

## LOCAL SONG BOOKS IN THE GOLDEN AGE

Louis Peter Grijp

Nederlands Volksliedarchief, P.J. Meertens-Instituut, Amsterdam

(Translated by H. Joldersma)

WHILE THE GOLDEN AGE WAS AN ERA in which the visual arts and literature flourished as never before, its music was undergoing what could be considered a crisis. Two reasons are usually cited for this: firstly, the dominance of a Calvinism which opposed professional church music, and secondly, the absence of a court which loved splendour and would have patronized the musical arts. As a result, interesting positions for professional musicians were few and far between, and the career of the only composer of international stature in the Netherlands during this time, the Amsterdam organist Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), is the exception which proves the rule. Paradoxically, however, there was a great deal of music in the Golden Age, for singing was extremely popular. This vocal music was not the domain of professional choirs, such as those in the Roman Catholic church or at courts abroad, for professional choirs did not exist in the Netherlands. Neither was it the domain of amateur musicians who gathered weekly in *collegia musica*; while such groups did exist, they were not remarkable in either quality or dedication. Instead, the unique nature of music in the Golden Age is to be found in the song culture of ordinary citizens, the bourgeoisie. It is an interesting fact that this song consisted almost solely of *contrafacts*, a type of song in which a text is composed for an already existing melody. Melodies for the contrafacts came mainly from abroad, especially from France and England; importing melodies is a logical consequence of the absence of a professional musical culture, since even the composition of popular melodies can be considered a professional occupation. In France and England, in contrast, talented composers such as Guédron, Boësset, Dowland and Campian wrote *airs de cour*, a genre of vocal music inspired by folk song but intended for the educated, for those who could read music and play the lute well.<sup>1</sup>

The true paradox of song in the Golden Age, however, lies in the fact that musical paucity was accompanied by textual wealth, for the literary quality of the song texts was exceptionally good. The original English or French texts accompanying the musically interesting *airs* from these countries, for example, are no match for the brilliant song texts composed by some of the leading poets of the seventeenth-century Netherlands, such as Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero, Joost van den Vondel, and Constantijn Huygens. Their songs, all contrafacts, are the tip of a virtual iceberg of song; poets of lesser talent wrote enough such contrafacts to fill many hundreds of songbooks, and it is these books, often just the right format to fit into a jacket pocket, which constitute the genius of seventeenth-century Netherlandic music. It is useful to divide these song books into two main categories: on the one hand, there are simple, traditional books, printed as cheaply as possible, embellished by a few woodcuts at the very most; on the other there are books of magnificent execution, decorated with delightful engravings and

printed with opulent typography, which are intended for young urban consumers with money to spend. These fancier songbooks, which usually contain other poetic forms such as sonnets, differ from their poorer counterparts in that they do have some musical notation. Yet not even they have music for every song; instead of musical notation, they have a *wijsaanduiding*, a melody reference to the music of another (well-known) song, such as “op de wijze van Wilhelmus van Nassou.” In other words, the songs were definitely meant to be sung, but the musical notation took a secondary place to the texts, and it can be assumed that most of those who used the songbooks could not read music anyway. Both the publication of songbooks as such, and their preference for melody references rather than musical notation, are peculiarly Netherlandic phenomena. In England, for example, ballads and songs were more typically printed on broadsheets, and while quite a number of English songbooks did exist, they differ from their Netherlandic counterparts in that music figured much more prominently and all songs were accompanied by musical notation, often for several voices.

Because a discussion of the entire corpus of seventeenth-century songbooks is beyond the scope of this article, I will focus on one particular group of them, a genre that I have come to call “local songbooks.” Already the titles of many collections suggest that they might belong to this category: *Rotterdamsche Faem-Bazuyn*, *Amsteldamse Vrolikheid*, *Medenbicker Scharre-Zoodtje*, *Utrechts Zang-Prieeltjen*, *Nieuwe Haagsche Nachtegaal*, etc. A title is only a label, however, and in a recent article I set out to discover whether there was in fact anything identifiably “Rotterdam,” “Amsterdam,” “Medemblik,” “Utrecht,” or “Haags” about these books, whether there was in fact a local dimension to these collections and if so, how it found expression.<sup>2</sup> I also sought to explain the fact that there was a virtual tidal wave of these books in the seventeenth century. In what follows I will summarize the conclusions from this earlier study, and build upon that work.

In order to gain some idea of how widespread the phenomenon of the local songbook was, both geographically and chronologically, I culled from Scheurleer’s well-known bibliography all titles meeting the purely formal criteria of “song books with topographical titles” (see Appendix).<sup>3</sup> Scheurleer’s bibliography distinguishes between sacred and secular songbooks, and it is striking that most of the religious song collections with topographical titles are Anabaptist.<sup>4</sup> Though I have left religious books out of this study, they merit a brief consideration here, since there are so many of them. If we do not include the books intended for Dutch-speaking Anabaptists in Danzig (*Pruys Liedt-Boeck*, 1604), the series begins in 1611 in Vlissingen with *Walchers Liedeboeck*. Shortly after the publication of this book, its authors (the brothers Schabaelje) moved to De Rijp in North Holland; there, perhaps coincidentally, the next local songbook appeared, the *Rijper Liedt-Boecxken*. As Anabaptism flourished in North Holland similar songbooks were published, especially in the regional centre Hoorn, but also in Medemblik, in the Zaan area, and in the tiny villages of Middelie and Kolhorn. Unlike Calvinists and Lutherans, Anabaptist church services did not adhere to a fixed, nationally uniform liturgy. This would explain why religious local songbooks are to be found primarily among the Anabaptists, for each congregation could compose its own song collection, and this opportunity seems to have been welcomed and gratefully used.

It is the secular song collections, however, which are of greatest interest to us here. Turning to them, it is immediately obvious that Amsterdam produced by far the greatest number of song books, not only in general but also of the local songbooks which constitute the object of this study. Scheurleer counts fifteen such books for this city, to which number I am able to add a sixteenth.<sup>5</sup> Amsterdam also produced the very first songbook which meets the formal criteria of bearing a place name in its title, the *Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboeck* of 1589. This book still stands in the tradition of older songbooks, of which the well known *Antwerps Liedboek* (1544)<sup>6</sup> is a prototype, and many of its texts are typical of the literature produced by *Rederijkers*, members of the Chambers of Rhetoric. After 1626, however, "modern" local songbooks from Amsterdam appear in a steady stream: *Amsteldams Fluytertje*, *Amstelsche Linde*, *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, etc.

Haarlem, too, inspired a number of local songbooks; nine, not as many as from Amsterdam but still a respectable number, can be cited for the period up to 1659. The oldest is a collection by Haerlem Soetendal, a *Rederijker* who named himself after the city in which he lived. When Soetendal emigrated to Portugal in 1599, the farewell songs he wrote became very popular with the Haarlemmers who stayed. In his adopted country he continued to write songs, many inspired by and articulating his homesickness for his home town. Though Soetendal's collection is the oldest, the best-known Haarlem songbook is generally held to be the *Haerlems Oudt Liedt-Boeck*. As the title suggests, it contains a fair number of older songs, and in many respects is quite similar to its Amsterdam counterpart, the *Oud Amsterdams Lied-Boeck*.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the "old" songbooks of both Haarlem and Amsterdam have come down to us in a rather fragmentary state, and it is difficult to determine which city produced one first; what does seem clear is that there was some competition in this respect. Certainly historical facts would support the idea that competition may have played a role, for an intense rivalry between Amsterdam and Haarlem dated back to the Middle Ages. More bad blood was created by Amsterdam's standoffish attitude to the Spanish siege of Haarlem during the Eighty Years' War, and in the seventeenth century the two cities quarrelled about duty rights and water ways.<sup>8</sup> It appears that this rivalry extended also to the realm of songbooks, and even the poet Bredero seems to have been an active participant (his songbook, too, can be considered "local," for the title page profiles the author as "Bredero, Amsteldammer"). Because Bredero was usually a good-natured author, it is all the more striking that he has all kinds of nasty things to say about Haarlem, and in fact reserves such nastiness exclusively for that city. In his well-known militiamen's song (*schutterslied*) "Haarlemsche drooghe harten nu," Bredero, himself a member of Amsterdam's civic militia, challenges his Haarlem colleagues to a drinking contest with the words: "Wy Amsterdammers tarten u." And in his *Amsterdams Klaag-Liedt*, in which the city laments the squandermania of her citizens, Amsterdam is comforted by Delft and Dordrecht, while Haarlem simply mocks. Of course the reverse is true as well: whenever Amsterdam laughs, Haarlem cries.

The song books, in other words, generally mirror urban relationships in the seventeenth century, and the rivalry between powerful Amsterdam and jealous Haarlem is just one example. The existence of several other such rivalries is also reflected in the songbooks; so it can hardly be a coincidence that Dordrecht and Schoonhoven, located

about twelve kilometers apart, each produced a local songbook in the same year (1624), the *Dordrechts Lijstertje* and the *Schoonhoofs Lustprieelken*. Around the middle of the seventeenth century local song books also appeared in other cities in South Holland (Rotterdam, Leiden, Delft, The Hague), followed a few years later by several expressing the rivalry between the smaller cities of Hoorn and Alkmaar in the north of North Holland (West-Friesland). Though it is evident that local songbooks were particularly prevalent in Holland, there are a number of them from South Brabant as well, from Brussels, from Antwerp, and from Lier, a small city close to Antwerp (the latter two are another example of rivalling cities). The publication dates of these songbooks correspond to the general tendency for Amsterdam to lead in seventeenth-century trends, with Haarlem a close second, and the remaining cities in Holland and Brabant participating in due time. Other parts of the Netherlands produced "regional" rather than local songbooks, and they, too, warrant some mention in this study. The first such collection is the magnificent *Friesche Lusthof* (1621) by J.J. Starter; also to be included are the *Nachtegaelen* from Zeeland, Holland and Brabant, as well as Revius' well-known *Over-ysselsche Sangen*.

While the titles of the collections provide a point of departure for deliberations about local songbooks, one must ask if there is more to their local dimension than merely one topographical reference. Part of the answer to this may be sought in an analysis of production and consumption: who wrote the texts, who published them in a collection, and who bought the books? It seems that most local songbooks do indeed feature texts by local poets, and that these local poets were often affiliated with local Chambers of Rhetoric, for example in Haarlem (this is true for the book by Haerlem Soetendal), in Dordrecht and Schoonhoven, and in Antwerp and Lier.<sup>9</sup> The publishers, too, were often located in the city named by the book; only for very small towns were the books published and sold in a larger neighbouring city, since small towns often did not have their own book sellers. This is the case for the *Schoonhoofs Lust-Prieelken* and the *Woerdische Sangboeck*, both published in Utrecht, and the *Middelier Lied-Boeck*, published in Edam. The audience targeted by the book is most often the local young people, particularly the young women: dedications address the "Amsteldamsche nimphjes / joffertjes / sangstertjes," the "Haarlemse soetertjes," the "Rotterdamse sangjuffertjes," the "Jong-Frouwen van Friesland," etc. Sometimes simply the "jeugd" in general is named in the dedication, occasionally "jongens en meisjes," but, curiously enough, never the young men alone. It would seem that the singers were mainly young women, and that they sang songs made for them by their young male friends. Beyond dedications in the prefaces to the collections, facts about the intended audience can also be gleaned from addresses and dedications accompanying individual songs written for fellow citizens.

It is of course important to know whether the targeted audience, the young people, did indeed buy these books. For many of the local songbooks we know of only one printing, often in a very small run. This would suggest that such projects were not particularly lucrative. Not only were the books and the songs in them extremely susceptible to changes in fashion (not unlike popular songs and albums today!), but the targeted audience was limited by the local nature of the books and cannot have been very large. Unfortunately, little is known about the actual use of the books, and we do not possess

much information about the size of the printings; it would seem justified to conclude that individual songbooks were printed and sold in small numbers. Nevertheless, this does not contradict the fact that the concept of the local songbook seems to have been extremely popular, as proven by the fact that cities produced a number of such books over the years. The *Leyts-Prieeltje* (1651) for example, may have been typical of such a one-day wonder, but it was followed by the *Leydsche Vreugden-Hoff* (ca. 1662) and the *Leytse Cupido* (1667).

One potential source of information about local distribution are booksellers' catalogues and inventories of personal possessions. Songbooks, however, belonged to the least valuable category of books and were often not listed separately or by title. The 1610 auction catalogue of the Amsterdam bookseller Cornelis Claesz., for example, does list a number of songbooks by title, but deals with most of them *en gros* under the heading "Verscheyden Liedt-Boecken," dividing them only into categories such as "Delfsche Liedt-boecken in 8 (octavo)," "Haerlemsche Liedt-boecken in 16 (sedecimi)," and "Antwerpsche Liedt-boecken in 8."<sup>10</sup> Though these would seem to be topographical categories, the individual books included in them need not have had place names in their titles, for it is also possible that they were simply printed and/or sold in these cities. What such inventories do provide is a glimpse of what has probably been lost in seventeenth-century songbooks, whether or not locally produced.

Similar problems, though often more pronounced, are to be encountered in the analysis of inventories of household possessions. Such inventories exist, for example, for all the citizens of Maassluis. One of them was a book dealer,<sup>11</sup> and the inventory of 1696 reveals that the majority of this dealer's books consisted of songbooks. Disappointingly enough, however, though other books are listed separately by title, the songbooks are mentioned in a single entry: five hundred volumes. Other Maassluis inventories occasionally list the titles of particularly expensive songbooks, such as the books by Camphuysen and Cats; the titles of simpler songbooks are rarely enumerated. Hence these inventories do not reveal whether any of the citizens of Maassluis owned copies of local songbooks, for example of the *Maes-sluyse Vréde-Crans* (1669) or the *Maes-sluysche tydt-verdryf* (1671). Slightly more information can be gleaned from similar inventories compiled in Medemblik (West Friesland), for they specifically mention songbooks when these were particularly fancy or valuable, for example when they had silver locks. The inventories lists two categories of songbooks, *mopsjes* and *minnewritten*. *Mopsjes* are very small songbooks, a specialty of West Friesland; the larger *minnewritten* (as in the popular songbook *Thyrsis minnewit*) come from Amsterdam. In eighteenth-century inventories from Medemblik 36 *mopsjes* are listed, as opposed to eight *minnewritten*. Especially interesting is the 1687 inventory of an anonymous book dealer, which lists 89 fancy and 131 simple *mopsjes*. This would again prove, albeit rather globally, at least one aspect of the "local songbook hypothesis" which has thus far rested on actually extant copies, namely that songbooks, and hence likely local ones, were myriad in number. Together with the other evidence concerning the production and consumption of local songbooks, it also suggests that the books can indeed be characterized *grosso modo* as produced by and for inhabitants of the city named in the title.

The contents of the songtexts in these collections offer a number of possibilities for evidence of their local dimension. One obvious source are the panegyric texts, songs of praise extolling the virtues of the city. These are sung versions of the *stedendicht*, a patriotic genre which began to flourish in Renaissance circles around 1620; the more "folkish" counterpart of such songs is the historical song, such as those telling of the siege of Leiden. Another source of evidence for the local dimension are texts based on what I have come to call "pastoral chauvinism": the poet sings the praises of the city's maidens, placing them as nymphs in a local pastoral setting, such as the shore of a nearby river. The poets take great pride in the charming songs of "their" nymphs and describe them as jewels of the city. Farces or comical songs (*boertige liederen*), too, are set in the area surrounding the city, though the local element is less pastoral than linguistic, for the humour often depends on the mimicry of the local dialect, as Bredero did in his famous song "Arent Pieter Gysen." Dialect as source of humour and local colouring can be found in many of the local songbooks, including those from Amsterdam, though farcical songs also contained references to specific geographical details. Such humorous elements were often important to a type of song in which the city's young people go on outings into the local area: those from Amsterdam take a cruise on the Amstel, those from Haarlem drive to the dunes and the sea, those from Dordrecht eat duck and salmon on the banks of their river. These "excursion songs" contribute to the local colour of the collections in which they appear, and hence to their local dimension; they also support the contextual evidence in the dedications to the collections which suggests that the songbooks play an important role in entertaining the local young people. The motifs of excursion and entertainment are often reflected on the title page of the books, and the titular engraving may be considered as an extension of these ideas. Sometimes the engraving illustrates how such songbooks functioned: young people seek entertainment by singing in some location near the city, and it is often one of the maidens who holds the book in her hands (see illustrations).

From all of this it is clear that civic pride contributed significantly to the phenomena of the local songbook. Certainly in the province of Holland, in which the cities had great autonomy, such civic pride can be considered a given. Local poets expressed their civic pride also in poetic competition on both the textual and the collection level, and such competition resulted in the local songbook. Literary competition among local poets is most clearly evident in the contests of the *Rederijkers*, and all evidence points to the fact that local songbooks most often originated in their circles. In this context one may also suppose that the books must have functioned as a symbol to distinguish one group from another. If the (probably youthful) poets considered the songs of their girls as constituting the fame of their cities, then the books constituted the concretization of that song. For the local young people having their own book must have functioned to distinguish them from other groups, not so much from others within their own city (children, their elders), but more from their peers in other cities. This is supported by the fact that some songs are dedicated to young people from other cities and towns.

It must be pointed out that, since the topographical title is merely one element of local dimension, it is entirely possible that collections without such a topographical element in their titles might qualify as local songbooks. I have not included such books in my list, for

the simple reason that they cannot be determined from Scheurleer's bibliography as having been local, and the entire corpus of seventeenth-century songbooks is too vast to permit the examination of every extant volume. Clearly there must have been many local songbooks without topographical titles, but one example must suffice, the 1646 songbook *Erato*. Published in Utrecht by L. Gouwerack, then twenty-two, it is dedicated to Utrecht's maidens, "Op-geoffert Aen de Utrechtse Nymphes." The title engraving depicts the cityscape of Utrecht with its many church spires (see illustration). Just outside of the city one young couple seeks entertainment in music and song (note the songbook on the far right of the picture), while another pair is taking a stroll. Several of the songs in the collection, too, are fine examples of pastoral chauvinism in their appeal to a local dimension. The first song, for example, is dedicated to an Utrecht maiden: "Op de Schoonheyt van de Utrechtsche Juffrouw, Me-Joffrouw HELENA." Another text is a birthday tribute to "de doorluchtighe Maeght Trichtaryna, Rhijn-Trichtse Godin," and it is entirely plausible that the very unusual "Trichtaryna from Utrecht" was a real person's name (after all, Constantijn Huygen's female friend was named "Utricia" Ogel, her sister "Trajectina"). *Erato* also contains a lament for the death of a local maiden, a "Treurdicht over 't sterven van Vecht-Ryn, Trechtstichtse Nymph," beginning "Treurt nu Vechse bedroefde reyen"; it refers to the Vecht and Rijn, rivers on which Utrecht is situated, to the city [U]Trecht, and to the bishopric "'t Sticht'." All in all, *Erato* is a local songbook as much as any other, even though the title lacks a topographical reference.

The Utrecht in which *Erato* was published provides some interesting information about civic pride, its literary expression, and the local consumption of that expression. In the 1640s a number of poetic works extolling the virtues of Utrecht appeared, the first of which was a long panegyric poem by Regnerus Opperveldt, his *Ultrajectina Tempe, ofte S. Jans Kerck-Hoffs versch wandel-groen* (1640). It had been inspired by Huygens' famous panegyric on The Hague, *Batava Tempe* or *Voorhout*, and both texts depicted the role which these central promenades, the Janskerkhof in Utrecht and the Voorhout in Den Haag, played as favoured meeting spots for local young people, especially in the evening. In Utrecht, according to Opperveldt's poem, music accompanied this youthful socializing, for from the church tower, the tower of the Janskerk, Jacob van Eyck played his now famous variations for recorder.<sup>12</sup> Opperveldt's poem was followed two years later by a second poem on the Janskerkhof, Henricus Regius's *Ultrajectina Umbracula: Lind- en Iepe-Loff van Jans Kercken-hof*.<sup>13</sup> Yet it is not entirely safe to conclude that the citizens of Utrecht, though clearly so proud of their city that these fashionable *stedendichten* were written and published, necessarily bought such publications. In his foreword to the *Utrechts Zang-Prieeltjen* of 1649, clearly designated as a local songbook by its title, publisher Lucas de Vries of Utrecht complains that local young people had not bought enough copies of other local collections published by him, collections in which he had printed songs by local poets. Instead, complained de Vries, they preferred to spend their money on expensive books such as the *Amsterdamse Minnebeekje*, 't *Haerlems Mey-Somer- en Winter Bloemtje*, the *Amsterdamsche Vrolijckheydt* and *Sparens Vreughden-Bron*. As a result, in the *Utrechts Zang-Prieeltjen* de Vries incorporated the most popular elements from these books, and the collection does not contain any truly authentic Utrecht

songs. De Vries' laments do confirm that publishers copied the phenomenon of local books from each other, and that not all local songbooks were tremendously popular or printed in large runs.

All in all, the evidence suggests that the genre of "local songbook" can indeed be justified. Though the investigation began with a purely formal criterion, namely by considering those books with a topographical reference in their titles, it is clear that these collections were often "local" in production and content as well. Production and content, in turn, qualified the purely formal criterion, and it was shown that the title need not necessarily bear a topographical reference for a collection to be local. More important than establishing the existence of a new genre of songbook are the other insights provided by this phenomenon. First of all, it is clear that not all songbooks were known throughout the entire country (or through the entire Netherlands-speaking area, if one were to count Brabant and Flanders), as one might suppose on the basis of more familiar collections such as the *Bloemhof van de Nederlandtsche Jeught*, *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen*, or Bredero's *Groot Lied-Boeck*. Perhaps, in fact, the reverse is true: songbooks were more likely to originate as local collections, as is true for other popular literature such as almanacs or early newspapers. Secondly, the local dimension becomes particularly important for understanding the function of songbooks in the seventeenth century. It seems that they served primarily to entertain local young people on social occasions, and further to have functioned as symbols of their civic pride. The role of songbooks in the formation of group identity was probably also, though with some difference, important in the religious realm. And, finally, examining the local songbooks as a genre can provide clues to the way in which ideas, books and texts were borrowed. The sum of all of these constitutes the local songbook, a category which gives us some direction in understanding the tidal wave of songbooks in the Netherlandic Golden Age.

**Appendix**  
**Overview of Songbooks with Topographical Titles (1589-1659)**

Key: \* = not in Scheurleer; (n) = edition; † = see illustration below

Figures in brackets refer to the number of editions

**Sacred Songbooks:**

Woerden	<i>Woerdische Sangboeck</i>	[1589], Utrecht 1625, 1647
Pruisen	<i>Pruys Liedt-Boeck</i> [Tweede Pruys Liedtboecxken]	Dantzig 1604 Alkmaar 1607
Walcheren	<i>Walchers Liedeboeck</i>	Vlissingen 1611
De Rijp	<i>Rijper Liedt-Boecxken</i>	De Rijp 1624, 1636, 1647, Krommenie 1657 Alkmaar 1664, Zaandam 1669, 1682, 1693
Hoorn	<i>Hoorns Liedt-Boeck</i> <i>Kleyn Hoorns-Liet-boeck</i> <i>Groot Hoorns Liedtboeck*</i>	Hoorn 1630 Hoorn ca. 1640 Hoorn 1647
Medemblik	<i>Nieu Medenblicker Liet-Boeck</i>  <i>Medenblicker Scharre-Zoodtje</i>	Amsterdam 1631 Wormerveer 1646 Medemblik 1650
Amsterdam	<i>Amsteldamschen Geestelijcken Lust-Hof</i>	Amsterdam 1637
Zaanstreek	<i>Zaender Bloeme-Stralen</i> <i>Sanerdams Bloeme-Crans</i>	Wormerveer 1649 Zaandam 1645
Middelie	<i>Middelier Liedboeck</i>	Edam 1651
Kolhorn	[ <i>Colhorner Liedt-Boecxken</i> ]	Alkmaar 1662

**Secular Songbooks**

Amsterdam	<i>Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboeck</i> <i>Nieu Amstelredams Lied-Boeck</i> <i>Nieu Groot Amstelredams Liedtboeck</i> <i>G.A. Bredero Amsteldammer</i> <i>Geestigh Liedt-Boecxken</i>	Amsterdam 1589 Amsterdam 1591 Amsterdam 1605  [Leiden 1617] Amsterdam 1621 (4), poss. 1622, 1644, 1677
	<i>Amsteldams Fluylertje</i> <i>Amstelsche Linde</i>	Amsterdam 1626 Amsterdam 1627

	<i>Amsterdamsche Pegasus (...)</i>	Amsterdam 1627
	<i>(...) Groote Amstelredamsche Rommelzoo</i>	Rotterdam 1627
	<i>(...) Nieuwen ende vrolycken</i>	Rotterdam 1627
	<i>Amstelredamschen Doelevreught</i>	Rotterdam 1627
	<i>Amsteldams Minne-Beekje</i>	Amsterdam 1637/38, 1645 (7), 1658 (10)
	<i>Dubbelt verbetert Amsterdamse Liedboeck</i>	Amsterdam, after 1639
	<i>Amsteldamsche Minne-Zuchjens</i>	Amsterdam 1643
	<i>Amsteldamse Vrolikheyt</i>	Amsterdam 1647, 1649, 1652
	<i>†Amsterdamsche Vreughde-Stroom</i>	Amsterdam 1654, 1655, 1656
	<i>Amsterdamse Mengel-Moez</i>	Amsterdam 1658
Haarlem	<i>Haerlem Soetental:</i> <i>31 Liedekens ende Refereynen</i> <i>Haerlems Oudt-Liedt-Boeck</i>	Haarlem 1645, 1650 (13) Haarlem ca. 1620-1630, Amsterdam 1682, 1716 (27), 1736 (31)*
	<i>Nieu dubbelt Haerlems Lietboeck (...)</i>	Haarlem 1643 (7), 1645 (8), 1648 (9)
	<i>Haerlemsche Duin-Vreucht</i>	Haarlem 1636
	<i>Sparens Vreughden-Bron</i>	Haarlem 1643-46
	<i>Haerlemsche Winter-Bloempjes</i>	Haarlem 1645, 1647 (2), 1651
	<i>Haerlemsche Somer-Bloempjes</i>	Haarlem 1646, 1651
	<i>Haerlemsche Lente-Bloempjes</i>	Haarlem 1647
	<i>Haerlemsche Mei-Bloempjes</i>	Haarlem 1649
Dordrecht	<i>†Dordrechts Lijstertje</i>	Dordrecht 1624
Schoonhoven	<i>Schoonhoofs Lust-Prieelken</i>	Utrecht 1624
Brussel	<i>Brusselschen Blom-Hof van Cupido</i>	Brussel 1641
	<i>Brussels Moezelken*</i>	** 1659
Utrecht	<i>Utrechts Zang-Prieeltjen</i>	Utrecht 1649
Rotterdam	<i>Rotterdamsche Faem-Bazuyn</i>	Rotterdam 1649
Lier	<i>Den Groeyende Lierschen Blom-Hof</i>	Antwerpen 1650
Leiden	<i>Leytsch-priëltje (...)</i>	Leiden 1651
Delft	<i>Delfs Cupidoos Schighje</i>	Delft 1652-56
Antwerpen	<i>Eenen Nieuwen Antwerpschen Lietkens-Boeck</i>	Antwerpen 1654
Den Haag	<i>Nieuwen Haagsche Nachtegaal</i>	Amsterdam 1659
Hoorn	<i>Hoorns-Liedt-Boecxken</i>	Alkmaar 1659

### Regional Songbooks

Friesland	<i>Friesche Lust-Hof</i>	Amsterdam 1621, ca. 1623, 1626 (4), 1627 (4+1), 1634 (5), n.d. (6) Utrecht 1621, 1628? (8+1)
Zeeland	<i>Zeeusche Nachtegael</i>	Middelburg 1623
Overijssel	<i>Over-ysselsche sangen en dichten</i>	Amsterdam 1630*, 1632, 1651 Deventer 1630 Leiden 1634
Holland	<i>Hollands Nachtegaeltjen</i> <i>Hollandts en Zeeuws Nachtegaels t'Samen-Gezangh</i>	Amsterdam 1633 idem
Brabant	<i>Brabandtsch Nachtegaelen</i>	Brussel 1650 (10)*, 1656 (14), 1688*, 1698*

### REFERENCES

- 1 For a discussion of the seventeenth-century *contrafact* and the special place of Netherlandic song in the larger international scene, see my study *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw. Het mechanisme van de contrafactuur*. (Amsterdam: P.J. Meertens-Instituut, 1991), 31.
- 2 L.P. Grijp, "De Rotterdamsche Faem-Bazuyn. De lokale dimensie van liedboeken uit de Gouden Eeuw." *Volkskundig bulletin* 18 (1992), 23-78.
- 3 D.F. Scheurleer. *Nederlandsche Liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken*. Den Haag, 1912. For practical reasons I have limited my considerations to books published before 1659; it is also useful to know that Scheurleer's bibliography provides an introductory overview of songbooks organized according to location (xx).
- 4 For a study of Anabaptist song see P. Visser, *Broeders in de geest. De doopsgezinde bijdragen van Dierick en Jan Philipsz. Schabaelje tot de Nederlandse stichtelijke literatuur in de zeventiende eeuw*. Deventer, 1988; also his *Het lied dat nooit verstomde. Vier eeuwen Doopsgezinde liedboekjes. Inleiding en catalogus*. Den Ilp, 1988.
- 5 The *Aemstels Vreugdebeeckje* of 1645; the only extant copy known to me (not listed in Scheurleer) is in the Amsterdam University Library, 2766 G 1.
- 6 Because the title of this book is actually *Een schoon liedekensboeck ...* and bears the name "Antwerps Liedboek" only in scholarly discussion of it, I have not considered it a local songbook.
- 7 This is part of the *Dubbelt verbeterd Amsterdamse Liedboeck*.
- 8 For a more detailed account of the rivalry between Haarlem and Amsterdam see J.J. Temminck, "Naer haer spraecke gebooren van Amsterdam. Enkele gegevens over de

relatie tussen Haarlem en Amsterdam in vroeger eeuwen." In *Haerlem Jaarboek 1981*. Haarlem, 1982, 43-67.

- 9 It must be mentioned that two of the regions which produced local songbooks, Friesland and Overijssel, did not have active Chambers of Rhetoric.
- 10 B. van Selm, *Een menighete treffelijcke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*. Utrecht, 1987, 244.
- 11 Such facts can be found in the "inventory bank" of the P.J. Meertens-Instituut. The bookstore under discussion belonged to Abram Goeman and Lysbet de Bije.
- 12 R. van Baak Griffioen, *Jacob van Eyck's Der Fluyten Lust-Hof*. Utrecht, 1991, 43-46. The original of *Ultrajectina Tempe* (Utrecht: Aegidius Roman, 1640), is in the Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek, Rar. 669a.
- 13 The original, a pamphlet without date or place of publication, is to be found in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 504 A 25.



Title engraving of the *Dordrechts Lijstertje* (Dordrecht 1624. Youth amusing itself in the environs of Dordrecht. (Royal Library, The Hague).



Top: Title illustration by L. Gouwerack for *Erato* (Utrecht 1646), here after the reproduction in J. Lodesteyn, *Uyt-spanningen* (Utrecht 1703)

Bottom: Title page of the second volume of the *Amsterdamsche Vreughde-Stroom* (Amsterdam: C.J. Stichter, 1654-55). Sailing on the Amstel (Royal Library, The Hague).