Introduction

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Collected in this volume is the work of a group of scholars expert in the early modern song culture of a specific European country or region. While each scholar might also know something about the song culture of countries other than their own, not one is at home in all of them. This reflects the fragmented state of research in this field, a field different from the study of ballads and other forms of traditional music for which international structures do exist.[1] This book intends to be a first step in the comparative study of early modern song cultures throughout Europe. Such a comparative approach might highlight surprising differences, but certainly surprising similarities as well, with similar song types and similar practices differing only in language and local context. Whether those similarities will be enough to justify speaking of 'an early modern European song culture' depends on how we define this concept.

Firstly: what do we mean by 'songs'? In this book we use the word in a broad manner: songs are essentially what ordinary people sing. We approach 'song' from the perspective of disciplines such as European ethnology and cultural anthropology, and include under that concept folk and pop songs, shanties, broadside ballads, children's songs and lullabies, psalms and hymns, and many other functional kinds of song. Specifically, we are interested most in songs which do not require much musical expertise to perform; even being able to read notation is usually not required. Thus simplicity is an important characteristic, both for the music and the text.

In our definition we use 'ordinary people' in the sense of people with a limited education or with limited means or power, belonging to the non-elite: craftsmen and peasants, as Peter Burke called them. An alternative is to speak about 'songs everyone can sing' or 'songs everyone knows'. This reminds of 'low culture', but 'everyone' also implies people who feel at home in 'high culture'— for instance when they sing along with 'Happy birthday to you' in appropriate situations. And that reminds in its turn of Burke's well-known asymmetrical

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1 Examples are the annual International Ballad Conference organised by the Kommission für Volksdichtung; the annual journal *Song and Popular Culture*, published by the Zentrum fur Populäre Kultur und Musik in Freiburg in Breisgau; the International Workshop on Folk Music Analysis, and other initiatives.

dichotomy of elite and popular culture: the elite have easy access to popular culture, but not the other way around: 'ordinary people' don't have access to elite culture, among others because of their limited education.[2]

Within the parameters of our broad definition, 'art songs' pose a special problem because they travel between social levels. In the first instance, 'art songs' are made by poets and composers for the elite. Think of the French *airs de cour* written by court composers such as Pierre Guédron and Antoine de Boësset, and their English equivalents, *ayres* by John Dowland and Thomas Campion among others, or the polyphonic French *chansons* and Dutch *liede-kens* by Clemens non Papa, or the German *Tenorlieder* of Ludwig Senfl—all famous genres in official Western music history. Typically, these elite songs were inspired by popular song, and sometimes they even ended up becoming popular songs, precisely because of the popular style in which they had been written. But not all of them are easy to sing, and especially the polyphonic song genres require at a minimum the ability to read music. For the early modern period, that excluded most common people. We allude to the special problem of 'art songs' by using the word 'essentially' in our definition: if 'songs are essentially what ordinary people sing' art songs are not excluded, although they have a special place in the wide song spectrum.

For literary historians, singing and music belong to a dimension of songs beyond the text which is their focus of inquiry, and constitute a dimension they ignore in part because they do not always grasp it. Yet, the performance component of singing is an essential element of song, as we define it, and literary historians, too, would benefit by concerning themselves with that element. Complicating the matter is the fact that it is not always easy to establish whether a historical text was sung or not—although for experts there are more clues than one would expect at first glance.[3] Another sticking point is that many songs sung by common people do not belong to literature in the traditional sense of a cultural expression of the elite. Still, there are notable exceptions: for instance, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft and Joost van den Vondel, the most esteemed Dutch poets of the seventeenth century, wrote a great number of songs for the same functional purposes that inspired common people to make and sing them, such as expressing and communicating amorous or religious emotions.

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2   Burke P., *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 1978).

3   Bruin M. de – Oosterman J., with the assistance of Strijbosch C. and others (eds.), *Repertorium van het Nederlandse lied tot 1600 / Repertory of Dutch Songs until 1600*, 2 vols. (Ghent – Amsterdam: 2001) vol. I, 13–14; 25–26 provides useful indications for identifying a text as song.

We intend this broad interpretation of 'song' to be workable across disciplines as well as national scholarly perspectives, a concept of use to ethnologists, musicologists and literary historians regardless of the country from which the scholars come or the national traditions to which the songs they study belong. Defining a regional or national song culture as the total of cultural practices in which such songs play a role within a particular region or country, we must then compare the song cultures of different regions and nations of Europe in order to answer the question as to whether we are justified in speaking of 'an early modern European song culture'. If we find enough essential similarities and analogies throughout the continent, then indeed we may do so.

Working out this seemingly simple approach, however, is not an easy task. We hope this book may serve as a first step and that its three main focus areas—identity, intertextuality, performance—offer fruitful clues for comparison. In this Introduction we will first give a survey of possible subthemes of those three focus areas for a single country, the Netherlands, and then introduce the case studies in this book, devoted to other countries as well. As we will discover, for the authors the focus areas are very much intertwined. That makes it all the more necessary to first present the areas one by one, each with clear subthemes. In the process we use examples from only the Netherlands. In principle we could have chosen any other European country or region as our point of departure, but the situation in the Netherlands has three elements which make it ideal for the discussion at hand.

First: in the early modern period a very lively song culture existed in the Netherlands, as evidenced by the many hundreds of printed songbooks and other sources that have come down to us. Second: this flood of material has been well documented, starting with early inventories in the nineteenth and early 20th centuries,[4] continuing with the extensive card files of the Dutch Folksong Archive in the second half of the twentieth century, and translated to digital form in the present, large-scale Nederlandse Liederenbank or Dutch Song Database of the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam (www.liederenbank.nl). As of 2015 this Database contains metadata of around 42,800 early modern songs, written or printed between 1500 and 1800, in the Database's total of 170,000 Dutch songs from all periods.[5] The symposium from which this volume originates was organised in the context of the digitization project Dutch Songs

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4   Notably the listings in Willems J.F. (ed.), *Oude Vlaemsche liederen* (Ghent: 1848) xxxviii–lviii, and Scheurleer D.F., *Nederlandsche Liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken* (The Hague: 1912–1923; repr. 1977).

5   Figures per March 8, 2015, with thanks to Martine de Bruin, Meertens Institute (Amsterdam).

On Line, during which 50,000 song texts from the period to 1900 were made available via the Dutch Song Database. In addition, a great deal of knowledge about early modern Dutch song culture has been compiled in the past decades by individual researchers, often cooperating in projects around the Dutch Song Database. A third reason for choosing the Netherlands as a starting point is the central geographical position of this country in Western Europe, between the dominating cultural centres of France and England, from which much musical influence was received during the early modern period.

Identity

For song culture, social or group identity is the most relevant kind. Two observations support this position: the first is that singing is primarily a social activity, performed by groups of people, the second that singing together leads to a feeling of belonging to a particular group and therefore may contribute to the formation and maintenance of a social identity. An important proponent of the first hypothesis—singing as a primarily social activity—was the German folk music theorist Ernst Klusen, who proposed the word 'Gruppenlied' (group song) as an alternative for 'Volkslied' (folk song). Klusen distinguished between primary and secondary groups.[6] In a primary group all members may know each other and act together; examples of such face-to-face groups are church congregations and soccer clubs. Secondary groups are larger, consisting of people who share an ideal or belief or are otherwise linked together, without necessarily being able to know every other member of the group; examples would be ideological groups (Socialists, Catholics), or national groups (the French or the Germans). Applied to song culture: in primary groups people sing songs together; in secondary groups they also sing the same songs, but not necessarily at the same time and in the same place. A further distinction can be made between institutional groups, such as a school class, a group of scouts, a company of soldiers, and spontaneous groups, e.g. visitors to a pub, or children on a playground.

When we apply Klusen's theory of singing groups to the early modern period the question arises which singing groups were active. Limiting ourselves to the early modern Netherlands, we arrive at the following:

6　Klusen E., *Singen. Materialien zu einer Theorie* (Regensburg: 1989) 162ff; see also: Grijp L.P., "Zangcultuur", in Dekker T. – Roodenburg H. – Rooijakkers G. (eds.), *Volkscultuur. Inleiding in de Nederlandse etnologie* (Nijmegen: 2000) 337–380; Whiteley S. – Bennett A. – Hawkins S. (eds.), *Music, Space and Place. Popular Music and Cultural Identity* (Aldershot – Ashgate: 2004).

- Church congregations at the primary level, and on the secondary level the religions or denominations to which they belonged, such as Catholics and Protestants. Protestants can be further subdivided into Calvinists, Mennonites, and Lutherans [Fig. 1.1]. Each of these groups also subdivided: among the Calvinists were Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants, Pietists, and Walloons, while the Mennonites were divided into Old and Young Frisians, Old and Young Waterlanders, and Old and Young High-Germans. Freemasons also sang their own songs. This great religious differentiation in the early modern Netherlands is reflected in each group's song repertoires.
- Political groups (often with a specific religious affiliation) such as the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish *Geuzen* ('Beggars') who started the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish King in the sixteenth century, sang their aggressive *geuzenliederen* ('Beggars's songs'). In the eighteenth century, Orangists sang songs in favour of the Stadtholder (who was a Prince of Orange), while anti-Orangists or 'Patriots' sang songs against him. But there were also songs expressing love for the fatherland without specific political orientation, in which the whole nation of the Dutch Republic was addressed to as one political group, especially in times of war [Fig. 1.2].
- Age cohorts form another category group. Young people, especially those of a marriageable age, were the target of many songbook dedications. Other songbooks were directed specifically at adults and compiled for them. Children, too, formed a group for which songs or songbooks were made. Students, too, can be regarded as a category of young people with their own song repertoire.
- Geographically local groups form another identifiable category, often targeting the young at the same time: many printed songbooks were dedicated to the beautiful girls of Amsterdam, Haarlem or other cities.
- Groups of people celebrating a feast, such as a fair ('kermesse'), a wedding, or Shrove tide (Carnival, Mardi gras).
- Chambers of rhetoric, whose members wrote and performed not only poems and plays, but also songs, even in inter-city contests.
- Groups of individuals in the same trade or profession, such as sailors or soldiers.

Did these groups articulate their identity through singing, and if so, how? With 'articulating their identity' we mean 'expressing their belonging to a group, or being a member of a group, through words or other means'. With respect to lyrics, it was the song texts through which singing groups articulated their identity. Often the we-form was used, such as in 'We Beggars will sing [...] that

FIGURE 1.1   *Joachim van den Heuvel*, Calvinist Service in a Village Church (*1640–1649*). *Oil on*
panel. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, RMCC s28. The congregation is singing
a psalm, directed by a precentor (often the sexton, or the schoolmaster). No organ
for accompaniment is visible, and likely there was none. According to contemporary
accounts, unaccompanied congregational singing of this kind was quite terrible.
IMAGE © MUSEUM CATHARIJNECONVENT UTRECHT.

God has given us His mighty blessing',[7] though also the you-form was possible:
'Be cheerful, you sweet young youth, Everywhere is merriness, so use your time
well'.[8] Sometimes the norms and values of the group were explicitly expressed

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7   'Wy Geuskens willen nu singhen, [...] Dat ons Godt ghebenedijt / Nu heeft ghegeven reyn, /
     Zijnen Seghen machtich,' *Een nieu Guese Liede Boecxken* (s.l.: [1576]) 45.
8   'Weest nu verheucht, ghy soete Jonge Jeucht / het is nu al In vreucht, dus wilt u tyt gebruijcken'
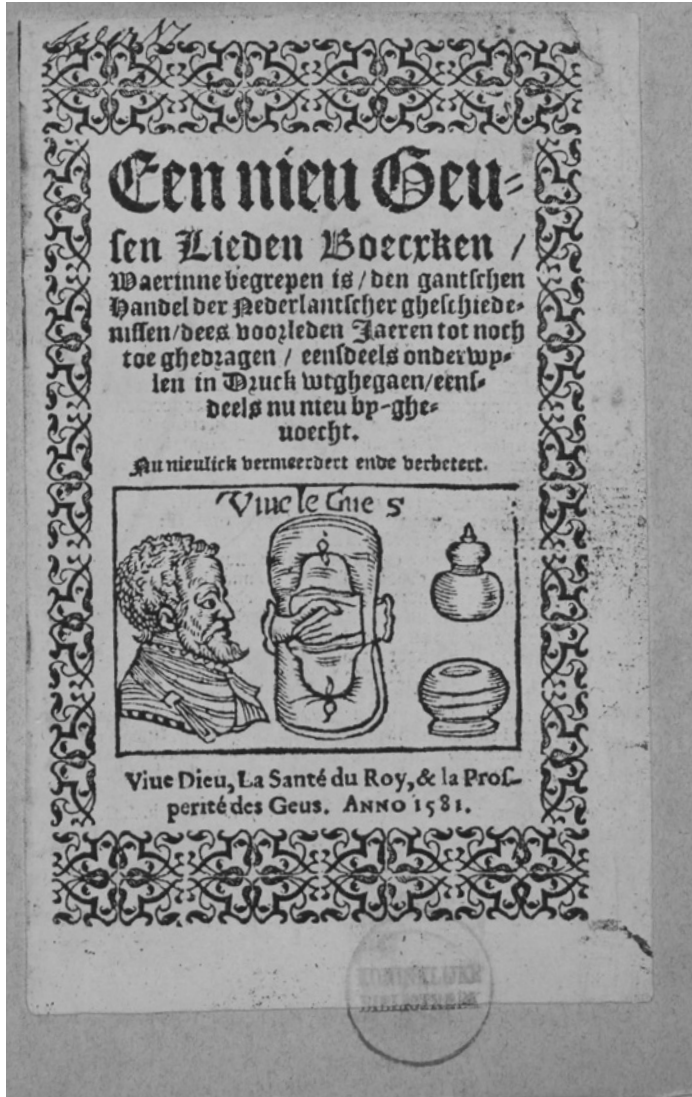   MS Leiden GA 1473 [1620–1625], 3.

FIGURE 1.2 Een nieu Geusen Lieden Boecxken (*'A New Beggars's Songbook'*)
(*s.l., n.p.: 1581*) *title page. The Hague, Royal Library, 1714 E 20. An
early edition of the* Geuzenliedboek (*'Beggars's Songbook'*),
*showing the battle cry 'Vive le Gues' ('Viva the Beggar'), a portrait
of the Spanish king Philip II, and Beggar symbols such as two
clasped hands holding a double beggar's pouch, a begging bowl,
and a gourd. These 'Beggars' were Netherlandic noblemen whose
petition against persecution was refused and regarded as an act of
'beggars' (French 'gueux'). They took this as a honorary nickname.
Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.*

in the song text, e.g. in the songs of religious groups. It is possible to identify the group in which a given early modern song text was sung from such expressions, articulating the identity of the group in a more or less recognizable way.

Melody, too, was a way of expressing a group's identity. Some tunes were particularly known in certain groups. For instance, Calvinist poets wrote many song texts to the tune of Genevan Psalms, which were characteristic for their denomination. So the use of a Genevan psalm melody may reveal that a song was written for or sung by Calvinists, although Mennonites or Geuzen ('Beggars') did use such melodies as well. Beggars reused melodies, writing new Beggars's songs to the tunes of earlier, successful Beggars's songs.

But the most helpful entity for our purpose is songbooks. Numerous examples exist for the period of the Dutch Republic (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries), especially printed songbooks. Often group identity is already prominent in the title, e.g. *Nieu Geusen liedtboecxken* ('New Beggars's Songbook', many editions from c. 1574 to 1687). Local songbooks can be recognized by fanciful titles such as *Vermeerderde Amsterdamsche Vreughde-stroom* ('Enlarged Amsterdam River of Joy', 1654), *Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht* ('Haarlem Dune Pleasure', 1636), *Spaerens Vreuchden-Bron* ('Sparen's Source of Joy', 1646, also a reference to Haarlem as it lies on the river Sparen), and *Dordrechts Lijstertje* ('Dordrecht Trush', 1624), to mention just a few [Fig. 1.3–1.6].[9] Local songbooks were printed and distributed only or originally in their towns of origin. Most of these songbooks functioned within local youth groups, but there were also local songbooks for adults, such as *Haerlems Oudt Liedtboeck* ('Haarlem Old Songbook', c. 1640), which transmitted an older song repertoire and carried the traditional local symbol of the city's arms on the title page.

Further, we know of religious local songbooks, such as *'t Kleyn Hoorns-Lietboeck* ('Small Hoorn Songbook', 1644), with a view of the town of Hoorn at the bottom of the title page, and *Het Ryper Liedtboecxken* ('De Rijp Songbook', 1636), with Jesus and his disciples walking through the fields around the village of De Rijp. This refers to the Gospel of John, chapter 4 verse 35, where Jesus says to his disciples (we quote the King James Version): 'Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest.' 'White' (ripe) is *rijp* in Dutch, so here Jesus's words are interpreted as referring to the name of the prosperous village De Rijp [Fig. 1.7–1.8].

The titles of these religious local songbooks do not mention the targeted denomination, but such information can often be gleaned from the pre-

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9 Grijp L.P., "De Rotterdamsche Faem-Bazuyn. De lokale dimensie van liedboeken uit de Gouden Eeuw", *Volkskundig Bulletin* 18 (1992) 23–78.

FIGURE 1.3   Vermeerderde Amsterdamsche Vreughde-stroom (*'Enlarged Amsterdam River
of Joy'*), part 2 (*Amsterdam, C.J. Stichter: 1655; 2nd ed.*) title engraving. The Hague,
Royal Library, 174 F 40. Young Amsterdam ladies out boating on the river Amstel,
singing amorous songs from the songbook (of which this is the title engraving), held
by the girl on the left, accompanied by another girl on a lute. At the stern the city flag
of Amsterdam.

liminaries, or from the name of the author, who may be known as the minister of a particular congregation. For example, we have seen that on closer examination the songbooks from Hoorn and De Rijp show themselves to be Mennonite. Still, because titles of religious songbooks, both local and non-local, rarely mention a specific religion or denomination, more research is necessary to establish the group for which a particular book was intended. Nevertheless, the connection between congregations and songbooks was very strong. The books clearly marked their identities. In the dynamic religious landscape of seventeenth-century Holland, congregations might be split or combined, and such developments were reflected in songbooks. When in North Holland three Mennonite congregations merged, the worshippers had to carry three hymnals to church—until a new, combined songbook could be determined upon.
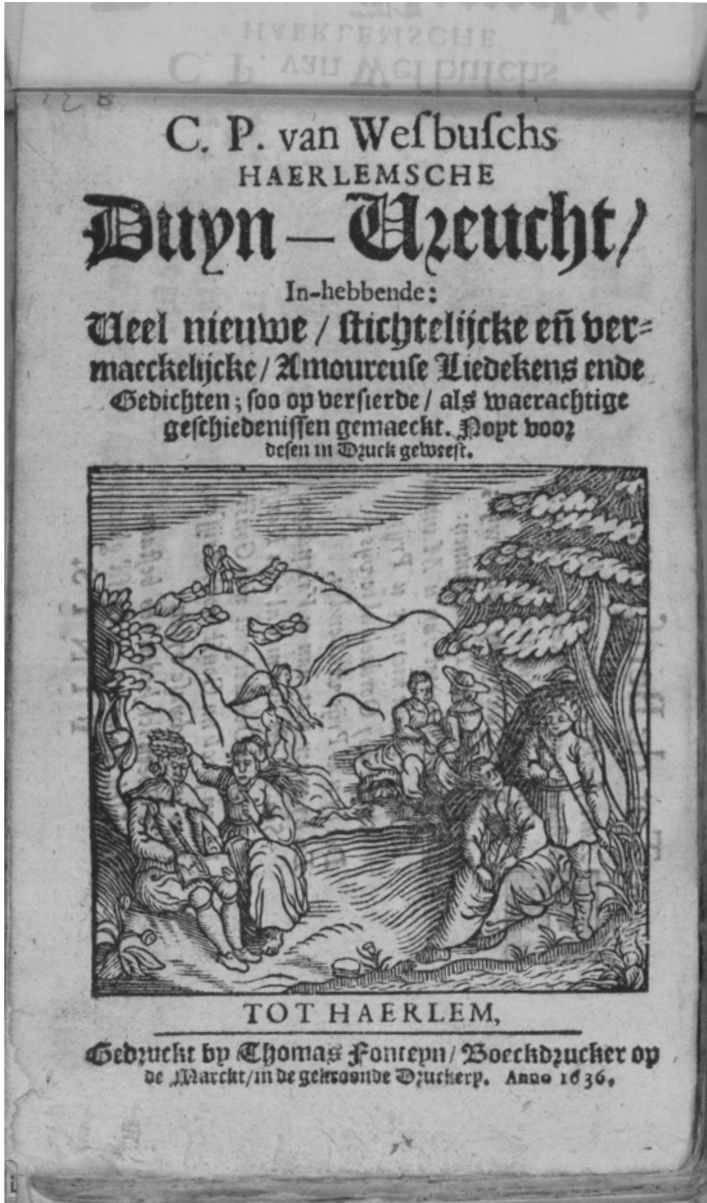
FIGURE 1.4   *C.P. van Wesbusch*, Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht (*'Haarlem Dune
Pleasure'*) (*Haarlem, Th. Fonteyn: 1636*). *The Hague, Royal Library,
1 C 17. While the poet is being crowned with a wreath of laurels,
Haarlem young people are enjoying the dunes. One couple is
actually singing from the songbook (in the middle, slightly
towards the right side). Early European Books, Copyright © 2011
ProQuest LLC.*
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE
HAGUE.

FIGURE 1.5   Spaerens Vreuchden-Bron (*'Sparen's Source of Joy'*) (*Haarlem, M. Zegerman:*
1646) title engraving. The Hague, Royal Library, 174 F 41. Haarlem young people out
boating on the river Sparen (or Spaarne), with the city flag at the stern. At the left
a couple sings from the songbook, probably accompanied on a recorder or a Dutch
shawm ('oboe').
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

The last type of printed songbook we wish to mention here refers to a pro-
fession, for example the sailor in *De vrolyke Nederlandsche Matroos, zingende*
een uitgezogt getal van Nieuwe oorlogs-zangen, en verscheidene andere, alle op
de Nieuwste en hedendaagse wyzen ('The merry Dutch Sailor, singing a fine
selection of new war-songs and a number of others, all to the newest and cur-
rent tunes', 1781) [Fig. 1.9]. As often is the case, the book has a dedication that
informs us about its intention:

> To Lovers of the Art of Singing
>
> Look, a Dutch Sailor,
> Whose heart is overwhelmed with full joys,
> And who is always singing
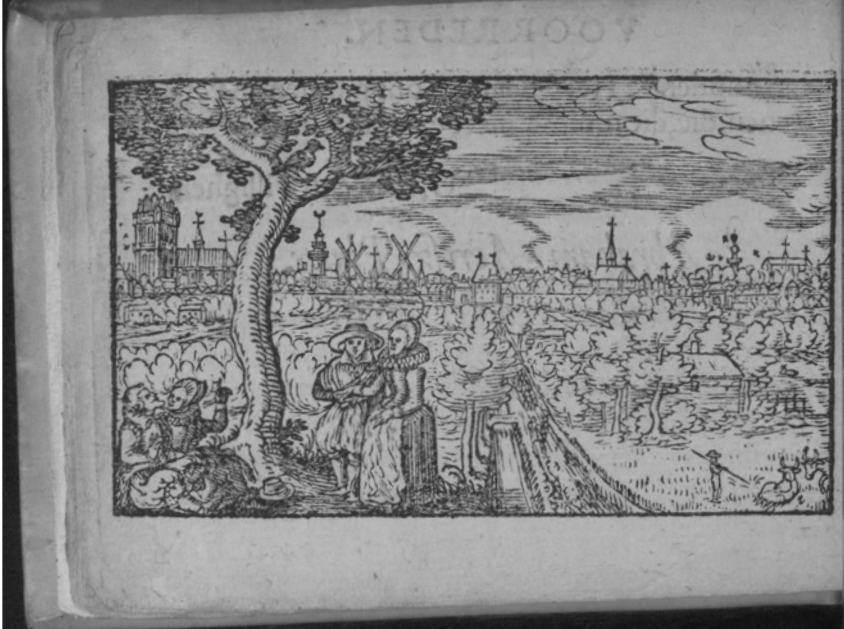> About the virtues of Dutch heroes.

FIGURE 1.6   *A.A. Plater*, Liedt-boecxken, ghenaemt Dordrechts Lijstertje (*'Songbook called Dordrecht Thrush'*) (*Dordrecht, D. van Rybeeck: 1624*). The Hague, Royal Library, 174 H 9. The thrush is singing from the tree under which two young couples enjoy nature outside the city. At the very left the medieval Grote Kerk ('Great Church'). Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

We kindly offer him to you,
In order to sing his songs,
His bravery in war and heroic deeds,
Or other fine things.

So buy these collected songs,
It will not dissatisfy you,
And sing to the fame of the heroes
For a number of merry days.[10]

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10   'Aan de Liefhebbers der Zangkonst Zie hier een Nederlands Matroos, / Wiens hart met volle vreugden / Is overstelpt, en die altoos / Zingt Neêrlands Helden-deugden. // Die bieden wy u Vriendlyk aan, / Om zyn Gezang' te Zingen, / Zyn Oorlogsmoed en
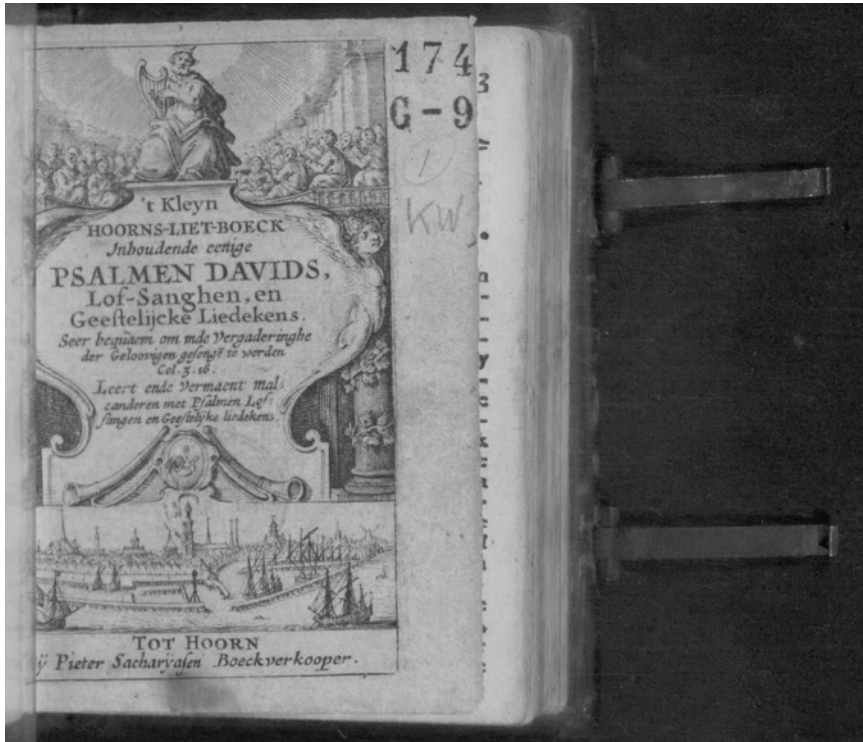
FIGURE 1.7   *'t Kleyn Hoorns-Liet-boeck* (*'Small Hoorn Songbook'*) (*Hoorn, P.Z. Hartevelt: 1644*).
*The Hague, Royal Library, 174 G 9. This religious local songbook shows a view of the
harbour and the town of Hoorn. Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.*
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

Another example is *De vermakelijke Buys-Man, Ofte koddige Boots-Geselletje*
('The entertaining Bussman, Or droll Sailor', 8th ed. Amsterdam: Casparus
Loots-Man, 1694). A *buis* (or 'buss' in English) is a type of herring-boat, and in
fact the first song of 'The entertaining Bussman' is about the herring fishery of
Enkhuizen, in the seventeenth century a flourishing town on the Zuiderzee
(now IJsselmeer). But there are also songs about sailors leaving for the East, i.e.
the East Indies. Although this eighth edition was printed in Amsterdam, it is
quite possible that the songbook originated in Enkhuizen, one of the six cities
participating in the Dutch East-India Company [Fig. 1.10].

Heldendaên / Of andre fraaije dingen. // Koopt dan deez' Zangen by malkaar, / Het zal u
niet mishaagen, / En Zing tot roem der Helden-schaar, / Een aantal blyde dagen'.
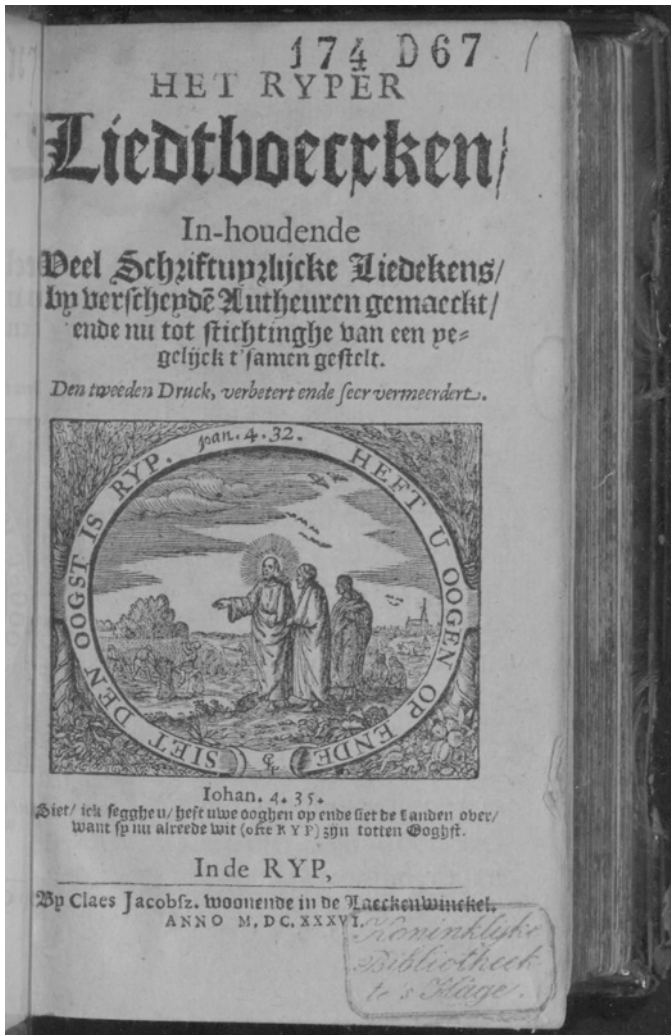
FIGURE 1.8   Het Ryper Liedtboecxken (*'De Rijp Songbook'*) (*De Rijp, C.
Jacobsz.: 1636*). *The Hague, Royal Library, 174 D 67. Jesus and his
disciples walk through the fields around the prosperous village
of De Rijp, saying: 'Siet, ick segghe u, heft uwe ooghen op ende
siet de landen over, want sy nu alreede wit (ofte RYP) zijn totten
Ooghst.'* ('Behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes and look on
the fields; for they are white (or RIPE) already to harvest'—John
4:35). *The insertion 'ofte RIJP' ('or ripe') as an explanation of
the unusual 'wit' ('white') in the Dutch bible text underlines the
double reference to harvesting as well as to the village. Early
European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.*
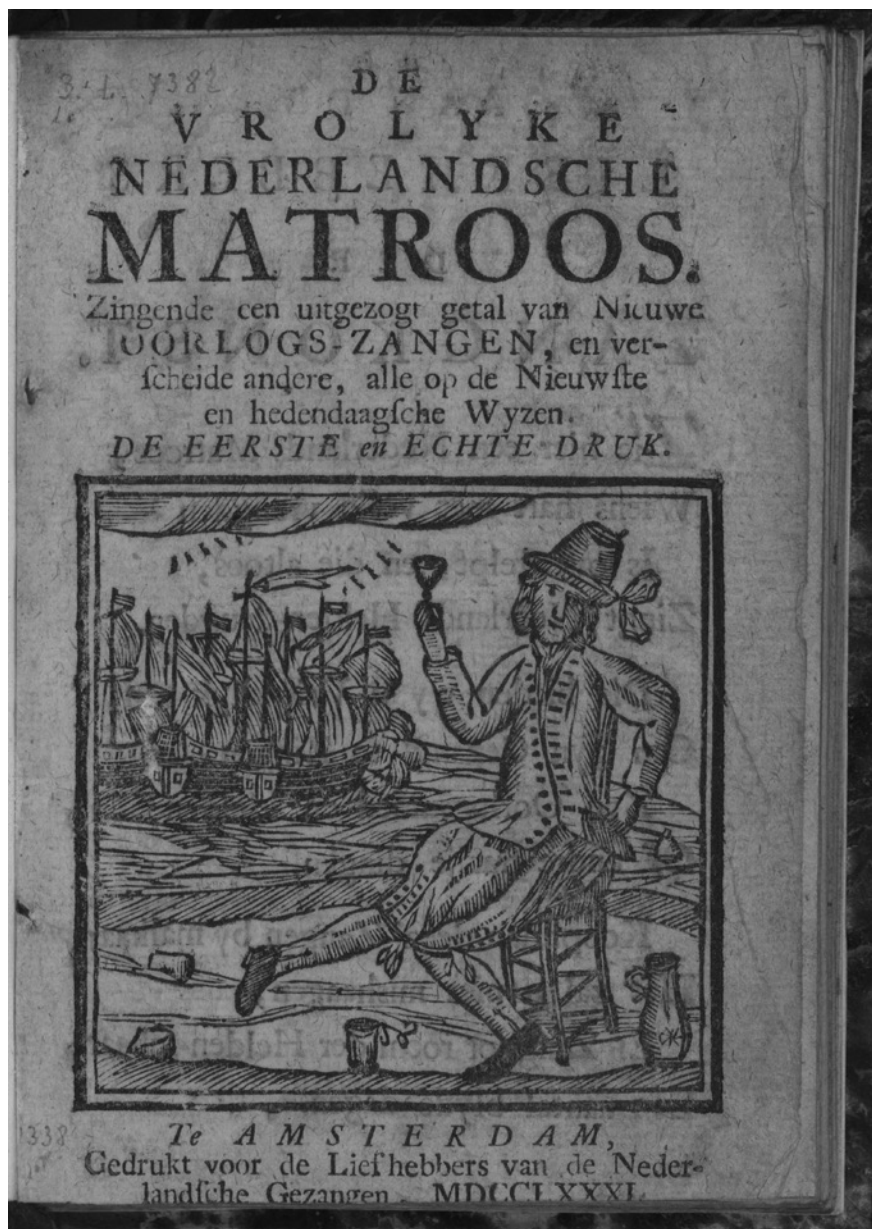IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY
THE HAGUE.

FIGURE 1.9   De vrolyke Nederlandsche Matroos (*'The Merry Dutch Sailor'*) (*Amsterdam, n.p.: 1781*). *Ghent University Library, B.L. 7382. A clearly tipsy sailor drinks and sings while his fleet waits in the background.*
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GHENT.

De Vermakelijcke
BUYS-MAN,
OFTE
Koddige Boots-gesellettje:
Singende
Veel vermaekelijcke Visschers ende Ma-
troose Liedjes, als ook verscheyde nieuwe Amou-
reuse Herders en Vreugde-Gesangen.

Den twaelfden Druk / met nieuwe Rijm-Veersen
vermeerdert en verbetert.

t'AMSTERDAM,
By de Erve van de Wed: GYSBERT DE GROOT,
Boekverkoopster op de Nieuwe-Dijk /
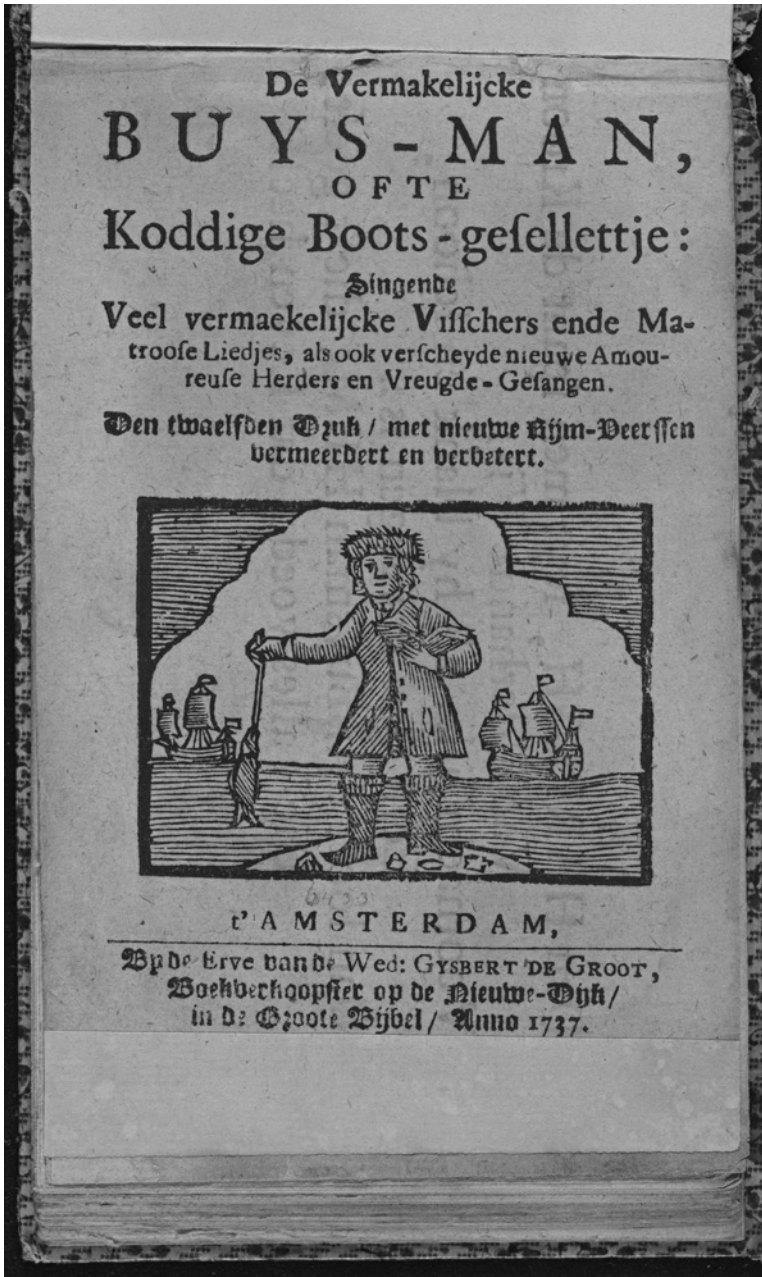in de Groote Bijbel / Anno 1737.

FIGURE 1.10   De vermakelijcke Buys-Man, ofte Koddige Boots-geselletje (*The
Entertaining "Buys-Man", or Droll Sailor*') (*Amsterdam, Wed. G. de
Groot: 1737*). *The Hague, Royal Library, 3 E 42. The 'bussman'*
(*'a sailor on a "buss"': a type of herring-boat) stands on the shore of
the Zuyderzee with his equipment before him on the ground.*
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

Up to now we have been discussing only songbooks which appeared in print. *Written* songbooks may also reflect the repertoire of a singing group. They contain the personal selections of one or more people who may have sung the songs within a group, or even in several groups. For example, a manuscript from the seventeenth century that initially reflects the life of a student from Leuven, later on shows songs for the initiation of several people into monasteries and beguinages.[11] Obviously, the manuscript reflects different stages from one person's biography.

A special category of song manuscripts is formed by the *alba amicorum* of noble women, known from the late sixteenth century on. Friends and visitors, sometimes including those wooing the *album*'s owner, entered songs and other poems into it, thereby reflecting the makeup and atmosphere of her social circle.

Of course, people belong to more than just one social group. Their multilayered social identity may be expressed in their personal repertoire, consisting of songs characteristic of the different groups to which they belong.

Intertextuality

One form of intertextuality is specifically characteristic for song culture: the writing of *contrafacta*, i.e. new songs written to pre-existing melodies. To be more precise: a contrafactum is a song, the text of which has been written to a pre-existing melody. Often the poet of a contrafactum takes over not only the melody but also ideas or phrases from the model. This is intertextuality in its purest form. Louis Grijp has worked out a taxonomy for this borrowing, based on the extent to which contrafacta borrowed elements from their models.[12] Borrowing may happen at three levels: at the level of music, of form (i.e. stanza form), and of text (the literary content). At the text level borrowing may be limited to the first line or lines, or to the first stanza. This is called 'initial borrowing'. The remainder of the new song text then follows its own path. 'Continuous borrowing,' in contrast, refers to cases in which the text follows the entire original, through all stanzas. This might occur when a poet turns a love song into a religious one: s/he keeps the original words wherever possible, changing only what does not fit the new purpose. A third way of borrowing is

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11   The manuscript is in the Ghent University Library: see Moelans P., *Handgeschreven liederen. Wereldlijke liedcultuur in liedhandschriften (Zuidelijke Nederlanden, ca. 1600–ca. 1800) uit de Gentse universiteitsbibliotheek*, Ph.D. dissertation (Leuven University: 2009) 196.

12   Grijp L.P., *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw. Het mechanisme van de contrafactuur* (Amsterdam: 1991).

'thematic borrowing': not the words but an idea, or even just a mood, are carried from the model to its contrafactum.

The following example demonstrates 'continuous borrowing'. The model is a song from a pastoral play by Pieter Hooft, *Granida* (1605), sung by a shepherdess fleeing into the woods from a lascivious shepherd, hoping that he will not find her. Hiding in the woods, she sings:

> Hooft
> 1.
> The fierce rays of the sun
> I shelter from in the woods;
> If these woods could talk,
> How much love it would tell about![13]

The contrafactum is a religious song by the Calvinist minister Jodocus van Lodenstein, written in 1659. He imitates the shepherdess as much as possible:

> Lodenstein
> 1.
> The fierce rays of the sun
> I shelter from in the shadow;
> Ah! If this woods could talk,
> How much grief it would tell about![14]

Lodenstein's singer is in a sad mood and is seeking comfort in nature, in the woods, comfort not from the typical pastoral shepherd, but from the Holy Shepherd, from God. This becomes clear in the third stanza:

> Lodenstein
> 3.
> Only my Shepherd always sends
> His mind to old love;
> Although refusing may last long,
> His love lasts persistently.[15]

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13   'Het vinnich stralen van de Son / Ontschuil ick in 't bosschage; / Indien dit bosje clappen
      con, / Wat melden 't al vryage!'

14   'Het vinnig stralen van de Son, / Ontschuyl ick in dees' lommer; / Oh! Of dit bosje klappen
      con, / Wat melden 't al een commer?'

15   'Alleen mijn Herder altijt stuirt, / Na d'oude liefd sijn sinnen: / Of 't weygren lang hert-
      neckig duyrd', / Stantvastig duirt sijn minnen'.

Lodenstein follows Hooft's model closely, although he reverses the meaning of what the shepherdess is singing:

> Hooft
> 3.
> A lascivious lad always sends
> His mind to new lust;
> No longer than lasts her refusing,
> No longer lasts his love.[16]

Lodenstein continued this procedure for all seven stanzas of Hooft's pastoral song, a clear instance of 'continuous borrowing'. The minister obviously admired Hooft's song, but emulated it by transposing it from the secular to the sacred realm.

All these forms of borrowing, initial, continuous, or thematic, also came into play when early modern Dutch poets chose foreign models for new song texts. One type of 'continuous borrowing' of a foreign text is what we usually call a translation. Literal translations do occur, from French or English originals, but they are not particularly numerous. More common is 'thematic borrowing', in the sense that the basic idea or a basic mood from the original is taken over.

A nice example is John Dowland's famous, sad melody "Lachrimae", 'Flow my tears, fall from your springs', which inspired a number of Dutch poets to write contrafacta that captured the mood of the original. Their initial lines read:

> Weep, eyes, weep, and become fontains
> (D. CAMPHUYSEN, 1624).[17]

> My soul, mourn! And make your complaints
> (A. VALERIUS, 1626).[18]

> Complain, eyes, complain, witness my sorrows
> (J. KRUL, 1634).[19]

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16   'Een wulleps knaepjen altijt stuirt / Nae nieuwe lust sijn sinnen, / Niet langer als het
      weygeren duirt, / Niet langer duirt het minnen'.
17   'Traen, oogen, traen, en word fonteynen'.
18   'Myn ziele treur'! En doet u klachten'.
19   'Klaegh, oogen, klaegh, tuyght mijn verdrieten'.

In the Dutch Republic most of the tunes used for popular songs were borrowed from other countries, especially from France and England, and to a lesser extent from Italy. A provisional count suggests that in the middle of the seventeenth century at least half of the tunes for Dutch songs came from France, about 20% from England, 10% from the Netherlands, Italy, Germany or Spain; for the remaining 20% the provenance is not known.[20]

Typical for songs is that the translation fits the original foreign tune, just as each contrafactum fits the tune of its model. Technically speaking, translations adopt the original stanza form, i.e. a number of formal aspects of the song text: the rhyme scheme including the gender of the rhymes (masculine or feminine), and the number of syllables or accents per line. This brings us to the formal level of borrowing, which is another dimension with its own rules and problems. When writing a contrafactum, the stanza form could be copied literally, but variations were also possible, for example through simplification of complex stanza forms, or, on the contrary, embellishment of a simple stanza form by adding extra rhymes. Ample material for further research on these phenomena may be found in the Dutch Song Database described above, which contains tens of thousands stanza forms from the early modern period, classified according to the corresponding melodies.

In the process of classifying all of these possible forms of intertextuality one might nearly overlook the fact that a contrafactum might also be written with no borrowing outside of the tune. This happened quite often: in that case a poet obviously chose a melody for a new song because he liked the music, disregarding the original text entirely. It is possible that s/he might not even have known the words at all. Even the stanza form might not have served as a conscious model, with the poet rather following intuition while humming the melody.

Performance

A song in manuscript or printed form is a mere shadow of what it is in performance. While much can be said generally about the performance of songs, the same is not true for the specific performance of songs in the early modern period. A fundamental question is: were songs always sung? The first, intuitive

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20   This impression is based on Baak Griffioen R. van, *Jacob van Eyck's 'Der Fluyten Lust-Hof'* (*1644–c1655*) (Utrecht: 1991) 73. Her calculations for the repertory of 120 melodies of Van Eyck's recorder book seem fairly representative for the whole repertoire of popular song tunes used in mid-seventeenth century Holland.

answer is: yes, by definition. The fact that many song texts have been transmitted without musical notation does not mean that they would not have been sung. It only underscores that originally song is an oral genre, and that orality is even more intrinsic to the musical than to the textual component. After all, more people are able to read text than musical notation. The conviction that song texts transmitted without music notation were indeed sung was the motivation for founding the Dutch Song Database, originally designed to link song texts to melodies to which they were or might have been sung. But the truth turns out to be more complex. For instance, if someone in the seventeenth century found a song text in a book but did not know the tune, s/he could not sing it. This situation is referred to in the following title of a *Geuzen* song:

> A New Song about the Farewell of the Bloody Spaniards;
> whoever cannot sing it may read it.[21]

Thus, reading is a historical alternative for singing a song. This is true not only in a case of the kind of necessity captured in the preceding example. Sometimes the author of a songbook emphasized the possibility of reading his songs, in case the reader did not like singing them. The religious poet Dirk Camphuysen went so far as to arrange his *Stichtelycke rymen* ('Edifying Rhymes', 1624) in such a way that the poems could be read as well as sung: he deliberately used alternating metres such as iambs and trochees instead of irregular song metres containing dactyls and anapests, which he obviously considered unpleasant for reading. It surely was deliberate that Camphuysen titled his book 'Edifying *Rhymes*' instead of 'Edifying *Songs*' (italics added).

Another fundamental question about the performance of songs is whether they were sung alone, or in a group; this question is particularly important for the discussion of identity issues. Both sole and group singing seem to have existed. The poet G.A. Bredero dedicated his *Gheestich Liedt-Boexcken* ('Spirited Songbook', 1621) to the 'merry maidens and lads' in order to sing his songs 'whether in merry meals, companies, and wedding parties, or for yourself to get rid of melancholy thoughts'.[22]

Bredero did not mention a third way, solo singing for an audience, as that was probably not a frequent interaction situation for his kind of songs. We

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21   'Een Nieuw liedeken vant affscheydt der Spaengiaerden mispresen, / diet niet singhen kan mach het lesen.' Kuiper E.T. (ed.), *Het Geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1924–1925) vol. I, 261, citing an edition of 1616.

22   '[…] het sy in vrolijcke Maaltyden, Gheselschappen, en Bruylofts-Feesten, of om voor u selven van swaermoedige gedachten te ontledigen.'

imagine that when someone sang alone but in company, others would have joined in and started singing along as soon as possible [Fig. 1.11]. Singing along is an essential condition for the oral transmission of songs, a natural way of learning them and passing them along. Pastor Willem Sluiter, author of *Psalmen, Lofzangen, ende geestelycke liedekens* ('Psalms, Hymns, and Sacred Songs', 1661), hoped to reach simple people with his edifying songs, people such as house servants who could not read but would hear the songs in the family circle and thus learn the words by heart. Singing together resulted in mutual edification, in an efficient way. 'One can sing together but not speak together', according to Sluiter.[23]

Many early modern songs contain refrains: words that were repeated at the same point throughout all stanzas (obviously on a recurring part of the melody). Such refrains could easily be sung by all present. This principle blurs the difference between singing alone and together, as such songs must have been performed by a lead singer and a group. Another situation halfway between the individual singer and the whole group is the pair of lovers, sitting in a pleasant environment, singing together a love dialogue or another dialogue song.

One situation requiring a genuine soloist in the early modern performance situation was in the singing of broadsides in the street. Essentially the broadside singer was a market vendor, selling songs instead of fish or fruit, able to attract and entertain people. In the standard setting the singer stood on an elevation such as a barrel or a bench, indicating what he was singing on a piece of cloth on which the scenes of the song were painted. Meanwhile, his wife, child or servant went through the crowd selling the broadsides. Once people had bought the broadside they were able to sing along with the soloist. In the regional novel *De Witte* ('The White One', 1920) by Ernest Claes, we read about such a singer at work during a fair ('kermesse') in the Flemish countryside. The peasants start singing along and some people cry with emotion.[24] Unfortunately, this description refers to the end of the nineteenth century, and we have no knowledge of an early modern equivalent. But there is no reason to assume that public reaction was much different in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, as the visual images we have from that era show the same situation.

The market singer must have been a popular figure throughout Europe. Nevertheless there seems to have been a difference between the broadsides he sold and the songbooks that could be bought in bookstores. In the Netherlands

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23   Stronks E., *Stichten of schitteren. De poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten* (Houten: 1996) 97.

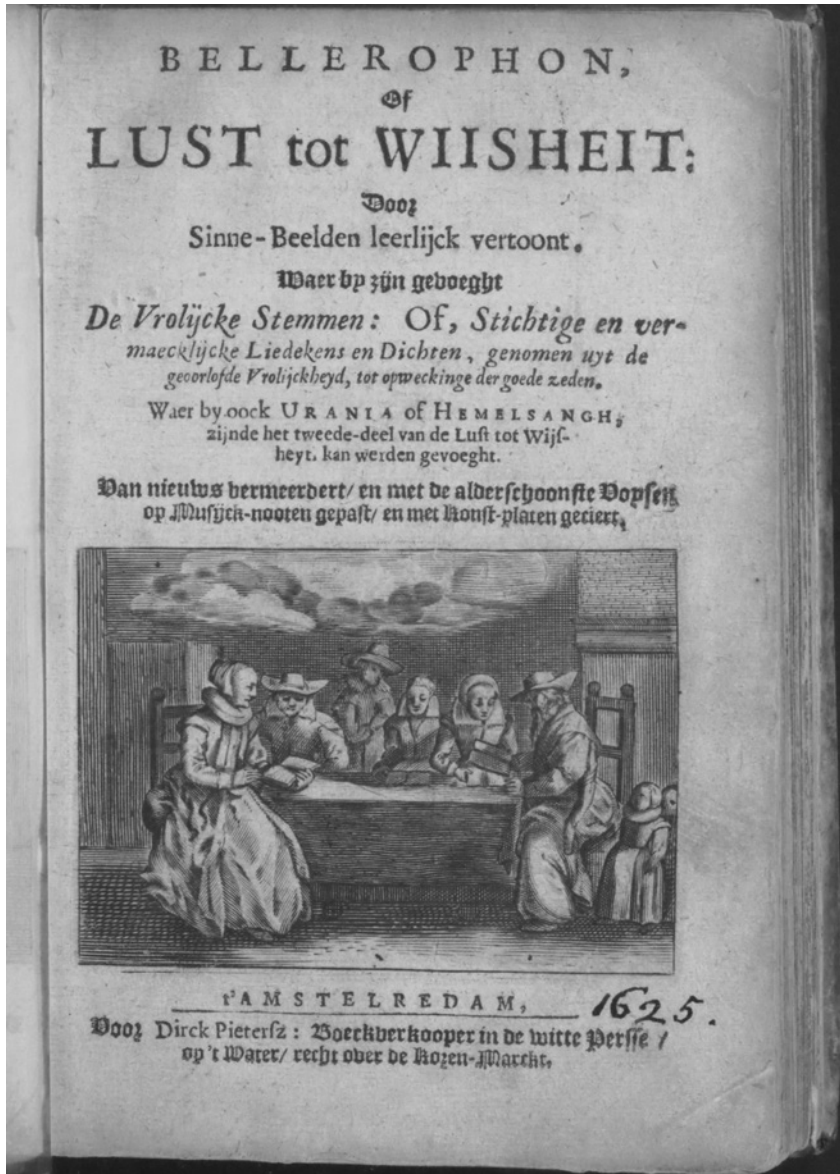24   Claes E., *De Witte* (Amsterdam – Brussels: 1928) 206–210.

BELLEROPHON,
Of
LUST tot WIISHEIT:
Door
Sinne-Beelden leerlijck vertoont.
Waer by zijn gevoeght
De Vrolijcke Stemmen: Of, Stichtige en ver-
maecklijcke Liedekens en Dichten, genomen uyt de
geoorlofde Vrolijckheyd, tot opweckinge der goede zeden.

Waer by oock URANIA of HEMELSANGH,
zijnde het tweede-deel van de Lust tot Wijs-
heyt. kan werden gevoeght.

Van nieuws vermeerdert/ en met de alderschoonste Dopsett
op Musijck-nooten gepast/ en met Konst-platen geciert.

t'AMSTELREDAM,   1625.
Door Dirck Pietersz: Boeckverkooper in de witte Persse/
op 't Water/ recht over de Rozen-Marcht.

FIGURE 1.11 Bellerophon, of Lust tot Wijsheit (*'Bellerophon, or Desire for Wisdom'*)
(*Amsterdam, D.P. Pers:* [*1640–1648*]) *title page. The Hague, Royal Library, 7 B 2. The*
engraving shows the ideal use of this Calvinist songbook, by a decent family at home.
Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.

very few broadsides have been preserved from the sixteenth century, and only a few dozen from the seventeenth. In countries such as England and Germany thousands of broadsides have survived. On the other hand, we know of at least 4,000 printed songbooks from the Low Countries from before 1800.[25] Comparative information from other nations is not as readily available, but it seems that most other countries did not produce printed songbooks in similar numbers.

Apart from the market, the theatrical stage was also a place where solo songs were performed. Many Dutch plays, tragedies even more than comical, contained songs, whether solos by a character or impersonal choruses which were usually performed by two singers.[26]

To conclude: the performance of early modern songs can be regarded as belonging to the performance of early music in general. The revival of interest in early music in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in an impressive body of knowledge about the subject, ranging from the construction of old musical instruments, through playing and singing techniques, to tunings and temperaments, tempo and improvisation. Most of this refers to art music, to the performance of which complete treatises were devoted. Although for folk and other informal music much less written information is available, the same questions can be asked. Then we are speaking about the performance practice of early modern songs. Did they use instruments to accompany the songs? And if so, what kind of accompaniment did they play: chords, drones, a second voice, a base line? In those instances in which we have a text to be sung to a melody found in another source: how can we match one to the other? And for cases in which we do have appropriate notation for a song text: how do we fit the second and following stanzas to the tune, if lines have sometimes widely divergent numbers of syllables? These problems are best solved by collaboration between scholars and musicians: musicians who are prepared to work together with scholars in order to have access to sources where they may find answers to their practical questions, scholars whose views are influenced by the insights of musicians putting theory into practice.

So far, we have introduced a model by teasing out identity, intertextuality, and performance as three focus areas of early modern song culture, and worked out specific instances of these aspects for the situation in the Netherlands.

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25   Listed in Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche Liedboeken*.

26   Veldhorst N., *De perfecte verleiding. Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdams toneel in de 17e eeuw*, Ph.D. dissertation (VU University Amsterdam: 2004); Grijp L.P., "Boys and Female Impersonators in the Amsterdam Theatre of the Seventeenth Century", *Medieval English Theatre* 28 (2006) 131–170.

However, these themes are not unique for this country. On the contrary, many of them are to be found in other European countries as well, albeit it with local emphases and differences.

Cultural Practices in Early Modern European Song Culture

The three focus areas facilitate the comparison of many European regions and different times. Several contributors to this volume begin with a focus on one of these aspects, but offer important insights on the others as well, as for many the concepts of identity, intertextuality and performance are very much intertwined. This broader picture is illustrated by the following overview of the articles.

Religion

That singing is a social activity is particularly obvious in the field of religious song: several researchers present and interpret examples of the important link between song and religious identity. Ingrid Åkesson deals with a fascinating aspect of Swedish song culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the unwillingness of (local) church congregations and individual singers to accept changes in hymnody ordered by far-off authorities. From the Lutheran Reformation on, a central ecclesiastic power and centralized government sought to standardize hymn texts, melodies, and modes of performance, but the country-people wanted to retain their own local style, their own texts, tunes and ways of singing, which they had learned in an oral tradition in their own parish church or at home from their parents and grandparents. One essential factor in the strength of hymn-singing traditions is that they are intimately connected to several related levels of identity: individual, local and religious. Singers want to hold on to their way of singing, which is grounded in the physical body of the individual after years of practice, associated with the local community and felt as a person's own way of expressing faith. Åkesson's argument that identity is often best characterised as being *multi-layered* is echoed by other contributors to this volume; for example Mary-Ann Constantine argues that most people have many 'constructed identities, which come to the fore as occasion demands' (Constantine, p. 267). From a European perspective is it interesting to note that in the case of Sweden the strength of regional and local identities is due in part to the topography of the country, with its small isolated villages and sparse population.

    In the Netherlands during the second half of the eighteenth century, a village schoolmaster could be an active agent in the promotion of religious

identity by means of song, as is shown by Nelleke Moser in her discussion of a notebook kept by Cornelis van der Schelling. This schoolmaster furthered pietism through a collection of songs written for his fellow believers, family, friends, school children and adherents of the House of Orange, thus shaping and confirming the religious identity of the addressees as well as displaying his own. His public consisted of a pietistic inner circle which would recognize and understand particular expressions (the 'language of Canaan') as well as specific genres and references to popular pietistic authors. This recognition and understanding, true for texts and particular tunes, constitutes intertextual references on the level of both text and tune. Through the collective experience of singing this shared repertoire, pietistic identity would be confirmed. Despite the absence of records or accounts of actual performance from that time, we can deduce that the songs were intended to be sung in a group from indicators of performance in the texts themselves, such as exhortations to sing along.

Some 150 years earlier, in Antwerp (today's Belgium), a similar songwriter was at work: Guilielmus Bolognino, first a parish priest and later a canon of the Cathedral of this city. Hubert Meeus and Tine de Koninck discuss the collection of songs that he wrote and collected into the printed songbook *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* ('The sacred lark', 1645). This book shares some features with the local printed songbooks already mentioned. For example, although Antwerp is not specifically named in the title, the songbook is obviously meant for Bolognino's fellow citizens, as indicated by the inclusion of songs on the patron saints of all Antwerp's parishes. Being a priest, Bolognino probably had the young people of his parish sing didactic songs as part of their religious education. A number of songs were written on secular melodies of a contemporary repertoire in French, Italian, Latin and Dutch, and so—in contrast to Van der Schelling who used tunes from pietistic sources—Bolognino set his Catholic texts to worldly music such as dances and drinking songs. His lyrics were often inspired by French love songs, which he drew into the sacred realm, for example by substituting 'Jesus' or 'Mary' for the name of the beloved in the source text (an example of continuous borrowing). If we compare Bolognino, canon and parish priest from the city of Antwerp, with Van der Schelling, schoolmaster of the small village of Zevenhoven, we can see that, despite the many differences between them, there is striking similarity: both use song in order to shape and confirm the religious identity of those under their guidance, particularly the young.

Handwritten Sources

As mentioned, the material used by Moser is a handwritten notebook with songs from the second half of the eighteenth century. Several other contributors

to this volume focus on handwritten collections of songs to trace instances of displaying, sharing and modifying identities.[27] In his discussion of German speaking areas, Franz-Jozef Holznagel shows that after the invention of print, handwritten books became connected to the private and intimate sphere, in contrast to the printed songbook intended for a general market. Hence these manuscripts provide us with unique insight into the ways in which singers and collectors assembled and shared song repertoires and thus into the sociocultural functioning of texts and music. Holznagel offers an overview of extant German handwritten secular songbooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and describes the strategies of identity building in such books, representing as they do the musical and literary interests of the owner and the members of the group around him of her, and the owners' reasons for collecting songs. At the same time, the social identity of the group was established by the process of compiling songs into a book that recorded their shared song culture. Holznagel argues that both the urban and the aristocratic handwritten secular songbooks can function as *dispositifs* for identity: they enable the building and expression of social identities due to the combination of certain material conditions and specific content.[28]

In this field of research, where songs and other texts in miscellaneous manuscript collections are treated as windows on the particular social environment they represent and constitute, researchers in Dutch and German literature turn out to have much in common, firstly because a number of relevant manuscripts transcend the current national borders, coming as they do from the region that is now the Eastern Netherlands and the adjoining Western German area, and secondly because similar song types can be found in the entire area.

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27   Ezell M., *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore – London: 1999); Marotti A.F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, N.Y. – London: 1995); Taylor J.H.M., *The Making of Poetry. Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: 2007); Moser N., "Vroegmoderne Nederlandse manuscriptcultuur in diachroon en internationaal perspectief. Van blinde vlek tot multifocale glazen", *Neerlandistiek.nl* 07.09d [accessed: 31 October 2015].

28   For example, if a woman inserts her name and coat of arms into her own songbook, she presents herself as a member of an already existing social elite. At the same time however, she presents herself as someone belonging to a smaller number of people who unite themselves as a group through literary tastes or aesthetic principles. In using the notion *dispositif*, Holznagel goes back to Foucault, who nevertheless used it mainly in regard to the distribution of power (cf. Foucault M., *The Will to Knowledge. The History of Sexuality I* (London: 1998) 106–107). Considering the etymology of the word, Holznagel redefines a *dispositif* as something that enables order, that triggers the act of ordering or at least allows it.

Intriguing examples of such private handwritten sources are the Dutch and German alba amicorum, which were kept mostly by young ladies of a marriageable age from the lower nobility. These alba are central to the contributions by Sophie Reinders and Clara Strijbosch.

Sophie Reinders looks at the alba from the point of view of media studies and thus considers them as a social network mapping service, analogous to Facebook in our times. Both media can be interpreted as a place where adolescents have a unique social space of their own, where they can socialize with their peers and work out identity and status. At the same time users of the alba, like users of Facebook, might resort to a private code to convey hidden messages (stenography), which make these sources difficult to interpret for outsiders such as the modern researcher. According to Reinders, these alba are particularly interesting because they show the ways in which young people shared cultural content.

Clara Strijbosch emphasizes the many challenges posed by the alba amicorum as rich and intriguing sources, leading to the formulation of nine desiderata for future research. She explains that the contributions in the alba by many inscribers reveal the literary taste and culture around the female possessor of the book. The many love songs cannot be taken at face value as the expressions of the feelings of a suitor, but primarily show that this was simply the dominant genre at the time. Some alba include the relatively new phenomena of rhetorician lyrics and Petrarchan texts, which point to connections between the noble female owners of such alba and other social circles such as those of urban rhetoricians, universities and young men returning from their grand tours.

Dieuwke van der Poel's contribution also discusses aspects of the formation of youth identity through miscellaneous manuscripts with Dutch songs, but her sources are collections most probably from an urban environment: the Zutphen Songbook (1537), possibly connected to a circle of male students of the Hanseatic town Zutphen, and the album amicorum of Aefgen van Giblant (c. 1600), likely connected to well-situated citizens in the province of Holland and often referring to young addressees. Van der Poel argues that the generally recognized connection of youth identity and music is not restricted to modern times but can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century: in both sources a youth group is defining and testing its identity by singing and sharing songs. At the same time, there are the marked differences in lyrics and use of pre-existing melodies: the contents of the Zutphen Songbook are partly traditional, partly satirical (dance) songs with misogynist elements, some using older, well-known melodies, while in the environment of Aefgen all that seemed to matter was exhibiting a refined cultural background, connected with the rhetorician

culture and religious principles in sophisticated lyrics and the use of up-to-date foreign melodies. Both sources show similarities in another aspect, however, for they equally offer songs as a means of exploring and testing love as theme and behaviour.

Political Song

Another major cluster of contributions to this volume studies the intertwining of political and local identities in song and the subversive power of political song. This, too, is a rich field of research, particularly for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the aftermath of the French revolution. This is the focus of David Robb, Mary-Ann Constantine and Éva Guillorel in their discussions of songs from various parts of Europe.

David Robb describes socially critical songs in Germany and Austria from 1832 to 1849, a volatile period characterized by a striving for political emancipation from the despotism of princes and kings. The functioning of intertextuality is obvious here: popular melodies were used to advance communal singing, but also to emphasize content or to add an additional satirical layer through thematic association to the content of the original texts that the melodies can carry (thematic borrowing). For earlier periods it is often difficult to reconstruct how the performance of the songs added to the ways in which (political) identities were expressed and promoted, but Robb has a rich variety of sources from the nineteenth century at his disposal such as reports of students singing, memoirs of contemporary witnesses, and police reports of the search for writers of politically inflammatory songs or participants in riots.

Mary-Ann Constantine argues that songs are particularly interesting objects for researching the construction of identities, precisely because they are frequently adapted to new situations. She points to various Welsh examples from the 1790s to the 1820s. Printed Welsh ballads occupy the border between oral and printed culture and show the interplay of various shifting identities: anti-French, pro-Welsh, even pro and con the British Crown, and all this simultaneously linked to religious stances: one could be Anglican or Nonconformist but both would be anti-Catholic. "God save the king" offers a clear example of the possibilities of intertextuality in song: both tune and words were used not only by loyalists to the Crown but also—ironically—by adversaries of State and Church. Furthermore, the singing of songs on French revolutionary melodies (such as the "Marseillaise") was considered seditious in Wales. Another development in the early nineteenth century was the notion of 'national song' as Scottish, Welsh and Irish songs were collected and printed, but in a socially acceptable form which elided cultural differences: Scottish airs were arranged by composers such as Haydn, Beethoven, Hummel and von Weber and new

texts were set to native Welsh tunes, mostly by English and Scottish writers, and only rarely by Welsh poets.

Like Constantine, Éva Guillorel convincingly makes a case for the importance of voices from the 'peripheries' when dealing with questions of identity, in her discussion of examples from Brittany. She approaches the connection of song and politics from a slightly different angle: she seeks to understand the importance of folksongs as social memory, defining folksongs as 'songs collected from oral performance, often (though not exclusively) from among the "popular" classes' (Guillorel, p. 287). Her main sources are Breton narrative ballads (*gwerzioù*) that recount, in great detail, tragic counter-revolutionary events in the 1790s. Using song to retell social conflict and protest is a long-standing practice that can be traced and analysed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, because such songs are transmitted over a long period. In the tradition, the narration of a specific event is frequently turned into a timeless plot with a fixed narrative scheme, such as the girl who commits suicide after losing her honour, or the brave deeds of citizens during the siege of a city. Following Jonathan Roper, Guillorel uses the concept of an *ecotype*: 'a special version of a type of any folkloristic genre limited to a particular cultural area in which it has developed differently from examples of the same type in other areas, because of national, political, geographical and historical conditions'.[29] The analysis of ecotypes shows how one and the same story can be tailored to different audiences and can convey even opposite political positions.

Intertextuality and Performance

Many contributions to this volume present examples of intertextuality in tunes and lyrics, but the most detailed investigation of this subject is the study by Christopher Marsh, who dedicates his article to the tradition of "Fortune my Foe", the best-known tune in early modern England. Marsh demonstrates that through the years the melody was connected with three thematic fields. Originally it was primarily used for the expression of the fear of having lost the beloved (but also the unexpected consolation by the lady). However, from the late sixteenth century onwards the same tune is referred to as "Aim not too high" and as such it is used for texts with moral and religious admonition. In such texts, secular devotion for a maiden is turned into religious devotion for the Lord in an intertextual play with sorts of love. The third thematic area carried by this melody concerned *execution ballads*: narrative songs rendering the last words of a criminal at the point of dying upon the gallows.

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29   Roper J., "Towards a Poetic, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms", *The Electronic Journal of Folklore* 24 (2003) 44.

Thus this popular tune brought along a dense web of associations. Although there are almost no sources that offer information on actual listening experiences, Marsh' meticulous analysis of the various realisations of this melody shows the possibilities for understanding associations of a particular melody in a particular period. Marsh argues that human beings are well equipped to link the use of the same melody throughout several instances, as is shown by results in the field of musical cognition which clarifies how the human brain stores and connects musical experiences. Marsh argues that this must have been as true for the early modern period as it is for our times.

The actual performance and historic reception of songs is often difficult to trace, but sometimes we are fortunate to have sources that offer glimpses of the past, such as the fascinating reports in the diaries of the famous English collector Samuel Pepys (second half of the seventeenth century). Drawing on these unique reports of the singing and exchanging of broadside ballads, Patricia Fumerton describes different uses of ballads, from flirtation by references to ballad personae, to affirming social, royalist or political stances in singing along. The meaning of a ballad might differ as it depends on the assemblage of the participating publics, which were more or less coincidental gatherings of singers and publics on various occasions. She concludes with the idea that ballad publics can best be seen as a nesting of public spheres, with those most involved (the mostly anonymous makers, the major printers and sellers) in the middle, and on the outskirts the occasionally involved (such as the incidental producers and random listeners, singers and readers).

Extending our view beyond Europe to the Cape Colony in South Africa, Anne Marieke van der Wal focusses on music performed by the slaves of the European settlers in the period 1750–1838. She looks for processes of musical borrowing and adaptation and the mechanics of creating and negotiating cultural identities in this complex colonial context. Following Simon Frith, she stresses the inseparable link between performance and identity: groups act out their cultural identity through performance.[30] Slave musicians playing in orchestra displayed the taste of their master through the European music they were to perform and play on European instruments, but in their limited spare time they danced to music which merged the different musical traditions that various groups had taken along with them on their Diaspora. They played this Creole music on their own crafted instruments, hence distancing themselves from the European community. Apart from that, several accounts of meetings

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30   Frith S., "Music and Identity", in: idem, *Taking Popular Music Seriously: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: 2007) 293–312.

of (former) slaves and lower-class colonists at the Cape attest to a fusion of European and Diaspora music.

Towards a Comparison of Early Modern European Song Culture

The articles in this volume demonstrate that a comparative approach to European song culture is as necessary as it is stimulating. Of the three focus areas which we have touched on in this introduction, at the moment identity seems most inspiring for international scholarship, as almost all articles in this volume show that the connection of identity and song is obvious, regardless of the particular local and regional European traditions to which the songs belong. The link between song, performance and social identity formation is clearly perceptible, particularly when young people, religion or politics are concerned. While these three have already proved to be important, we expect that future comparative research will point to additional recurring themes, for example songs connected to professional groups such as sailors and soldiers. Another recurring theme is that identity is more strongly felt when it is under pressure and threatened by a common adversary (Åkesson, Moser, Meeus and De Koninck, Robb, Constantine, Guillorel, Van der Wal).

Many contributions stress that during performance, identity is simultaneously acted out and constructed. In Sweden the country-people were determined to hold on to their traditional way of singing because for them this was the only correct way of worshipping which they had known from childhood on. Such unwillingness of common people to accept imposed changes in hymnody is one of the themes that could very well be explored on a European level in the future.[31] Similarly, Guillorel points out that the practice of group singing in Brittany is a collective expression of shared social and political values and Fumerton mentions an example of the making of a momentary political group during the singing of an anti-Republican song aboard a ship. Something similar to this construction of identity in performance, is the expression and establishment of identity that is connected with the gathering of songs in more or less personal handwritten sources. Here the collector might articulate an individual identity, but this person is often at the same time a representative of

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[31]   We (editors) are best acquainted with the Dutch situation, see for example: Grijp L.P., "De honger naar psalmen en schriftuurlijke liedekens tijdens de Reformatie", in Grijp L.P. (ed.), *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 2001) 168–173; Luth J., *'Daer wert om 't seerste uytgekreten . . .': Bijdragen tot een geschiedenis van de gemeentezang in het Nederlandse gereformeerde protestantisme ca. 1550–ca. 1852* (Kampen: 1986).

a particular group. In many cases the songs in such a manuscript reflect the cultural taste and aspirations of the social group with whom the owner had the repertoire in common. Then, the act of collecting and sharing of songs is a way in which a group defines itself (Holznagel, Moser, Reinders, Strijbosch and Van der Poel). The research of these handwritten books from this promising perspective has only just begun.

    In many instances the formation of group identity is influenced deliberately by individuals. In this volume we have encountered a number of such agents: schoolmasters (Moser, Meeus and De Koninck), deacons, clergymen and parish clerks (Meeus and De Koninck, Åkesson) and local printers (Åkesson, Fumerton). A further comparative analysis of such brokers of identity through song seems another promising opportunity: who were they, what strategies did they employ, which audiences did they target, with what purpose?[32]

Our second focus area, intertextuality, similarly offers common comparative ground. Omnipresent in European song culture is the making of contrafacta, which is intertextuality in the production of songs. It is, however, much more difficult to establish whether or not intertextuality also functions in the reception of songs: did listeners—and subsequent singers—take into account the earlier version of the song? The situation is often even more complicated because one and the same melody could be connected with many different song texts: as Marsh puts it, a 'tune could mean subtly different things to different people and more than one thing to the same person (Marsh, p. 321). Several contributors offer interesting possibilities for solving the problem of tracing the reception of tunes. Fumerton's idea that multiform ballad publics can be seen as concentric circles, with those most involved in the middle, is very likely applicable in other cases as well. Marsh has shown that if a given melody is connected to specific themes, then it is more probable that the listeners also took the theme of a particular earlier version into account. Also, he refers to research in the field of musical cognition that shows that the human brain is very good at comparing new melodies to familiar ones, and therefore in considering the earlier version of the song while interpreting new wordings. Sometimes there are obvious textual clues: for example, Fumerton mentions the instance of a broadside ballad about England's patron Saint George, the melody of which was used for a song honoring the heroic deeds of General George, First Duke of Albemarle. Well-known melodies can be used in a satirical way and thus add

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32   Moser mentions other examples of Dutch schoolmasters yet to be researched (footnote 23 of her article).

an extra layer to the song: both Robb and Constantine mention political, anti-royalist songs on the tune of "God save the Queen".

   This is only one example of the use of foreign melodies, one more fascinating topic for international song research. We have mentioned that in the Dutch Republic most of the tunes came from other countries, particularly from France and England. In this volume, two more cases are discussed: Bolognino, working in the Southern Netherlands, favored French 'airs de cour', as well as Italian and Latin melodies. He was often the first to introduce these melodies in the Netherlands, but his work was not very influential, for later seventeenth-century songwriters did not use them (Meeus and De Koninck). In Aefgen van Giblant's album about a quarter of the melodies comes from abroad, specifically from France and England, and it is interesting to see that her musical taste is more of a trend-setter: her album frequently offers (one of) the first testimonies of the use of a melody that remained popular later on. One of these melodies is "Fortune my Foe"; it would be interesting to see whether the three thematic fields described by Marsh are still present after the melody was imported into another language area, just as the basic mood of Dowland's "Lachrimae" was taken over in the Netherlands along with the music, as mentioned above. Also, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent these French and English influences were active elsewhere, especially in Germany and Scandinavian countries, but also in Southern Europe. The topic of the transnational use of melodies could be one more interesting step towards defining an early modern European song culture.

The third focus area, performance, also offers possibilities for comparing regional song cultures throughout Europe. However, research into actual performance is hampered by a lack of sources: often it is difficult to gain any concrete detail of how, when, where and by whom songs were actually sung. The earliest example in this volume of sources that actually describe the event of performance is the diary of Pepys (1661). When songs were considered dangerous and seditious, juridical archives and police reports can be highly informative (Guillorel and Robb) and a comparative analyses of such sources throughout Europe is another challenge for future research.[33] When such

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33   We know of several examples of such a ban on jeering songs in the Netherlands as well:
      see Grijp L.P., "Spotliederen in de Gouden Eeuw", *Volkskundig Bulletin* 18 (1992) 340–366;
      Pleij H., *Het gevleugelde woord. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1400–1560*
      (Amsterdam: 2007) 255–258; Maes L.Th., *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht. Bijdrage tot de
      rechts- en cultuurgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Antwerpen – The Hague: 1947) 249–250
      and 680.

written sources are lacking, the intended performance can still be inferred to some extent from textual clues, like the use of the plural 'we', the occurrence of refrains, and the use of dialogue and role-playing (Moser and Van der Poel).

In the preceding paragraphs we have highlighted some of the similarities and analogies that the articles in this volume bring to the fore. They can be regarded as rough sketches of what an early modern European song culture might look like. However, we have also formulated some desiderata for future research. While the contributions cover wide geographic and temporal swaths, with examples from a large area and ranging from 1450 to 1850, obvious lacunae exist, in particular in Southern and Eastern Europe.

One more major desideratum deserves some extra attention here: the similarities and differences in the transmission of song in a European perspective. Most scholars stress the importance of being aware of the ongoing interplay between the oral, handwritten and printed tradition, but the state of transmission is different in European countries, and we are only beginning to know each other's material and to understand the reasons behind the differences.

We have already noted the remarkable differences in the production and transmission of broadsides and printed songbooks on a European scale. In both Britain and Germany thousands of broadsides, *Flugblätter* and *Liedhefte* have come down to us. The situation in the Netherlands is entirely different. There a relatively large number of printed songbooks (about 4,000) are extant, comprised not only of cheap books for a general market like the chapbooks in other countries, but also of luxurious exemplars, for example those that were meant to be given as a present during courtship.[34] At the same time, the tradition of handwritten songbooks does not fade away but even shows some growth (Van der Poel, p. 210). Also in Germany the handwritten songbook remains important (Holznagel).[35]

However, the number of songs printed on a separate sheet in the Netherlands is remarkably low, in comparison with both the sheet songs extant in other national traditions, and Dutch printed songbooks. A telling and well-researched example is that of the political Beggars' songs. They must have been printed

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[34]   Veldhorst N., *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2009) 15, 91–99; Grootes E.K., "Het jeugdig publiek van de 'nieuwe liedboeken' in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw", in Van den Berg W. – Stouten J. (red.), *Het woord aan de lezer. Zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen* (Groningen: 1987) 72–88.

[35]   Several studies already combine Dutch and German sources from a comparative point of view, but much work is still to be done, as Holznagel and Strijbosch explicitly state.

originally on loose sheets and in small booklets, but almost none of those have been transmitted to our time. We do have a collection of these songs in the *Geuzenliedboek*, a cheaply printed volume for a broad market, reprinted and adapted time and again with more recent songs inserted.[36]

The situation in Sweden is different again, as we learn from Åkesson: there are only a few handwritten sources from the sixteenth to eighteenth century and the printed transmission sets in particularly late, with most of the chapbooks only from the nineteenth century. With regard to the situation in France, many French manuscript chansons, broadside ballads and printed songbooks have come down to us, but they have not yet been the object of an overall analysis (Guillorel, p. 289).

Obviously this overview of the state of transmission is far from complete. An important challenge for further research is to gain more insight into the similarities and differences concerning the transmission of song on a European scale, and also to work out explanations. Likely various factors are at work: geographical, educational (questions of orality and literacy), social (influence of courts and urban literature, singing 'under pressure'), and the role of contemporary collectors (e.g. Pepys).

This volume is based on the premise that we have a lot to gain by sharing knowledge about regional song cultures through a comparative approach. We as editors hope that this volume will serve as a point of departure for further research on genres and trends in early modern European song culture.

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36   De Bruin M., "Geuzen- en antigeuzenliederen", in Grijp, *Een muziekgeschiedenis* 174–181;
      Kuiper E.T. (ed.), *Het Geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1924–1925).

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