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Printing in the Truth: Balancing the local and national market in the printing work of Samuel van Haringhouck

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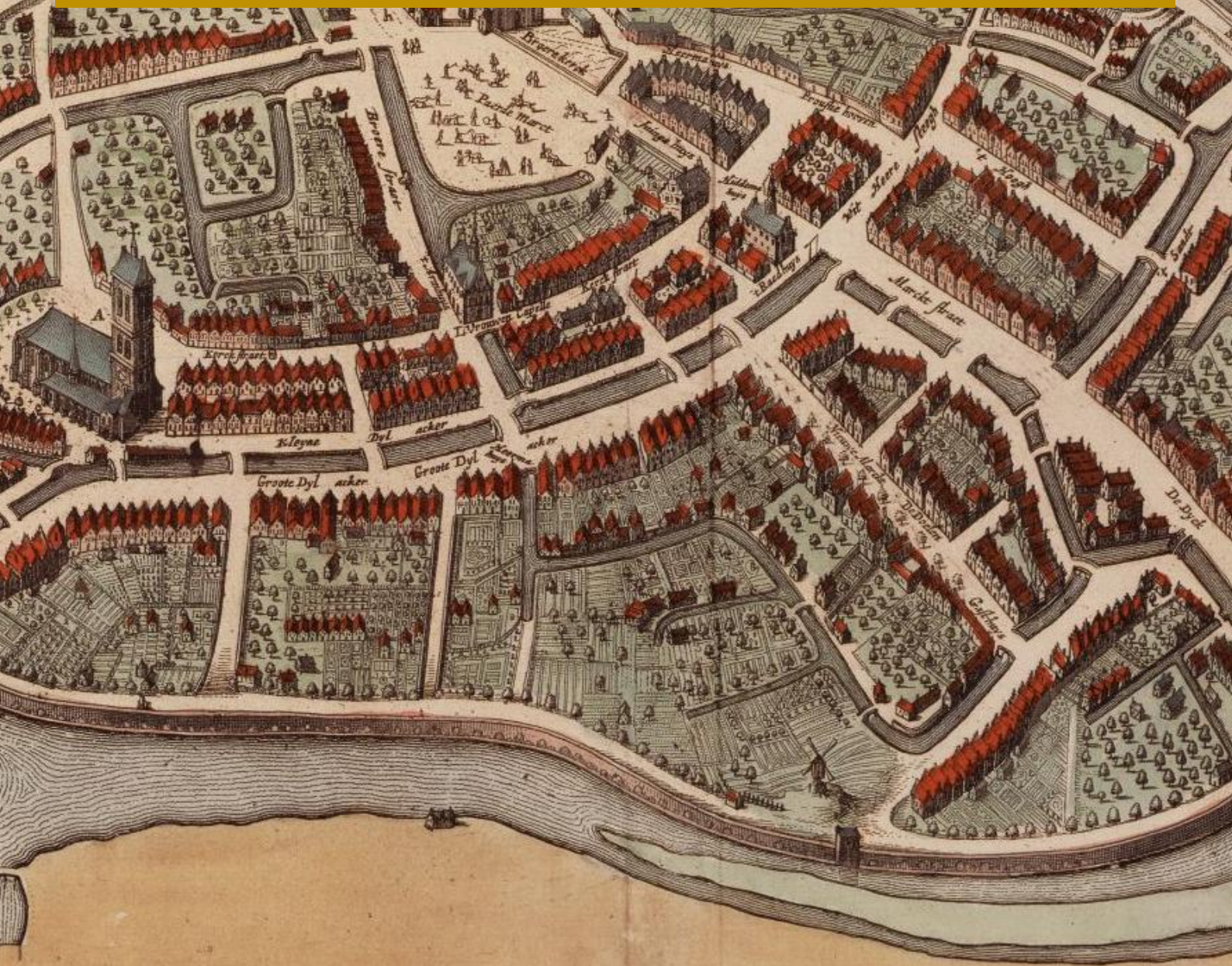
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Printing in the Truth

Balancing the local and national market in the printing work of Samuel van Haringhouck



Printing in the Truth



Map of Bolsward in the Schotanus Atlas from 1664. Via Wikimedia.¹

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¹ Bolsward as represented in the 1664 Schotanus Atlas, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Elf_reproducties_van_Friese_stadsplattegronden_uit_de_Beschrijving_van_Heerlijkheydt_van_Friesland_door_Bernardus_Schotanus_a_Sterringa_uitgegeven_in_1664_Bolswaert.JPG.

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Introduction

The 17th century is often regarded as the ‘golden age’ of Dutch history. The economy was thriving with the founding of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1602, and the Republic found itself independent from Spanish rule as a result of the Dutch Revolt. With the thriving economy, the book industry also started to grow. The Republic knew strong trade networks from which materials and books could be spread across all of Europe. Additionally, the Dutch population was open to immigrants who fled from the Catholic influences of the Spanish empire to the Protestant Republic. This allowed among others for many printers and booksellers to settle in the Republic and share their crafts there.²

This flourishing of the book market happened primarily in Amsterdam. International trade was the strongest in this city, one of the reasons being the headquarters of the VOC that were situated here. In the city of Leiden the book trade grew as well as it was stimulated by the presence of a university. This did not mean that the rest of the Republic stood still. In the other provinces, printers continued to provide their own local communities with books, and sometimes branched out to a larger (inter)national audience as well.

One of the provinces that benefited from the changing dynamics of the 17th century was Friesland. This province in the north of the Republic was characterized by a strong economy depending on agriculture and seafaring. Having founded a university in the city of Franeker in 1585, the province also became an increasing center of scholarly traffic. Another important aspect of Friesland was the strong marks the Reformation had left on the previous strong Catholic landscape. The Republic went through a ‘second’ Reformation, ‘Nadere Reformatie’ in Dutch, in the 17th century, in which influences of English Pietism were used to work further on the core principles brought by the first Dutch Reformation. It is hard to say how much influence the church in Friesland had in the countryside to begin with. As Op ‘t Hof states, the choice for a new pastor in the countryside was oftentimes decided by the owner of the land, not the church.³ Still, Pietism and the ‘Nadere Reformatie’ gained a lot of influence in the province, especially when the university appointed a Pietist as a professor in theology.⁴ It should be

² P.G. Hoftijzer, ‘The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European book trade in the 17th century’, *European History Online* (2015), <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/hoftijzerp-2015-en>>.

³ W.J. op ‘t Hof, ‘Nadere Reformatie in Friesland?’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 20 (2004), p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 55.

mentioned that it was not only in Friesland that these principles took off. The new Pietist values allowed for English works on Pietism to be translated to Dutch all over the Republic.

This thesis focuses on one specific printer who printed locally. It discusses the work of Samuel van Haringhouck⁵, who ran a bookshop in the Frisian city of Bolsward from 1648 to 1676. Van Haringhouck focused primarily on publishing translated works about English Pietism, which he sometimes translated himself. In a number of cases, Van Haringhouck also collaborated with other translators on these Pietist works. However, his printing list also consists of titles related to Bolsward or Friesland in general. As such, this thesis focusses on the following question: how are the local and national market represented in the printing list of Samuel van Haringhouck?

In order to answer this question, this thesis has been divided in four parts. The first part discusses the life of Samuel van Haringhouck and the context of Friesland in the 17th century, which would influence the essence of Van Haringhouck's work. The second part discusses the local titles published by Van Haringhouck, which encompasses local authors and translators. The third part expands on this with a focus on Van Haringhouck's original translations as well as titles from non-Frisian authors. The fourth and final part draws on the previous chapters and explores the way Van Haringhouck tried to engage with his audience and advertised his titles to the local and national markets.

For this research, the books of Van Haringhouck himself are an important source of information. Van Haringhouck has left behind a lot of personal notes in his publications. These can primarily be found in his dedications and introductions placed at the beginning of the publications. These bits of text show the intentions he had while publishing and how he interacted with his customers. As currently Frisian printers have not been researched as much as those in Holland, these primary sources are essential to get to know what motivated Van Haringhouck in his business.

⁵ As no standard spelling of names existed in the 17th century, the most standard forms of the names mentioned in this thesis are used. This is not the case when quoting directly from a source in order to keep these as authentic as possible.

Chapter 1: Samuel van Haringhouck and Friesland in the 17th century

Before the local and national aspects of Van Haringhouck's book business can be discussed, it is necessary to know who Samuel van Haringhouck was, and how the situation in Friesland in the 17th century would influence a printer's work. This chapter will discuss these two topics. First the life of Samuel van Haringhouck will be discussed, as well as his position as bookseller and printer. For a couple of years, Van Haringhouck did not print any works himself, but did sell them with his name on the title pages. Therefore this period of his work and the printers he collaborated with in this time need to be discussed. After this, the situation of Friesland in the 17th century shall be given in order to contextualize Van Haringhouck's life and work in. Here the influences of economy, landscape and academia on the business climate in the province will be the prime subjects.

Samuel van Haringhouck

The life of Samuel van Haringhouck

The general biography of Samuel van Haringhouck has been discussed a number of times by different researchers. The biggest contribution to this comes from Van der Meulen, who in 1894 wrote an essay about the life and work of Samuel van Haringhouck. This information is elaborated on by Op 't Hoff and Breuker. At the same time, a number of archival materials such as marital records have been preserved that also shed light on who Van Haringhouck was. However, as Van der Meulen has written the most extensive account on the life of Van Haringhouck, his work is taken as a guiding point to discuss van Haringhouck's life here.

Samuel van Haringhouck was born in 1621, in the area of Amersfoort where he was baptized on June 14th, 1621. His parents were Mattheus Haringhouck, born in Amsterdam and later living in Amersfoort where he took a job as a grocer; and Hester Conira (or Cantier), born in the Dutch community of Sandwich, England, and the widow of Daniël Cantier who had been a doctor in Leiden. According to Op 't Hof, Van Haringhouck was taken to London as a toddler to join the Dutch Church there.⁶

⁶ W.J. op 't Hof, *The Ice Broken: Puritan Influences on the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century* (Kampen: Summum, 2019), p. 211.

Not much is known about Van Haringhouck's childhood. On July 2nd 1647, at the age of 26, Samuel van Haringhouck was registered in the citizenship books of Bolsward.⁷ One might initially assume that he moved there in order to start his business, as only a year later he published the first book from his shop. However, the family was already present in Bolsward before van Haringhouck's official registration there. The marital records of the city show that Samuel's mother Hester Conira remarried after Mattheus Haringhouck's death. This time she married Gellius Brunga, instructing solicitor in Bolsward, who died in 1639.⁸ That same year she remarried once more, now to the Bolswarder bookseller Abbe Ruurds.⁹ This final marriage was probably of big importance to Samuel van Haringhouck's future. Ruurds passed away in 1646.¹⁰ Van Haringhouck likely took over the bookshop, thus starting his own business in the city where he actively started to sell books in 1648.

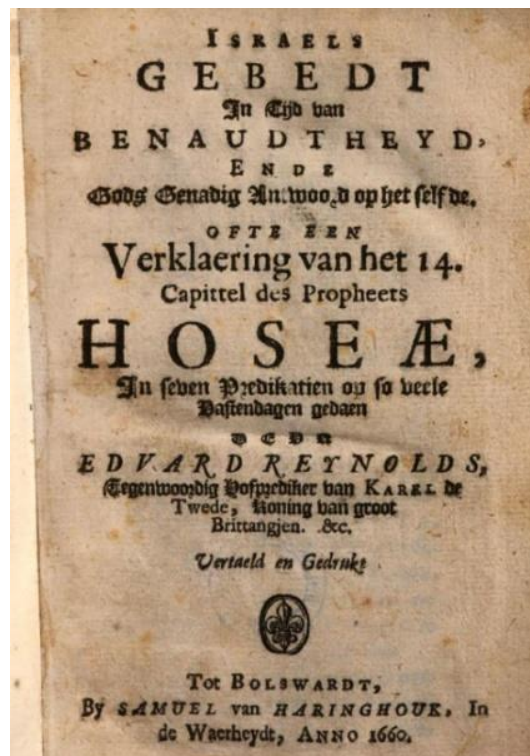


Figure 1: A standard title page as found in the work of Samuel van Haringhouck. Via Google books.¹¹

⁷ Tresoar Leeuwarden, citizenship books of Bolsward, archive number 348, inv. no. 6046. deed no. 741.

⁸ Tresoar Leeuwarden, Collection of baptism, marriage, membership and burial books, Marriage Register Court Bolsward, archive number 28, inv. no. 0134, deed. no. 215.

⁹ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 211.

¹⁰ Collection Hessel de Walle, inscriptions and epitaphs, archive number 0001, deed no. 536.

¹¹ E. Reynolds, *Israels gebedt in tijd van benaudtheyd* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1660) (VU Amsterdam, XI.06800), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=TFNBGFTdOKYC&dq=Israels+gebedt+in+tijd+van+benaudtheyd&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

Van Haringhouck's shop and living accommodations were located on the Grote Dijklacker in Bolsward as is mentioned on the title pages of his early publications. It is possible that around 1651 he moved to the Kleine Dijklacker, as his address is printed as such on a copy of *Antvvoort op seker propositie by d'Engelsche gesanten [...]* and the Dijklacker is not mentioned in any other of Van Haringhouck's publications again. These two streets run parallel to each other, each on one side of the city's canal. If Van Haringhouck moved in this year, he did not move far. From 1651 onwards, the shop is instead indicated through its sign, which was 'de Waerheyd' or 'the truth' (fig. 1).

In 1656 Samuel married the then 23 year old Lamcke Siersma.¹² The Siersma family was relatively wealthy. Lamcke's father was a secretary of Bolsward, as well as part of the 'froetschap', the city council.¹³ It would seem that Lamcke, together with Marike Siersma also owned a piece of land at a farm in Lytsewierrum which they sold in 1661 to Lamcke's brother, Phocaeus.¹⁴

Van der Meulen however claims that the Samuel van Haringhouck who married Lamcke Siersma in 1656 was not the same Samuel who printed in Bolsward. Instead, Van der Meulen believes this Samuel to be his son.¹⁵ Van der Meulen, in the continuation of this belief, assumes that Mattheus Haringhouck, pastor in the North-Frisian towns of Bitgum in 1678 and Nes and Wierum from 1683 onwards, was not the son of the printer Samuel van Haringhouck.¹⁶

His assumption that Lamcke Siersma was married to Samuel van Haringhouck's son does not seem to hold when looking at the existing documentation surrounding the family. Samuel II was baptized in 1676 and was the youngest of Van Haringhouck's children. A second argument for the marriage between Samuel and Lamcke are the names the couple gave to their children. Their eldest daughter is named Jeltje, after Lamcke's mother: Jeltie. Although it is unclear why the couple married relatively late, especially while having children out of wedlock, it is unlikely that the marriage would have been with a different Samuel van Haringhouck than the bookseller and -printer.

¹² Tresoar Leeuwarden, Collection of baptism, marriage, membership and burial books, Marriage register Reformed municipality of Bolsward, archive number 28, inv. no. 0141, deed no. 1953.

¹³ Tresoar Leeuwarden, Collection of baptism, marriage, membership and burial books, Marriage register Reformed municipality of Bolsward, archive number 28, inv. no. 0141, deed no. 2086.

¹⁴ 'Boerderijen Lutkewierum 1500-1700', HEN K 12, blz. 378 en 319. And HEN K 12, b12.345.

¹⁵ M.E. van Meulen, 'Samuel Haringhouck: Een man van beteekenis in Bolsward in de 17de eeuw', *De Vrije Fries*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Another assumption made by van der Meulen is that van Haringhouck was of English descent. This assumption is indeed correct. In his essay, however, Van der Meulen seems to view Van Haringhouck as a born Englishman. Van Haringhouck himself was not born in England, but his mother was born here. On his father's side too, the family had close ties to England. Samuel's grandfather Anthony became a 'poorter' of Amsterdam in 1594¹⁷ and was married to Abigael Mattheus Wits, who was from the Dutch community in Sandwich. This was the same place and community where Samuel's mother was from. Additionally, Samuel did spend time in England as a toddler to join the church there. So while Samuel was not born in England, his family most definitely carried strong influences from there, as is also represented in the majority of his printing work. Van Haringhouck would spend most of his career printing Dutch translations of English Pietist works.

Samuel van Haringhouck died before his wife. Lamcke is mentioned in the 1676 publication of Simon Oomius' *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae [...]* as widow to Samuel Haringhouck [sic]. In this publication, two changes have been made to the usual phrase attached to Van Haringhouck's work. First is that bookseller (boekverkoper) is now written in its feminine form (boekverkoopster). Second, the business is not mentioned as *De Waerheyd* but instead at its location again, which is now at the Visch-piep instead of the Dijlacker.

Van Haringhouck's shop did not make much profit, nor were his titles in much demand it seems. In 1673 his debts were the subject of a civil procedure.¹⁸ In 1677, one year after Samuel's death, the printing shop came to an official end, as the shop was auctioned off after the debts of the family became too much.

Printer or Bookseller?

For a while it has been unclear whether Van Haringhouck printed all his work himself. This issue is brought up by Breuker in his book *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix* where he states the following:

The publications from the time before 1656 are all "Tot Bolsward, Voor Samuel van Haringhouck" [At Bolsward, for Samuel van Haringhouck], the others have instead of 'Voor' [for] 'By' [at]. Only the Bolswarder almanac ... 1652 contains

¹⁷ Municipality Amsterdam, Poorter books of Amsterdam 1594, archive number 5039, inv. no. 88, period 1594.

¹⁸ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 213.

the latter, but because its content was adjusted to suit the university of Franeker [as a book to primarily be used by academics], it might have been printed by Ids Alberts and Johannes Arcerius.¹⁹

That Breuker points at Ids Alberts and Johannes Arcerius as printers of the works of Van Haringhouch instead is logical. Proof of this can be found in the 1648 publication of *Proef-Praedicatien* which Alberts published alongside Van Haringhouch. When looking at the different copies that were sold of this title, it is clear that this one title was indeed printed by one printer. This can be seen specifically when comparing Van Haringhouch's 1648 version of *Proef-Praedication* with the 1648 version of Alberts and the 1653 version from Leeuwarden (fig. 2). Each title page is nearly identical to the other, save for place of publication and publisher. Alberts' version is also the only one showing who the printer was. Additionally, the content of the books is identical in each copy. Van Haringhouch thus sold a 'title page copy' for which a new title page had been created to be placed before the same printed work as Alberts sold.

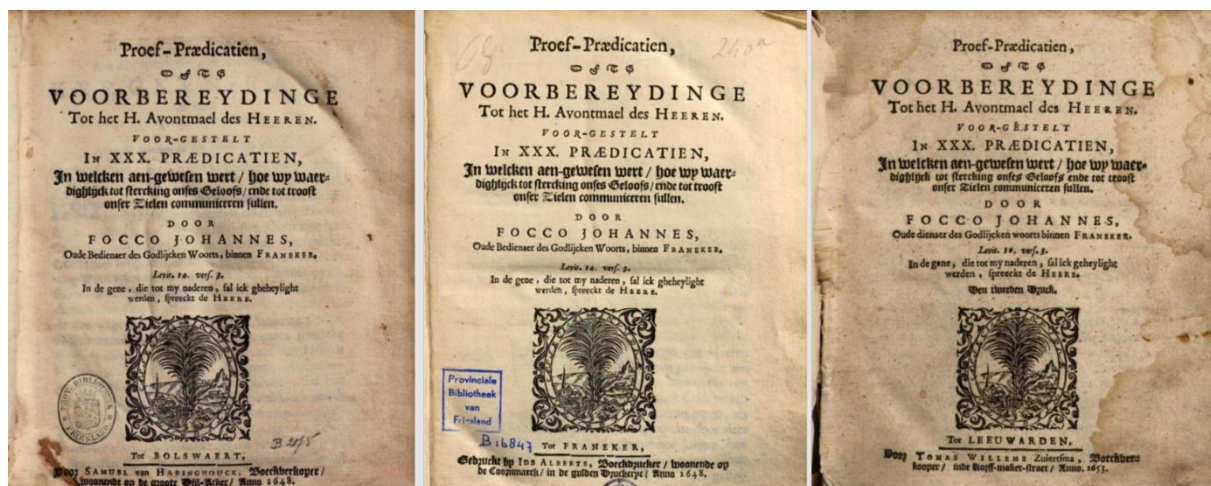


Figure 2: Three title pages of 'Proef-praedicatien' left to right: 1648 Haringhouch, 1648 Alberts, 1653 Williams. Via Google books.²⁰

¹⁹ P.H. Breuker, *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix II pt. 2* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1989), p. 542. 'De útjefsten út 'e tiid fan foar 1656 binne allegearre "Tot Bolsward, Voor Samuel van Haringhouch", de oaren hawwe ynstee fan "Voor" "By". Allinne de *Bolswarder almanach ... 1652* stiet dat lêste ek op, mar fanwegen de ynhâld, dy't ôfstimd is op 'e Frjentsjerter Akademy, koe dy wolris by Ids Alberts en Johannes Arcerius te Frjentsjer printe wêze.'

²⁰ F. Johannes, *Proef-Praedicatien*, (Tresoar B2175 (Bolsward: Haringhouch, 1648), Tresoar B16847 (Franeker: Alberts, 1648)), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=OAYopWax6QYC&dq=focco+johannes+haringhouch&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>; <https://books.google.nl/books?id=TuyyvesyDeAC&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>, F. Johannes, *Proef-Praedicatien*, (VU Amsterdam XI.00439 (Leeuwarden: Tomas Willems Zuiertsma, 1653)), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=koxfR8QiC6QC&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

Judging by this, it can then be assumed that this specific printer's device did indeed not belong to Van Haringhouck. His other works containing this device – *Werelt-Spiegel* (1649) and *Christi strijdt ende overwinningen* (1651) – would then not have been printed by Van Haringhouck, but instead for him by Ids Alberts to sell under his own shop name. *Antwoort op seker propositie* (1651), despite not having a printing device, can also be added onto this list as it was printed 'for' the bookseller. Alberts most likely wasn't the one to print it for Van Haringhouck. Instead, it is printed in an identical layout as the editions printed in The Hague by Samuel Braun, which coincidentally are the only other versions of this pamphlet that are currently known to exist.²¹

Breuker also mentions his personal hunch that Alberts continued to print title pages for Van Haringhouck, even when the latter started printing himself.²² It would seem that it was not Alberts, but instead Johannes Arcerius who printed these title pages. From 1652 onwards, the work sold by Van Haringhouck seems to have been printed by the latter printer. Even when Van Haringhouck printed himself, the printing device that had been used by Arcerius on earlier editions can still be seen on the title pages of Van Haringhouck.

Samuel van Haringhouck was not only a bookseller who had other people print his work to be sold. From 1656 onwards, Van Haringhouck started to print himself. In the 1668 copy of *Friese Rymlerye* his occupation is set as 'Boeckdruwcker', though this is the only time he does so in his entire career. In his printed titles from 1656 and 1658 he does state on the title page that the works have been 'translated and printed' by Van Haringhouck himself, marking the official start of his active printing business in Bolsward.

It should be mentioned that Van Haringhouck was not the only printer in Bolsward. Also located on the Marcktstraat (and later the Groote Dijlacker) was Phillipus Sjoerdts Boenja. Boenja was a printer in Bolsward who also primarily printed sermons. He was active in Bolsward from 1651 to 1663 and printed seven titles related to sermons during this period. From 1664 onwards, his shop operated from Franeker where he continued to work until 1670.

²¹ This has been based on the information currently present in the STCN. Here four entries of this book have been made. One of these entries is from Van Haringhouck's edition. The other three are of editions published and printed by Broun in The Hague in 1651.

²² Breuker, *Gysbert Japix II-2*, p. 542.

Friesland in the 17th century

The family of Samuel van Haringhouch made a deliberate choice in moving to Friesland. In a modern view, this might seem like a strange decision, as the province is generally characterized by its absence of large cities. In the 17th century, however, Friesland carried a lot of opportunities for any businessman. In 1650, the Frisian capital of Leeuwarden was the second biggest city in the Dutch Republic that wasn't located in Holland, and Friesland was the most rich and wealthy province after Holland and Zeeland.²³ The landscape was covered with small towns and cities that had engineered the best way to work with the diverse landscape of fertile clay soil and swamp (fig. 3).



Figure 3: 1665 map of Friesland, marking the significant amount of villages along the coastal region. Via Wikimedia.²⁴

The most important city was Leeuwarden, which was the biggest and the most influential. Still it was not the only city with power. As Bakker summarizes, the States chose Franeker in 1585 to house the university, which caused intellectual life to primarily take place here. Since Leeuwarden was also not connected to the sea, it was not assigned

²³ G. de Vries, 'Nooit heerlycker geweest, een bloeyende stadt: Leeuwarden in de Gouden Eeuw', in H. Oly and G. de Vries (eds.) *Leeuwarden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2016), p. 7.

²⁴ "Frisia Occidentalis" by Nicolaas van Geelkercken and Frederick de Wit, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Oude_kaart_van_de_provincie_Friesland.jpg>

the Admiralty either. This instead operated from Dokkum from 1596 up to 1645 when its harbor had silted up and the most important port became Harlingen.²⁵

Additionally Friesland enjoyed its own freedom in local governing, which separated it from the other Dutch provinces. This freedom was also named ‘the Frisian freedom’ in the 13th century, which encapsulated the province’s authority over its own land, refusing to give this up to other rulers.²⁶ This freedom was seen as a reason why Friesland was so rich. As Emo of Friesland, a well-educated monk from the 13th century, describes the province according to Oebele Vries as follows: ‘God allowed riches such as many people, a large amount of cattle, many pastures and fertile soil as well as freedom – the latter according to him being of priceless value.’²⁷ As a result this Frisian freedom allowed the countryside to hold more power over their own way of ruling. This allowed for a rise of power of local nobility who, when the 17th century came around, refused to give full provincial control to the cities with the emergence of magistrates and merchants.²⁸

The cities still held a large amount of power, and Leeuwarden was the only city next to The Hague that held a court for the stadtholder, one of the highest ranking officials of the Republic. In the case of Friesland and Groningen this man was Willem Lodewijk van Nassau-Dillenburg (1560-1620), who founded the Universities of Franeker and Groningen and became a father figure to the province.

The economy of Friesland had been forced to change along with its changing landscape. In 1500 long distance trade was barely done anymore, seafaring was outsourced to Holland and the silting of Middelzee closed many cities, including Leeuwarden and Bolsward, off from a direct sea route.²⁹ The latter did influence the creation of a better infrastructure which in turn caused the province’s agriculture to blossom. It was this agriculture that allowed the economy to develop in fully in the 17th century, as well as its textile production and beer breweries.³⁰ Especially the coastal

²⁵ P. Bakker, *Gezicht op Leeuwarden: Schilders in Friesland en de markt voor schilderijen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: N/A, 2008), p. 25.

²⁶ O. Vries, ‘Hoe middeleeuws Friesland zich profileerde met de Friese Vrijheid’, *It Beaken* 81.1/2 (2019), p. 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ H. Spanninga, *Gulden Vrijheid?: Politieke cultuur en staatsvorming in Friesland, 1600-1640* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012), p. 103

²⁹ J. de Vries, ‘De economische ontwikkeling van Friesland na het einde van de Friese vrijheid’, in J. Frieswijk, A.H. Huussen Jr., et al. (eds) *Fryslân, staat en macht 1450-1650* (Hilversum, Leeuwarden: Verloren, Fryske Akademy, 1999), p. 140.

³⁰ Bakker, *Gezicht op Leeuwarden*, p. 27.

areas profited here, as the frequent flooding by the sea had left a rich clay soil behind.³¹ Being a rich province in textiles, beer and agriculture allowed for trading interactions with Holland as well. Something that in return could also allow the book trade to profit by for example taking books along on the ships to be sold in Amsterdam.

Franecker University

From the end of the 16th century onwards, Friesland was able to grow into an academic center within the Low Countries. In 1585 the second Dutch university was founded in the city of Franecker. The university had been founded in the middle of the Dutch Revolt, but had been deemed a necessary expanse to fill up the province's lack of badly needed lawyers, pastors and teachers.³² On top of that, as Van Sluis notes, Friesland set an example of Dutch authority over their own land. The Frisian states governed without the need of a higher figure, and made their decisions as they pleased.³³ As such, if they wished to build their own university, the province would do so without the interference of the States in The Hague. Friesland's example to found a university was followed by other provinces as well as the cities of Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636) and Harderwijk (1648) who all established their own universities. As such, Franecker, and Leiden as the first university, were no longer an exception within the Republic in the 17th century when it came to being an academic center. The university of Franecker did stay an important institution for the province up to the 18th century, before being officially closed in 1843.

Still, the presence of a university did well in bringing a new international scene to the province. Foreign professors were appointed and in turn attracted foreign students.³⁴ This foreign presence in the province had one consequence that was of favor to Van Haringhouck's business. In the period of 1622 to 1632 William Ames, also known as Amesius, taught at the University of Franecker. Amesius was already known in the Dutch Republic before that. The University of Leiden had originally wanted to offer Amesius an position as professor, but was stopped by the English court who called Amesius a rebel to the English church and therefore unworthy of teaching at Leiden.³⁵ It seems Franecker

³¹ M.T. Knibbe, 'Agricultural productivity in the coastal and inland area of Friesland, 1700-1850', in M. Olsson and P. Svensson (eds.) *Growth and Stagnation in European Historical Agriculture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 87.

³² J. van Sluis, *The Library of Franecker University in Context, 1585-1843* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p. 7.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 9.

³⁵ C. van der Woude, 'Amesius' afscheid van Franecker', *Dutch Review of Church History* 52.2 (1972), p. 156.

did not have such issues. With Amesius, the Pietism he preached back in England, gained a hold in Friesland. This encouraged pastors in Friesland to also take their hand at translating English Pietist works into Dutch.

Printers in Friesland

The presence of a university created a better market for booksellers and printers. In the 17th century, the amount of books printed in Friesland rose significantly. Printers settled primarily in the main cities of the province, with Franeker and Leeuwarden as their main centers. The presence of the university not only called for the production of more books, it also opened up a market to print students' theses. Owning specific books was not a necessity while studying at the university, however, which meant that booksellers did not have a steady market for specific titles.³⁶

In comparison to Holland, the amount of books produced in Friesland was relatively small. Since Friesland was not at the heart of international trade, the books that were printed here tended to be less centered on the international market. When looking at the books published in Friesland in the 16th and 17th century, as logged in the STCN, most titles printed in Leeuwarden were in Dutch, and the bigger presence of Latin books in Franeker can be connected to the fact that this was the lingua franca of higher education. Most likely the general amount of the titles printed in Friesland was meant to serve the local public, instead of being transported out for (inter)national trade.

Bolsward

The city of Bolsward is located in the south-west of Friesland, near the cities of Franeker and Sneek (fig. 4). The city had originally been formed on the foundation of three 'terpen', artificially created mounds that would house villages and houses in order to protect them from potential flooding from the sea, that were located on the edge of the Middelzee. The three mounds conglomerated into one larger town as time passed. In 1455 Bolsward was officially rewarded with its town privileges, making it the 10th city in Friesland with these.³⁷ The city joined the Hanseatic League in 1412, which was a 'co-operation and mergers of merchants for the promotion of their trade abroad [which] gave rise to a town covenant, which in its heyday comprised of nearly 200 sea and inner

³⁶ Sluis, *Franeker University*, p. 73.

³⁷ Sneek got its rights in 1456, completing the famous 'eleven cities of Friesland.'

cities.³⁸ Only the city of Stavoren, joining the league in 1385, also carried this title within Friesland, although Hindeloopen had strong ties to other cities in the league as well. It is then clear that Bolsward focused strongly on any opportunity to expand its trade. Whatever Bolsward gained from trade, it did so through the sea, despite not being located directly next to a large body of water. The city had once bordered the Middelzee, but this waterway had silted up early on. It did not need direct access to the Middelzee to be successful in trade. It was connected to the *Snekervaart* leading inland and the canal to Makkum, which gave Bolsward access to the Zuiderzee.



Figure 4: Location of Bolsward (in the center) and surrounding towns from 1660. Via Fries Museum.³⁹

The city was forced into a pause of commerce after the union of Utrecht of 1579, which had all Dutch provinces work together to get rid of the Spanish forces. As a consequence, conflict arose between the Catholics who predominantly lived in the area of Bolsward and the Reformed Church which was gaining more and more popularity. This conflict caused commerce to be forced to come to a halt.⁴⁰ Bolsward was able to resume its

³⁸ Städtebund die Hanse, 'The history of the Hanseatic League', <<https://www.hanse.org/en/hanse-historic/the-history-of-the-hanseatic-league/>> (22-06-2021).

³⁹ Fries Museum, *Beschryvinge van de Heerlyckheydt van Frieslandt tusschen 't Flie end de Lauwers met nieuwe Caerten*, (PLO0015), <<https://www.museum.frl/collectie/objecten/2694/>>.

⁴⁰ S. Stijl, *Hedendaagsche historie of Tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren; XXVste deel. Behelzende de beschryving der Vereenigde Nederlanden, en wel in't byzonder van Friesland* (Amsterdam,

commerce before the end of the century, gaining a new economic growth in the 17th century. From 1614 to 1617, a grand town hall was built in the middle of the city. In 1638 the city even paid for the creation of the Bolwardertrekvaart, a 22km long canal northward to connect Bolsward to existing waters leading to Leeuwarden and Franeker. The canal was necessary for the transport of clay to support the earthenware businesses that settled throughout the province. The canal would also ease trade routes to the north of the province while the land of the Middelzee continued to be reclaimed, limiting Bolsward's old position at the sea's shore.

Considering all these points, it is then not unexpected for Samuel van Haringhouck to settle in Bolsward with his business. His family had settled here before, and the city was big and influential in Friesland, having good connections to the university city of Franeker, as well as the large cities of Holland through seafaring.

Chapter 2: Local titles

Samuel van Haringhouck was an active bookseller and printer from 1648 to 1676. During this time he printed the works of Frisian authors and translators. Many of these people were local pastors, but Van Haringhouck also worked together with close acquaintances from Bolsward to publish his works. This chapter focuses on the works that fall under this 'local' category. For clarity's sake, this category has been split into two sets. In each category these publications have been ordered chronologically. For a complete overview of books discussed in this chapter as well as the next, appendix 1 can be consulted. Here all titles and their reprints have been added in chronological order. In the upcoming chapters the title of each discussed book is given as written on the title page, and has been given an English translation. In case of works that were originally written in English, the original title has been used here. Dutch or Frisian titles instead have been personally translated.

Local titles

Van Haringhouck did not print many titles that directly related to the city of Bolsward. This does not mean, however, that he did not print these kinds of works at all. The four titles related to Frisian authors are discussed below. Two of these – the city almanac and a publication of local poetry – are directly related to Bolsward itself. The other two instead have been written by people who lived in Friesland at the time.

Focco Johannes– *Proef-Praedicatien* (1648)

Trial Sermons

From the 17th century onwards, preparatory sermons for the Lord's Supper were becoming a subject of interest for Frisian pietists. In 1600 a collection of pietist sermons of that kind was published in Franeker.⁴¹ Almost 50 years later, a similar work by Focco Johannes, a retired pastor from Franeker, would be published in this city as well.

Ids Alberts, who printed all of the copies that were published of this book, took the initiative for the publication. Van Haringhouck, possibly already interested in publishing pietist work himself, sold a number of 'title page' copies, which had his name as the

⁴¹ W.J. op 't Hof, 'Voorbereiding tot het Heilig Avondmaal (2)', *De Waarheidsvriend* 79.39 (26-09-1991), p. 608.

publisher on the title page. Yet in every other aspect, the book was identical to the copies Alberts sold himself.⁴²

Unknown Author - *Bolswarder Almanach* (1652)

Almanac of Bolsward

One of the more peculiar works published by Van Haringhouck is a small almanac. In the period of 1650 to 1660, eighteen almanacs were produced in Friesland. This is the largest amount of Frisian almanacs when comparing to the rest that was produced in this century.⁴³ Almanacs were widely produced across the entire Dutch Republic. They were cheap but good selling works that were produced annually and gave both entertainment and allowed the reader to have a better sense of time.⁴⁴ The city of Bolsward joined in on this trend and in 1652 let Samuel van Haringhouck publish the almanac of that year.

That this almanac is an official publication of the city is made clear on the title page. Here, the city crest of the two-headed eagle is prominently shown, referencing to the city's former status in the Hanseatic League. As Salman states, almanacs in the 17th century could be filled with many different things: a calendar, fables, anecdotes, and songs.⁴⁵ The *Bolswarder Almanach* does not contain most of these things and instead was a pragmatic almanac that showed the reader the most important information needed for that year. It consists of a calendar with moon phases and the positions of the planets during each month of the year, formulated by who the title page calls an 'appreciator of mathematical arts.' It is unclear who this refers to, though the chances are that this refers Johannes Arcerius. At the end of the calendar, a single page is added with the market days of several cities marked as the most prominent in Holland, Zeeland, Friesland and Utrecht. In this list multiple Frisian cities are named, such as Sneek, Dokkum, Workum, Leeuwarden, Enkhuisen, Stavoren and Harlingen. Bolsward itself has its market day on the Saturday.

Despite the title page being the only one in Van Haringhouck's publications before 1656 to state this was published *by* him, Breuker points out that it is unlikely that this was printed by the bookseller who did not own a printing press at the time. Instead,

⁴² See chapter 1 'printer or bookseller?' on the full explanation on this.

⁴³ P.H. Breuker, 'Fryske almenakken foar 1850', *De Vrije Fries* 58 (1978), pp. 36.

⁴⁴ J. Salman, "'Van sodanige Almanacken, die gevult zijn met ergerlijcke bijvoegselen en oncuyse en onstigtelijcke grillen". Populaire leesstof in zeventiende-eeuwse almanakken', *Literatuur* 10 (1993), pp. 74-75.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 74.

Breuker points at the business of Johannes Arcerius (1612-1664) in Franeker. In the 1645 *Heerenfeenster Almanach* its author, the satirist Petrus Baardt, calls out to the ‘new star, great spirit in Franeker whose name the farmers don’t understand’, a sentence Breuker connects to Arcerius who printed the *Franeker almanach* under the anagram of Onneias Cerarius.⁴⁶ Arcerius became known as the standard printer of Frisian almanacs, printing them all over the province. He additionally was the only printer of almanacs in Friesland for a long time. When looking at the layouts of the almanacs of Franeker and Bolsward, similarities can clearly be seen as well. The pages are built up in the same order and are decorated with the same images of the moon cycle (fig. 5). Something else that might point in Arcerius’ direction as the printer, and perhaps even author, of the *Bolswarder Almanach* is the title page of the *Franeker almanach* of 1658. Here it is stated that the text was ‘practiced by Onneias Cerarius, appreciator of the mathematical arts’, a phrase almost identical to the one on the title page of the *Bolswarder Almanach*. Here it is stated that the almanac has been ‘practiced by an appreciator of the mathematical arts.’

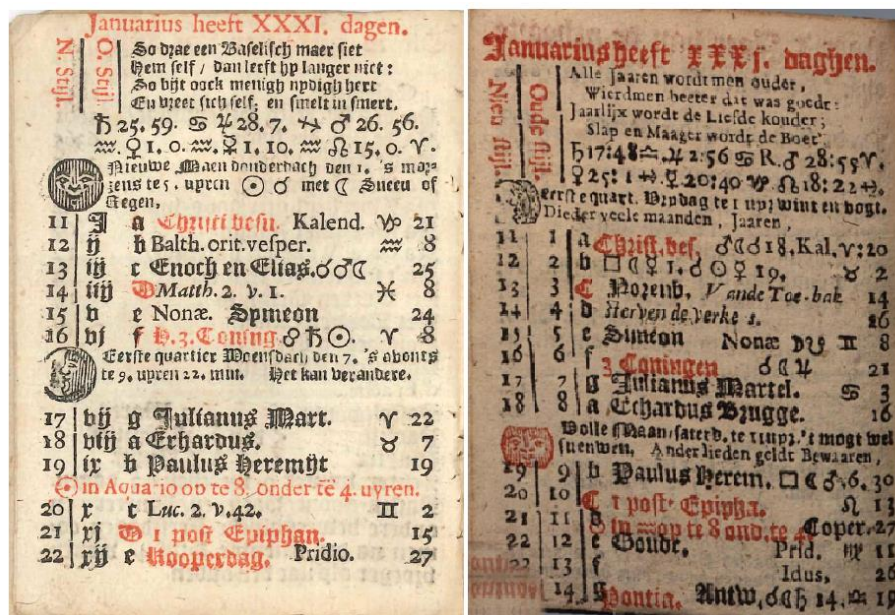


Figure 5: The beginning of the month January as depicted in the 1652 Bolswarder Almanach (left) and the 1658 Franeker Almanach (right). Via Tresoar and Google Books.⁴⁷

That Van Haringhouch, despite probably not being involved in the creation of the almanac, is credited on the title page is not all too surprising. There were at the time

⁴⁶ P.H. Breuker, ‘De betekenis van de Franeker Academie voor de Friese Literatuur’, in J.M.M. Hermans, G. Jensma, et al. (eds), *De Franeker universiteitsbibliotheek in de zeventiende eeuw: Beleid en belang van een academiebibliotheek* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), p. 160.

⁴⁷ N/A, *Bolswarder Almanach* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouch, 1652) (Tresoar Leeuwarden, A 3271 1652), scans provided by Tresoar at personal request; Cerarius, O., *Franeker Almanach* (Franeker: Johannes Arcerius, 1658) (Tresoar Leeuwarden, A 3312), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=y-rhgySe_9sC&dq=Franeker+Almanach&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>

only two known bookshops in Bolsward. The other printer, Boenja, seems to have prioritized his own printing work. Chances are that if he was unable to print the work himself, he would not sell it either. Additionally, it made sense for the city to have its local almanac published by one of its own townspeople, leaving Van Haringhouck as bookseller as the perfect choice.

Gysbert Japicx - *Friese Rymelrye* (1668)

Frisian Rhymes

Probably the most famous work printed by Samuel van Haringhouck is the Frisian poetry by Gysbert Japicx. It stands out against Van Haringhouck's other work, because it does not touch on English Pietism and is the only book in the Frisian language that Van Haringhouck published. The work by Japicx is famous in Friesland, as his Frisian poetry is recognized to be the first standardization of the writing of the Frisian language and helped improving its image.⁴⁸ As such, the *Friese Rymelrye*, which contains the majority of his Frisian work, has been reprinted many times. Yet Van Haringhouck had the honor of printing and publishing the first edition of the poems.

So why did Van Haringhouck take on this work? Gysbert Japicx was a school teacher in Bolsward as well as a dear friend of Van Haringhouck's. The two had the same religious interests and Japicx from time to time wrote poems to accompany the work of Van Haringhouck. Additionally, it may have been possible that Japicx, who had no house of his own, would stay in a house owned by Van Haringhouck's mother.⁴⁹

Japicx passed away in 1666 as a result of the plague. Although the belongings inside a house tainted by the plague were to be burned, intervention allowed for the writings of Japicx to be saved.⁵⁰ Part of these saved writings were Japicx's unpublished Frisian poems. In 1668, perhaps after the draft publication had already been discussed before Japicx death⁵¹, the first edition of Japicx's *Friese Rymelrye* was published by Van Haringhouck.

The printing of this book was not done by Van Haringhouck's own initiative. Instead Simon Abbes Gabbema, historian and close friend of Japicx's, approached Van Haringhouck with the work to be published, and most likely also funded the whole

⁴⁸ M. Heida, 'Kennismaking met Friese dichter Gysbert Japicx', *Neerlandia* 96 (1991), p. 37.

⁴⁹ P.H. Breuker, *It wurk fan Gysbert Japix II pt. 1* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1989), p. 228.

⁵⁰ Heida, 'Kennismaking met Friese dichter Gysbert Japicx', p. 37.

⁵¹ Breuker, *Gysbert Japix II-1*, p. 44.

process. Breuker states that this funding by Gabbema is the reason that Van Haringhouck calls himself a ‘book printer’ on the title pages of the *Friese Rymlerye*, instead of bookseller. It might have been the case that Van Haringhouck was only hired by Gabbema to help with the printing of the book, but that the sale of such was left to others in the region.⁵²

Elconius Elcoma - *Rouw-staets eerbewysinge [...] (1669)*

Tribute to the mourning state

Rouw-staets eerbewysinge is a small pamphlet created by Elconius Elcoma to honor the death of Jel van Galama, wife of Aesge van Popma.⁵³ Elcoma was a teacher at a school in Oostheim, a town close to the city of IJlst where Aesge van Popma was a councilman. The pamphlet does not hold much of importance in the bigger picture of Van Haringhouck’s work. It does show that he was open to print occasional work, and apparently was one the best in the region for Elcoma to turn to.

Local translations

Van Haringhouck’s interest primarily lay in the printing and publishing of works related to English Pietism. A number of Frisian pastors and professors had started translating English religious works after Amesius’ introduction to Pietism at the university of Franeker. As Op ‘t Hof states, it was also possible that Van Haringhouck personally approached translators in order to have them help him in his endeavors in publishing English works.⁵⁴ What translated works did Van Haringhouck publish and who were the translators he worked with?

Sebastian Franck - *Werelt-spiegel [...] (1649)*

World-mirror, or the description of the whole earth

This book was translated by Johannes Phocylides Holwarda who was a philosophical astronomer affiliated with the university of Franeker as professor in philosophy. He was the son of Focco Johannes, author of the earlier discussed *Proef-Praedicatien* which had

⁵² Ibid, p. 47.

⁵³ G.A. Wumkes, *Bidders yn de Fryske striid* (Bolsward: A.J. Osinga, 1926), p. 238.

⁵⁴ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 214.

been published at Van Haringhouck's shop in 1648. Next to being an all-round scholar, Holwarda wrote a number of books on astronomy, history, philosophy and medicine.⁵⁵

Franck's *Weltbuch*, or World Book, had been translated into Dutch and printed before in the 16th century under the title of *Werelt-boeck, spiegel ende beeltenisse des gheheelen aerdtbodems*. The 1649 edition, however, praises itself as an improved, enhanced, and enriched copy, filled with annotations where the work by Franck seems to be lacking information.⁵⁶ This new edition also came with the new title of *Werelt-spiegel ofte beschryvinge des gehelen aert-boodems*.

Additionally, the edition came with a luxurious engraving, which can be found in all copies sold by Van Haringhouck (fig. 6). The engraving shows the four continents – Europe, Asia, Africa, and America – as well as the two figures of History and Memory.



Figure 6: Engraving at the beginning of *Werelt-spiegel*. Via Archive.org.⁵⁷

Van Haringhouck was not the only one to publish this edition of the book. In Dokkum, Louis Flasblom also sold copies of the same edition, likely using a different title page.⁵⁸ That Flasblom published *Werelt-spiegel* is a bit more logical than it being sold by Van Haringhouck, who would publish primarily religious works. Flasblom's shop sold many

⁵⁵ A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* 8.2 (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1867), p. 1023.

⁵⁶ Franck, S., *Werelt-spiegel, ofte beschryvinge des gehelen aert-bodems* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1649), title page; p. *4r.

⁵⁷ Franck, *Werelt-Spiegel*, (John Carter Brown Library, J649 .F822w), <<https://archive.org/details/wereltspiegeloftoofran/mode/2up>>.

⁵⁸ It is hard to say whether this was truly the case, as no copies by Flasblom are known to the STCN.

materials tied to seafaring. His family was tied to the seafaring of Dokkum, with possibly his son Hessel Flasblom having multiple atlases and maps auctioned off after his death on a shipwreck in 1672.⁵⁹ Therefore, a book discussing the entire world would fit in perfectly with Flasblom's other materials.

Op 't Hof tentatively ties the publication of Franck's work by Van Haringhouck's to his "free" way of living before 1656.⁶⁰ He was not yet married to Lamcke Siersma at this time, despite living together and having children. This went against the initial values of the Puritan church. As Sebastian Franck himself was also seen as a free-spirited individual who oftentimes went against the general rules of the Church, Van Haringhouck might have seen a personal resemblance here.

Thomas Taylor - *Christi Strijdt ende overwinninge* (1650)

Christ's Combat and Victory

Thomas Taylor's text was the first Puritan work printed by Van Haringhouck, the start of a longer tradition of works that were to come. Taylor originally had *Christ's Combat* published in England in 1618. In 1650 this work was translated by Petrus Theodori, pastor from 'the new land.'⁶¹ In 1651 more copies of the book were made. Currently, this version from 1651 is the most known as most surviving copies of the book originate from this year.⁶²

At the beginning two poems have been added to refer to Theodori's translation. The first is by Hayo Johannis Walckens from Groningen and covers two pages. He wrote the poem in August of 1650 and praises Theodori's excellent qualities of translation, as well as the power of God. The second poem about the translation is by Van Haringhouck himself and is of a shorter length. In this poem, Van Haringhouck praises Theodori's work saying that Theodori was able to remove the fog created by building the tower of Babel with his abilities, and that the pure way of this translation should be praised as long as the world stands.⁶³

⁵⁹ W.H. Strous, 'Int Schip Reenen', *Oud Rhenen* 13.1 (1994), p. 16.

⁶⁰ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 214.

⁶¹ This probably refers to the town of Nijland located next to Bolsward that was formed after the Middelzee had dried up.

⁶² The currently only known copy from 1650 can be found at Opheusden, Steenblokbibliotheek (820).

⁶³ T. Taylor, *Christi Strijdt ende Overwinninge* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1651), p. **2v. The full poem goes as follows:

Het tonghen menghel-moes, dat Babels bouw ontbouwde,
En steen voor kalck voor steen ten steyger stouwede
omschauw'de Thalyors leer';

Theodori passed away before the book was published, as is discussed in the introduction to the work. It is stated that ‘God has decided to take him in his eternity, before he had the pleasure to enjoy the fruits of his effort.’⁶⁴ This introduction therefore has not been written by Theodori himself, but instead by a person under the acronym of B.L.S. who likely was a pastor who also lived in the area.

Multiple authors - *XII Uytgelesene Engelsche Boet-Predikatien I-IV (1657-1668)*

Selected English penance sermons

Boet-Predikatien was a joint effort in translation and consisted primarily of the contributions of Samuel van Haringhouck and Nollius Hajonidus. Hajonidus was born in Bolsward and studied at the university of Franeker before moving back to Bolsward where he became rector of the Latin schools. From 1658 onwards he became pastor in Berlikum, a profession he is credited with on the title page of the second part of the series. Hajonidus is not mentioned as the translator of each part of the series. It can be assumed that Hajonidus and Van Haringhouck continued to work closely together where they could. In 1664, however, Hajonidus moved to Emden in order to continue his work as a pastor there. Emden was part of East-Friesland (now North-West Germany), and had had close ties to the Dutch Republic in the 16th century.⁶⁵ Still, it was a long way from Bolsward. Possibly this move outside of Friesland may have influenced some of the collaboration between the two. Hajonidus may not have been the only one who worked with Van Haringhouck on this series. In the third part of the series, an introduction to the reader has been written by a T. Palidanus. This can be assumed to be Theodorus Paludanus, who translated a book by Thomas Watson for Van Haringhouck.

The series was probably one of Van Haringhouck’s better selling works as well one he personally put most effort in. It consisted of multiple volumes, of which several were

Doch Petri tael-bericht verdreef dien nevel weer
 Voor Ne’erland; toen hy ’t werk self Neerlandsch dede worden,
 Gedreven door den Geest, die Zien en lichaem porden,
 Tot nut van Christi schaer.
 Godt geev’ het overvloedt van heyl’ghe vruchten, baer.
 Soo moet ’s gheruchts-Basuyn des Thaylor’s God-weet melden,
 Soo moet een staelen lof des Petri vlijt vergelden.
 Soo moet het suyver zaedt,
 In heyl ghezegent zijn soo lang de Wereld staet.

⁶⁴ Taylor, *Christi Strijdt ende overwinninge*, p. **v. ‘doch het heft Godt belieft hem te nemen in sijn ewicheyt, eer dat hy het vernoegen van de vruchten syner moeyte heft kunnen genieten’.

⁶⁵ J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 251.

reprinted, with the first volume (originally printed in 1657) already being reprinted in 1660 and once more in 1666.⁶⁶ Additionally, parts one and two were decorated with an engraving before the title page⁶⁷, showing people congregating in a church to listen to the sermons (fig. 7). These engravings are not the only thing showing the amount of effort Van Haringhouck put in this series. Additionally he had to personally make the selection of sermons for each volume.

It should be noted that Van Haringhouck did not print all volumes of this series himself. The titlepage of the first volume from 1657 states that this book was only translated by Van Haringhouck. The colophon mentions the printer: Phillipus Sjoerds Boenja. What is noticeable here is that the title page does make use of the same marks that were also used by Johannes Arcerius. As such it is possible that while the book was printed by Boenja, the title page was the work of Arcerius.



Figure 7: Engraving used at the beginning of *Boet-Predikationen I* and *II*. Via Google books.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ C.W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the mind* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 171, no.33.

⁶⁷ This engraving is only present in the second edition of *Boet-Predikationen I*. It was not used in the edition from 1657. Van Haringhouck must have obtained the engraving somewhere around 1659.

⁶⁸ *XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten II* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1959) (Tresoar Leeuwaden, 840 Gdg 2), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=7DYhohCmp6AC&dq=boet-predikationen&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

Thomas Watson - *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge* (1659)

The Art of Divine Contentment

The translator of this was Theodorus Paludanus, a pietist pastor who was active in Pingjum from 1658 onwards. Next to being the translator to Thomas Watson's *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge*, as well as one (or more) of the volumes of *Boet-Predikatien*, Paludanus wrote a number of texts himself. In particular, Paludanus wrote about his dislike towards the appointment of the Frisian court's dance master at Franeker University. This event caused a large commotion under the pastors of Friesland, who argued against the blasphemous indications of the act.⁶⁹

Van Haringhouck printed the work, but it was originally not for his own shop. Instead, two booksellers from Leeuwarden are mentioned on the original title page: Thomas Luiertsma and Lambartus Dronrijp. Van Haringhouck reprinted the work in 1663, this time with his own name on the title page. Supposedly, he did so again in 1670, but of this edition no surviving copies are known.⁷⁰

The version from 1659 has been adorned with a poem by Gysbert Japicx. The addition of this poem was not standard in each copy or edition that was created by Van Haringhouck. Additionally, it may not have been printed at all as the majority of Japicx work was handwritten.⁷¹ An edition of this poem as published in 1881 has been added in appendix 3 of this thesis.

Gauthier de Costes - *Faramond of Historie van Frankryk* (1669)

Faramond, or the history of France

Van Haringhouck did not focus only on religious works. This was already shown in his publication of Gysbert Japicx's poetry, for which he had likely been commissioned. A year later he printed and published another unusual title, this time a historical novel. It is possible that instead of actively having the wish to publish this work, Van Haringhouck was approached by its translator Catharina van Mellinga, who lived in Bolsward at the time. It seems likely that she persuaded Van Haringhouck to publish the first two volumes of the story. The original *Faramond ou l'Histoire de France* was published in 12

⁶⁹ P.C. Molhuysen; K.H. Kossman, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* pt.9 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij N.V., 1933) p. 754.

⁷⁰ P.L. Eggermont, 'Samuel van Haringhouck als uitgever van de Nadere Reformatie', *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 1.3 (1977), p. 99.

⁷¹ I have personally been unable to study the copy that includes this poem. Therefore I cannot state whether this was truly a handwritten addition to the book.

volumes from 1661 to 1670. The final 5 volumes were completed by Pierre d'Ortigue de Vaumorière after Gauthier de Costes' death in 1663.⁷² These volumes narrate the history of the Merovingian dynasty in Europe from the 5th to the 8th century, and the great, legendary king Faramond who was tied to this dynasty.

Faramond is one of the few titles of Van Haringhouck that have been published with an engraving before the title page (fig.8). It shows a man, likely Faramond, riding a horse and holding a sword. In the background is an army, while in the sky an angel flies with the banner of Faramond. This print was standardly added to the first part of Faramond's story, as the exact same image is found in a French version from 1664.⁷³ This is not the only engraving found in the book. At the beginning of the second part, a different engraving has been added showcasing the same figures as on the first image. Faramond is now seen resting against a tree, with the angel at his side. The horse too is in the background, resting. Like the engraving at the beginning of the first part, this image too was used in the French version.⁷⁴ This second part of the *Faramond* could be sold separately from the first part. The numbering of the quires, as well as the pagination, starts from the zero again after the new title page.



Figure 8: Two engravings used to announce the separate parts within the *Faramond*, depicting Faramond, the angel and the horse. Via Google books.⁷⁵

⁷² Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Gaultier de Coste, seigneur de La Calprenède.',

<<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gaultier-de-Coste-Seigneur-de-La-Calprenede>>.

⁷³ G. de Costes, *Faramond, ou l'histoire de France, Dedie'e au roy premiere partie* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1664).

⁷⁴ G. de Costes, *Faramond, ou l'histoire de France, Dedie'e au roy seconde partie* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1664).

⁷⁵ G. de Costes, *Faramond of de historie van Frankrijk* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1669) (KB The Hague, KW 2214 D 14).

Only the first part of the *Faramond* has a dedication. This dedication is written towards Theodorus Scheltinga, councilman of the Frisian court and Van Mellinga's stepfather. In this dedication, Van Mellinga explains the general importance of the book. She compares the young Faramond to the Persian emperors who used to rule large empires across the Mediterranean and in this reflects to the importance of the Merovingian dynasty in Europe.

This dedication also discusses how Van Mellinga had translated the first two volumes and planned on letting the following volumes be published as well.⁷⁶ She planned to summarize these parts, instead of translating them in their entirety. Here she also states that should the quality of the volume not be up to standard, her own female weakness is to blame.⁷⁷ Van Mellinga's ambition to work with the *Faramond* seems to have been short-lived. Currently none of the later volumes of the story are recorded in Dutch from this period. They were not been published by Van Haringhouck, and most likely were never published at all.

Multiple authors – *Koning aen syn taefel* (1671)

The King at his table

The last book published by Van Haringhouck that was a translation of English Pietist teachings is *Koning aen syn tafel*, which were published before Van Haringhouck's final project on Simon Oomius' works. For *Koning aen syn taefel* Van Haringhouck worked together with Regnerus Reen, who studied at Franeker in 1648, before becoming a pastor in several towns across the Frisian countryside.⁷⁸ The majority of the text was translated by Reen, but the work was completed by Van Haringhouck himself.

Van Haringhouck seems to have used a significant amount of funds on the printing of the book. The title is preceded by an engraving (fig. 9). Here, only the lower half of the engraving is new, with the upper half being the same as in the *Boet-Predikatien*. The text in the banner on the church column has been replaced with the title of *Koning aen syn tafel*, and the lower half now holds an image of Jesus and his disciples at the last supper.

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=LydVbR7wSBAC&dq=faramond&hl=nl&source=gbs_book_other_versions> and
<https://books.google.nl/books?id=vvGfDaMKkMOC&dq=faramond&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

⁷⁶ Costes, *Faramond*, p.*5v-*6r.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.*6r.

⁷⁸ P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* pt. 3 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij N.V., 1914), p.1045.



Figure 9: Engraving at the beginning of *Koning aen syn Tafel*. The upper half has been reused from *Boet-Predikation*. Via De Roo Rare Books.⁷⁹

As this title is one of the last published by Van Haringhouck, it is interesting to see how in his introduction, van Haringhouck reflects back on his goal with his previous titles, saying that in specific he is ‘trusting that at least, some hungry and thirsty souls shall be eager and moved [towards] these spices not only to seek and see, but also to consume, to ruminate, and taste how good and sweet that the Lord is.’⁸⁰

Koning aen syn taefel was in production for multiple years. Already in the fourth volume of *Boet-Predikation*, Van Haringhouck explains to the reader in the introduction that he is working on the title in order to not let his press rust while working on the possible publication of a fifth part of *Boet-Predikation*.⁸¹

At the beginning of the book, an approbation has been added. This approbation was an official certificate from the church and showed that this translation was acknowledged as an accurate representation of the original texts. These approbations weren’t often added to Van Haringhouck’s work, only seen once more at Thomas Taylor’s *Christi overwinninge over de draeck* (1656) to be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷⁹ De Roo Rare Books, ‘Koning aen syn taefel’, <<https://deroorarebooks.com/nl/product/koning-aen-syn-taefel-ofte-xxxiii-avond-maels-predikation-deur-verscheydene-god-geleerde-in-de-engelse-taele-beschreven-en-meerendeel-vertaeld-deur-regnerus-reen/>>.

⁸⁰ *Koning aen syn taefel* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1671), pp. *3v-*4r. ‘Vertrouwende dat ten minsten, sommige hongerige en dorstige Zielen sullen belust en bewogen werden dese spijs niet alleen te zoeken en te sien, maer ook te nutten, te herkaeuwen, en te smaeken hoe goed en soet dat de Heer is.’

⁸¹ *XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikation over sonderlinge texten IV* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1668) p. *4v.

Chapter 3: (Inter)national titles

Van Haringhouck did not publish only the works written or translated by Frisian people. His knowledge of the English language made Van Haringhouck a good translator himself. For several years, even before owning his own printing press, Van Haringhouck actively translated Pietist works to publish. Another category discussed in this chapter consists of the books published by Van Haringhouck that were written by authors who were not Frisian, or in one case were primarily portrayed as non-Frisian. These two categories have been structured in the same way as in chapter 2: chronologically per category.

Original translations

That Samuel van Haringhouck worked with many translators didn't mean that he solely relied on these to publish English works in Dutch. Instead, in the period of 1652 to 1662 Van Haringhouck made his own translations. These translated works are listed below.

Petrus Moulinaeus - Anti-Barbarus ofte van de onbekende tael [...] (1652)

Anti-Barbarus, or of the unknown language as used in
special prayers in the public service of God

Samuel van Haringhouck primarily translated English into Dutch. The first text that can be found translated by him, however, is not of English origin. Instead he translated a work by Petrus Moulinaeus (Pierre du Moulin) titled *L'anti-barbare, ou du language incogneu: tant ès prières des particuliers qu'au service public*. Moulinaeus' work had originally been published in France in 1631. That his work was also known in the Dutch Republic isn't strange. Moulinaeus had spent several years in the Republic, as a professor at Leiden University in 1593 to 1598.

Van Haringhouck's edition of the text is a direct translation of Moulinaeus' original. The dedication by Moulinaeus to his nephew has been translated as well, but no personal notes from Van Haringhouck are present. Because of this, it is difficult to say what motivated Van Haringhouck to translate this particular title. The book talks about the differences between the 'old' Catholic Church and the 'new' Reformed Church. This was a subject Moulineaus wrote about on multiple occasions. He had resided in England for a couple of years and tended to argue about the bad influence of Catholicism on

England.⁸² As Van Haringhouck was also a strong follower of the English Church, this topic may have been what drove him to make this translation. It is however impossible to say for sure.

Thomas Taylor - *Christi overwinninge over de draeck* (1656)

Christ's victorie over the dragon

1656 was an important year in the career of Samuel van Haringhouck. In this year he likely bought his own printing press. That he bought this press while having his mind set on publishing works related to English Pietism is clear when looking at the types of texts he published in his career. *Christi overwinninge over de dreack* is the first title printed at Van Haringhouck's shop. Its title page for the first time shows that the book was translated and printed by him. From here on, the books are also no longer printed 'for' Van Haringhouck.

The book has been dedicated to two pastors of Bolsward, Henricus Daventraeus and Everhardus Bornaeus. Noteworthy in this dedication is Van Haringhouck's reference to a debt that he has, saying that he wishes 'that this coin may be enough to minimize [his] overdue amounts by a few; but, that reason shows [him] that this way of doing cannot go any other direction than to lead to a new debt on his old tally stick.'⁸³ This shows that already early on Van Haringhouck had debts to the city officials. Still, this did not stop him from continuing publishing, as the debts didn't cause the shop to be auctioned off until after his death.

Taylor's *Christ's Victorie over the Dragon, or Satan's Downfall* had originally been published in England in 1633. Yet the book must have been of importance to Van Haringhouck and the Church. At the front of the book an approbation has been granted by the synod in Heerenveen. This synod read through the entirety of Van Haringhouck's work and came to agreement that it correlated with God's word. A statement like this was not added in the publication of Taylor's *Christi Strijdt ende Overwinning* back in 1652. It seem therefore that the use of approbations changed from time to time, or that Van Haringhouck's other works did not pass this test by the synod. Another approbation

⁸² B.G. Armstrong, V. Larminie 'Du Moulin, Pierre' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19430>>.

⁸³ T. Taylor, *Christi overwinninge over de draeck: ofte Des satans nederval* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1656), pp. *2 r-f 'k wenschte dat dese munt mocht gangbaer wesen om mijn achterstal een weynig te verminderen; maer, de reden toont my dat dese manier van doen niet anders kan uytvallen dan tot een nieuwe schuld op mijn oude kerfstock.'

is found in the *Koning aen syn taefel* in 1671, but seems to be the only other one in Van Haringhouck's printing list.

Samuel Smit - *Christi voorbereyding tot syn eygen dood* (1658)

Christ's preparation to His own death

'Nothing is more important than the salvation of all believers.'⁸⁴ Van Haringhouck makes this statement in his introduction to Samuel Smit's book. The book contains three sermons by Smit about verses 39, 40 and 41 of chapter 22 in the book of Luke.

Although the book has been printed by Van Haringhouck, the title page was likely not of his own production. Instead, the printer's device used on the title page – a triangle made out of three bundles of what seem to be grapes – was also used on Johannes Arcerius' earlier printing work for Van Haringhouck.

The book has been dedicated to Theodorus Paludanus with whom Van Haringhouck would collaborate for the 1659 edition of Thomas Watson's *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge* as well as the third volume of *Boet-Predikatiën*. In this dedication, it seems that Van Haringhouck felt indebted to Paludanus, saying that:

*if I find myself assured of your favor during several drawbacks, no harm can be done to me if I dedicate these sermons to you [...] not only to entertain your high mind, but also [for you] to read from these that not only to you but to whole world, I want to be known and stay that way.*⁸⁵

In his introduction to the reader, Van Haringhouck also alludes to titles he has considered to publish. Here, he points at *Petri val en opstandinghe* written by Thomas Taylor, as well as Samuel Smit's *Bekeeringhe van den Boetvaerdigen Moordenaer*.⁸⁶ Van Haringhouck points out as well that having these three works together would form one complete work. This was primarily a suggestion to the reader to have these titles be bound together if they came across them. Currently it is hard to say if a reader would be able to easily find these titles. No copies of these two works are known to exist.⁸⁷ Still, Van Haringhouck may not have recommended these titles without knowing the reader

⁸⁴ S. Smit, *Christi voorbereyding tot syn eygen dood* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1658), *3r

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. *2r-f, 'Maer als ik my van U.W. gunst, in verscheyden bejeheningen verskerd vind, kan my geen beletsel verhinderen dese Predikatiën aen U.W. op te dragen [...] niet om U.W. hoge geest [...] te vermaken, maer om daer uyt te lsen dat ick, niet alleen voor U.W. maer ook voor al de wereld, bekenne te wesen en willen blijven.'

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. *4 r-f.

⁸⁷ This is based on the titles by Samuel Smith and Thomas Taylor as listed on the STCN.

could access them. As such it may have been possible that the books were indeed there, but were not published in large numbers that allowed them to survive for a longer time.

Arthur Hildersam - *Leere van vasten, bidden en vernedering* (1659)

The doctrine of fasting and prayer, and humiliation for sin

Hildersam was an English preacher of Pietism who also wrote down a number of his sermons. In 1633, his work of *The doctrine of fasting and prayer, and humiliation for sin* was published in England. The title was picked up by Van Haringhouck and published in Dutch in 1659 under the title of *Leere van vasten, bidden en vernedering*.

Nollius Hajonidus is sometimes seen as the translator of this work instead of Van Haringhouck.⁸⁸ The two had in that time already started their joint effort of translation on the *Boet-Predikatien*. Whether Hajonidus was indeed the translator of *Leere van Vasten* is hard to say in this case. Hajonidus is not credited as the translator of the work, something that Van Haringhouck did with every other translator he worked with up to that point. This does not mean, however, that Hajonidus had no presence in the creation of the book. The dedication of the book is written to Hajonidus. As such, Hajonidus and Van Haringhouck may have collaborated in translating this book. Within the dedication to Hajonidus, Van Haringhouck refers to the way they worked together on the second part of *Boet-Predikatien* (published in 1659), and had wanted to take on a second English work. Van Haringhouck explains the decision to settle on Hildersam as follows:

*because while your [Hajonidus'] desire for educative and praiseworthy exercise has shown itself in the second [part of] Twelve English penance sermons, we had the decision and desire to delve into another English or preferably Theological work. Arthur Hildersam seemed to us to not be an unattainable object for our wish.*⁸⁹

At the end of the book, a second text with a new title page has been added (fig. 10). This page refers to *Salomon's Goede Raed*, also preached by Hildersam. This piece of text also seems to be older than Hildersam's *Leere van Vasten*. The title page of *Salomon's*

⁸⁸ Pietas, 'Hildersam, Arthur Leere van vasten, bidden, en vernedering om de zonde. (1659)', <<http://www.ssnr.nl/publication/P98017127/record/english>>.

⁸⁹ Hildersam, A., *Leere van vasten, bidden, en vernedering om de zonde* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1659), pp. *2r-f, 'Want, terwijl uw onleschlijcke lust tot leersame en loflijcke oefeningen, sik in Vertalinge der twede Twaelf Engelsche Boet-Predikatien ontledighd heeft, hadden wy uytslag, en verlangen om ons in eenige andere Engelsche, of liver Godlijcke Lessen te verlustigen. Arthur Hildersam scheen on geen onhebljck Voorwerp onser neyging.'

Goede Raed originates from 1658, one year prior to what the title page of *Leere van Vasten* displays. Despite the separate title page, *Salomon's Goede Raed* is not regarded as a separate publication made by Van Haringhouck. The title is already announced on the title page for *Leere van Vasten*. Eggermont, who in 1977 published an almost complete list of works by Van Haringhouck, also points out that *Salomons goede raed* could have never been published on its own, as the pagination of this work continues on from where *Leere van Vasten* ends.⁹⁰

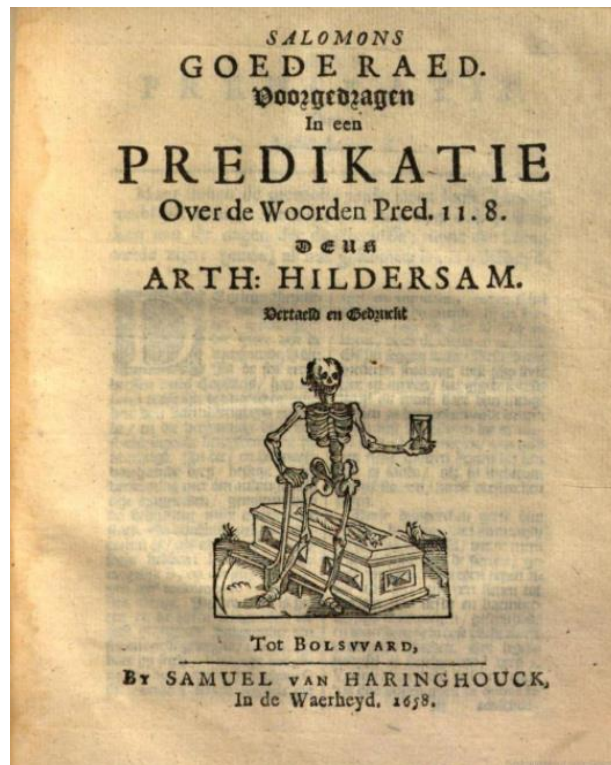


Figure 10: Title page for Salomon's goede raed. Via Google books.⁹¹

Edward Reynolds - *Israels gebedt in tijd van benaudtheyd* (1660)

Israel's prayer in time of trouble

In 1642 Edward Reynolds wrote down the sermons delivered at Margarets Church in Westminster. In 1660, feeling that the short but concrete writing of Reynolds was of importance to the Dutch public, Van Haringhouck translated and published the book as well.

⁹⁰ Eggermont, 'Samuel van Haringhouk', p. 94.

⁹¹ Hildersam, *Leere van vasten* (KB The Hague, 503 B, 71).

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=Q1daioJvUoMC&dq=leere+van+vasten&hl=nl&source=gb_s_navlinks_s>.

Van Haringhouck seems not to have worked on this title alone. Instead, he also praises Regnerus Reen for helping. Regnerus Reen, according to the book's introduction, allowed for the neat division of the text into registers and tables to divide Reynold's arguments in.⁹² This same introduction also how important it was to Van Haringhouck to translate these prayers, as he here writes:

*until now this treasure only lay in the lap of England; and only few of our patriots had any use of it. The reason that moved us [...], as practice and continuation of our profession, after our minor knowledge to translate [this work], and make [it] common[ly available] through print.*⁹³

It seems that Van Haringhouck's wish to spread this text to the people came out. His translation of *Israels gebedt* was used again twice by a printer in Amsterdam, which shall be discussed in the next chapter.

Multiple authors - *Ruyter op het faelpaard* (1662)

The horseman on the pale horse

Collections of sermons were something Van Haringhouck tended to publish several times. *Ruyter op het faelpaard* is one of such collections. The book holds a selection of 30 funeral sermons that have been preached by different theologians at different times and places. The book's title alludes to Death, the horseman (ruiter) of the Bible's book of Apocalypse who rides on the pale (vaal) horse (paard).

Despite the book having had only one edition, this does not mean that each copy is identical. One specific copy, currently housed in Tresoar, holds a poem by Gysbert Japicx.⁹⁴ In this poem, Japicx mentions that Van Haringhouck was the translator of this work stating that 'Haringhouk has taken on [this book] and polished the British into humble Low German.'⁹⁵

⁹² Reynolds, *Israels gebedt*, p. *6r.

⁹³ Ibid, p. *5f, 'Tot noch toe bleef desen Schat alleen in den schoot van Engelland; en seer weynige van onse Vaderlanders hadden 'er eenig gebruyk van. Oorsaek die ons bewoog om de selfde, tot oeffening en voortsetting onses Beroeps, na onse geringe kennis te Vertaelen, en deur den Druk gemeen te maeken.

⁹⁴ I have been unable to see this copy myself. However, because the poem is not present in any of the other copies of the book, and most of Japicx work having been handwritten, it is likely that this poem was not printed when it was added to the copy, which is possibly also the case with Japicx's poem on *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge*. The full version of this poem has also been featured in Appendix 3.

⁹⁵ G. Japicx, 'Op Eenige H. Engelsche, verduydschte, Lijckleer-reedereeringen'. 'Tot Haringhouk 't heeft afgetogen, En p'lijste 'et Brits tot braef Ne'erduyts.'

Just as he did with *Boet-Predikatien*, Van Haringhouck had the plan on turning the *Ruyter op het faelvaard* into a series. This edition is marked as part one by Van Haringhouck on the title page. Later parts of this series, however, were never published.

John Freeman – *Predikatie sonder tekst* (1662)

Sermon without text

There is one example where Samuel van Haringhouck offered his services as a translator to a different bookseller in the area. This would entail the *Predikatie sonder text, gepredikt in d'Inner Tempel binnen Londen* from 1662 as written by John Freeman. Joannes Balkholt, bookseller in Sneek, published the book. Van Haringhouck is mentioned as translator under the acronym of S.H on the title page.

Not only did Van Haringhouck help with the translation of this work, it is likely that he also printed this book for Balkholt. Arguments that Breuker uses to assume van Haringhouck did not print his own work in the beginning of his career in the book business can be applied to Balkholt here as well. The printer's device is identical to that which Van Haringhouck uses in later publications such as the *Friese Rymlerye*. Similarly the book has been printed 'for' Balkholt, not 'at' his store. As Balkholt has no other publications on his name, it can be assumed that this title was indeed made for Balkholt to sell, without him having a hand in the printing of this booklet.

National titles

In this category, all titles have been taken that were not written by Frisian authors. In the case of Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema an exception has been made here, as the author was Frisian, but is credited for his occupation in the area of Amsterdam. There are only a few titles discussed here, of which three were not printed by Van Haringhouck but only published by him. Still each of these titles are important in order to see in what ways Van Haringhouck was drawn to the authors outside his province.

William Macdowell - *Antvvoort op seker propositie [...]* (1651)

Answer to a certain proposal done by the English envoy

In March of 1651 an English envoy put an proposition before the Dutch government for an alliance and a godly union between their two countries. In June of the same year, the Scottish ambassador William MacDowell, also credited as Makdovel, wrote a pamphlet in which he discusses the answer given by the Dutch Republic.

The outcome of this proposition could have been of interest to Van Haringhouck, as one of the points discussed by the English envoy was that of one Protestant union between England and the Dutch Republic.

Next to Van Haringhouck's interest in the influence of the English Church on the Republic, the presence of MacDowell in this affair might have caught his interest as well. In 1650 MacDowell became the Scottish ambassador in the Low Countries, had two Dutch wives and was a former professor at the university of Groningen.⁹⁶ He even was part of an envoy from Friesland to England in 1629, 1633, and 1635.⁹⁷ MacDowell himself was a notorious figure within the Dutch Republic. Later in 1651, he was accused in a pamphlet of spreading royalist propaganda for the British king Charles II.⁹⁸ In 1653, he was officially banned from the Dutch Republic for the same reason.

The pamphlet of *Antvvoort op seker propositie* was primarily being printed in The Hague by Samuel Braun. It seems likely that Braun also printed the copies that would be sold by Van Haringhouck. In layout and title page, the copies sold by Van Haringhouck are almost identical to Braun's. Additionally no other printer in Friesland seems to have sold the pamphlet. Interesting here is that the versions of the pamphlet that Van Haringhouck sold are significantly smaller, consisting of twelve instead of twenty pages. This means that if Braun did indeed print the work for Van Haringhouck, it was not done by only creating a new title page. Instead, the entire work had to be reprinted to achieve this new, more compact, look.

This pamphlet is the last time Van Haringhouck's address is printed on the title page while he was alive. Before this pamphlet his address had always been on the Grote Dijklacker. Now it has changed to the Kleyne Dijklacker on the other side of the canal.

Dionysius Spranckhuysen - *Des jaers 1629 [...]; Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt [...]* (1653)

The year 1629, calling to the United Netherlands;
Show of gratitude, to all admirers of our common fatherland

Dionysius Spranckhuysen was a pastor who was primarily stationed in Delft. In 1618 he spent a couple of years as pastor in the Frisian city of Workum, before staying in Delft

⁹⁶ H.J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 41.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

from 1625 until his death in 1650. During this time in Delft, he wrote several theological pieces, which were also printed there. Even after his demise in 1650, his work was still being printed as can be seen in the titles of *Des jaers 1629* and *Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt* published in 1653.

While *Des jaers 1629* and *Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt* are regarded as two separate titles published by Van Haringhouck, they are discussed together here as both titles are closely related in publication and are currently found bound together into one volume.

Spranchkhuisen's *Des jaers 1629* was originally published in 1630 across multiple cities. In 1653, Johannes Arcerius published a second edition of *Des jaers 1629* in Franeker. Although multiple publications were made of *Des jaers 1629* back in 1630, Arcerius deliberately calls his publication a 'tweede druk' (second edition) on his own title page. Here he adds that his edition contains improvements on references to the Bible. It is possible that Arcerius created this second edition to accompany his publication of Spranchkhuisen's *Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt*.⁹⁹

Arcerius was not the only one selling these two titles. Van Haringhouck too sold these titles at his shop. Likely, the copies sold by Van Haringhouck originated from Arcerius' printing shop. After Arcerius had obtained a printing press and opened up shop in Franeker around 1650, Van Haringhouck outsourced his printing work here instead of at Ids Alberts.¹⁰⁰ This likely already happened in 1652 with the prior discussed *Bolswarder Almanach*. When Arcerius printed a second edition of Spranchkhuisen's work, Van Haringhouck seems to have joined in. Where Arcerius' title page mention the extra information of it being a second edition with extra annotations, Van Haringhouck's title page lacks this further information.

That the titles of *Des jaers 1629* and *Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt* went well together, shows in the fact that the specific versions sold by Van Haringhouck and by Arcerius are both bound together in a single volume.¹⁰¹ Perhaps they were always intended to be bought together, as nowadays neither title is found bound separately.

At first glance, it might seem that Van Haringhouck's edition of *des jaers 1629* contains more titles than one. Within the book separate title pages can be found (fig. 11). However, just as is the case in *Leere van Vasten*, these separate parts have already been announced

⁹⁹ I have been unable to find an earlier publication of Spranchkhuisen's *Vermaninge* before the 1653 publications that were combined with *Des jaers 1629*.

¹⁰⁰ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 211.

¹⁰¹ This is the case in VU Amsterdam, XI.06799 (Haringhouck) and UvA Amsterdam, K 61-6715 (Arcerius).

on the first title page. Additionally the pagination of the parts of *Blydschap*, *Ghebedt* and *Danckbaerheydt* have one continuous pagination from *Des jaers 1629* onwards, as well as a continuous numbering of the quires. This is only broken up with *Vermaninge tot Danckbaerheydt* where the pagination and quire signatures are started anew. The insertion of these ‘title pages’ is also seen in Arcerius’ own print of *Des jaers 1629*, but unlike the Van Haringhouck version Arcerius does not repeat his own name, profession, date of printing or location at each section. In Arcerius’ case they indicated the beginning of a new section within the book, while the title pages in Van Haringhouck’s edition almost pose them as individual titles. Still it is unlikely – with both Arcerius’ way of incorporating these title pages in his own work and the continuing numbering of the pages and quires – that the three parts within *Des jaers 1629* would be sold individually.

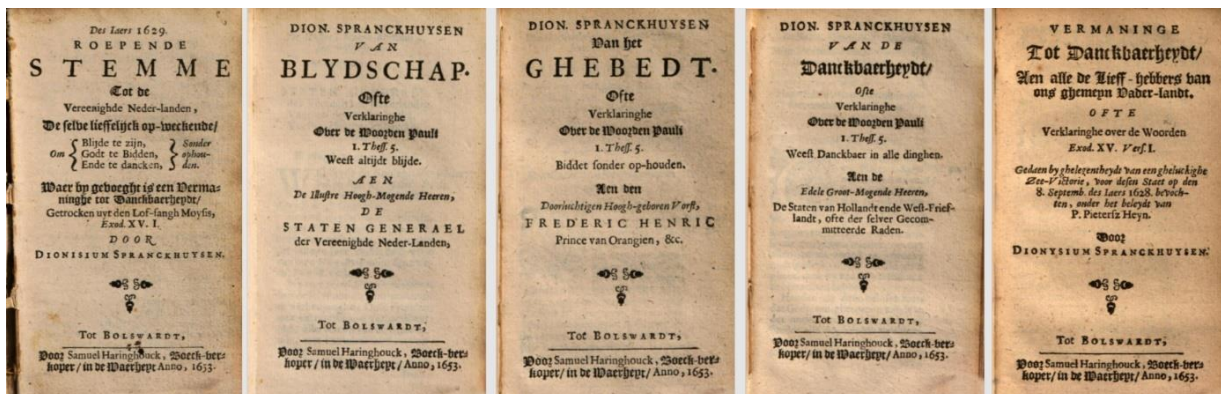


Figure 11: Separate title pages within a full volume of *Des Jaers 1629* and *Vermaninge tot Danckbaerheydt*. via Google Books.¹⁰²

Noticeable here is that the Van Haringhouck copies are not identical to those sold by Arcerius. In Van Haringhouck’s edition the chapters start with a large, decorative initial and has a number of decorative borders across the top of the page.¹⁰³ Similarly the words on the pages are broken off in different spaces. These can all be seen as signs that Arcerius had to reprint the entire work anew for the edition sold by Van Haringhouck.

Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema - *Kleyn-kudde-troost* (1668)

Little flock’s comfort

Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema is mentioned as a pastor from the municipality of Amsterdam. At the time Van Haringhouck published the book, however, Rinckema was

¹⁰² D. Spranckhuysen, *Des iaers 1629. roepende stemme tot de Vereenighde Neder-landen* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1653) (VU Amsterdam, XI.06799). <https://books.google.nl/books?id=k9uXX2sZopoC&dq=vermaninge++1653&hl=nl&source=gs_navlinks_s>.

¹⁰³ These decorative initials can be found in his later work as well, and are a clear feature of Van Haringhouck’s later printing work.

no longer alive. The author had been active in the Amsterdam area from 1645 to 1664 before passing away in 1666. The book is pushed by Van Haringhouck to promote a more 'national' side of his work by naming Rinckema only as a pastor of Amsterdam. The book has a strong Frisian background as well. Before being a pastor in Amsterdam, Rinckema had been a pastor in the Frisian towns of Wons, Sexbierum and Sneek. In 1664 he returned to Friesland as well, where he passed away two years later.

Rinckema was not a random author for Van Haringhouck to publish. In 1656 Rinckema's daughter Anna Schotanus van Rinckema married Nollius Hajonidus, with whom Van Haringhouck often collaborated in translations.¹⁰⁴ This connection with Hajonidus is moreover made clear by the fact that Hajonidus was also the one to write the dedication present in this book.

In particular the book discusses the teachings of Jesus Christ, and its title as mentioned on the title page refers to the gospel of Luke 12.32. This verse, as translated in the 21st century King James Bible, reads as follow: 'Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom.'¹⁰⁵

Simon Oomius - *Dissertatie van de onderwijsingen* (1672)

Dissertation of education

The final works published by Van Haringhouck were written by Simon Oomius, a Dutch professor in theology in Purmerend. He was not a pietist, but saw how important the right way of studying theology in academia was. Still, Oomius was highly influenced by the Pietist way of thinking and used this as an inspiration for his work.¹⁰⁶ According to Oomius, there were many things to be improved in practical theology. He was not the only one with such views. Practical theology had already gained more popularity in the 16th century, and multiple theologians had written their views on what was necessary to change in the education. Oomius himself was driven by two motivations: to describe a complete system of practical theology and to write this entirely in Dutch.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* 8.1 (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1867), p. 89.

¹⁰⁵ Rinckema uses this verse from the Dutch version of the Bible at the time, which he quotes as 'En vrees niet ghy kneyne kuddeke, want het is uwes varders welbehagen, u lieden het Koninhrijck te geeven.' S. Rinckema, *kleyen-kudde-troost* (Bolward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1668), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ G.D. Schuringa, 'Orthodoxy, Scholasticism, and Piety in the Seventeenth-Century Further Reformation: Simon Oomius' in R.J. Blast, D.S. Sytsma, J. Zuidema (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 650.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

The *Dissertatie* was meant as an introduction to Oomius' larger work: the *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae*. In his dissertation, Oomius explains his views on protestant scholastics and education.

Van Haringhouck published the book with a privilege for 15 years. By holding privilege, Van Haringhouck had the assurance that this specific title was only to be printed by him under the protection of the State.

Simon Oomius - *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae I - II* (1672-1676)

Institutiones Theologiae Practicae, or teachings in the practice of
theology

Following up immediately on Oomius' *Dissertatie* was the work that this title worked up to: the *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae*. It consisted of two volumes, which were published in 1672 and 1676. While Van Haringhouck held privilege for Oomius' *Dissertatie* and *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae II*, the mention of such a privilege is absent on the first part of the *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae*.

The second book, so Oomius states in the dedication, was supposed to have been printed much earlier. The majority of the pages had already been printed, but the rough times hindered the progress made with the printing press.¹⁰⁸ It is not unexpected that the book had such a delay. The year 1672 was the year of disaster within the Dutch republic, being at war with France, England and the dioceses of Münster and Cologne. The Republic faced a horrible economic crisis as a result. But the printing shop itself also struggled. Van Haringhouck had not been making profit and in 1673, he was subjected to a civil procedure after his debts had reached their height.¹⁰⁹ Another problem that would have stalled the second part of the *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae* was the fact that Samuel van Haringhouck passed away before this part was completed. The title page shows his widow to be the publisher. In 1677 the business was auctioned off. It had officially succumbed to the accumulated debt and loss of its owner.

In 1680 the continuation of Oomius' work was printed by a different printer. This time it was taken up by Laurens van der Wiel, city printer and bookseller in Schiedam. Where

¹⁰⁸ S. Oomius, *Institutiones theologiae practicae. Ofte, Onderwijsingen in de practycke der godtgeleertheydt. Eerste tractaet des tweeden boecks van het eerste deel. Vervattende de verhandelinge der theologia didactica* (Bolsward: Widow of Samuel van Haringhouck, 1676), p. *2r.

¹⁰⁹ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 212.

Van Haringhouck's widow had published the first half of the first treatise of Oomius' second book, Van der Wiel published the latter half of this treatise. In this same year, Van der Wiel also published Oomius' *De godtsalige siecke en krancke* and like Van Haringhouck printed primarily theological works related to English Pietism.

Chapter 4: Marketing strategy

In order for Van Haringhouck to sell his work, the public needed to be aware of new titles being produced. Van Haringhouck used several ways to make his audience aware of this. Primarily this was done by placing advertisements in Dutch newspapers. The use of advertisements was not unknown in Friesland. In a recent study, Der Weduwen and Pettegree discuss the rise of advertising in the Dutch Republic. This study shows that in the period of 1636 and 1645 nine Frisian booksellers were actively advertising in newspapers from Amsterdam.¹¹⁰ Although this number might look small, it made Friesland the province with the most advertising booksellers outside of Holland. Van Haringhouck followed a same approach as his predecessors and also had his work advertised in Holland. In his case, however, he primarily focused on the newspapers of Haarlem. Outside of newspapers, he used his publications' introductions to inform his readers about upcoming titles he was working on. In his publications Van Haringhouck also made sure to dedicate his books to important figures of Friesland, tying some prestige to his work. Next to this active advertising, Van Haringhouck also allowed his translations to be reused in other publications. Although this may not have been a direct way of advertising his own work, Van Haringhouck gave explicit permission for these republications that were made while he was still alive. As such, these will also be discussed in further detail in this chapter. By discussing these four categories, this chapter is to give a better impression of Van Haringhouck's engagement with his local and national audiences.

Advertisements

Advertising new publications was the best way to ensure a bigger audience for printed works. The first Dutch newspaper was founded in 1618. The first advertisement, a self-promotion for the upcoming newspaper issue, was placed in 1620, but common section with advertisements by private people is not seen until years later.¹¹¹ Newspapers were the perfect place to advertise the publications of new books, and this advertising grew significantly over the 1640s. Newspapers were not cheap per se and cost up to the

¹¹⁰ A. der Weduwen, A. Pettegree, *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p.23.

¹¹¹ Weduwen, *Birth of Modern Advertising*, p.8.

equivalent of a pint of beer.¹¹² As Der Weduwen and Pettegree state, it may have been the case that in the 1620s a spot of an advertisement could be rewarded if the publisher himself would take some of the newspaper's printer's own work to sell in return.¹¹³ As a more diverse range of newspapers was created over the course of the 17th century, it can be considered that there was a good enough audience who were interested in the news and might be potential customers.

Samuel van Haringhouck is mentioned six times in five different newspapers. The titles with an advert are: *Proef-Predicatie*, *Werelt-spiegel*, *Leere van vasten*, *Faramond*, *Koning aen syn taefel*, *Dissertatie*, and *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae*. The full text of these advertisements has been added in appendix 4. Van Haringhouck seemed to have a preference to advertise in the *Haerlemsche Courant*. Next to the Amsterdam newspapers, the *Haerlemsche Courant* often had booksellers advertise here, and the newspaper had a large audience.¹¹⁴ Van Haringhouck placed an advertisement for *Faramond* in the Saturday edition in 1668, as well as advertisements for *Koning aen syn taefel* and Oomius' *Dissertatie* and *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae I* in 1671.¹¹⁵ Two of the advertisements by Van Haringhouck were likely a joint expense. For both *Proef-Praedicatie* and *Werelt-spiegel*, both places where the book has been published are mentioned, meaning that both publishers had something to gain here.¹¹⁶

The advertisements for *Leere van Vasten*, *Dissertatie* and *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae I* show that Van Haringhouck had people sell his work for him in Amsterdam as well. *Leere van Vasten* was sold by Jan Bruynszoon, while Oomius' work was sold by Hendrick Corfen Paulus Gijsbertszoon, who also sold paper. It is not surprising that these two titles were sold in Amsterdam, as they were both titles that Van Haringhouck thought would be important for the general Dutch audience. It can also not be ignored that Van Haringhouck held privilege on the work by Oomius, making him the only person in the Republic with the authority to create copies of this work. For the general public, it would have been difficult to travel to Bolsward in order to buy books. Therefore, if Van

¹¹² A. der Weduwen; A. Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information: Advertisements and Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620-1675* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p. 1.

¹¹³ Weduwen, *Birth of Modern Advertising*, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ Weduwen, *Birth of Modern Advertising*, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ Although the advertisements for Oomius' work were placed in 1671, the surviving copies of these titles date back to 1672 on the title pages instead.

¹¹⁶ For more information on these publishers, refer to the individual paragraphs on *proef-Praedicatie* and *Werelt-spiegel* in chapter 2.

Haringhouck didn't allow others to sell his publications, his efforts in advertising might not have much of an effect to boost his sales.

The only title that seems to stand out here is that of *Faramond* which, as a historical novel, was unlike Van Haringhouck's usual work. Despite that, it seems Van Haringhouck still expected the book to be of interest for readers in the rest of the Republic. What is especially interesting about this advertisement is the mistake made in his name. In the advertisement, he is introduced as Samuel Haringhoven. Chances are that this mistake was made during the typesetting of the newspaper in Haarlem.

Self-advertisements

Van Haringhouck did not stick to newspapers alone to announce his new publications. In his introductions, he also tends to allude to titles that would be published soon. This seems to primarily happen at the end of his career. In *Boet-Predikatiën IV* he points out that he is working on *Koning aen syn taefel* as a way to prevent the printing press from catching rust. Again, in the publication of *Koning aen syn taefel* Van Haringhouck points to the next title, the complete work of Simon Oomius' *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae*, to soon be published. He points out that the first part will be published within a couple of weeks and the other parts, which have already been fully written, shall follow from year to year until the end.¹¹⁷ Indeed, the advertisements for Oomius' titles were placed only 4 months after those for *Koning aen syn Tafel*.¹¹⁸

This way of self-advertisement can be seen earlier on in Van Haringhouck's career as well. In *Boet-Predikatiën III*, Van Haringhouck introduces a soon to come title. A note from the printer to the reader here reads as follows:

*our promise, to publish a third part of Boet-Predikatiën, has been fulfilled here. Read and cherish this one as well as the ones before it and be assured that it will serve to foster a fourth one. However, first expect the life and acts of the king of horrors in several funeral sermons, written by eccentric learned men in the English language, and partially transferred into Dutch by your humble S. Haringhouck.*¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ *Koning aen syn tafel*, p. *4r.

¹¹⁸ This advertisement was placed in 1671, but both *Dissertatie* and *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae I* date from 1672.

¹¹⁹ *XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikatiën over sonderlinge texten III* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouck, 1661), p. +4r, 'Onse belofte, van een derde deel der Boetpredikatiën te sullen uytgeeven, siet ghy hier nagekomen. Lees en bejegen dese gelijk de voorgaende, en weest

Here he alludes to *Koning op het Fael-paerd* of which the secondary title is ‘the life and acts of the king of horrors.’ This book indeed was the first to be published after *Boet-Predikatiën III*.

Dedications

In some cases, the publisher or author would dedicate a book to a specific person or multiple people. These dedications did not necessarily attract customers immediately, but they could help build prestige around the publication. Because of this, the author or publisher had to think about whom the book would be dedicated to. Van Haringhouch’s publications contain dedications from time to time. In most cases these were not written by Van Haringhouch himself, but by the translators or authors he worked with.

In this overview of dedications, those published before 1656 are not taken into account, primarily because these titles are from before Van Haringhouch owned a printing press. Additionally, of the three titles that were published with a dedication at this time, two of them contained ‘reused’ dedications. The dedication from Moulineaus to his nephew Bochart was already present in the French edition from 1631. So too had Spranckhuysen’s dedication in *Des jaers 1629* been taken from an earlier edition of the book. Additionally, the third title of this period with a dedication is the *Proef-Praedicatiën* which was sold in multiple places and cannot give a clear indication on what Van Haringhouch himself might have wanted to achieve with his dedications.

This leaves fourteen dedications in total, of which six were written by Van Haringhouch himself. The dedications by Van Haringhouch were primarily written to local pastors at first, as well as mayors and courtiers later on. Already in 1656, he dedicated his *Christi overwinninge over de draeck* to two pastors of Bolsward, who he wished would support his efforts in publishing religious works. In the case of the first part of *Boet-Predikatiën* of 1657, Van Haringhouch wrote a dedication to Gysbertus Siersma. Although Siersma took an important position as former mayor of Bolsward, he was also the father-in-law of Van Haringhouch who married his daughter Lamcke in 1656. As such, Van Haringhouch also closes his dedication by calling himself ‘servant and son-in-law.’¹²⁰ In general Van Haringhouch stayed humble in his dedications, while

versekert dat ‘et dienen sal tot bevordering van een Vierde. Doch vewacht eerst het Leeven en Bedrijf van de Koning der Verschrickenen; in vescheydene lijkpredikatiën deur sonderlinge geleerde mannen in d’ Engelsche Tael voorgesteld, en rede ten deele verduytscht deur uw gediënstige S. Haringhouk.’

¹²⁰ *XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikatiën over sonderlinge texten I* (Bolsward: Samuel van Haringhouch, 1657), p. *2v.

mostly alluding to the person's personal wisdom and love for books which he hoped to enrich.

The rest of the dedications were written by authors and translators Van Haringhouck worked with. They were written by Theodorus Paludanus, Nollius Hajonidus, Catharina van Mellinga and Simon Oomius. These dedications too tended to stay close to home to central figures in Friesland, like governors, nobility, and pastors.

The dedication in *Konst van Goddelike Vernoeginge* was written by its translator Theodorus Paludanus, and directed to Hylk van Lycklama, member of local nobility and the widow of a 'grietman', the early version of countryside mayor and judge, from central Friesland. This same dedication was copied in the reprint of 1663. Catharina van Mellinga dedicated her translation of the *Faramond* to Theodorus van Scheltinga, an important figure at the Frisian court as well as her step-father. Van Scheltinga is mentioned in a dedication by Haringhouck in *Boet-Predikatie IV* as well, which was also dedicated to Jetso van Sminia, a member of one of the most influential families of Friesland.¹²¹

The dedications in Van Haringhouck's work therefore tended to be bound to Friesland. In two cases, the books were not dedicated to Frisian figures. One of these were the three books written by Simon Oomius, which were each dedicated to different people from Amsterdam. The first book, the *Dissertatie* was dedicated to the largest number of people. In this Oomius dedicated his work to the pastors Abrahamus Roehof, Otte Belcampius, Johannes van Nieuwenhuysen, Johannes Vischerus, Cornelius Danckerts; friend and counselor Johannes Lakeman; merchant Michiel Coolenprys; as well as the former member of the council of Bolsward Frederick van Alema. The two volumes of the *Institutiones Theologicae Practicae* were dedicated to people in Amsterdam as well. The first part was dedicated to father and son Joseph and Balthasar Coymans, who were important merchants. The second part was dedicated to Joost Diericq, a foreman of the VOC, and his two sons Carolus and Isaacus.

The other title with a dedication to people Amsterdam was *Kleyk-kudde troost* which was dedicated to the city's mayors: Cornelis de Vlaming, Gillis Valkonier, Lambert Reynst., and Cornelis van Vlooswyk. That the book has a dedication to these people is not that strange as the book's author Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema lived in Amsterdam

¹²¹ From the 19th century onward, the Van Sminia family was a part of Dutch nobility, however already in the 17th century the family brought forth many members of the Frisian court.

up to 1664. Van Haringhouck himself did not write this dedication. Instead, the dedication was written by Nollius Hajonidus, who wrote it from his current residence of Emden. That Hajonidus wrote this dedication could have been a deliberate decision. Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema was Hajonidus' father-in-law after all.

Republications

Van Haringhouck hoped to make the works of English theologians more available to a Dutch public by translating and publishing them. In some cases it seems he was able to reach this goal. This is primarily the case with Edward Reynolds' *Israels Gebedt* which was added into two volumes printed in 1667 in Amsterdam by Johannes van Someren. Both volumes consist of the work of Edward Reynolds. The first one is the *Opera omnia of alle de theologische werken*. It consists of multiple texts by Reynolds, of which most have been translated by Petrus Heringa, a pastor from the area of Amsterdam. The text used in this volume is not the exact same as Van Haringhouck published in 1660. Instead, it has been revised by Bartholomaeus van Baerdenberg who, according to the title page, removed 'many mistakes and wrong interpretations of the English language.' This version by Van Baerdenberg is once more reprinted in *Vijf-en-twintig predication*, which was a part of the *Opera Omnia*, but had been published in a separate volume. Van Haringhouck himself is not credited directly as the original translator of the text. Instead, it is stated on the title page that the last print has been reproduced with the author's permission to the parliament and that his introduction to the reader remains the same. This would show that Van Haringhouck personally gave permission to have Van Someren use his work and continued to be credited as the original translator and publisher of *Istraels Gebedt* in Van Someren's publications.

Van Someren was familiar with Van Haringhouck's work. He also published three volumes of Thomas Watson's *Opera Omnia* in the years of 1666, 1669 and 1670. The texts by Watson had not been translated into Dutch often, and never before had a volume of his texts been made in English either.¹²² Van Someren here, however, didn't fully reuse the translations which had been published by Van Haringhouck. Instead, his translator Joannes Fabricius translated the works anew, but may have found inspiration from Van Haringhouck's work. In these volumes three texts published by Van Haringhouck were reused: *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge*, *God ontleding op 's menschen hert* (which had

¹²² Pietas, 'Opera omnia, of alle de wercken. (1666)',
<<http://ssnr.nl/publication/P97005995/record/nederlands>>.

been published in *Boet-Predikatie II*), *De kroon der rechtveerdigheyt* (originally published in *Ruyter op het faelpaerd*).

Still, even with this number of texts being redistributed by a different publisher, it seems Van Haringhouck's focus was not on distributing his books to a larger Dutch audience. Whatever books were dedicated towards figures in Amsterdam were written by people who lived here themselves, nor did Van Haringhouck write these dedications himself. As Op 't Hof summarizes 'Van Haringhouk might have been able to boost the meagre sales of his books if he had had a better network of agents in other Dutch provinces.'¹²³ After all, the distance between Amsterdam and Bolsward was big if the books weren't easily transported out of the province. This would be one of the problems Van Haringhouck was unable to work around until the end of his career.

¹²³ Hof, *The Ice Broken*, p. 214.

Conclusion

The central question in thesis has been how Samuel van Haringhouck balanced both the local and national market in his publications. Van Haringhouck was a bookseller and printer located in the Frisian city of Bolsward. Friesland in the 17th century was a rich province and a blooming academic center after the founding of a university in 1585. Multiple booksellers and printers settled across the cities of Friesland. Bolsward had two printers: Samuel van Haringhouck and Phillipus Sjoerds Boenja. Boenja himself may not have had an active store however, and only printed a handful of titles in his time in Bolsward. Van Haringhouck on the other hand had a relatively active shop, where he printed and published more than twenty titles in the period of 1648 to 1676.

Van Haringhouck was not just a bookseller who printed the works that were known to bring profit. Judging by his printing list, it becomes clear that Van Haringhouck primarily focused on investing in his personal interest and did so by making English Pietism better available to the Dutch audience. Still, he was strongly bound to Friesland when it came to people he collaborated with. In his early career, before owning a printing press of his own in 1656, Van Haringhouck outsourced his publications to be printed at the shops of Ids Alberts and Johannes Arcerius in Franeker or Phillipus Sjoerds Boenja in Bolsward.

While theological works, especially those related to English pietism, were Van Haringhouck's primary subject of interest, they were not the only thing published by him. Van Haringhouck's most known publication at this time is that of the *Friese Rymlerye* which contained the poetry of his close friend Gysbert Japicx. Japicx himself was also interested in Van Haringhouck's work, having written several poems on Van Haringhouck's publishing activities. Another title that strayed from Van Haringhouck's usual work that he printed himself was that of the *Faramond*, a historical novel about the Merovingian dynasty in France.

Primarily, Van Haringhouck published translated works about English Pietism. In this effort, he oftentimes translated these books himself as was the case with at least eight titles. For other works, he oftentimes collaborated with local pastors who, primarily through influence from the university of Franeker, had found a personal interest in English Pietism as well. Van Haringhouck personally worked with these translators on five titles (ignoring those published before Van Haringhouck owned a printing press). The closest collaboration was with Nollius Hajonidus, who was a translator on Van

Haringhouck's biggest project of collected sermons in the series of *Boet-Predikatien*. He also collaborated with Regnerus Reen and Theodorus Paludanus on multiple occasions.

Van Haringhouck did try to have some of his books be known by a bigger audience in the rest of the Dutch Republic. In four cases advertisements were placed for publications made by Van Haringhouck alone. However, the majority of his work on English Pietism was not advertised in the national newspapers. Instead, Van Haringhouck stayed closer to home. He dedicated numerous titles to important figures in Bolsward and Friesland. Only his later work was dedicated to people residing in Amsterdam, but these dedications were not written by Van Haringhouck himself and primarily alluded to Holland since the authors of the books had resided here for a long time.

In the end, Van Haringhouck was not a successful businessman, and likely didn't strive to be one. Only his final publications on Simon Oomius' *Dissertatie van de Onderwijsingen* and *Institutiones Theologiae Practicae* took on a different strategy than his other works. They were published under privilege and were sold by a second bookseller in Amsterdam. This change happened only at the end of his career. Even then, Oomius' work was still of theological nature, which was Van Haringhouck's forte from the start. The shop ran by Van Haringhouck (and his widow after his passing) was not successful enough to remain in the city for a longer period of time. It was auctioned off as a result of the printer's growing debt.

It is possible that Van Haringhouck's works could have been successful when presented to the right audience. As is the case in this situation, however, Van Haringhouck did not advertise to the audience in Holland enough to gain profit out of it. The distance between Holland and Friesland would stay significantly large and did encourage an average customer to stop by his shop. This meant that he was primarily dependent on local customers and those with a strong interest in his titles. Still, Van Haringhouck was not a printer who didn't have an audience to buy his works. A relatively large amount of his work remains in both public and private collections outside of Friesland, showing that his work was not in vain. He made sure to believe in his own truth and ran his bookshop accordingly.

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Appendix 1: List of works

Year	Author	Translator	Title	STCN/Pietas identification
1648	Focco Johannes	-	<i>Proef-praedicatien, ofte voorberydige tot het H. Avontmael des Heeren</i>	P98013419
1649	Sebastiaen Franck	D. Joh. Phocylides Holswerda	<i>Werelt-spiegel, ofte beschryvinge des gehelen aert-bodems</i>	053723147
1651	William Mac Donnel	-	<i>Antvvoort op seker propositie by d'Engelsche gesanten (so sy hun intituleren) den 30./20. martii 1651. gedaen in de Groote Vergaderinghe van de [...] Staeten Generael.</i>	422453102
1650	Thomas Taylor	Petrus	<i>Christi strijdt ende</i>	053565495
1651		Theodori	<i>overvinninge; ofte de leeuwe uyt den stamme Iudah</i>	P17037746 P97003842
1652	Petrus Moulineus	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Anti-Barbarus ofte van de onbekende tael</i>	172516064
1652	-	-	<i>Bolswarder Almanach, voor't schrickel-iaer</i>	316304417
1653	Dionysius Spranckhuysen	-	<i>Vermaninge tot danckbaerheydt, aen alle de lieff-hebbers van ons ghemeyn vader-landt. Ofte Verklaringhe over de</i>	053907728

			<i>woorden Exod. XV. vers I.</i>	
1653	Dionysius Spranckhuysen	-	<i>Des iaers 1629. roepende stemme tot de Vereenighde Neder- landen.</i>	053907353
1656	Thomas Taylor	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Christi overwinninge over de draeck: ofte Des satans nederval.</i>	852561997 P97003840
1657	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet- predikatien over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlament van Engelland gedaen. I</i>	P09045638
1658	Samuel Smit	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Christi voorbereyding tot syn eygen dood. Voorgedraegen in drie predicatien.</i>	304866687 P01028578
1659 1660	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck and Nollius Hajonidus	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet- predikatien over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlament van Engelland gedaen. II</i>	28754365X P09045640
1659	Arthur Hildersham	Samuel van Haringhouck (and Nollius Hajonidus?)	<i>Leere van vasten, bidden, en vernedering om de zonde.</i>	830581677 P98017127
1659	Thomas Watson	Theodorus Paludanus	<i>Konst van Goddelike Vernoeginge.</i>	P97003905

1660	Edvard Reynolds	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Israels gebedt in tijd van benaudtheyd [...]. Ofte Een verklaering van het 14. capittel des propheetes Hoseæ, in seven predikationen [...] gedaen.</i>	300911750 P97002644
1660	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck and Nollus Hajonidus	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlament van Engelland gedaen. I (reprint 1)</i>	287541304 P09045639
1661	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck and Theodorus Paludanus	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlament van Engelland gedaen. III</i>	287725278 P09045642
1662	Johan Freeman	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Predikatie sonder text, gepredikt in d'Inner Tempel binnen Londen (Published by Joannes Balkholt in Sneek)</i>	055780660 P97002681
1662	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>Ruyter op het faelpaard. Ofte Doen en bedrijf van de koning der verschrickeningen</i>	053725239 P98017146

1663	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck and Nollius Hajonidus	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlement van Engelland gedaen. II (reprint 1)</i>	304875015 P09045641
1663	Thomas Watson	Theodorus Paludanus	<i>Konst van goddelike vernoeginge (reprint 1)</i>	297466593 P97003904
1666	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlement van Engelland gedaen. I (reprint 2)</i>	P04040194
1668	Several English scholars	Samuel van Haringhouck	<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet-predikationen over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw: Parlement van Engelland gedaen. IV</i>	287726495
1668	Gysbert Japix	-	<i>Friesche Rymlerye</i>	053724968
1668	Wilhelmus Schotanus Rinckema	-	<i>Kleyn-kudde-troost. Often meditation over de trostlyjke leer onses Saligmakers jesu christi</i>	
1669	Elconius Elcomâ	-	<i>Rouw-staets eerbewysinge, van het</i>	304866210

			<i>ontzielde lichaam van [...] Jel van Galama: naagelatene vrouw- weduwe van [...] Æsge van Popma.</i>	
1669	Gautier de coste de la Caplrenède	Catharina van Mellinga	<i>Faramond, of historie van Frankryk</i>	181773228
1670	Thomas Watson	Theodorus Paludanus	<i>Konst van Goddelijke vernoeginge (reprint 2)</i>	Existence unknown
1671	Several English scholars	Regnerus Reen	<i>Koning aen syn taefel. Ofte XXXIII. Avond- maels predicatien</i>	852548931 P97002603
1672	Simon Oomius	-	<i>Dissertatie van de onderwijsingen in de practycke der godgeleerdheid.</i>	053839730 P98018236
1672	Simon Oomius	-	<i>Institutiones theologiae practicae. Ofte, Onderwijsingen in de practycke der godgeleerdheid. Eerste deels eerste boeck, vervattende de verhandeling der theologia didactica.</i>	830581456 P98018238
1672			<i>XII Uytgelesene Engelsche boet- predikatien over sonderlinge texten [...] voor het eerw. Parlament van</i>	P18039477

Engelland gedaen. Part

III (reprint 1)

1676	Simon Oomius	-	<i>Institutiones</i>	168483033
			<i>theologiae practicae.</i>	P98018227
			<i>Ofte, Onderwijsingen</i>	
			<i>in de practycke der</i>	
			<i>godtgeleertheydt.</i>	
			<i>Eerste tractaet des</i>	
			<i>tweeden boecks van</i>	
			<i>het eerste deel.</i>	
			<i>Vervattende de</i>	
			<i>verhandelinghe der</i>	
			<i>theologia didactica.</i>	

Appendix 2: Printer's Devices



Device used by Ids Alberts

- *Proef-Praedicatien* (1648)
- *Werelt-spiegel* (1649)
- *Christi strijdt ende overwinninge* (1651)



- *Anti-Barbarus* (1652)



Double-headed eagle of Bolsward

- *Bolswarder Almanach* (1652)



Device used by Johannus Arcerius

- *Vermaninge tot danckbaerheyd* (1653)
- *Des jaers 1629* (1653)
- *Boet-Predikatien I* (1657)
- *Christi voorbereding tot eygen dood* (1658)



- *Christi overwinninge over de draeck* (1656)



- *Boet predikatien II* (1659)



- *Leere van vasten* (1659)
- *Israels gebedt* (1660)



- *Leere van vasten* (1659) (used before *Salomon's Goede Raed*)



- *Boet-predikatiën I* (1660)
- *Boet-predikatiën III* (1661)
- *Boet-predikatiën IV* (1668)



Device used by Johannes Arcerius

- *Ruyter op het faelpaard* (1662)



- *Predikatie sonder text* (1662)
- *Konst van Goddelike Vernoevinge* (1663)
- *Friesche rymlerye* (1668)
- *Rouw-staets eerbewysinge* (1669)
- *Koning aen syn taefel* (1671)



- *Kleyn-kudde-troost* (1668)
- *Faramond* (1669)
- *Boet-Predikatiën III* (1672)
- *Institutiones theologiae I* (1672)
- *Institutiones theologiae II* (1676)



Three angels with the quote of John 17:17 'uw woord is the waerheid'

- *Disstertatie van de onderwijsingen* (1672)

Appendix 3: Two poems by Gysbert Japicx

Op Onvernoeglykheyd

Onvernoegers, Strandenploegers,
Vreckewroegers, Self-sins ach!
Spinn'-kops van zielwerrend' ragh,
Eyge opsla'ende quellast swoegers
Beulen van herts vreugd en vree'
Blaesbalgs in Uw' dormsucths zee.

Knorremorrers, inborst-pestes,
Kreauwes, Knibb'laers, Bang-bewust;
Herssen pijnders, Staeg ontrust':
(Schoon 'et gaet ten alderbesten)
Leest hier VERGENOEGINGS kunst,
Soo wint Ge Aerdsch en hemel-gunst

Schoon Ge land aen land meugt winnen
Schoon Ge 's Opgangs paerleschat
Met alle's Neergangs goud bezat:
Av'rechts wint Ge onwinst van binnen,
Mits Ge 'er geen *vernoeging* vindt,
Wint all' de Aerd Ge wint maer wind.

Schoon Ge, als trotsen *Alexander*
Hondert schepters treedt ter ne'er,
Noch word't Ge Uw gemoed geen heer:
't Holl' hert hungkert op een ander.
't Is geen Vorst die Vorster tert,
Maar die Vorst is van sijn hert.

Soo konde Abra'm rustig laten
Ouders, Vrienden, Vaderland,
Vergenoegd waer God hem sond:
Ja wil God sijn Soon ? Gelaten
Is hy met Gods wille in til,
Sijn *genoegt* is 's Heeren wil.

Soo socht *Moses* fyer te brallen,
Mits hy 't Rijck' des *Nijls* verlaet,
Vergenoegd in Gods volcks smaed.
Soos at *Job*, na Gods gevallen,
Kranck, beroyd en naeckt op 't mis;
Edoch Koning in gewiss'.

Soo bevatten, sonder schatten,
Alle schatten, Christi bòn,
(Schoon Sy waren 's Werelds hoon)
Want hunn' schatten 't alle omvatten
(Daer de Vrec' vergeefs om ploegt)
Schoon Sy leefden *vergenoegd*.

Dit hadden, onder Grootsten Herder,
Grooten herder, hoog ge-eert,
Paulus, voor wat groots geleerd,
Hoe 't God gaf, Hy pracht' noyt verder
't Was *gebreck* ofte *overvloed*,
Wel-genoegd was sijn gemoed.

Wat *vernoeging* all' an geven,
Wat *vernoeging* is een weeld',
Wat *vernoeging*' vruchten teelt,
Vindt Ge in dese Bla'en beschreven;

Soo Ge se, U te nutte, leest
Wordt Ge een Koning in den geest.

Wodt Ge een Koning, die een Koning
Wiens Rijcke, als een Lijck, verschiet,
Voor een maden-sack aansiet
Word't Ge een Koning, die sijn woning
Boven 't prael der Sterren stelt,
En niet vreest alle Aerds geweld.

Aen d' Eerw. SCHRIJVERS.

O geleerd' *Vernoeg-Kunst* Schrijver!
O eerweerd' Vertlocker! Wat
Zijn we all' schuldig voor deez' schat!
Voor Uw' God-gewyden ijver
Is heel Ne'er- ende Engel-land
In herts dankbaarheid verpand.

In Thomas Watson *Konst van Goddelike
Vernoeging* 1659 (in 'Verspreide gedichten
van Gysbert Japicx' *De Vrije Fries* 14.2 (1881)
pp.190-192).

Op Eenige H. Engelsche, verduydschte, Lijckleer-reedereeringen

Oudtuyge, oytuffe Seyzenswajer,
Brusch' maek- en bree-al, harsch te been,
Uytlegg' van duyst're voorsegre'en,
Bedilal, Blondbluf, Jeugde majer;
Na dien, onachterhaelb're *Tijd*,
Ghy *doen* en *ding* kauwt, klipp' doorerv' kling,
Wat 's heylst', wat 's nutst' voor zond'ge sterv'ling,
Drucks *traen*, of *lach* van weeld die glijdt?

Mijn Moeder *Waerheyd*; of mijn Dochter
Waerachtigheyd, die 't vuyll' bedecht'
Muts, masscher, momme en Moff aftrekt,
En brengt (in spijt van Loch en Drog) ter
Bestemder stond 't bestelpte in 't licht:
En weet van vleyen, verven, veynzen,
Van anders seggen, anders peynzen:
Hoort hoe se u geeft recht onderricht

't Is gaen in 't huys vol treuren
Als binnen weeldwand waer men brast.
Hoe? (we'erwoord't Wufhooft) gaet dat vast?
Daer dutme, ach! met beloocken' deuren:
Maer, *hier*, ha! swemtme in smaec, en spel,
Ende eya-juich: Werd' niet geprezen
't Gull' *weldoen*, met een *vrolijck* wezen,
By wijsten Vorst van Israël?
't Werd'. Maer de *Koning* aller *Wijzen*,
En *Wijsten* aller *Koningen*,
Die vreugds gevaer, ervaren, ken,
Komt u 'et *daer* voor 't *hier* aenprijzen,
Om datme in 't *daer* 't uyt-eynde aensiet
(Mits 't *hier* domme onbesonnen weelde,
't Guld' *welbly* sich staeg diefsch dood-deelde)

Van Wereld-wellusts ydel niet,
Waen schouw't 'er 't *Vleesch*, bol, uytgelaten,
(O vette poezel!) in heur stoel,
Met sang, en klanck, en krielkriemel,
Aen disch vol wijn, en tafelvaten
Vol leckernye, of opgestuyckt
Ten Danszael, met tapete wanden,
In 't purpur, met borduurselranden
Van goud en perel, rijck gepruyct,
Om 't blooz' blankett' hooft, wear d'heel' Wereld
Heur kostelhe'en weydsch in verplengd,
Met all' wat we'erzijsche *Indien* schenkt,
En Moore en Noor' ten prael verwerelt.
Dencke of den geest niet gansch verdompt
In swijndraf van sulck' zond'-genuchten,
Die als kufkaf, voor stormblas, vluchten,
Soo sean suff' *Sieckt'*, Doods voorboo, komt?
Volgt *Dood* dan selv', met dorre schinck'len
(Soldy der zond') in stoet van gier
En grijns en wrotte en motte en mier:
Verschrimpeld dat sijn beend'ren rinck'len,
En grijptse en nijptse in kille hand,
En duwstse en drucktse in onderkuylen,
Daer slijm, slang, pier en padden schuylen,
In stuck dick duyster lichtlooz' land?
Wat vreugd is dan in 't vleesch versleten?
Der *Muggen*: wier domm' brum-getier
Vliegt vrolijck in 't glans-gloorend vyer,
En werd't 'er in tot asch ver-eeten.

In 't *klaeghuys* dan, daer 's beter vrucht.
Of 't is om bet're vreugd te wenschen.
Want *daer is de eynd'snac aller menschen*,
Daer doel de levende op in ducht.
Daer swiert *Lijcksdroefheyd*, lang van kleeren,
Of in een sack, of in 'et swart,
En sucht, uyt innigst hol van 't hert,
Herts traenen, (niet om te waerdeeren
Bij schatrijck perel-oorcieraad
Der *Caesards* pol me'e placht te pratten;
En, smeltend', soop schier *Cresi* schatten
In preutschen dronck, dronck sonder maet')
'k Segg' herts traen, die *Drucs* bulster baden,
En begg'len langs bleeck' koon voor ne'er,
En nemen, av'rechts, wederkeer
Om 't nummer doov' heyl'ge oor te laden,
Uyt voll' hertsmeltend bracke oogvloed:
Tot dan Sijn hoormilde open ooren
Waer' *droefheid, die na God is* hooren,
En wis verhooren wil: en doet
Door *drux* wicht (wonder!) 't herte opheffen,
Uyt aensichts droefte in blyër stand,
Door troosthulpe. O de *Almachtig'* hand
Kemt *druxc* borl-bulder baren affen,
En zedigt sulcke een siedend' Zee,
Op be'e, met opgeheven' handen,
Geboogen knien, lippe offeranden, *en zov*;
Het blinckt een *Almacht* in de be'e.
't Gebed kan *Sonn'loop* tegen kanten.
't Gebed dompt dat geen *Vlam* verslind't.
't Gebed der *Leeuwen* muyl toebind't.
't Gebed kan barsch gebergt' verplanten.

't Gebed sluyt d'*Hemel*: ende ontsluit
Naer *twee-en-viertig maenden droogt' wee*,
En tapt we'er wolcknatte uyt 'er hoogt'. Be'e
Perst vocht ten *rotse* en *bactand* uyt.
't Gebed a'emt *Dooden* we'er in 't *leven*.
't Gebed; al songe ick all den dagh,
Noyt song ick wat gebed vermagh,
En wat God, om 't Gebed, wil geven.
Selv' biedt sich God voor bidden veyl!
Voor bidden bersten *yz're Deuren*.
En beede is ernstiger by treuren
Als by gelach, ó dat 's te geyl!
Dies klemt mijn sang: Wijz' *Konings* seggen,
En sangre'en, die de *Wijsheyd* selv'
Hem instort' van 't hoog hemelwelv',
Staet schootvry oyt van wederleggen:
En daerom recht; *Der Wijzen hert*
In 't klaeghuys geerne is: maer der Sotten
In vreugd' krioel, daer spotters spotten,
En daerme in dertel deun vernarr't.
Waerachtigheyd sloot.

Tree dies binne
Tuchtlievend' *Leerling*; ondersoek
Dit bitterheylig *Lijckleer* Boeck;
Hier schuyt ziel seemsoet' tuchtlesse inne.
Hier 's lijdsaem' *Paciënti* plant:
Kruyd, dat, hoe seer 't goe *Christens* passen
Mag, niet in all' mans Hof wil wassen.
Een kruyd, die 't noyt heeft by der hand,
Is rust-, lust-, luckloos uyre en stonden.
Kruyd, dien 't geens tijds verlizen kan,
Lauriere die ik voor den kloecsten man.
Die 't niet van doen heeft werd't bevonden
Voor de eerst', mijn oordeels, van die slag.
Kruyd, die 't eenpaer' groen hebben groeyen,
'k *Geloov'* niet datse op *Aerden* bloeyen.
Die 't queect en herqueect nacht en dag,
End', hoe hy herqueect, moet gedogen,
Sulck kruyd, voor onkruyd, uytgewied't,
Wijck't *Jobs*, noch *Mosis*, dulddeugd niet.
Na 't *Gods Lam* sweemt hy d' hoogst der hoogen.
Hier 's *Balsem* voor een zond' siec hert.
Hier 's *Hermons Dauw, Manna', Ambrosiä*.
Hier 's *Hemelsch' Lijcksalv', Myrr', Momä*.
Hier 's *Moli*, tegen *Circes* pert',
's *Vleeschs* verck-ervormend toverkuyren.
Hier 's nutt' *Nepenth'*, dat druck verdoet.
Hier 's *Hebe, Jeugdnat, Nectar-soet'*
Dat staeg' nieuwe eynd'looz' jeugd doet duyren.
Hier 's; maer wat sing ick meer van hier 's,
Hier 's saus' voor die in tranen zagen,
Datse eynd'lyck vreugd, die vreugd blijft, majen.

Dank hebb' heyl'ge Eng'lische inkt pluym swiers,
Wier glimp *Teemsche Albiönsche* stranden
En *Piktens Tin-kil*, spiegelwijz',
Afsleute, als *Sonne*, in Ucht-oprijz,
Op onz' *Vereende Nederlanden*.
Doch vlickerde als op nat, dat beev't,
't *Goud Dagoog* speelt, met teysterstralen,
Wier blixems heene en weder walen,

Daer Ne'erlandsche oog' geen vat op heeft:
Ja daer 't, ip pinckende, eer zouw blinden
En dwarllen by den byst'ren tast.
Daer licht baert nutteloozen last.
Daer licht selv' let aen heylrijck vinden.
Derhalve bleef 'et veele een kruyce',
Door Taels onkund (vlies voor hunne ogen)
Tot Haringhouk 't heeft afgetogen
En p'lijste 'et *Brits* tot braef *Ne'erduyts*:
Dier voeg de oude overzeesch' *halv' Friezen*
Hun zielsaus', geestgeur, heylsaem' goed,

(Hunn' kruyk leegt niet schoonse ons toevloed't)
Geenszins by onze winst verliezen.
Dies hebb' den *Tolcke* oock lof en danck,
Die *Duytsch'* laeft buyten *Brittens* schade,
Hy levee en sterve in Gods genade,
En stichte alle eeuw' met letterklanck.

**In *Ruyter op het Faelpaard* (in J.H. Halbertsma
Hulde aan Gysbert Japiks pt. II (Bolsward: A.
Hessing, 1824), pp.153-158.**

Appendix 4: Advertisements

Advertisements that are not openly available in Delpher, have been taken in English translation from A. der Weduwen and A. Pettegree's *News, Business and Public Information*. The others are presented in an English translation, as well as the original Dutch.

Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c. 41. 10-10-1648

Focco Johannes (former minister in Franeker), Proef-Predicatie, ofte Voor-bereydinge tot het H. Avontmael des Heeren, in thirty sermons (Franeker, Ids Alberts, and Bolsward, Samuel van Haringhouck).¹²⁴

Ordinaris dingsdaeghse courante 17-08-1649

In Bolsward, by Samuel Haringhouck, and in Dockum by Louis Flasblom, shall be published *Werelt-Spiegel, ofte beschrijvinge des geheelen Aerdt-bodem* by Sebastiaen Franck, multiplied and corrected with several geographical description at the back of each part especially, by Dr. Joha. Phocilides Holwerda, Profess. Philosophes. In Franeker in 4.

Tot Bolsward by Samuel Haringhouck, ende tot Dockum by Louis Flasblom, sal uytgegeven werden *Werelt-Spiegel, ofte beschrijvinge des geheelen Aerdt-bodem* van Sebastiaen Franck, vermeerdert ende verbeterd met verscheyde geographische beschrijvingh achter yder deel in 't bysonder, door Dr. Ioha. Phocilides Holwarda Profess. Philosophes, tot Franeker in 4.

Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren. 09-11-1658

Arthur Hildersham, Leere van Vasten, Bidden en vernederingh om de Zonde, in eight sermons regarding Psalm 35, verse 13, with Salomons goede Raedt om aen de Doodt te dencken, in a sermon, translated from English, 40 (Bolsward, Samuel van Haringhouck, and also available in Amsterdam, Jan Bruynsz).¹²⁵

Oprechte Haerlemsche courant 02-11-1669

In Bolsward, by Samuel Haringhoven has been printed and published: *Faramont, of Fransche Historie*, the first and second part, translated by Miss Catharina van Mellinga, in 8.

¹²⁴ Weduwen, *News, Business and Public Information*, p. 123.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 176.

Tot Bolswert , by Samuel Haringhoven, is gedrukt en werdt uytgegeven: Faramont , of Fransche Historie , het eerste en tweede Deel, vertaelt door Juffr. Catharina van Mellinga. In 8.

Oprechte Haerlemsche courant 12-05-1671

In Bolsward, by Samuel Haringhouck, has been printed and published: de Koningh aen sijn Taeffel, consisting of 33 collected sermons for supper by several learned men in the English language, and the majority translated by Regnerus Reen, servant of God's Word in Franeker.

Tot Bolsward, by Samuel Haringhouck, is gedrukt en werdt uytgegeven: de Koningh aen sijn Taeffel, bestaende in 33 uytgesochte Avontmaels Predicatie , door verscheyde geleerde Mannen in de Engelsche Tael ghedaen , en merendeel vertaelt door Regnerus Reen, Bedienaer des Godlijcken Woordts tot Franeker.

Oprechte Haerlemsche courant 29-09-1671

In Bolsward, by Samuel Haringhouck, has been printed and published, Dissertatie van de Onderwijsingen in de Practijck der Godsgeleertheydt; in which, after a broader message in the practices of the Papists, Remonstrants, Socinians, etc. the division of the work about education in practice: and Institutiones Theologiae Practicae, or teaching in the practical theology, the first part of the first book, discussing the use of the Theologia Didactica, serving those who are employed to the Lord, as the sincere lovers of the truth, which is in God's delight, by Simon Omius, servant of Jesus Christ in Purmerlandt; and are available in Amsterdam at Hendrick Corfen Paulus Gijsbersz. Seller of paper.

Tot Bolsward , by Samuel Haringhouck , is gedrukt en werdt uytgegeven , Dissertatie van de Onderwijsingen in de Practijckder Godsgeleertheydt; waer in , nae breder bericht van de Practijck der Pausgesinden, Remonstranten, Socinianen, &c. de verdeelinge het werck der Onderwysinge in de Practijcke: Ende Institutiones Theologiae Practicae, ofte Onderwysingen in de Practijcke derGodsgeleertheydt , het eerste Deel des eersten Boecks, vervarendede verhandelinge van de Theologia Didactica, bearbeyt ten dienste soo van die haer tot den H. dienst bereyden als van alle oprechte Liefhebbers der Waerheydt , die nae de Godtsaligheydt is, door Simon Omius, Dienaer Jesu Christi tot Purmerlandt; en zijn te bekomen tot Amsterdam by Hendrick Corfen Paulus Gijsbertsz. Pampier-verkoper.

