variation*: While we were able to obtain a remarkably quality of Handwritten Text Recognitions (HTR, with a Character Error Rate (CER) of 3%) and Optical Character Recognition (OCR, with a CER of under 1%), there still remain text recognition mistakes. They combine with the overall early modern (especially seventeenth century) lack of fixed spelling to produce differences in spelling of the same words. For example the ubiquitous formula “gedelibereert zynde is goetgevonden en verstaan” (EN: *having deliberated is agreed and understood*) could have many different representations (see Table 1). This changes the representation of the formula but not its overall form.
- *Grammatical variation*: variation in context, as well as the influence of the greffier and clerks recording and copying the resolutions, often introduced slight variation in wording of the resolutions. This changes the representation and the form of the formula but not its intention. For instance, there are two frequently used phrases to indicate the acceptance of a decision: “is na deliberatie goetgevonden ende verstaen” (EN: *is, after deliberation, accepted and understood*) and “waerop gebelidereert zynde is goetgevonden ende verstaen” (EN: *which, upon*

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<sup>5</sup> M. Koolen, R. Hoekstra, J. Oddens & R. Sluijter. *Formulas and decision-making: the case of the States General of the Dutch Republic*. Proceedings of the Computational Humanities Research Conference 2023, Paris, France, December 6-8, 2023. [https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-3290/long\\_paper5740.pdf](https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-3290/long_paper5740.pdf)

*deliberation, it has been accepted and understood*). Both phrases are used tens of thousands of times over a long and overlapping period, but each in a specific set of contexts. Their intention and function is the same however.

- *Word choice variation*: Over time formulas sometimes changed by replacing a specific content word by a synonym. The most obvious of these is the change in formula from “Ontfangen een brieff” to “Ontfangen een missive” (EN: *Received a Letter*) in the 1620s. This changes both the form and the representation of the resolution, but not the intention.
- *Layout variation*: some elements were initially marked by using a different layout (e.g. in the handwritten volumes, attendance lists were left-indented on the page with regard to the resolution paragraphs), but were later marked by formulas (in the printed volumes, starting in 1672, the left-indentation is not used, but attendance lists were started by the uppercase word PRAESIDE, followed by the name of the meeting’s chair, followed by the uppercase word PRAESIDENTIBUS, followed by the names of the attendants).

gedelibereert zynde is goedgevonden en verstaan dat
gedelibereert zynde is goetgevonden ende verstaen dat
gedelibereert zynde is goedtgevonden ende verstaen
gedelibereert zynde is goedtgevonden ende verstaan dat
na voorgaande deliberatie goedgevonden en verstaan dat

Table 1: formula variants on ‘*goetgevonden en verstaan*’ occurring at least 10,000 times in the 18th century

We conclude that even with these sources of variation, variant expressions are still recognisable as formulas; they are variations on a common form and it is useful to differentiate their *exact representation* and *form* from their *intention* and *function*. However, the combined sources of variation make it difficult to identify all (occurrences of) formulas. It is possible to algorithmically identify formulaic phrases and to identify a periodisation on the basis of stylometric clustering of such phrases (Figure 1).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Koolen et al., *Formulas*, 2023

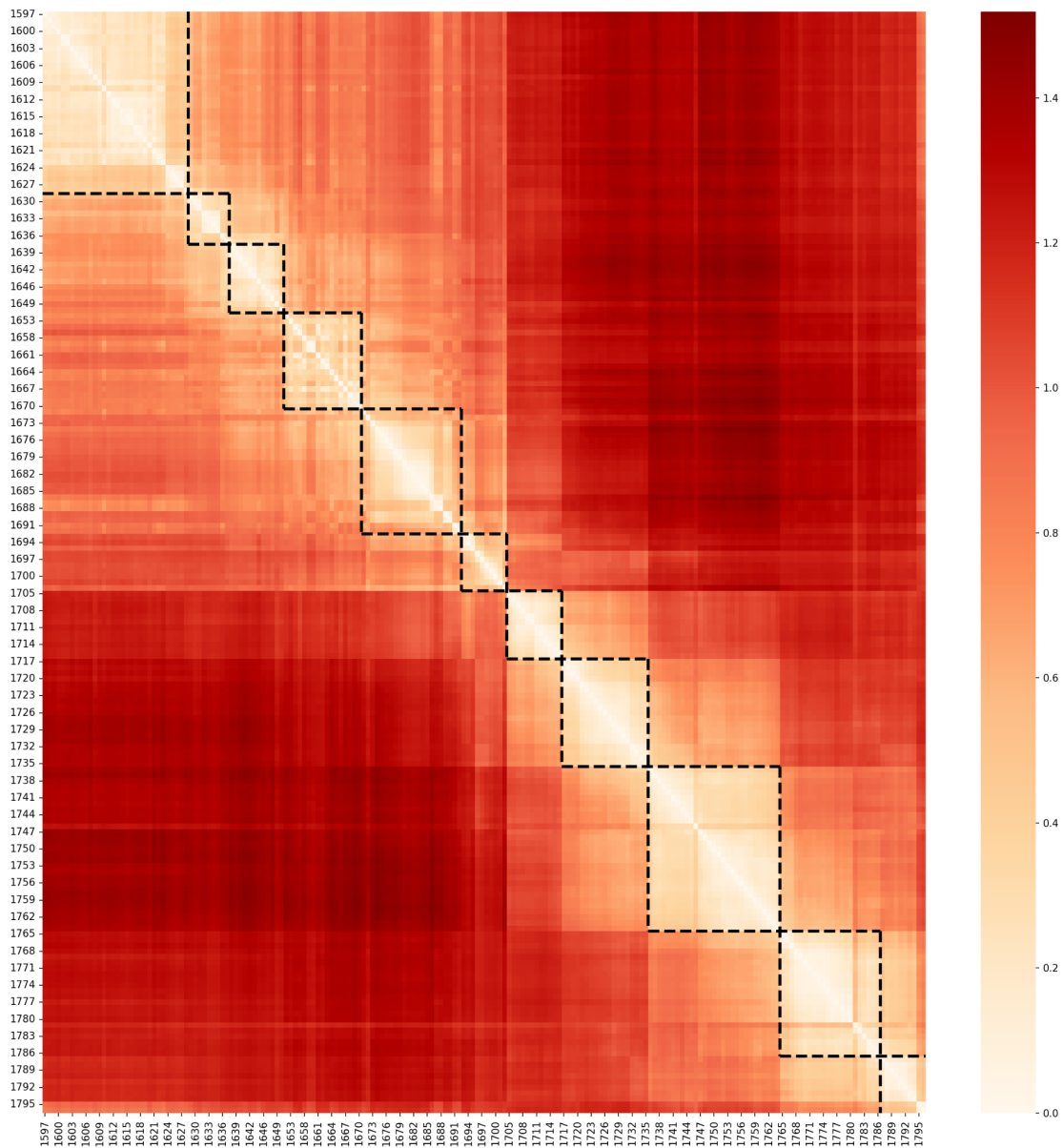


Figure 1. Stylometric analysis of the resolutions using Burrows' Delta with cosine distance on the top 1000 3-word phrases, comparing the resolutions of a single year against all other years. Darker colours signal that the resolutions of the two years are less similar in what 3-word phrases they use. Lighter colours signal that two years are more similar. Resolutions that are closer to each other in time are (on average) also closer to each other in terms of their most frequent 3-word phrases. The dashed black lines indicate the clusters identified through hierarchical clustering.

However, the efforts to use this bottom-up clustering of formulaic expressions to come to more complete sets of actual formulas, are complicated because the variation makes it hard to define a constant part of a formulaic expression that can serve as an identifier. In addition, the context, , more specifically the place of the formulas in a resolution also serves as a determining element: formulas that occur at the beginning of resolutions are different from those appearing at the end or in the middle, but often only in a subtle way. For example the frequent formula “om te visiteeren examineeren, en van alles alhier ter Vergadering rapport te doen” (EN: *to visit and examine, and report back of all this to this Assembly*) occurred in the conclusion of a resolution, while the resulting report appeared mostly earlier in a resolution as “geexamineert hebbende het Rapport van” (EN: *“having examined the Report of”*).

In the remainder of this paper, we will look at these structures and make a first attempt to identify a number of templates in the resolutions. Furthermore, we try to analyse the relation between resolutions, formulas and templates, and how they were connected to the regularisation of the meetings of the States General and what this means for the interpretation of the evolution of the governing of the Dutch Republic.

## The structures of resolutions

In this paragraph we analyse the structure of resolutions and the increasing use of templates for resolutions. But before we look at the resolutions, it is useful to take a look at their context, that is, the meetings and the way they were recorded. From the beginning of the recorded resolutions of the States General, meetings followed a similar structure that was presumably inherited from its institutional predecessors from the court in Brussels. The resolutions recorded during a meeting were preceded by the date of the meeting, a list of the delegates of the provinces who were present and the delegate who presided over the meeting (always indicated with the word ‘Pr[a]eside’). The order of the provinces was determined by official hierarchy and remained the same throughout the 220 years of recording and followed the formal rules of precedence.<sup>7</sup> In the printed resolutions the attendance lists always had the same (template) form:

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<sup>7</sup> T. Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht: de Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796* (2 Vols), The Hague, 2015, I, Ch 2.2.1, pp. 90-91; II, Ch 4.2 esp Table 3, pp.116-118

PRAESIDE, Den Heere <name of the president>. PRAESSENTIBUS, De Heeren  
<list of attending delegates>

[EN: PRESIDING, Gentleman <name>. PRESENT, Gentlemen <list of names of  
delegates present>]<sup>8</sup>

After the list of attendants in the printed resolutions followed a list of the resolutions taken that day. From 1637 resolutions were preceded by the so-called resumption, stating that the resolutions of the previous day had been read and approved:

DE Relolutien gisteren genomen, zyn geleesen en geresumeert, gelijk ook geresumeert en gearresteert zyn de Depeches daar uit resulteerende. [EN: *The resolutions taken yesterday are read and summarised, as well as the depeches that follow from them.*]

This standard resumption was introduced in 1637 after complaints that the then current Greffier, Cornelis Musch, sometimes changed the wording of the resolution to suit his (usually political) purposes.<sup>9</sup> Before that, the resumption took place at the end of the session and was mentioned in the recorded resolutions only occasionally, in more specific cases or when important or sensitive letters had been drafted. The exact wording of the resumption still changed after 1637<sup>10</sup> and only stabilised around 1650 after in 1646 it had been ordered that the letters the greffier wrote for the States General should be resumed too before dispatching them.<sup>11</sup> This shows a change in a formula, not only in wording, but also in function and intention, as this formula was to indicate a regular check by the States General, whereas before it had a much more incidental function.

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<sup>8</sup> We have found no direct equivalent of *Heer(en)* in English in a comparable context. The usual English 'Mr.' or 'Lord' are both not quite applicable for the deputies of the States-General. We settled for the more recent variant 'Gentleman'.

<sup>9</sup> Th. van Riemsdijk, *De griffie van hare hoog mogenden: bijdrage tot de kennis van het archief van de Staten-Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, The Hague, 1885, p 19; T. Thomassen, *Instrumenten* Vol.2, Ch 3.4, pp 462-466;

<sup>10</sup> "De Resolutien gisteren genomen sijn gelesen ende geresumeert." [1637 inv nr 3197]

<sup>11</sup> van Riemsdijk *griffie*, p 19

The resumption was followed by the resolutions taken in that session, usually starting with short notices about the letters of intelligence received from ambassadors and envoys. The consistent structure of the meeting recordings enabled us to reliably identify and extract them.

The resolutions themselves also have a consistent internal structure. They start with a *proposition* that was followed by a *decision*.<sup>12</sup> The *proposition* describes what was proposed or requested and by whom, and the *decision* paragraph details whether the proposition has been accepted, and if so, under what conditions and what actions are to be taken next. Earlier research has shown that the resolutions contain many text structuring formulas, including formulas to introduce the *proposition* and *decision* paragraphs.<sup>13</sup> From the 1620s the proposition was supposed to be a written document, but in the first decades of the seventeenth century, delegates, ambassadors, organisations and even individuals often appeared in person to plead their case.<sup>14</sup> In the eighteenth century, there were fourteen types of propositions. The most common types were letters (*missiven*) and requests (*requesten*) representing 58% and 27% of all resolutions respectively and the reports, memoranda, declarations and advises represented another 9%. We have not established formal decision types yet, but they included accepted, rejected, postponed and no decision necessary.

However, this is a simplification of the structure of the resolutions. While the **proposition** and **decision** were always present, many resolutions had additional elements. As the resolutions were assumed to be taken anonymously, the deliberations are never recorded, but there are other recurring elements. A proposition was often followed by an **exposition** in which the relevant elements of the proposition were summarised. A decision was often preceded by **considerations** or limitations or it was followed by **provisions** that either modified the decision or limited its scope. In many cases the **execution** and **elaboration** of the decision was delegated to either subordinate governing bodies or the executive officials in the service of the States

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<sup>12</sup> Cf van Riemsdijk, p.90, according to whom "Drafting a resolution in that form was called to extend a resolution"

<sup>13</sup> Koolen, Marijn, Rik Hoekstra, Joris Oddens, Ronald Sluijter, Rutger Van Koert, Gijsjan Brouwer, and Hennie Brugman. "The Value of Preexisting Structures for Digital Access: Modelling the Resolutions of the Dutch States General." ACM Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage 16, no. 1 (2023): 1-24.; Koolen & Hoekstra, Detecting.

<sup>14</sup> Thomassen, *Instrumenten*, II, Ch 3.3. Pp. 460-462.

General, such as the greffier or the treasurer. When a resolution was postponed, in many cases another governing body, such as a committee from the States General or the Raad van State (Council of State), was asked for further investigations or information and advice. Many of the reports and memoranda that were submitted as propositions were from one of these bodies, and their exposition contained a reference to the earlier proposition it was asked to investigate or advise on.

We found that in the course of time an increasing part of the resolutions consisted of formulaic expressions, reflecting an increase in regularisation and use of templates.<sup>15</sup> Figure 2 shows that in the first half of the 17th century, formulaic phrases made up between 10% and 60% of all the words of a resolution, while in the 18th century, formulaic phrases often took up 80% or 90% of all the words in a resolution (with the names of persons and locations and dates being the only variable elements).

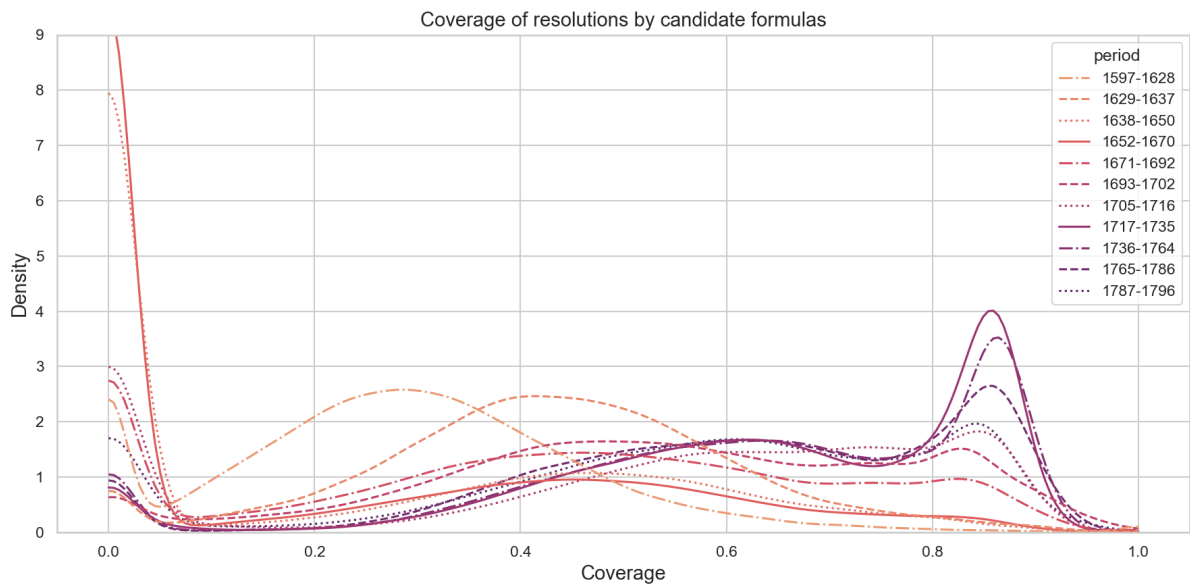


Figure 2. A density plot of the fraction of a resolution being made up of candidate formulas (sequences of commonly co-occurring words). Each line represents one of the periods identified by the hierarchical clustering shown in Figure 1. The coverage by candidate formulas increases over time, suggesting an increasing use of formulaic phrasing.

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<sup>15</sup> Koolen et al., *Formulas*, 2023



## Template resolutions

It is too early to give a comprehensive and detailed overview of formulas and templates, but we will illustrate the general evolution by means of some example templates. Some simpler resolutions were completely moulded by templates, but partial templates were developed as well, that could be combined in a flexible way to make up at least the required standard parts of resolutions. Where possible, we will also give their development over time.

We already saw the example of the resumption as a complete template that was always part of the sessions in the printed resolutions of the eighteenth century. Another very frequent template was that of the intelligence letters by envoys from foreign courts. Its main form is as follows:

Ontfangen een Missive van <PERSON>, geschreven te <LOCATION> den <DATE>, houdende advertentie, Waar op geen resolutie is gevallen.

(EN: *Received a Missive of <PERSON>, written in <LOCATION> on <DATE>, containing intelligence, on which no resolution has fallen.*)

In the eighteenth century it occurred around 70,000 times, representing almost half of all letters received, or a little under a quarter of all resolutions. The form had early roots. In 1605 the records read:

“Ontfangen eenen brieff van zyn Excie. vanden xxixe. augusti daerby deselve recommandeert het maecten van verscheyden Redoubten Ouerijssel, ter plaetssen daer die tanderen tijden gelegen hebben.” [1605, inv. nr. 3154]

(EN: *Received a letter from his Excellency dated 19th of August recommending the making of several redoubts (= temporary fortifications) in Overijssel, in places where they were before*)

In these early resolutions, another word for letter was used (*brieff* instead of *missiven*), the intelligence was still summarised and the lack of need for a decision remained

implicit. This changed quickly in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1618 a similar formula read:

“Ontfangen ende gelesen eenen brieff gescreuen byden Scheeps Capiteyn Pellicom tot Cadis den xxxen. Decembris lestleden egeen antwoort eysschende” [1618, inv. nr. 3177]

(EN: *Received and read a letter written by the Ship Captain Pellicom in Cadis on the 30th of December, requiring no answer*)

And in 1640 it had evolved to

“Ontfangen een missiue vande heer van Oosterwyck geschreven tot Paris den 18. deses, ende daer neffens een bylage houdende advertentie, Waer op egeen resolutie en is gevallen” [1640, inv. Nr. 3246]

(EN: *Received a letter by the Gentleman Van Oosterwyck written in Paris the 18th of this month and additionally an appendix holding intelligence. On which no resolution is fallen*)

While the function and intention of this formula remained the same throughout the 220 year period of recording resolutions, much of its form changed in the first decades until it stabilised in a template that was not changed anymore in the remaining 150 years. Besides full templates, there were formulas and partial templates in use. The use of formulas was particular for specific purposes in the resolutions - the same exact formulaic expression was never used in different contexts.

We have already seen ‘ontfangen een brief/missive’ (EN: *received a letter*). ‘Ontfangen’ (EN: *received*) was used exclusively for letters. For all other proposition types mostly ‘[Ter vergadering] gelesen de’ (EN: *read [at the session]*) was used and for requests also often ‘Opte requeste van’ (EN: *on the request of*), later replaced with ‘Op de requeste van’.

Often, a resolution was sent to another organisation or official for advice. If this was under the direct authority of the States General, the formulaic expression used was that the subject of the proposition (the letter, request, memo etc) ‘gesteld sal werden in

handen van <GOVERNING BODY> om te visiteren, examineeren, [...] en van alles ter vergadering rapport te doen' (EN: *will be put in hands of the <GOVERNING BODY> to visit, examine and report about everything in this meeting*). In the case of organisations not under the direct authority of the States General, the proposition was 'versonden aan' (EN: *sent to*) for advice.

## Regularisation and Technocratisation

Regularisation of the resolutions took place over a long period in which both conscious steps and gradual adaptation intertwined. The most important conscious step was to cast the whole governing process in the meetings as a resolution-taking process. The first action in regularisation of the resolutions was to put all decisions in the common resolution structure that we outlined above. In the early years, there were already many resolutions that had a form with a similar structure and many formulas were already under development or used, but not consistently. In the eighteenth century, however, there were no or hardly any exceptions to the structure of the resolutions. At times, this required adjustments to fit everything into the resolution format. The formula 'waarop geen resolutie is gevallen' (EN: *on which no resolution has reached*) is the most important example of this. Over time, resolutions also came to contain one single proposition and one decision, while initially there were complicated resolutions that also made it difficult to extract information.

Another important step was to regularise the language use in the resolutions using more and more formulas. We have seen some examples above. Crucial steps in formularisation that grew into full and partial templates were taken in the 1620s and 1630s. Greffier Cornelis Musch seems to have played an important role in this in the 1620s, but historiography has also emphasised the introduction of measures like the resumption on the following day because of his machinations.<sup>16</sup>

We speculate that various other aspects played a role in the regularisation of the resolutions, related to the decision-making process and its recording.

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<sup>16</sup> Note 9 above

**Greffier transitions** Over the 220 year period, 13 different people held the position of greffier. Each greffier may have introduced his own preferences for spelling and vocabulary, and may have changed the existing formulas as well as introduced new formulas. It is plausible that formulaic elements, once established and used frequently by previous greffiers, were adopted by the next greffier. If so, we would expect the amount of formulas used to gradually increase over time and not decrease.

**Reduced spelling variation** During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the spelling of Dutch was not yet fixed. We therefore find spelling *variation* (multiple spellings of the same word within a single volume) as well as spelling *change* over time. However, there was a tendency toward standardisation. Standardisation of spelling also affects standardisation of the surface form of formulaic phrasing. Furthermore, from 1705 the resolutions were printed, and have a lower character error rate in text recognition.

**Increased time pressure** The number of decisions to be taken, and the amount of text to produce, increased throughout the seventeenth century, which increased the pressure to efficiently write down the minutes during the meeting and extend them to fully-formed resolutions for approval the next day.<sup>17</sup> This may have led the greffier to introduce standard phrasings for the most repetitive elements of the resolutions to avoid having to come up each time with phrases that precisely express what was decided, and also to speed up the extending of the minutes.

**Procedural standardisation** To improve the production, organisation and approval of resolutions, the SG introduced various changes to the procedure.<sup>18</sup> These include:

- **Introduction of resumption(1637)** In the first 60 years (1576-1636), the greffier would write minutes during the meeting, then extend them and read them out loud for approval (called resumption) at the end of the meeting.<sup>19</sup> From 1637, the resumption of the fully written resolutions was moved to the start of the next

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<sup>17</sup> Thomassen, Instrumenten, II, Ch.4, 427-538

<sup>18</sup> Thomassen, Instrumenten, II, pp.436-437.

<sup>19</sup> Thomassen, Instrumenten, II, p.437.

meeting. This gave the greffier more time to draft the resolution and put thought into how to phrase them to easily find back relevant information later on.

- **Reading of depeches (1646)** apart from reading out the resolutions for approval, the greffier now also read out the so-called depeches (outgoing documents, like ratifications and treatises), that were to be sent to committees or other organisations.
- **Preparation by committees (1651)** Many of the administrative, organisational and ceremonial tasks of the SG were prepared and executed by committees, headed by one of the members of the SG. From 1651, committee work that was to be discussed in the meetings of the SG, was increasingly prepared to such an extent that the discussion was mostly a formality.<sup>20</sup> The committees were addressed by the following formula “heeren <PRESIDENT> ende andere haer ho:Mo: Gedeputeerden tot de Saecken van ...”, for example

“heeren Huijgens ende andere haer ho:Mo: Gedeputeerden tot de Saecken ter zee” (EN: *the Gentleman Huijgens and other her High and Mighty's Deputies of the Affairs of the Sea*)

At first, there were no fixed names for the committees and the number of different committee names soared from under ten per year to around forty in the 1650s and 1660s. After the regime change in 1672, committee names were reduced by half to a constant of about twenty (Figure 3). Increasingly, committees were made permanent, with fixed names related to a fixed set of common topics.<sup>21</sup>

- **Extending by the commies (1680)** Until 1680, the greffier extended the minutes into full resolutions himself. After 1680, this was done by the so-called *commies*.<sup>22</sup> Given the strict protocol that had to be followed to ensure that the resolutions reflected what was decided at the meeting, we expect that when copying from minute resolutions to neat resolutions, there was no room for commies and clerks to deviate in word choice and word order. A modest manual

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<sup>20</sup> Thomassen, *Instrumenten*, I, p.162.

<sup>21</sup> About the committees also see G. de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verrraad. De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek*, The Hague 1991, Ch 9, esp pp 251-281

<sup>22</sup> Van Riemsdijk, *De Griffie*, esp Ch II, pp. 10-32.

comparison between minute and neat resolutions corroborates this. At the level of spelling, however, there were individual differences.

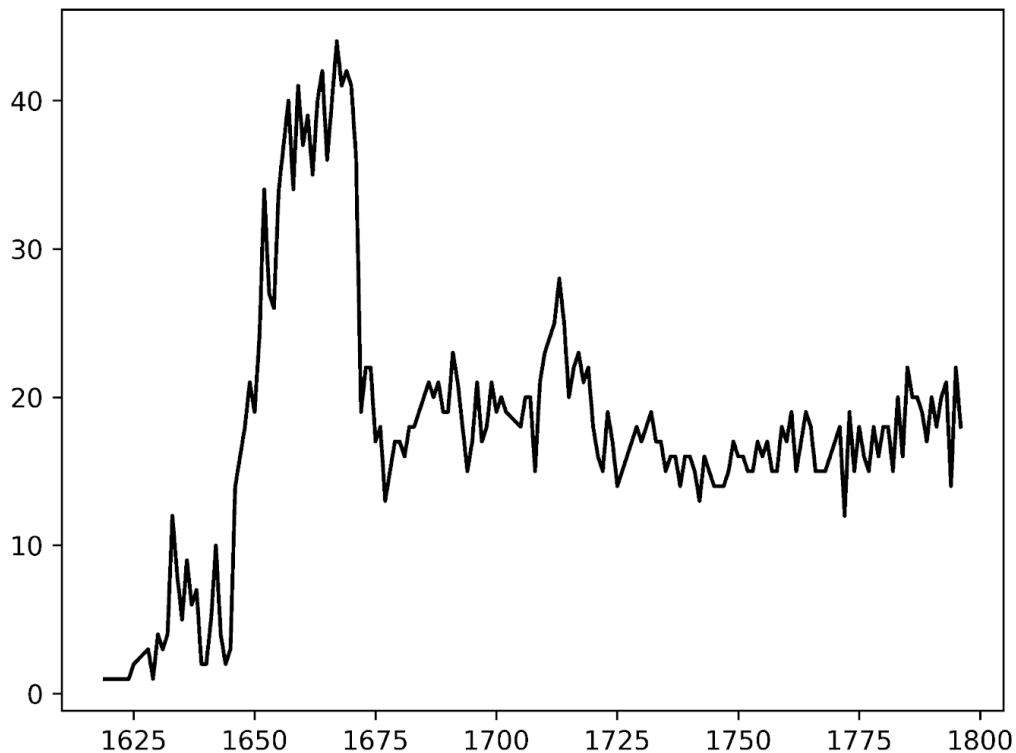


Figure 3: The number of different committee names per year.

It is worth considering the implications of this regularisation process. No doubt the introduction of fixed structures and formulas meant that the processes of decision-making and recording were made more efficient, but it also helped finding back information. The greffiers had to frequently look up earlier decisions related to matters that were to be discussed in the next meeting, which put pressure on organising the archive of resolution in such a way that relevant information could be found efficiently. Using fixed text structures, formulaic phrasings and layout conventions all helped spotting potentially relevant information, thereby reducing the need to read through long paragraphs of text.

However, we argue that the regularisations also had the effect of technocratisation. The use of fixed forms, consisting of formulas and templates in a way judicialised the resolutions, because less variation reduced the possibilities for diverging interpretations. The strict form of the resolution also had the effect of removing much of the appearance of politics, as it suggested anonymisation and unanimous decision making.<sup>23</sup> The use of formulas implied an increasing categorisation of problems (propositions) and solutions (decisions). Later the issues under consideration of the States General were further reduced and classified to certain pre-devised types that could be captured by (partial) templates. In this way, the extreme repetitiveness in the records of the bulk of the resolutions appeared to remove most of politics from an almost anonymously and unanimously functioning government decision machine. In practice, of course, this was still a political body at work and the reduction of political language may itself have had political motives.

This increased technocracy could have gradually evolved under the surface of the States-General's awareness, due to the repetitive nature of the decision-making process. Or it could have been a conscious set of decisions to simplify the process or to steer decisions in a desired direction. It is possible that this happened both consciously and subconsciously.<sup>24</sup> In either case, it was a long process that happened behind the scenes of the recording. According to De Bruin and other authors, it went hand in hand with a process of increasing 'institutional rigidity'.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Compare the less diplomatic wording of the 1598 resolution about the strengthening of a garrison: "Ontfangen eenen brieff vande Stadt Bergen op Zoom van date den ye deses, daerby sy versoucken versterckigh van het garnisoen, opt geschrey dat dat daer loopt dat den vyant eenige versamelinge In Brabant soude maecken van volck. Is geresolueert daerop te antwoorden, ende die van Bergen te vermaennen dat sy goede wacht willen houden, ende op haerluyder hoede zyn, dat des noot wesende, ende de saecken vereysschende, d'heeren Staten by tyts opte versochte versterckinge sullen versien naer behoiren. [inv nr 3140, 1598] [EN: "Received a letter from the City of Bergen op Zoom dated the iind of this [month], in which they requested that the garrison be reinforced, on the ground of the whining that the enemy was threatening to gather some troops in Brabant. It was resolved to reply to this, and to exhort the people of Bergen to keep a good watch, and to be on their guard, that if necessary and the situation requires this, the Lords of State will timely provide the requested reinforcements."

<sup>24</sup> About the long process of administrative regularisation also Van Riemsdijk, *De Griffie* pp.90-97

<sup>25</sup> De Bruin, *Geheimhouding*, who adds that, especially after 1713, it "made the [state] machinery run ever more rigidly and finally stalled it" p.308-309

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