

# University of Southampton Research Repository

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis and, where applicable, any accompanying data are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis and the accompanying data cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content of the thesis and accompanying research data (where applicable) must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder/s.

When referring to this thesis and any accompanying data, full bibliographic details must be given, e.g.

Thesis: Author (Year of Submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University Faculty or School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Data: Author (Year) Title. URI [dataset]



**University of Southampton**

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of Humanities

**Guitars, Music, and Culture in the Netherlands, 1750-1810**

by

**Jelma van Amersfoort**

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4768-0352>

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2023



# **University of Southampton**

## **Abstract**

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of Humanities

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Guitars, Music, and Culture in the Netherlands, 1750-1810

by

Jeltine Marijke (Jelma) van Amersfoort

Various types of guitars, both wire-strung and gut-strung, were played in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1810. This thesis explores, through a broad variety of source material such as newspapers, treatises, images, instruments, fiction, and scores, what music was played on these guitars and by whom; who made the instruments, and who taught them. It examines the place of guitars and guitar players within 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch music, culture, and cosmopolitanism.

Guitars were used in both domestic and public music making, by women, men, and children, mostly to accompany singing, but also for solo repertoire or instrumental chamber music. Playing a guitar would help against boredom, make the player look attractive, it would serve as a form of respectable sociability, as a form of worship, and would connect the player to other musical genres such as opera. One could learn the instrument from a music master, often a Frenchman, and learning it would involve singing as well.

There would have been foreign-made instruments available from France, German-speaking countries, or England, but local violin makers were also producing good instruments, adding their own features to foreign designs. There were occasional public performances by virtuoso players from Italy or France in inns, shooting ranges, riding schools and (increasingly) in dedicated concert halls, and sometimes the amateur guitarist could buy the virtuoso's scores afterwards at a music merchants. Playing guitar meant performing and participating in cosmopolitanism in a practical way.



# Table of Contents

<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Table of Tables .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Table of Figures .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship.....</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>xvii</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Research questions.....	2
Existing research.....	2
Cosmopolitanism and material culture .....	4
Belief systems.....	4
The Netherlands 1750-1810 .....	6
Thesis structure .....	7
<b>Chapter 1 Instruments .....</b>	<b>10</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	10
1.2 Types of guitars .....	10
1.3 Guitars in music treatises .....	13
1.3.1 Quirinus van Blankenburg's <i>Elementa Musica</i> (1738).....	14
1.3.2 Jacob Wilhelm Lustig's <i>Inleiding tot de muziekkunde</i> (1771) .....	14
1.3.3 Jan Abraham Bouvink's <i>Verhandeling over de Muziek</i> (1772).....	15
1.3.4 Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan's <i>Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek</i> (1795) .....	16
1.4 Instruments from abroad .....	26
1.4.1 Iconography.....	26
1.4.2 Jacob Trippel from London .....	29
1.4.3 The Bolhuis auction .....	30
1.4.4 The Clauss and Levy case .....	31
1.5 Dutch-made instruments.....	32
1.5.1 Gosewijn Spijker .....	33
1.5.1.1 Life .....	33
1.5.1.2 Spijker's five-course guitar, 1760.....	34

## Table of Contents

1.5.1.3 Spijker's two-string colascioncino, 1757.....	39
1.5.2 Instruments by Johannes Theodorus Cuijpers.....	40
1.5.3 An instrument by Benoit Joseph Boussu .....	49
1.5.4 Instruments labelled Johann Swarts .....	51
1.6 Chapter conclusions .....	55
<b>Chapter 2 Teaching and learning the guitar .....</b>	<b>57</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	57
2.2 Views on education in the Republic.....	57
2.3 Views on music teaching .....	58
2.4 Women teaching at home.....	62
2.5 External, professional music teachers .....	63
2.5.1 Mr Vauvicq and his wife, a case study .....	64
2.5.2 Monsieur Darme, a case study.....	67
2.5.3 David Leonardus van Dijk as a teacher, a case study.....	68
2.5.4 Other teachers .....	70
2.6 The practical side of teaching guitar.....	72
2.7 Teaching materials and method books .....	74
2.8 From the perspective of students.....	78
2.9 Chapter conclusions .....	79
<b>Repertoire .....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Chapter 3 81</b>	
3.1 Introduction .....	81
3.2 Matters of notation.....	82
3.3 The contributions of the Colla brothers and Giacomo Merchi .....	84
3.4 Guitar music from Huis Amerongen .....	91
3.4.1 Music for the wire-strung guitar .....	92
3.4.2 Music for the five- and six string gut-strung guitar.....	98
3.4.3 Music for other guitars .....	99
3.5 Guitar music published in the Netherlands.....	101
3.5.1 David Leonardus van Dijk (c.1737 – after 1794) .....	102
3.5.2 Van Dijk's <i>Recueils</i> .....	103

3.5.3 Musical contents of the <i>Recueils</i> .....	107
3.5.4 Dating the <i>Recueils</i> .....	111
3.5.5 Guitar music by Christian Ernst Graf .....	112
3.6 Other guitar music from the period .....	115
3.7 Chapter conclusion.....	117
<b>Chapter 4 Performances, performers, and musical spaces.....</b>	<b>118</b>
4.1 Performance spheres and -spaces .....	118
4.2 Performers .....	119
4.2.1 The Colla brothers .....	119
4.2.2 Giacomo Merchi, a case study .....	122
4.2.2.1 Giacomo Merchi's Dutch concerts.....	123
4.2.3 Alexandre Stiévenard.....	127
4.2.3.1 Stiévenard's activity in the Netherlands .....	128
4.2.3.2 Move to Germany .....	134
4.2.3.3 Stiévenard's contributions to Dutch musical life.....	136
4.2.4 Other notable public performers .....	137
4.2.5 Domestic guitar performance in Dutch fiction .....	138
4.2.6 Performance in Felix Meritis and other iconography.....	143
4.3 Chapter conclusion.....	148
<b>Synthesis and conclusion .....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>Appendix A Contents of Van Dijk's <i>Recueils</i> .....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>Appendix B Guitar music in Huis Amerongen .....</b>	<b>163</b>
Newspaper adverts in the original language.....	168
<b>Appendix C 168</b>	
<b>Appendix D Surviving guitars made in the Netherlands 1750-1810. ....</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>Glossary of Terms.....</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>List of References .....</b>	<b>183</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>185</b>
Archive items.....	185
Printed music .....	187
Primary sources.....	189

Table of Contents

Secondary sources .....	191
-------------------------	-----

## Table of Tables

Table 1.1: Surviving instruments made in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1810.....	179
Table 1.2: Surviving plucked wire-string instruments by the Cuijpers workshop:.....	42

# Table of Figures

Figure 1: A French five-course gut-strung guitar by Lambert, 1770. Many guitars were made in France in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century, and this Lambert is a typical example. Photo by Atelier Sinier-de Ridder, with permission. ....	11
Figure 2: Wire-strung guitar marked 'IOHANN SWARTZ' with wooden tuning pegs for ten strings. Collection of the author. ....	12
Figure 3: A fairly typical English wire-strung guitar with watch-key tuners for ten strings, by Preston, London, c. 1770. Collection of the author. ....	12
Figure 4: 'Cithara' from Reijvaan's <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> , plate 10. ....	17
Figure 5: Reijnvaan's indication of the tuning of the 'Cithara'. The actual pitches are an octave lower as in all of Reijnvaan's tuning charts. ....	18
Figure 6: 'Cetara' from Reijvaan's <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> , plate 7. ....	19
Figure 7: Reijnvaan's indication of the tuning of the 'Cetara'. The actual pitches are an octave lower. <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> , plate 7. ....	19
Figure 8: 'Kunst Citer' or archicistre, Reijnvaan <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 8. ....	21
Figure 9: Tuning of the 'Kunst Citer', Reijnvaan <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 8. ....	21
Figure 10: 'Spaanse Citer, Gitar or Mandole' (Spanish Cittern, Guitar or Mandole) from Reijnvaan's <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 21. ....	22
Figure 11: Tuning of the 'Spaanse Citer', Reijnvaan <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 21. ....	22
Figure 12: 'Mandola' or harp-guitar, Reijnvaan <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 22. ....	25
Figure 13: Tuning of the 'mandola' or harp-guitar, Reijnvaan <i>Kunst-Woordenboek</i> plate 22. The F on the sixth course is very unusual. ....	25
Figure 14: <i>Woman sewing in an interior</i> (1793) by Willem Joseph Laquy (1738-1798). On the wall is a (Swiss) Toggenburger Halszither. Additionally, there are a bass viol, books, an engraving and an embroidery frame. Collection of Teylers Museum, Haarlem. ....	27
Figure 15: Toggenburger Halszither, mid-19th century, collection of the Grassi Museum für Musikinstrumente, Leipzig. Inventory number 615. The tuning for this five-course wire-strung instrument would be c-g-c'-e'-g'. ....	28
Figure 16: Willem Albertus Haanebrink (1772-1840) <i>Straatmuzikant</i> . Collection of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-T-1920-50. ....	29

Figure 17: Overall view of the guitar by Gosewijn Spijker (1760) in Huis Duivenvoorde.....	35
Figure 18: Label of the guitar by Gosewijn Spijker.....	35
Figure 19: Floral bridge finial .....	35
Figure 20: Decoration on the end block of the Spijker guitar.....	36
Figure 21: Characteristic shape of the headstock of the Spijker guitar (left) compared to headstock of a guitar by Alexandre Nicolas Voboam, Paris 1676 (right, collection Philharmonie de Paris, inv. nr. e.1532) .....	36
Figure 22: Colascioncino or mezzo colascione by Gosewijn Spijker (1757), collection of the MIM in Brussels.....	39
Figure 23: Anonymous instrument in the Victoria & Albert Museum London (inventory number 224-1882), presumably by Cuijpers. Instrument number 1 in table 2 above..	43
Figure 24: Instrument from 1764 by Cuijpers in the Kunstmuseum, The Hague, instrument 2 in table 2 above. ....	43
Figure 25: Instrument from 1764 by Cuijpers in the MIM, Brussels, instrument 3 in table 2 above. .....	43
Figure 26: Headstock finial on instrument presumably by Cuijpers in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London .....	44
Figure 27: Headstock finial on guitar by Cuijpers 1764 in Kunstmuseum, The Hague.....	44
Figure 28: Headstock finial on guitar by Cuijpers 1764 in MIM, Brussels. ....	45
Figure 29: Cuijpers 1768, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.....	46
Figure 30: Cuijpers 1769, MIM Brussels.....	46
Figure 31: Cuijpers 1782 MIM Brussels (left).....	46
Figure 32 (left): Cuijpers 1776, Barcelona. ....	47
Figure 33 (right): Cuijpers 1778, collection of Andreas Post Amsterdam. ....	47
Figure 34: 'Blunt arrowhead'-shape heel of Cuijpers 1768, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.....	47
Figure 35: 'Blunt arrowhead'-shaped heel on Cuijpers 1769, MIM Brussels.....	48
Figure 36 (right): rosette insert of cardboard in a German Halszither.....	48
Figure 37 (left): Typical rosette insert of Cuijpers guitars. This photo is of the 1769 MIM Brussels instrument.....	49
Figure 38: Wire-strung guitar by Boussu, 1771. ....	50

Table of Figures

Figure 39: Wire-strung guitar marked IOHANN SWARTZ. Collection of the author. Photos made by Jan van Cappelle.....	51
Figure 40: The stamp inside the smaller Swartz instrument ('IOHANN/SWARTZ') and the traces of a tooth plane. ....	53
Figure 41: Wire-strung guitar signed 'Joh. Swarts'. Private collection. Right hand photo made by Jan van Cappelle. ....	54
Figure 42: Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne. 'Music master with students' (1714). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-P-OB-62.347 .....	74
Figure 43: Title page of Wheatstone's Instructions [...] music library of Huis Amerongen .....	75
Figure 44: Page 3 in Wheatstone's <i>Instructions</i> [...], with pencilled notes in the fingerboard diagram for an 'English Guitar' .....	75
Figure 45: Page 9 of Wheatstone's <i>Instructions</i> [...], with pencil marks under the fingerboard diagram, for a 'Harp lute guitar'.....	76
Figure 46: Page 28 of Wheatstone's <i>Instructions</i> [...], with an arrangement of an aria by Mozart.76	
Figure 47: Diagram of the fingerboard of a harp-guitar, probably a teaching aid. ....	77
Figure 48: Back of the diagram of the fingerboard of a harp-guitar, probably a teaching aid. ..	77
Figure 49: Example of double (staff and tablature) guitar notation in Merchi's <i>Ariette et Vaudevilles Nouveaux</i> from ca. 1760.....	83
Figure 50: Detail from <i>Sonata per Colascioncino di due corde</i> , fragment of the first movement ('Allegro'), by Domenico Colla, for colascioncino and figured bass.....	85
Figure 51: Advert for a concert by Merchi and Mrs Piatti on 1 December 1768 in Bath from the <i>Bath &amp; Bristol Chronicle</i> of 18 November 1768.....	86
Figure 52: Barcarolle terza 'Sul margine fiorito', for voice and figured bass from <i>Six Barcarolles Italiennes</i> by Giacomo Merchi.....	87
Figure 53: 'Minuetto' from <i>Quattro duetti a due chitarre e sei Minuetti opus 3</i> for five-course guitar solo, by Giacomo Merchi. ....	88
Figure 54: 'La Folia di Spagna con Variationi' for five course guitar solo (first page only) from Merchi's <i>Guide des Ecoliers</i> , Paris, 1761. ....	89
Figure 55: Merchi <i>Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux</i> no. 1 for voice and five course guitar (detail). ....	90

Figure 56: Merchi 'Il Papagallo' – Arietta 4 -- from <i>Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi</i> [...]	91
opus 15, for voice and wire-strung guitar (detail). ....	
Figure 57: James Hook: <i>The Banks of the Shannon</i> . London, S. A. & P. Thompson, 1783, first page.	93
.....	
Figure 58: James Hook: <i>The Banks of the Shannon</i> , second page. ....	93
Figure 59: James Hook: <i>The Banks of the Shannon</i> , third page with guitar version below.....	94
Figure 60: <i>Instructions For the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish &amp; English Guittar</i> , from ca 1810, printed in London by Wheatstone. Het Utrechts Archief, access number 1183, inventory number 31. ....	95
Figure 61: <i>Mon honneur dit que je serois coupable</i> , for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.95	
Figure 62: <i>Vermeille rose que le zéphir vient d'en trouvrir</i> (sic) for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning. ....	96
Figure 63: <i>Un militaire doit avoir trompette et tambour</i> for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning. ....	96
Figure 64: <i>Quel beau jour</i> for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.....	97
Figure 65: <i>Nocturne</i> by Blangini for two voices and five course gut-strung guitar or lyre, first page. Sold by music merchant Weygand in The Hague.....	98
Figure 66: <i>Rondo</i> by Salvador Castro de Gistau, page 1. Note the 'Ras[gueado]' indication. Access number 1183, inventory number 6.....	99
Figure 67: Page 6 from Chabran's 'select collection of songs, duetts,...', showing a duet / song, and a solo piece. ....	100
Figure 68: Interior of the Mozes en Aäronkerk where Van Dijk led the Collegium Musicum. Anonymous, ca. 1750-1800. Collection of the Stadsarchief, inventory number 10094008222. ....	103
Figure 69: Title page of <i>Premier Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement</i> [...] by David Leonard van Dijk.....	104
Figure 70: Title page of <i>Deuxième Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement</i> [...] by David Leonard van Dijk.....	105
Figure 71: Title page of <i>Troisième Recueil d'Ariettes</i> [...] by David Leonard van Dijk. ....	105
Figure 72: Title page of <i>Quatrième Recueil d'Ariette, Menuets, Marche, Allemandes etc</i> [...] by David Leonard van Dijk.....	106

Figure 73: Page 4 of the <i>Premier Recueil</i> , with 'La Hoorn Pyp Dans Hollandois', 'Menuet' and 'Contre Dans'. The first and third pieces are marked 'good' and 'quite good' in pencil.....	107
Figure 74: An example of 'integrated' voice and guitar notation, page 14 of the <i>Premier Recueil</i> . Pieces notated in this style can be performed either as songs or as solos... 108	
Figure 75: 'Guardian Angels' from the <i>Pocket Book for the Guitar</i> (c.1770) compared to 'Si votre flamme' from Van Dijk's <i>Deuxième Recueil</i> .....	108
Figure 76: 'Fishers Menuet' [sic] from Robert Ross' <i>Select collection of lessons [...] for the guitar</i> (Edinburgh ca.1770), mm. 1-8.....	109
Figure 77: 'Menuet de Mr. Ficher [sic]' from Charles-François Pollet's <i>Journal de musique pour le cistre</i> (Paris 1778, no. 3), mm. 1-8. Transposed by me from the original A to C major. In this version the minuet is followed by one variation.....	109
Figure 78: 'Rondeau par m Fischer' from Van Dijk's <i>Troisième Recueil</i> (Amsterdam ca. 1773), mm. 1-8.....	109
Figure 79: <i>Romance de l'Aveugle de Palmyre</i> by Jean-Joseph Rodolphe (1730-1812), conventional voice-guitar notation on separate staves, with the accompaniment in a melodic style, from Van Dijks <i>Premier Recueil</i> .....	110
Figure 80: 'De kleine Zangster – Avondlied'. From <i>Kleine Gedigten voor Kinderen</i> , Christian Ernst Graf, ca. 1780 .....	114
Figure 81: 'De Eenzaamheid' from <i>Kleine Gedigten voor Kinderen</i> , Christian Ernst Graf, ca. 1780. 'Don't think, dear playmates, that I regret the time yesterday when I sat alone. He who enjoys reading has no fear of solitude and is always content'.....	115
Figure 82: First four bars of Stiévenard's <i>Ah! Vous dirai-je Maman? Varié</i> , second variation.	116
Figure 83: A satirical image of the interior of the inn named 'Het Wapen van Embden'. The image is full of Patriot – Orangist political symbolism and allusions, for instance the dog sitting on the Law book. Drawing by Jacob Smies, ca. 1795. Collection of the Stadsarchief, Amsterdam.....	120
Figure 84: 'Illustration of the Drawing of the Lottery of the East Indian Company in the Hall above the Manege in Amsterdam 1785'. Print by Bernardus Mourik (1709-1791). The hall above Manege (riding school) was also used for concerts. Collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097003530.....	121
Figure 85: 'Domenico con suo fratello Bresciani'. Engraving based on a drawing by Pier Leone Ghezzi, depicting the Colla brothers ('Domenico and his brother') performing on	

colascioncino and guitar in 1765. The text below the image says: Domenico con suo Fratello Bresciani. Il primo, che é di facciá suona mirabilmente il Calascioncino á due Corde, l'altro che é di Schiena, l'accompagnava con la Chitarra. Furono nell Mese di Aprile 1765; nell Palazze à Sans Souci, dove Sua Maestà il Ré di Prussia li intese ambedue à Suonare. Cav: P. L. Ghezzi del Rome. Matth: Oesterreich Sculps:Dresdae 1752. Image in the public domain.....	121
Figure 86: Hendrik Chalon (ca.1718-1790), well-known for organizing concert in Amsterdam. Portrait engraving by his son Johannes Chalon (1738-1795) who was both an artist and a composer. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-P-1887-A-11622. ....	125
Figure 87: Schematic representation of Stiévenard's concert of December 29, 1794. Both sections of the program are highly symmetrical, within themselves and towards each other.....	131
Figure 88: Newspaper advert from the Ommelander Courant of 27 January 1795. ....	133
Figure 89: 'In een tuin luisteren Louize en Willem hoe hun vader Reinhart en hun moeder muziek maken', ('In a garden, Louize and Willem listen to their father Reinhart and their mother play music'). Illustration for <i>Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst</i> , a novel by Elisabeth Maria Post (1755-1812). Reinier Vinkeles (I), 1792 – 1802. Collection Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-OB-65.552. ....	138
Figure 90: <i>Muziekuitvoering in Felix Meritis aan de Keizersgracht 324</i> ('Musical performance in Felix Meritis, Keizersgracht 324') drawing by Jacob Smies. Collection Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097001452. ....	144
Figure 91: <i>Twee vliegen in een klap</i> ('Two birds with one stone'). Etching, coloured by hand. Jacob Ernst Marcus (1774-1826), based on a drawing by Jacob Smies. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097005799. ....	144
Figure 92: Jacques Kuijpers: 'Dame met een gitaar', 1771-1808. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number RP-T-00-1674. ....	145
Figure 93: Charles Howard Hodges: 'Two ladies making music', 1806. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number RP-T-1890-A-2332(R). ....	147







# Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Title of thesis: Guitars, Music, and Culture in the Netherlands, 1750-1810

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:
  - 'Miss Sara Burgerhart's English guittar. The 'guitarre Angloise' in Enlightenment Holland' in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* vol. 64-1/2 (2014), 76-102.
  - 'Extra fine Guitars after the newest Fashion'. Guitar- and cittern-making in the northern Netherlands, 1750–1800', in *Early Music* (2018), vol. 46 (1), 35–53.
  - 'Arresteer die vrouw voordat ze gaat optreden! Vrouwen met gitaren in de 18de eeuw' in: *El Maestro, Journal of the Dutch EGTA*, vol 23/61 (2016).
  - '1760: De oudste Nederlandse gitaar? Een originele barokgitaar van een Amsterdamse bouwer' in *Tabulatuur, tijdschrift van de Nederlandse Luitvereniging* vol Xx (2020).

Signature:      Date: 6 September 2023



## Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank Jeanice Brooks for being an excellent, kind, sharp and patient supervisor throughout the researching and writing of this thesis. Many years ago the idea of returning to musicology and embark on a PhD came from Frederik de Wolff, a distinguished scientist who for a while happened to be my guitar student. Boriana Alexandrova explained patiently how to find a university and supervisor that would have me, for which I am grateful. Christopher Page gave advice and inspiration. So has Paul Sparks, who is always happy to listen, come up with ideas and connect me with interesting people. Taro Takeuchi generously let me play his 18<sup>th</sup> century wire-strung guitars, and by his wonderful playing convinced me (and many others) that the wire-strung guitar is a subtle and expressive instrument. So did Rob MacKillop who is an excellent friend, inspirational musician, and duet buddy.

From Dutch musicology I have had help from Helen Metzelaar and Rudolf Rasch. I am sorry that Louis Grijp, who listened with great interest to my plans, is no longer here to discuss the results. Søren Venema, who is no longer with us either, was happy to let me try his instruments. Guitar historian Alex Timmerman has been giving me excellent advice on early guitars for over twenty years and so has Sebastián Núñez.

I thank my sisters Anja van Amersfoort and Joke van Amersfoort for never complaining about my lack of availability when I was working on this. My mother, Riek Spikers, has been very interested in what I was up to, and made sure to tell me many times that she is proud of me.

Jan van Cappelle contributed a lot by answering instrument-making related questions, and occasionally going on organological expeditions together. He also made an impressive replica and technical drawing of the Spijker guitar while juggling a young family and an expanding career, and took on all my technical suggestions with good humour. Stelios Christodoulou gave me an excellent tip-off on a Greek connection, as did Panagiotis Poulopoulos on an Amsterdam one. Both Elizabeth Kenny and Valeria de Lucca were very good second supervisors. Irene Storm van Leeuwen-van der Horst has been very helpful from within the Kasteel Duivenvoorde organization. Ben Stuijts took some incredible photos and helped with greater and smaller technical issues as well as much common sense. I thank Geerten Verberkmoes for his generosity, Arjan Versteeg for his dendrochronological contributions, James Westbrook for his photos of the 1806 Cuijpers, Peter Forrester for instrument drawings, and the incredibly knowledgeable Stuart Walsh for generously sharing scores and cittern facts over the years.







# Introduction

Abraham Blankaart to Zuzannah Hofland: *I brought the guitar for her from London myself, when she was ten years old. It cost me several guineas, but it is all you can hear, I tell you.*<sup>1</sup>

Abraham Blankaart to Sara Burgerhart, from Paris: *I have bought many scores for you, and I will send them to you at a separate address when I send the goods. They say here that this composition is wonderful: I forget all my art in all the hustle and bustle; but I like it so much when sweet girls amuse themselves; and you are a music nut after all.*<sup>2</sup>

Sara Burgerhart to Anna Willis: *We had a small music party. Miss Buigzaam played the keyboard; but since she is still very weak we could not demand her to sing. Letje played the keyboard as well. Mine is still at Aunt's, but the dear woman's guitar was at my disposal; I sang with it, as is appropriate. Brunier had a flute, Hartog a violin, and Mr Edeling had sent for his bass. Lotje was an extra.*<sup>3</sup>

If a contemporary Dutch person has read one 18<sup>th</sup> century novel it will be the one from which these quotations are taken: *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* by Elisabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken. It was published in 1782, and is arguably the first novel in the Dutch language. The novel is still very present in Dutch culture: streets are named after its protagonist, as well as halls, charitable foundations and an academic prize. The themes of this early epistolary novel are those of the Dutch 18<sup>th</sup> century discourse: the education of young people, the reconciliation of common sense and religion, negotiating personal choice and the demands of society.

Few scholars however have commented on how central music is to the narrative of the book and how the authors use music to depict people, emotions, and attitudes. Music is made at important moments in protagonist Sara Burgerhart's life: she sings and plays the keyboard and the guitar in crucial scenes. Her guitar was bought in London, her scores come from Paris. So, located unnoticed in the middle of a canonical Dutch novel is a vignette that shows us much about music and musical cosmopolitanism in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Blankaart: [...] De Guitar heb ik haar zelf uit Londen meêgebragt, toen zij tien jaar was; hij kost mij verscheide Guinees; maar hij is ook al wat je horen kunt, zeg ik je. *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*, 343.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Blankaart: [...] Ik heb hier eene menigte muziek voor u gekogt, en die zal ik u met een los adres, als ik goederen afzend, toeschikken. Zij geven hier voor dat de Compositie heerlijk is: ik vergeet al mijn kunst met die druktens; maar ik heb zo graag, dat zoete meisjes zich wel divertieren; en gij zijt toch een muziekgekje. *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Sara Burgerhart: [...] Wij hebben een Muziek-Partijtje gehad: Juffrouw Buigzaam speelde 't Clavier; maar dewijl zij nog zo zwak is, durfden wij haar niet vergen om te zingen. Letje speelde ook het Clavier, het mijne is nog by Tante, maar de Guitar van de lieve Vrouw was tot mijn dienst; ik zong er bij, zo als dat hoort. Brunier had een Dwarsfluit, Hartog een Fiool, en de Heer Edeling had zijn Bas hier laten brengen: Lotje was figurante. *Ibid*, 377.

## Research questions

This thesis is about guitars, music, and culture in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1810. It has several purposes and central questions. First, it is important for musicians and music historians that a mostly overlooked set of instruments and repertoire is brought to light and becomes part of ‘canonical’ music history after years of neglect. Second, the study of guitars, invisible as they tend to be in music history, can tell us about Dutch 18<sup>th</sup>-century musical life, musical cosmopolitanism, and culture. I expect that guitars can be a new entrance into musical life in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as the instrument family traverses both public and private venues, and professional as well as amateur music-making, so studying it can be a way into a broader and more nuanced understanding of 18<sup>th</sup>-century culture. Guitar studies provide a different perspective on 18<sup>th</sup>-century European music history from the standard focus on large-scale vocal and instrumental works, or keyboard repertory, which is the main focus of so many histories.

Musical life in the 1700s Netherlands is considered to be a microcosm of European musical life, in that it reflected and resembled what was happening in the rest of Europe at the time, on a smaller scale.<sup>4</sup> I will examine if that is a valid perspective when looking at guitar repertoire and guitar performances. For a country to be a microcosm like that a positive attitude towards foreign culture is required, an active interest in and appreciation of cultures from abroad, and the absence of a strong homegrown culture. This interest and appreciation of cultures from abroad is known as cosmopolitanism. The practical musical side of Dutch musical cosmopolitanism consists of mostly foreign musicians teaching and performing in the Netherlands, many foreign instruments being imported, and mostly foreign repertoire being performed, arranged, and published. I will examine if this applied to guitars as well, and if this ‘import’ of culture is done mindlessly or if the Dutch curated foreign culture to suit their tastes and needs.

I hope by answering these questions to challenge the common idea that the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Netherlands was a dull and uneventful time for music, with the country in decline after the imperialist, economical and artistic achievements of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Existing research

Internationally, there has been, after a long drought, a recent wave of publications on historical plucked string instruments. Among those are some that are completely or partly concerned with

---

<sup>4</sup> Paraphrasing Rudolf Rasch in the introduction of his excellent *Muziek in de Republiek. Muziek en maatschappij in de Republiek der zeven verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, Utrecht 2018.

the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tyler & Sparks' *The guitar and its music from the renaissance to the classical era* from 2007 was a forerunner of that wave, and is still the best broad survey of the guitar in Europe. It has very little on the situation in the Low Countries though, probably because Dutch primary sources are impenetrable for non-Dutch speakers. Panagiotis Poulopoulos' doctoral thesis *The guittar in the British isles, 1750-1810* from 2011 is a wide-ranging work on the 'English guitar' with a historical-organological perspective which has been an example to my research in its ambitious scope, comprising precise factual data as well as cultural matters such as the gendered view on the instrument.

Pascal Valois' 2009 doctoral thesis *Les guitaristes Français entre 1770 et 1830. Pratiques d'exécution et catalogue des méthodes* examines French 18<sup>th</sup>-century (five-course) guitar music, which is essential in understanding all other European guitar music. Christopher Page's *The guitar in Georgian England* is a more recent addition (2020), focusing on England, and admirable in its erudition, originality, and interdisciplinarity. An interesting chapter on 18<sup>th</sup>-century guitars, guitarists and repertoire in France was published by Damián Martin-Gil and Erik Stenstadvold ('Eighteenth-century precedents: the role of Paris' in *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe* from 2023), documenting the lively guitar culture in Paris in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and acknowledging that the instrument was mostly used for song accompaniment.

Erik Stenstadvold's *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* from 2010 is an invaluable reference work. For wire-strung instruments from the German-speaking countries there is Andreas Michel's 1999 *Zistern*, which is wide-ranging and quite scientific. Then there is *The Lute in Europe 2* from 2011, edited by Andreas Schlegel and Joachim Lüdtke, which aims to deal with lutes, guitars, mandolins as well as citterns in the whole of Europe, with some very good contributions but hardly anything relevant to music life in the Netherlands.

Unfortunately however, research into historical plucked strings in the Netherlands is still scarce: the late Louis Grijp published excellent articles on citterns of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries from an organological perspective. Els Moens wrote a PhD thesis on citterns in Dutch and Flemish collections which offers an inventory of surviving instruments.<sup>5</sup> In 2013 Jan Burgers published *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age. Musical Culture in the Netherlands ca. 1580-1670* which is exemplary: it contextualizes the instrument within its culture, place, and time – the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Jan van Cappelle and Geerten Verberkmoes have both recently published organological research into 18<sup>th</sup>-century wire-strung guitars that has greatly enriched the field:

---

<sup>5</sup> Els Moens, 'De cister en aanverwante instrumenten in de Belgische verzamelingen' (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 1995).

Van Cappelle shares his findings in the form of very well-documented instrument drawings, and Verberkmoes in several articles. There is however no research into guitars in the Netherlands with a broad overall scope, and I hope that my research goes a way to fill that lacuna.

As for general Dutch music history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: I have benefitted very much from the very comprehensive factual framework has been provided by Rudolf Rasch in his *Muziek in de Republiek* from 2018, the related chapters and data sets available online, and his plentiful articles. Besides that there is Louis Grijp's (edited) very extensive *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (2002), a music history of the Netherlands. If maybe women are somewhat neglected in that last publication, Helen Metzelaar's *From private to public spheres: exploring women's role in Dutch musical life from c. 1700 to c. 1880 and three case studies* (1999) has started to fill that gap.

## Cosmopolitanism and material culture

In chapter one (on instruments) I examine guitars and what they meant to the Dutch. This falls both within the discipline of material culture studies – the research into the relations between people and objects – and organology, which researches musical instruments specifically. My study has organological elements, in that I am concerned with the details of instruments and their makers, but this comes mostly from a wish to understand the larger social aspects of the instruments: what are the meaning and value attached to instruments by their owners, players, learners and listeners. In that way my research aligns more with the broader field of material culture.

General guides to the field of material culture studies such as John Brewer and Roy Porter's (ed.) *Consumption and the world of goods* (1994) provided ways of looking at musical instruments as consumption goods. As to organology, besides the work of Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs I found Margaret J. Kartomi's *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments* eye-opening, as it shows how a seemingly neutral activity such as classifying instruments can yet be rather political. My choice to examine both wire-strung and gut strung instruments together is partly inspired by her work.

Cosmopolitanism for me then became an important lens to look at the social history of instruments. As to literature on that subject, I found Michael Scrivener's *The Cosmopolitan Ideal* (2007) very instructive on the history of Enlightenment and cosmopolitanism, and how those relate to (post-)colonialism. Specifically on music and more recent, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', by Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, in *The Musical Quarterly* (2016) describes musical cosmopolitanism as a different, non-nationalist view at music

history, defining the idea as '[...] a distinct field of behaviours, attitudes, and practices in musical life that are shaped by an ideal of belonging to a larger world'. Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö and Derek B. Scott (ed.) published *Music History and Cosmopolitanism* in 2019, but though it is a valuable addition to the field it does not deal with the situation in the Netherlands or music before 1800.

In fact, applying the concept of cosmopolitanism to musical life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Netherlands is not without problems, since virtually all professional musicians working in the Republic were born abroad, and almost all music printed and performed in the Republic was of foreign origin – though one could argue that the Dutch selected and curated the musical influx. Acquiring one's music (in the widest sense) from other countries was the rule, not the exception, which raises the question that if all available music in our period originates from other countries, should we still call the Dutch cosmopolitan? Maybe Dutch musical national identity (of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) should be regarded as rooted in a concept of cosmopolitanism that is not so much the antithesis of nationalism, but – analogous to the concept of an international 'Republic of Letters'<sup>6</sup> – belonging to a larger European 'Republic of Music'.

## Belief systems

As to belief systems in the Netherlands, I found Ernestine van der Wall's *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding. Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* from 2007 and the subsequent *Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850. Vrede tussen rede en religie?* by Jan W. Buisman (2013) extremely valuable on how the Dutch dealt with the mitigation of Enlightenment thinking and religion. On attitudes towards education I learned much from Willeke Los: *Opvoeding tot mens en burger. Pedagogiek als Cultuurkritiek in Nederland in de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw* which showed me how writing on education is really writing on culture and humanism.

Concerning Dutch fiction of the 18<sup>th</sup> century I found three publications very useful: 'Sara Burgerhart' en de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse roman in de 18e eeuw by Piet J. Buijnsters from 1971, *Het slot ontvlucht: de 'vrouwelijke' Bildungsroman in de Nederlandse literatuur* from by Aagje Swinnen from 2006, and Albertus N. Paasman, 'Reinhart, of literatuur en werkelijkheid' in: *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* vol 41-42 (1979), 40-61. Exploring music in Dutch 18th century fiction seems like an attractive proposition for the future.

---

<sup>6</sup> See for example Manuel Llano and Dirk van Miert: 'The "province" of the Dutch Republic in the international Republic of Letters in *Renaissance Studies* vol 36 Issue 1 163-184, or 'Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices in the 17th-century Dutch Republic', <<https://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl>>, accessed September 2023.

## The Netherlands 1750-1810<sup>7</sup>

There was no strong central government in the Netherlands for much of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and not a large court culture, although the household of the *Stadhouder* operated similar to a small court. The Republic was a loose federation of provinces, led by consecutive *Stadhouders*. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century however the Netherlands went through much cultural and political upheaval: the country grew to be divided into Orangists – conservatives in favour of the *Stadhouder* -- and Patriots – a movement that favoured change and political innovation, and sided with the revolutionary French. The tensions between these groups led to a civil war from 1786 to 1787, and the *Bataafse Revolutie* from 1794 to 1799. From 1806 to 1810 Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was king of the Netherlands, and although the turn to a monarchy seems regressive, he in fact started modernizing the country.

Wealth was mostly in the hands of the *Regenten* class: families who owned land and houses, who intermarried and held the jobs of bankers, ministers, administrators and merchants. Some of these people belonged to the nobility, many did not. These people were the dedicatees of music publications and the buyers of instruments and concert tickets. Capital was mostly invested through banks in shares and in colonial property such as plantations in Guyana, and not poured into technological innovation or industry. This is one of the reasons that there would be no industrial revolution in the Netherlands until a century later. Being late with industrialisation however did not mean that the Dutch were not capable at the time of technical sophistication in making goods, but the standardisation and large scale of production that characterises the industrial revolution in, for example, Great Britain did not take place in the Netherlands until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Musical instruments were made by artisans in relatively small workshops.

The choice of the 1750-1810 timeframe had several reasons: between ca. 1700 and 1750 there is almost no record of guitar activity in the Northern Netherlands, neither of a public nor a private nature. From 1750 however there are the first mentions of performing and teaching activity on various guitars and related instruments. Around the same time, newspapers start to be printed on larger paper, so there are more abundant concert advertisements and other advertising materials that are a main source for this project. More generally there is a boost in cultural life in the Netherlands around this time. For the end date, originally it was 1800, but there are so many transitional instruments and publications appearing in the first decade of the 19th century that

---

<sup>7</sup> Arnout van Cruyningen: *Stadhouders in de Nederlanden van Holland tot Vlaanderen 1448-1879* (Utrecht, OmniaBoek, 2017). Margaret C Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt (ed.), *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century. Decline, Enlightenment and Revolution*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992). Olaf van Nimwegen, *De Nederlandse Burgeroorlog (1748-1815)*. (Amsterdam, Prometheus, 2017).

we decided to move to 1810 to cover the transformation. After that year there is an abrupt turn towards the six single string 'classical' guitar, and towards a rather different guitar culture that merits its own research.

## Thesis structure

The overall shape of the thesis leads from the instruments, to the teaching and learning of the guitar, to repertoire and then to (professional) performance, where many of the earlier strands come together. Combining my findings from these different streams aims to give a rich portrait of the guitar and its multiple meanings at this time, as an object, as a practice, and as a tool for performance.

In chapter one I introduce the various types of instruments named 'guitar' or similar that were played in the Republic: the two main types are the gut-strung five course guitar, and wire-strung six course 'English' guitar. The latter type, which was more prevalent, should be called a cittern according to traditional organology, but is a guitar according to cultural usage, since it is mostly called that by contemporaries. Besides those two types of guitar there were numerous lesser-played plucked and fretted instruments such as the colascione, colascioncino, mandolin and mandore, and even the lute was still played sporadically.

The sources for this chapter are Dutch treatises, surviving instruments, historical newspapers, and to a lesser extent iconography. The treatises in question are by Quirinus van Blankenburg (1738), Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (1771), Jan Abraham Bouvink (1772), and Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan (1795). They give us an impression of the musical knowledge horizon of the well-read Dutch, and an idea of which plucked instruments were known and used, under which name. Newspaper adverts such as those by instrument maker Trippel and the London firm of Claus & Levy, catalogues of sales by auction of musical instruments collections, household receipts and private letters complement the information from the treatises.

Then the circa fourteen surviving locally made guitars and citterns from the time period are a source by themselves. The makers of these instruments were internationally connected and can all be described as migrants. The chapter contains case studies on instrument maker Gosewijn Spijker (c.1706-1782) and Johannes Cuijpers (1724-1818) that show how musical instrument makers lived and worked, and some of their international connections.

Chapter two, on guitar teaching and learning, will start out with contemporary views on general education as well as music education. The views on music teaching and music learning are harvested from treatises, spectator-style journals, music education in fiction, and private letters, as in the cases of Francisco Ricci and his pupil Ida Elisabeth, and letters about the Greek

Adamantios Korais who lived in Amsterdam. The texts on education are there because these tell us about values, and on the ideal of being a ‘good’ human being and citizen, and how music fits into that. In the Netherlands much writing on these subjects was divided along the lines of Enlightenment versus Protestant religious thinking.

The order of chapters two and three could have been reversed and I have seriously considered that. However, putting ‘Teaching and learning’ before ‘Repertoire’ gave me the chance to discuss and explain Dutch attitudes towards music and education at a relatively early stage, which I hope will be helpful in the following chapters.

Chapter two contains case studies on monsieur and madame Vauvicq, a couple from Paris who taught guitar in the Hague in the 1780s, and on a monsieur Darme, who taught both the wire-strung English guitar and the gut-string ‘French’ guitar a decade later. Some teaching materials and method books have survived in collections, and their contents show that songs, more often than not in foreign languages, form a central part of guitar teaching.

In chapter three I will explore what repertoire there was for Dutch guitarists to play, and what would have been played in concerts and at home. The sources for this are surviving scores, both printed and manuscript, and mentions in newspaper adverts.

More than half of all published guitar music from between 1750 and 1850 is chamber music with voice. Dutch guitarists had access to music printed in other countries through music merchants, from their teachers, and through travelling performers.

A first case study is on the four *Recueils* [...] by David Leonardus van Dijk that contain work for English guitar solo and with voice. Dijk’s collections show a strong awareness of guitar music printed in other countries, operas performed in Amsterdam, and music performed at the university of Leiden. Van Dijk’s music found its way abroad as well.

The second case study is about the corpus of scores for various guitars in the collection of Huis Amerongen. This is an eclectic and international collection. Hardly any of this guitar music was printed in the Netherlands. Some of this music was hand-copied. It caters for at least three different kinds of guitar and demonstrates the range of music that members of a wealthy household would have access to.

Chapter four deals with musical performance on or with guitars. Many strands from the previous chapters come together here: especially the chapters on repertoire and teaching. In this chapter I am surveying which performances on plucked instruments are known, by whom, and in which spaces they took place. I examine the available data on how concerts programmes were constructed. Most of our knowledge on public performances comes from newspapers, and to a lesser extent from fiction and iconography. I examine how performance was gendered, between

domestic settings and the public sphere, what is known about Dutch and non-Dutch performers, and the travelling virtuosos who formed a kind of loose network with other foreign instrumentalists and singers. From fiction we can learn about attitudes towards performances, especially for women, in domestic contexts.

The chapter contains case studies on Giacomo Merchi, who was very important in the development of guitar playing technique and notation, and frequently visited the Republic to perform on both types of guitar as well as mandolin and colascioncino.<sup>8</sup> A second case study focuses on the guitarist Alexandre Stiévenard, a French refugee who organized and performed in concerts in the town of Groningen in the last years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Detailed concert programmes of those concerts survive.

Together these chapters will paint a wide-ranging image of guitar players, guitar teachers, guitar performances and guitar makers in their cultural context, starting with the instrument itself and its material aspects.

---

<sup>8</sup> There were two guitarists active called Merchi, brothers, both with the initial 'G'. It is not possible to establish which brother visited the Netherlands, but Giacomo seems the most likely. See also Chapter 4 on Performance.

# Chapter 1 Instruments

## 1.1 Introduction

Public musical life in the Republic encompassed organ music, instrumental and vocal performances in church, and operas and plays with music in theatres. Variety-style concerts featuring singins, conventional instruments and novelty acts could take place in inns, shooting ranges, Masonic lodges, riding schools, and increasingly in dedicated concert halls.<sup>9</sup> In 1764 a concert space was established in a building at the Poelestraat in Groningen. In 1788 the music room of Felix Meritis, one of the Republic's first purpose-built concert halls, was built. Felix Meritis was a society of the Amsterdam elite, founded to promote the arts, sciences, and trade.

Small-scale private music was made in the home: lessons on the harpsichord for example, singing hymns and psalms at the organ, dancing to violins, and singing songs with guitar accompaniment. For both kinds of musical life, the public and the private, instruments were needed, artisans to make and repair the instruments, and music dealers to provide strings, scores, and other necessities. The presence of these trades is documented in the Netherlands: we know the names of harpsichord makers, organ builders, music shops and woodwind makers. In this chapter I will explore what plucked instruments were known and used, who made them, and which guitars have survived.

## 1.2 Types of guitars

Among the plucked fretted instruments played in the Republic were two distinct types of instrument called 'guitar'. First, the gut-strung, octoform, five course guitar was used, sometimes called the Spanish guitar. Second, a wire-strung, teardrop-shaped guitar was played that is now mostly called a cittern, but that was called 'guitar' as well in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch sources. This instrument is known as well as the 'English guitar'.<sup>10</sup> Evidence for the use of both types of guitars is to be found in contemporary Dutch newspapers, treatises, catalogues and imagery, although with written evidence it is often unclear which kind of guitar is meant: when for example the

---

<sup>9</sup> Rudolf Rasch: 'Italian Opera in Amsterdam 1750-1756: The Troupes of Crosa, Giordani, Lapis, and Ferrari' in *Italian Opera in Central Europe, volume I: Institutions and Ceremonies*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy and Reinhard Strohm, Berlin, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006, 115-146.

<sup>10</sup> According to the Hornbostel-Sachs taxonomy both the Spanish guitar and the English guitar are 'necked box lutes'. See: Hornbostel, Erich von, and Curt Sachs: 'Classification of Musical Instruments: Translated from the Original German by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann' in *The Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961), 3-29.

Amsterdam music dealer Johann Julius Hummel starts mentioning having 'guitarren' in stock from 1771 onwards, and strings for 'guitare' from 1787, it is impossible to know which type is meant.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 1: A French five-course gut-strung guitar by Lambert, 1770. Many guitars were made in France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and this Lambert is a typical example. Photo by Atelier Sinier-de Ridder, with permission.

The five-course guitar, also known as the baroque guitar, already had a venerable history in the Netherlands around 1750 and, though not extremely popular, had been in use continually from

---

<sup>11</sup> Carl Johansson. *J. J. Hummel and B. Hummel Music-publishing and Thematic Catalogues vol. II.* (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1972).

the 17<sup>th</sup> century when it was cultivated by the diplomat Constantijn Huijgens (1596-1687).<sup>12</sup> It was very popular in France and Italy, and to a lesser extend in Britain as well.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 2: Wire-strung guitar marked 'IOHANN SWARTZ' with wooden tuning pegs for ten strings.

Collection of the author.

Figure 3: A fairly typical English wire-strung guitar with watch-key tuners for ten strings, by Preston,

London, c. 1770. Collection of the author.

The wire-strung guitar however was a relatively recent arrival in the Netherlands: not, as one might assume, a successor of the popular renaissance cittern of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, but rather a newly introduced instrument, part of a fashion that also affected Britain and France from the 1750s onward. In Britain, the most common type of wire strung guitar or 'English guitar' would be a six-course instrument tuned c-e-g-c'-e'-g'.<sup>14</sup> In France the most current type was a larger, seven course instrument tuned E-A-d-e-a-c#'-e', called 'cistre', 'cythre' or 'guitare

---

<sup>12</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Christopher Page, 'The Spanish Guitar in the Newspapers, Novels, Drama and Verse of Eighteenth-Century England'. In: *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'The guitar in the British isles, 1750-1810' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011).

Allemande'. The French instrument could in addition have up to five extra bass strings, tuned diatonically.<sup>15</sup> In that case it would be called 'archicistre'.

In German speaking countries, contrarily to England, the Netherlands and France, the cittern had never been abandoned during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. There was a wide variety of local styles of wire strung instruments in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They were called 'Zister' or sometimes 'Zither', and often named after the region they originated from: 'Sächsische Theorbenzister' (from Saxony), 'Toggenburger Halszither' (from Toggenburg) or 'Harzzither' (from the Harz region) for instance.<sup>16</sup> The most likely theory about the origin of the 18<sup>th</sup> century fashion for the wire-strung guitar (or cittern or English guitar) outside Germany and Switzerland is that it was started by Moravian carpenters travelling from Germany to France and England, introducing instruments there that were adjusted versions of the German or Swiss Zithern.<sup>17</sup>

Wire-strung guitars in the German, English, as well as in the French style were present and known in the Netherlands, but most of the Dutch repertoire is written for an instrument in the English C-major set-up, and most of the surviving Dutch-made instruments are of a size that makes that style of stringing and tuning very likely. It appears that English-style instruments, with the c-e-g-c'-e'-g' tuning were most prevalent.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.3 Guitars in music treatises

To describe what instruments were known and available, (and to examine the rather varied and inconsistent naming of them) I will first look into Dutch music treatises from between 1738 and 1800 for information on plucked string instruments. The treatises provide perspectives on how guitars and related instruments fit into a broader musical context. Authors may have had no specific expertise in the area of plucked strings, and are mentioning guitars simply in passing. This type of source nevertheless can provide useful evidence and some help with the problem of nomenclature.

---

<sup>15</sup> For the stringing and tuning of French *cistres* see for example Joseph Carpentier's 'Instructions pour le Cythre' in his *1er Recueil de menuets, allemandes etc. [...] arrangés exprès pour le cytre ou guithare allemande [...]*, Paris 1770.

<sup>16</sup> 'Zistern. Europäische Zupfinstrumente von der Renaissance bis zum Historismus'. <http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/zistern.htm> accessed May 12 2019.

<sup>17</sup> This very credible theory is proposed by Andreas Schlegel and Lorenz Mühlmann in *Die Laute in Europa 2. Lauten, Gitarren, Mandolinen un Cistern*. Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2011. 158-166 and Panos Poulopoulos' "The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810." (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011) 61: 'The missing link between the cittern, the lute, and the guitar can be found in the Moravian cittern, most likely the [wire-strung] guitar's closest ancestor'.

<sup>18</sup> Jelma van Amersfoort. 'Miss Sara Burgerhart's English guitar. The 'guitarre Angloise' in Enlightenment Holland'. *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* vol. LXIV-1/2, 2014.

1.3.1 **Quirinus van Blankenburg's *Elementa Musica* (1738)**

Though published slightly earlier than the period of our focus, Blankenburg's *Elementa Musica* from 1738 is interesting and influential enough to mention: he finds guitars and citterns irrelevant to the music of his time. Blankenburg was a composer, organist, and music tutor in The Hague where he taught music to the wealthy nobility. His *Elementa* is a learned treatise, with elegant charts, mostly meant to teach figured bass playing on keyboard instruments. It mentions and criticizes famous contemporary writers on music such as Rameau, Rousseau, Mattheson, and Brossard. When discussing transposition in a modal context (p. 98) he mentions as (supposedly well-known) fretted instruments the 'Luit, archiluth, theorbe, Angelique, Apollon, Guitarre, Cyther, Viola da Gamba etc' and the question whether correct transposition would be possible on fretted instruments. Of the plucked string instruments, he says later (p. 147):

Of the Lute, (which I used to play in the past) we will not speak here; because it has, ever since the new fashion of all that excessive transposing, lost its relevance; as have the Guitarra, the Cyter, etc. But the Theorbo perseveres, (in spite of the fact that one needs to re-tune it continuously because of all excessive sharps and flats) because in an Opera or full Concert it has a special effect.<sup>19</sup>

This indicates that he considered the guitar and cittern to be familiar instruments, but not suitable for the fashionable 'public' music of his time. That fits with the impression that the cittern and guitar lost some ground in musical life between 1700 and 1750.

1.3.2 **Jacob Wilhelm Lustig's *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde* (1771)**

While Blankenburg is particularly concerned with accompaniment techniques, Jacob Wilhelm Lustig's treatise aims for a more holistic overview of musical practice. His 1771 *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde* ('Introduction to the science of music') leans heavily on writings by Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) of whom Lustig (1706-1796) had been a student.<sup>20</sup> Lustig was born in Hamburg and worked as an organist, composer and writer in the northern town of Groningen.<sup>21</sup> In his *Inleiding* he describes musical instruments, grouped together by their means of sound production. The plucked and fretted instruments he mentions are:

The LUTE [...]

---

<sup>19</sup> Quirinus van Blankenburg, *Elementa Musica, of Nieuw Licht tot het Welverstaan van de Musieck en de Bas-continuo[...]*. (The Hague: Berkoske, 1739). 'Van de Luit, (daar ik eersteds op plag te speelen) zullen wij hier niet spreken, want die heeft, sedert de nieuwe mode van al dat buitensporig transponeren, zyn paspoort; zo als ook de Guitarre, de Cyter, enz. Maar the Theorbe houdt stand, (niet tegenstaande men hem tot alle overdadige kruisen en mollen t'elkens moet verstellen) want in een Opera of vol Concert is hij van een bijzondere uitwerking'.

<sup>20</sup> Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde* (Groningen: Hindrik Vechnerus, 1771), 77.

<sup>21</sup> Herbert Antcliff, 'Jacob Wilhelm Lustig' in *The Musical Times*, vol. 90, no. 1278 (Aug., 1949): 276-279.

The ANGELIQUE [...]

The THEORBO [...]

The CALICHON, with five single strings, tuned almost like a Viol, is also a kind of small lute, not unpleasant for skilled accompaniment. Without mentioning the feeble *citterns* or *cithrinchen*.<sup>22</sup>

The GUITARRE usually comprises six courses; both the lower ones of overwound gut strings; the three middle ones, each tuned in unison, of yellow brass, and on top, one soft string, either of steel, or similar to the Chantarelle of a lute. We would like to leave this instrument to the Spaniards, together with their tasty garlic, and to the shepherds in Sicily'.<sup>23</sup>

Virtually the same comment on the connection between the guitar and the garlic-loving Spaniards is made by Mattheson's in his 1713 *Der neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*.<sup>24</sup> Lustig's connection of the Spanish and shepherds places the guitar in a vernacular, low class or exotic context rather than a genteel one. The stringing Lustig describes tells us that by the Dutch term 'guitarre' he means a six course wire-strung cittern-type instrument, with the rather interesting option to use a gut string for the chanterelle or first course. These mixed gut-wire stringings are quite surprising.

### 1.3.3 Jan Abraham Bouvink's *Verhandeling over de Muziek* (1772)

In 1772 the The Hague book dealer and publisher Jan Abraham Bouvink published his *Verhandeling over de Muziek* ('Treatise on Music').<sup>25</sup> The book concludes with a substantial ninety-page alphabetical glossary of musical terms, or as the author calls it, a 'musical art dictionary', in a more dispassionate tone compared to Lustig. In that section we find among others:

APOLLON. An instrument with 20 strings, in the way of a *theorbo*, invented by *Promt*.<sup>26</sup>

ARCILEUTO of ARCHILUTH. String instrument, used by Italians to play the Basso continuo.<sup>27</sup>

CETARA, CETERA, CETRA. See *Guitarra*.

CHITARRA. See *Guitarra*.

---

<sup>22</sup> 'De CALICHON, met vijf enkele snaren, bijna gesteld gelijk die eener Viola da Gamba, is mede een soort van kleine luit, niet onaardig tot een vaardig accompagnement. Zonder van krassende Pandoren of van laffe *cithers* of *citrintjes* nu eens te gewaagen.'

<sup>23</sup> Lustig, *Inleiding* p 78. 'De GUITARRE (Cithara Hispanica) vervangt doorgaans zes chooren; de beide onderste van besponnen darmnsnaren; de drie middenste, ieder unisoons wijze gesteld, van messinge snaaren, en boven, één tedere snaar, of van staal, of gelijk de Chantarelle der luite. Dit konstwerktuig willen we den Spanjaarden, by hun lekker Knoflook, en den herderen in Siciliën, gewillig overlaaten'.

<sup>24</sup> Mattheson, Johann. *Der neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* Hamburg 1713, 279 f. 'die platten Guitarren aber mit ihren Strump-Strump den Spaniern gerne beim Knoblauch-Schmauß überlassen'.

<sup>25</sup> Jan Abraham Bouvink. *Verhandeling over de muziek* [...]. Den Haag, 1772.

<sup>26</sup> 'APOLLON. Een instrument met 20 snaeren, op de wyze eener *Theorba*, uitgevonden door *Promt*'.

<sup>27</sup> 'ARCILEUTO of ARCHILUTH, Snaer instrument, waer op de Italiaenen de Basso continuo speelen'.

CISTRE. See *Guitarra*.

GUITARRA, Syter, Guitarn. A certain Spanish instrument, supplied with copper frets and copper strings, which is struck with a plectrum by the right hand, and played with the left.<sup>28</sup>

LEUTO, Lute. String instrument used for accompaniment before the invention of the *Theorba*, and hence one finds *Leuto*, *Liuto* or *Theorba* for *Basso Continuo*.<sup>29</sup>

LIUTO. See *Leuto*.

LUIT. See *Leuto*, *Liuto*, *Luth* and *Mandolina*.

LUTH. See *Leuto*.

MANDOLINA, MANDORE. Small lute, with four strings.<sup>30</sup>

PANDORE EN LUTH. A kind of *Leuto*, with copper frets and copper strings, like a *Guitarra*.<sup>31</sup>

SYTER. See *Guitarra*.

THEORBA. Instrument with eight strings, that much resembles a *Leuto*, though larger, it is used for the *Accompagnamento*, and hence one finds *Theorba* for *Basso continuo*, some call an *Apollon*, *Theorba*.<sup>32</sup>

Since Bouvink's list is intended both as a glossary and as a music dictionary, it contains redundancies. Apparently the terms 'cetra' and 'guitarra' were interchangeable, as well as the term 'cistre'. The lemma 'guitarra' refers to a wire-strung instrument. Overall, Bouvink recognizes two plucked instrument families: the lute family that comprises the apollon<sup>33</sup>, arcileuto, lute (in several languages), mandolina, mandore, pandore and theorba, and the 'guitarra'-, or wire-strung family comprising 'cetra', 'chitarra' and 'syter'. There is no trace of the gut-strung Spanish guitar and his grasp of guitar- and cittern typology seems somewhat vague.

#### 1.3.4 Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan's *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* (1795)

A very detailed description of the different types of guitars and citterns was published in 1795 by the organist and lawyer Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan (1739-1809) as part of his music dictionary *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* ('Musical Art-Dictionary'), a remarkable piece of scholarship and

---

<sup>28</sup> 'GUITARRA, Syter, Guitarn; zeker Spaensche speeltuig, voorzien van koopere banden en koopere snaeren, welke met een pennetje door de rechte hant worden aengeslaegen, en met de linke bespeelt'.

<sup>29</sup> 'LEUTO, Luit, snaer-instrument waer mede men voor het uitvinden van de *Theorba* accompagneerde, en daerom vindt men *Leuto*, *Liuto* of *Theorba* voor *Basso Continuo*'.

<sup>30</sup> 'MANDOLINA, MANDORE. Kleine luyt, met vier snaeren'.

<sup>31</sup> 'PANDORE EN LUTH. Eene soort van *Leuto*, met kopere banden en kopere snaeren, als eene *Guitarra*'.

<sup>32</sup> 'Bouvink pp. 273-352. THEORBA. Speeltuig met acht snaeren, dat veel overeenkomst heeft met eene *Leuto*, doch groter is, het wordt gebruikt tot het *Accompagnamento*, en daerom vindt men *Theorba* voor *Basso continuo*, zommige noemen ook een *Apollon*, *Theorba*'.

<sup>33</sup> An unusual term for what appears to be a kind of theorbo.

the most thorough and original treatise of those discussed here.<sup>34</sup> Verschuere Reijnvaan appears to have been both well-connected and well-informed, as a freemason and working both as a judge and a town organist in Vlissingen.<sup>35</sup> The book contains very clear drawings of instruments by local artist Jean Joseph Bos. Reijnvaan dedicates lemmas to three kinds of citterns, two kinds of gut-strung guitar, and to other plucked instruments. Many instruments mentioned in the dictionary are depicted on very detailed fold-out plates (see figures 4-9) that include tunings and fretboard diagrams.

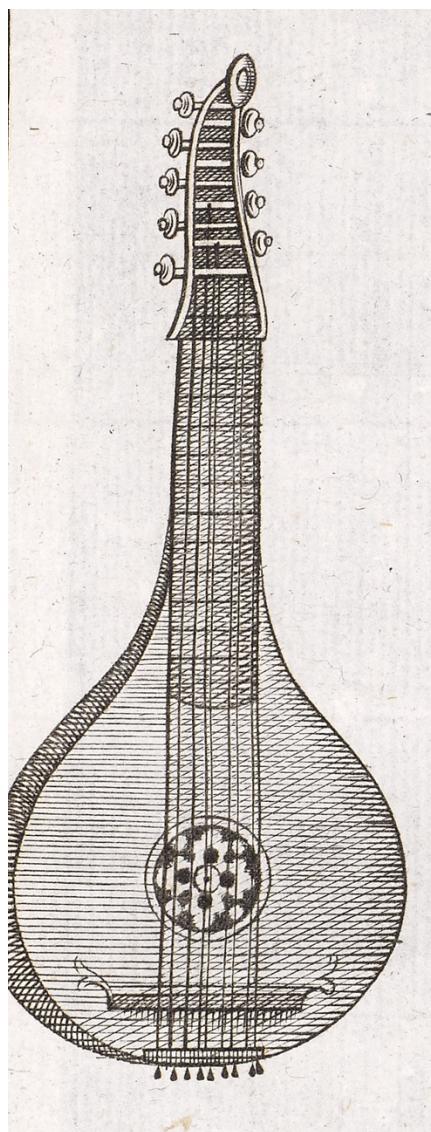


Figure 4: 'Cithara' from Reijvaan's *Kunst-Woordenboek*, plate 10.

<sup>34</sup> Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan, *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* [...] vol 1, (Amsterdam, Wouter Bräve, 1795). The book also contains lemmata on the calichon, mandora, lute, mandolin. There was an earlier edition in 1789 but the 1795 edition is more extensive. Unfortunately, only the first volume of the projected work was published, but most of the plucked instruments relevant here are in that volume.

<sup>35</sup> Albert Clement: 'Joos Verschuere Reynvaan: Auteur van het eerste Nederlandstalige muzieklexicon'. In: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol 63, No. 1/2 (2013), 86-105.



Figure 5: Reijnvaan's indication of the tuning of the 'Cithara'. The actual pitches are an octave lower as in all of Reijnvaan's tuning charts.

First, Reijnvaan describes a six-course cittern ('Cithara', figures 4 and 5) tuned c-e-g-c'-e'-g', the most common tuning of the English guitar. The corresponding plate in the book shows an instrument with a teardrop-shaped soundbox, nine tuning pegs, and a curved pegbox. It has an ornamental rosette in the soundhole. The instrument in the image has its three lower courses strung with single strings, and the three higher ones with double strings. In the lemma *Cithara* that refers to this six-course cittern the author emphasizes the wide range of possible stringings, even combining overwound gut bass strings with wire strings:

CITHARA (...) In Italian Citara, Chitarra, Cetara of Cetera. In French, *Cistre*. A cittern; (...)  
 These days there are several types of cittern; with five, six and seven strings; the ordinary, common and best-known one is the one with six strings, of which the lower two are single and the top four are double; or of which the lower three are single, and the top three are double, or all may be single or some double, according to people's taste; sometimes the lower two are overwound gut strings, but usually they are copper, or the lower three alternatively of overwound copper, each of a different thickness, according to one's preference.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan, *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* [...] vol 1. pp. 139-141. 'CITHARA (...) In het Italiaansch Citara, Chitarra, Cetara of Cetera. In het Fransch, *Cistre*. (...) Men heeft thans verscheidene soorten van citers, met vijf, zes, en zeven snaaren; de ordinaire, gemeene en meest bekende, is die met zes snaaren, waarvan de twee ondersten enkel, en de vier bovensten dubbeld zijn, of waarvan de drie ondersten enkel, en de drie bovensten dubbeld zijn, ofwel eens allen, of eenigen dubbel, naar dat men zulks verkiest te besnaaren: wordende de beide ondersten wel eens van besponnen darmsnaaren genomen; doch anders doorgaands van koper; of wel de drie laagste of onderste van besponnen koperdraad, ieder van ongelijke dikte; al naar dat men zulks verkiest (...)'.

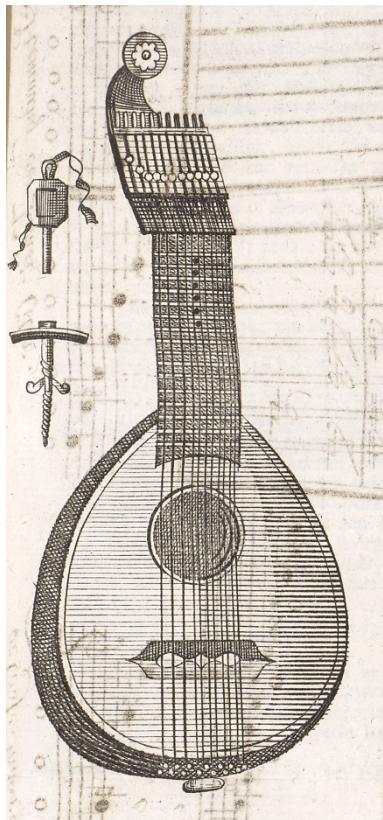


Figure 6: 'Cetara' from Reijvaan's *Kunst-Woordenboek*, plate 7.



Figure 7: Reijnvaan's indication of the tuning of the 'Cetara'. The actual pitches are an octave lower.

*Kunst-Woordenboek*, plate 7.

In the lemma *Cetara*, which refers to a seven course cittern, similar to the instrument popular in France, Reijvaan writes:

Cetara, cetera, or cetra. (Italian) In French: *Cistre*. A Cittern. [...] the Cittern we will discuss here is the one with seven courses of strings, and it should be mentioned that the three lower strings are nicknamed Bourdons; this Cittern is preferred by experts above the others, and called German Cittern: the two lower strings are wound with silver wire, the third one is white brass, and the four highest are also brass, only thinner, having double courses.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 118. 'CETARA, cetera, of cetra. (Italiaansch.) In het Fransch *Cistre*. Eene Citer. [...] de Citer waarvan wij alhier zullen spreken is die welke zeven reien snaaren heeft, waarbij is aantemerken, dat men de drie onderste of laagste snaaren, den bijnaam geeft, van Bourdons; wordende deeze Citer thans bij kundigen boven de anderen verkozen, en de Duitsche Citer genoemd: de twee onderste-

The corresponding image (see figure 6) shows a cittern with an oval sound box, watch-key tuners, and at its side a capotasto and tuning key. The term ‘German Cittern’ is unusual, and may be derived from the term ‘guitare Allemande’ that the French used for larger citters. The tuning in Reijnvaan’s diagram (figure 7, E-A-d-c-a-c#-e) conforms exactly to the standard tuning of the French cistre, as described in Pollet’s 1786 method *Méthode pour apprendre à pincer du Cistre, ou Guitare Allemande [...] opus 5* or Michel Corrette’s 1772 *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer en très peu de tems la madoline Plus la tablature du cistre en musique*, p 42.<sup>38</sup>

The third member of the cittern-family in Reijnvaan’s book is the ‘Kunst Citer’ or archicistre (see figures 8 and 9). The tuning of its fretted courses is identical to that of the previous instrument, the ‘Cetara’, but there are five additional unfretted bass strings tuned A,-B,-C#-D-D#.

Reijnvaan’s explication of the arch-cittern is as follows:

Five other strings are added to this Cittern on the lower part on an attached neck, and in Italian they are called Archicetara, in French Archicistre or Art-Cittern; these attached strings are never touched other than as an open string, without putting the fingers on them: these strings are of great use when coming out of the application [i.e. the normal range of the instrument]; they also make the instrument more harmonious: the body of this Citer is much larger. See its scale and fingerboard on Plate 8, behind Plate 7 reproduced here.<sup>39</sup>

---

snaaren zijn met zilverdraad besponnen, de derde is wit messingdraad, en de vier bovensten zijn mede van messingdraad, doch fijner; hebbende dubbelde reien’.

<sup>38</sup> Charles-François-Alexandre-Victor Pollet (1742-1824). *Méthode pour apprendre à pincer du Cistre, ou Guitare Allemande, précédée d'un Abrégé des principes de musique*. Op. 5. Paris, 1786, and Michel Corrette, (1707-1795). *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer en très peu de tems la madoline [!]. Plus la tablature du cistre en musique à 5, à 6 et à 7 rangs de cordes, avec des préludes, menuets, allemandes, marches et sonates, avec la basse pour ces deux instruments, par Mr Corrette* (1772).

<sup>39</sup> Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan, *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek [...] vol 1. p. 117*: ‘Men heeft bij deeze Citer nog vijf andere snaaren in de laagte op eene aangehechte toets gevoegd, en in het Italiaansch aan zodanig eene Citer den naam van Archicetara, in het Fransch Archicistre of Kunst-Citer gegeven; wordende deeze bijgevoegde snaaren nooit anders dan los aangeroerd, zonder er de vingers op te zetten: deeze snaaren zijn van een groot nut wanneer men uit de applicatie komt; ook maaken zij het speeltuig Harmonieuser: dan het ligchaam van deezen Citer is veel groter. Zie de schaale en toets daarvan op Plaat 8, achter de hier nevenstante Plaat 7’.

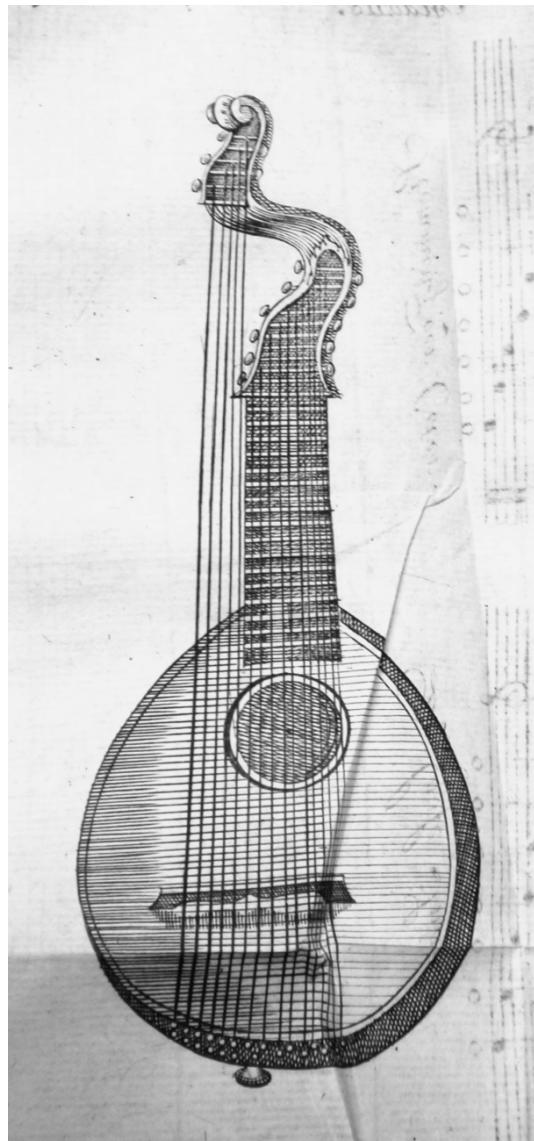


Figure 8: 'Kunst Citer' or archicistre, Reijnvaan *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 8.



Figure 9: Tuning of the 'Kunst Citer', Reijnvaan *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 8.

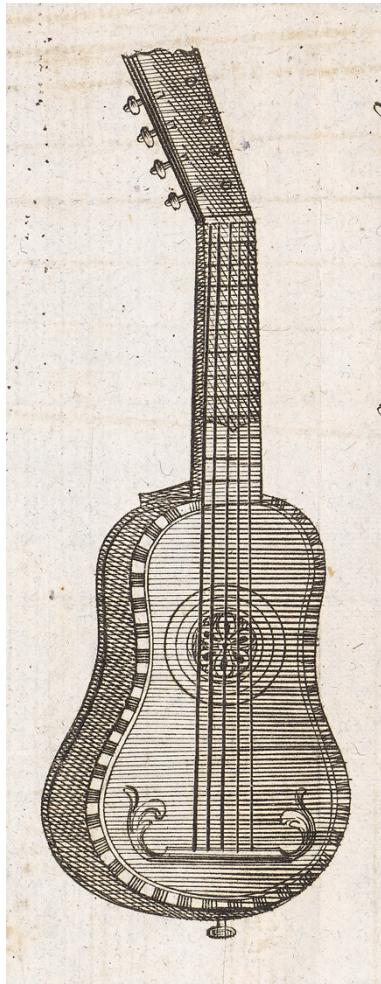


Figure 10: 'Spaanse Citer, Gitar of Mandole' (Spanish Cittern, Guitar or Mandole) from Reijnvaan's *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 21.



Figure 11: Tuning of the 'Spaanse Citer', Reijnvaan *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 21.

Moving on to the octoform 'Spanish guitar' family, Reijnvaan describes the five-course 'Spanish' guitar, in the lemma 'Guitarra' (see figure 10):

GUITARRA. (A Spanish Term. ) [...] The instrument that carries the name of Guitar these days, but is sometimes also called Spanish Cittern, or Mandole, has five courses of strings, none of which are double. These strings are tuned to a, d, g, b, e, as is shown on the plate: for stringing, the lower two have to be wound on silk (otherwise one takes silver [-wound] violin strings) and the three higher ones or g, b and e, violin strings as on the violin [...]. One may

also string the lower ones double, with extra copper[-wound] strings, which is why there are eight keys or pegs on the Guitar; on the lower end of the Guitar there is a little ivory button, or [alternatively] a piece of black ebony glued to the sound box of the guitar, meant for a ribbon, which goes around the shoulders, so that the guitar will lie steadily.<sup>40</sup>

Reijnvaan remarks that guitars are generally strung with strings of wound silk and gut, in single courses, which is quite progressive for the time and conforms with developments elsewhere in Europe, where players of five-course guitars were transitioning from double to single stringing (one of the proponents of this is Giacomo Merchi, who mentions the advantages of single stringing in his 1777 *Traité des Agrémens de la guitare*, see also chapter 3). Reijnvaan mentions eight tuning pegs, which is unusual for the time but compatible with his comment that 'One may also string the [three] lower ones double, with extra copper[-wound] strings, which is why there are eight keys or pegs on the Guitar'. The tuning indicated by Reijnvaan for the 'Guitarra' (A-d-g-b-e') is the usual tuning for a gut-strung guitar of the time (figure 11). He knows however that guitars can be strung with double or even triple courses:

There is also another kind of Guitar, of which the five courses of strings of the ordinary or common Guitar, are all double, and have thus ten strings, also one with twelve strings, of which the two lower courses have three strings, and the three other courses two; each row, or its string, being set Unison: these are only for the purpose of getting more sound out of the instrument, [and are] otherwise treated in the same way as the ordinary guitar.<sup>41</sup>

The second member of the gut-strung guitar family that Reijnvaan discusses is what would now be called a harp-guitar; an instrument with the stringing and tuning of a five course gut-strung guitar, with one added string on the fretboard (tuned to F, remarkably) and four added unfretted bass strings on a second peg box, extending the stringing to B,-C-D-E-F-A-d-g-b-e'. He calls this instrument a 'mandore' or 'mandola'.<sup>42</sup>

To this Spanish zither or guitar, five other strings were added, in the bass: the multiplication of these strings has made such a guitar acquire the name of Mandora or Mandore: [...] the four lowest or lowest of these strings do not lie on the fingerboard of the Guitar, but singly

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 352 'GUITARRA. (Een Spaansche Term. ) [...] Het Speeltuig dat thans den naam van Gitaar voert, en waaraan men wel eens den bijnaam geeft van Spaansche Citer, ook genoemd wordende Mandole, heeft vijf rijen snaaren, Waarvan er geen een dubbeld is, welke snaaren gesteld worden a, d, g, b, e, gelijk bij de schaale te zien is: om de zelve te besnaaren moeten de twee ondersten of a en d op zijden besponnen snaaren zijn, (anders neemt men daar voor ook wel zilveren vioolsnaaren) en de drie bovensten of g, b en e, vioolsnaaren overeenkomstig de viool [...]. Men kan de ondersten echter ook dubbeld besnaaren zijnde dan die bijgevoegden, koperen snaaren, waarom er op de Gitaar eigenlijk agt schroefjens of sleutels zijn: dan de meesten verkiezen ze liever enkel: van onderen aan de Gitaar is een ijvooren knopjen, of aan den buik dezelve een stukjen zwart ebbenhout gelijmd; dienende om er een lint aan vast te maken, 't welk om den schouder gaat, om dat de Gitaar vast zoude liggen.'

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 353: 'Men heeft ook nog een andere soort van Gitaar, waarvan de vijf rijen snaaren van de ordinaire of gewoonlijke Gitaar, allen dubbeld zijn, en dus tien snaaren hebben, ook eenen met twaalf snaaren, waarvan de twee onderste rijen drie snaaren hebben, en de drie andere rijen twee ; wordende iedere rije, of Choorsnaaren, Unison gesteld: dezelve zijn alleenlijk dienende, om meerder geluid uit het speeltuig te kunnen haalen, anderszins eender behandelde wordende als de ordinaire Gitaar'.

<sup>42</sup> No 18th-century harp guitars survive in Dutch collections, but there are several examples in the Musée de la Musique in Paris.

and side by side on an attached neck; then the fifth one is placed on it, being then on it six strings: which therefore also has the consequence, that the fingerboard is much broader than before, and the body of the instrument much larger: [...]<sup>43</sup>

It must be observed, that if one plays a musical piece in the key of C major, or A minor, then the tuning of this instrument remains as indicated by the image; on the other hand, if one plays in the key of B flat, or in E flat, or in the key of G minor, then one must tune the B, and the E of the strings that lie besides the neck, in B flat, and in E flat; the D, and the F of these strings never change; sometimes the C of these strings is changed to C sharp, depending on who is playing the instrument, and if one plays from certain notes, where this re-tuning of the lower strings is appropriate.<sup>44</sup>

This instrument is a slight puzzle, but Reijnvaan is generally correct in his descriptions. The instruments it resembles the most are the extended guitars that were made in France at the time by makers such as Lambert.

---

<sup>43</sup> Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan, *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* [...] vol 1, p. 353 'Men heeft bij deeze Spaansche Citer of Gitaar nog vijf andere snaaren, in de laagte of bas gevoegd: de vermeerdering van deeze snaaren heeft zodanige gitaar de naam van Mandora of Mandore doen verkrijgen: [...] de vier onderste of laagste van deeze snaaren liggen niet op de toets van de Gitaar, maar enkelijk en nevens op eene aangevoegde toets ; dan de vijfde is daarop geplaatst, zijnde dan daarop zes snaaren: het welke des ook tenegevolge heeft, dat de toets veel breder is, dan van voorige, en het ligchaam van het speeltuig veel grooter [...].'

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.353 'hierbij moet in acht genomen worden, dat indien men eenige Muzijkstuk uit C groote ters, of uit A kleine ters speelt, zo blijft de stemming van dit instrument, zodanig als bij de schaale is aangewezen; dan indien men integendeel speelt, uit B-mol, of uit E-mol groote ters, of uit G kleine ters, dan moet men de B, en de E van de snaaren Welken nevens de Toets liggen, in B-mol, en in E-mol stemmen; de D, en de F van deeze snaaren veranderen nooit; somtijds stelt men de C daarvan wel eens in C-kruis, hangende zulks af van de geene die het instrument behandelt, en naar dat men uit zekere toonen speelt, waarbij deeze verstemming der onderste snaaren te pas komt'.



Figure 12: 'Mandola' or harp-guitar, Reijnvaan *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 22.



Figure 13: Tuning of the 'mandola' or harp-guitar, Reijnvaan *Kunst-Woordenboek* plate 22. The F on the sixth course is very unusual.

So in general, Reijnvaan includes a wide range of plucked-string instrument lemmas in his *Kunst-Woordenboek*, including fairly common as well as more far-fetched instruments. He includes instruments that were mostly used in England as well as some mostly used in France. His descriptions appear to be quite accurate, detailed and up-to date, and so are the drawings. He appears to be moving towards the ‘modern’ nomenclature where wire-strung instruments are called ‘Cithara’, ‘Cetara’ and ‘Citer’, and gut-strung instruments ‘Spaanse Citer’, ‘Gitar’, ‘Mandole’ and ‘mandola’.

## 1.4 Instruments from abroad

### 1.4.1 Iconography

Dutch treatises from the period provide one source of information about which instruments were known in the Netherlands and what they were usually called. Besides treatises, there is iconographical evidence to consider. Interpreting iconography has issues of its own, but in cases where artists seem to show a concern for the accurate representation of musical instruments it can be an invaluable source, particularly when crossed with other types of material.

This is especially relevant as to the presence of instruments from German-speaking countries, of whose presence in the Netherlands there is very little written or material evidence. Instruments that look very much like German or Swiss *Zithern* however are depicted in contemporary Dutch art. In the following images, my claim for some of these these instruments to be Swiss or German is based on the length of the neck in proportion to the body, as well as the shape of the body: German and Swiss instruments tend to have twelve or more frets on the neck and a relatively narrow fingerboard that accommodates about five courses, while British and French instruments tend to have under twelve frets on the neck and have wider fingerboards, accommodating six or more courses.

The first example is the drawing *Woman sewing in an interior* (1793) by Willem Joseph Laquy (1738-1798). Laquy was born in Brühl, Germany, but worked and lived most of his life in Amsterdam. The instrument hanging on the wall looks like a Swiss ‘Toggenburger Halszither’ because of the length of the neck and the two additional sound holes in the soundboard. It has nine tuning pegs, which would allow for a five-course c-g-c’-e’-g’ tuning which was usual.<sup>45</sup> It is a relatively ‘modern’ instrument for the time.

---

<sup>45</sup> Andreas Michel: *Zistern. Europäische Zupfinstrumente von der Renaissance bis zum Historismus*. (Leipzig, Verlag des Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, 1999) 162-164

In the depicted room there is a framed engraving on the wall, a quite popular print by Charles D. Melini after a painting by François Drouais (1727-1775). It depicts children with a small gut-strung guitar and a small dog, both motifs mirroring objects in the room. Besides her guitar and engraving, the young lady in the image has books, an embroidery frame, a bass viol, and a maid, suggesting some wealth and leisure time. The objects suggest a wide range of interests and occupations, all proper for young women of her class, but also a form of domestic cosmopolitanism enabling her to participate in European culture without breaking societal restrictions.



Figure 14: *Woman sewing in an interior* (1793) by Willem Joseph Laquy (1738-1798). On the wall is a (Swiss) Toggenburger Halszither. Additionally, there are a bass viol, books, an engraving and an embroidery frame. Collection of Teylers Museum, Haarlem.

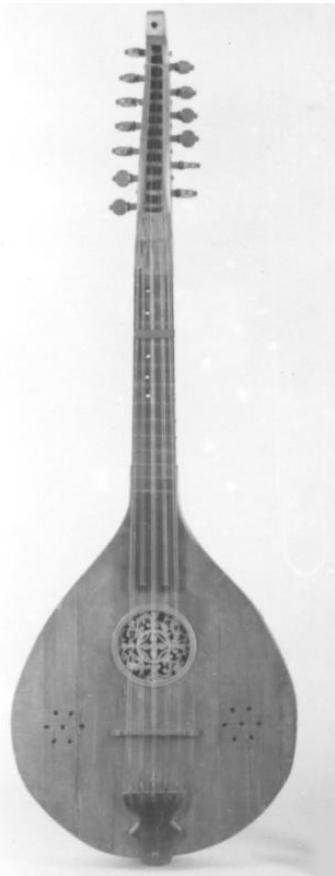


Figure 15: Toggenburger Halszither, mid-19th century, collection of the Grassi Museum für Musikinstrumente, Leipzig. Inventory number 615. The tuning for this five-course wire-strung instrument would be c-g-c'-e'-g'.<sup>46</sup>

The second example is a drawing titled *Straatmuzikant* ('Street musician', see figure 16) by Willem Albertus Haanebrink (1772-1840), who lived and worked in Utrecht.<sup>47</sup> The drawing depicts a male figure playing a long-necked 'Halszither' that is missing some tuning pegs; it must originally have had eleven pegs. The musician is standing outside, in front of a wall. This instrument bears most similarity to a Thüringer Halszither.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> <[http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/zist\\_stimmung.htm](http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/zist_stimmung.htm)> accessed 16 November 2022. See also Michel 1999, 129.

<sup>47</sup> A. J. van der Aa: 'Willem Albertus Haanebrink' in *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 8. Eerste stuk*, 18.

<sup>48</sup> <<http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/ZISTER/3320.htm>> Thüringer Halszither.

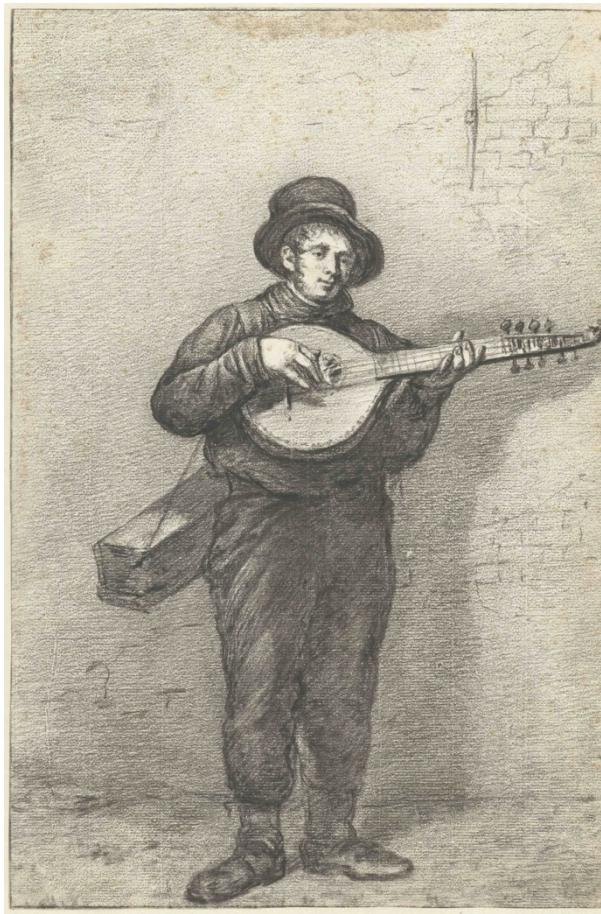


Figure 16: Willem Albertus Haanebrink (1772-1840) *Straatmuzikant*. Collection of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-T-1920-50.

These two images both show instruments from German speaking countries, but they contrast as well. The guitars can apparently be played both inside and outside, by female or male players, wealthy or poor. Typically, the woman is pictured indoors, the man outdoors. These foreign instruments not only crossed geopolitical frontiers to arrive in the Netherlands, but also appears to have moved fluidly across social borders.

#### 1.4.2 Jacob Trippel from London

The Dutch historical newspaper archives yield some interesting results on the topic of guitars and citterns from abroad.<sup>49</sup> In 1761 there is a quite rare advert by a foreign instrument maker:

J. Trippel, Master musical instrument maker from London, presents for sale, extra fine  
Guitars, after the newest fashion, as well as the repair of old instruments, all at very

---

<sup>49</sup> I have searched on the terms guitar, guittar, guitare, guitar, sixtre, sistre and cistre, between the years 1750 and 1820, throughout all digitalised newspapers in the Netherlands (not the colonies) on <[www.Delpher.nl](http://www.Delpher.nl)>. Also, I searched music listings from the 'sGravenhaagse Courant that were assembled by Aldo Lieffering and now reside in the [dans.knaw.nl](http://dans.knaw.nl) data repository. All translations from Dutch and French to English are by me. The original-language advert texts can be found in Appendix C.

reasonable rates. He is lodged at the Nieuwen Haven, in the Morgenstar in The Hague, and requests that letters be sent charged to the sender.<sup>50</sup>

This probably refers to the German-born luthier Jacob Trippell, who had been living in London from c. 1755 and apparently resided temporarily in Amsterdam. Around 1764 he moved to New York, where he continued to work as a luthier and advertised his English (and Spanish!) guittars in *The New York Gazette*.<sup>51</sup> On April 6, 1797 'A very fine and light Guittarra by J. Trippel, London 1761 with its case' was sold in auction in The Hague.<sup>52</sup> Remarkably, an English guitar by Trippell (dated 1761, the year of the advert) survives in the collection of the Haags Kunstmuseum in The Hague.<sup>53</sup>

#### 1.4.3 The Bolhuis auction

An auction catalogue from 1764 of the musical instruments collection of Michiel van Bolhuis (1713-1764), a patrician inhabitant of the town of Groningen in the Northern Netherlands, mentions among many other instruments and scores:

14. A cittern by Joh. Mich. Köllmer. 1737 (18 stuivers)
15. Another cittern (16 stuivers)
16. A guitar (17 stuivers)
17. A mandora, or small lute (4 stuivers)<sup>54</sup>

The attribution 'Joh. Mich. Köllmer. 1737' on the first cittern probably refers to a member of the Köllmer family of musical instrument makers from Crawinkel, Germany, so this is very likely a cittern from Germany. The Kunstmuseum in The Hague holds a cittern by another member of the Köllmer family, Georg Nicolaus Köllmer, from the 1800s.<sup>55</sup> The fact that there are two citterns mentioned explicitly could mean that the guitar mentioned was a gut-strung instrument, knowing also that guitar teachers were active in Groningen at the time.

---

<sup>50</sup> J. Trippel, Mr. Musicq-Instrumentemake van Londen, presenteerd te Koop, extra fyne Guitarn, na de nieuwste Fatsoen, als meede om oude Musicq-Instrumenten te repareren, alles voor een civiele prys. Hy logeerd op den Nieuwen Haven, in de Morgenstar in 's Hage, en verzoekt de Brieven van buyten franco'. 'sGravenhaagse Courant 31 August 1761.

<sup>51</sup> Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'The guittar in the British isles, 1750-1810'. (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011), 625 and D. G. Rossi, 'Citterns and Guitars in Colonial America', in: Monika Lustig (ed.) *Gitarre und Zister, Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*. (Michaelstein, Blankenburg, 2005), 155-168.

<sup>52</sup> Gerard Verloop, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623-1775. Musical instruments in Dutch book auctions, 1623-1775*. (Schagen: Stichting Collectie Verloop te Schagen, 2002), p. 33 'Een zeer fraaye en ligte Guitarra van J. Trippel, London 1761 met zyn kast.'

<sup>53</sup> Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'The guittar in the British isles, 1750-1810'. (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011), 171.

<sup>54</sup> Albert R. Rice, 'The Musical Instrument Collection of Michiel van Bolhuis (1764)' in *Journal of the American Musical Instruments Society* (Vol. XVIII, p. 5-11). Rice translates the Dutch word 'Citter' as 'Folk cither' which I find contentious. It seems, considering for example the presence of the Köllmer 'Zither' in the Kunstmuseum more likely to indicate a cittern-style instrument. '14. Een citter van Joh. Mich. Köllmer. 1737 (18 stuivers) / 15. Een ditto (16 stuivers) / 16. Een Guitar (17 stuivers) / 17. Een Medoor, of kleine Luit (4 stuivers)'.

<sup>55</sup> <[http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/ZISTER/biograph\\_zister/koellmer.htm](http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/ZISTER/biograph_zister/koellmer.htm)> accessed May 10 2019.

The sums of money mentioned, presumably the prices achieved at auction, in stuivers, range from four stuivers for the mandora, to eighteen for the Kölmer cittern. Converted to today's currency that would be €2.13 to €9.60.<sup>56</sup> Other instruments in the sale were sold for considerably more: none of the bowed string instruments were sold for less than a gulden (twenty stuivers), about €10.67. Most money was paid for a 1740 violoncello by Matteo Gofriller (21 gulden or €224.05) and 'A fine harpsichord with its pedestal' ('Een fraaye Clavecimbaal met zyn voet', for 29 gulden or €309.40). The only instruments in the same low price range as the plucked ones are a recorder, an oboe, clarinets, two cornetti and two *chalumeaux*.

#### 1.4.4 The Clauss and Levy case

Another rather remarkable document on international guitar trade is the following advertisement by the London guitar makers Claus & Co in the Amsterdamse Courant of April 7 1785, that demonstrates that the Netherlands were a market for British instrument manufacturers:

Claus & co in London, of Gerard Street in Soho, having been plausibly informed, that a counterfeit of their incomparable PATENT Forte Piano Guitar, in various towns, has been sold to some of the most prominent Persons in the Netherlands, under the pretence, that it [the instrument] had been sent by the Patentees as if in business with them. They therefore find it necessary, both to defend their reputation and to prevent similar fraud in the future, to inform the persons who wish to possess a genuine Patent Instrument, that such can be distinguished from all others, as is has been marked at the foot of the neck with the arms of his Majesty of Great Britain [sic], surrounded by the words: Claus & Comp. Inventors London Patent Instrument, and signed with the same mark on the front under the bridge, as well as the address of the Patentees, No. 7. Gerard Street. This Instrument, which His Majesty of Great Britain [sic] has pleased to grant his letter of Patent, that granted the Inventors an exclusive Privilege to produce and sell it, because of its resounding and strong sounds, facility in treatment and delicate execution, that equals even the Fortepiano; and as such has won the approval of the Public, both in England and in other prominent countries in the world.

The main distinction between this instrument and the common Guitar, consists of the Keys, whose movement is so much easier as it surpasses that of the strings; the fingerboard is divided in the same way as the common Guitar, and the fact that the Noose in the middle of the Damper can be moved up and down gives the effect of a swell, and makes a pleasant distinction in the sound. The internal construction, in which this instrument excels, as the

---

<sup>56</sup> Based on historic currency research from the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, one stuiver from 1764 would represent the equivalent spending power of €0.53 in 2018. There are twenty stuivers in one guilder.  
<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php>, accessed June 10, 2019.

Patentees dare say, will last very long, and [they] guarantee that it will last for twenty years; also they are not unwilling to take back any instrument that is not approved within twelve months, if there is no accident. The Ladies and Gentlemen who wish to be served, will have their orders faithfully executed, [when] addressing them to the Patentees as above.<sup>57</sup>

This notice by the London firm of Clauss & Levy ('Makers of Patent Instruments') shows that they, as well as their main competitor Longman & Broderip, were actively approaching the Dutch market to sell (wire-strung) guitars. We may safely assume that Longman & Broderip were the fraudulent party referred to in the advertisement, as Clauss & Levy were at the time involved in legal procedures against them over patent issues.<sup>58</sup> The 'keyed guittars' mentioned had been in vogue in Britain for several years: these are guitars with a small set of piano-like keys added to the top of the instrument, connected to little hammers that hit the strings. Their sound can be considerably louder than that of ordinary guitars.<sup>59</sup> The advertisement implies that keyed guitars in general had been sold in Holland in or before 1785, and indeed several of Longman & Broderip's keyed guittars are present in the Haags Kunstmuseum collection.<sup>60</sup> The export to the Netherlands must have been economically significant to Clauss & Levy for them to go to the expense of posting this advert.

## 1.5 Dutch-made instruments

Plucked string instruments were also manufactured in the Netherlands. There are surviving instruments by the makers Johannes Cuijpers, Gosewijn Spijker, Benoit Joseph Boussu (all three now mostly known now for their bowed string instruments) and by a Johan[n] Swarts (or Swartz).

---

<sup>57</sup> 'CLAUS & COMP. te London, Gerard Straat Soho, zynde geloofwaardig geïnformeerd, dat een valsche Namaakzel van hun onvergelijkelijk PATENT Forte Piano Guitar, in verscheiden Plaatsen, en wel aan eenigen der voornaamste Persoonages in de Vereenigde Nederlanden, verkogt is, onder voorwendzel, dat dezelen door de Geprevilegeerden zouden zyn overgezonden, als met hen in Sociëteit zynde; zy gelooien derhalven noodzaakelyk, zo wel om hun reputatie te wraaken als om in 't toekomende dergelyk bedrog voor te komen, om de Perfoonen, welke Bezitters van bet oprecht Patent Instrument wenschen te worden, te berichten, dat hetzelve van alle anderen onderscheiden is, doordien het van vooren op den Grond van den Hals, met de Wapens van Zyne Majestet van Groot-Brittannien bestempeld is, omringd met de woorden: Claus & Comp. Inventors London Patent Instrument, en met hetzelve Stempel getekent van vooren onder de Kam, benevens het Adres van do Geprevilegeerden, No. 7. Gerard Street. Dit Instrument, waarop het Zyne Majestet van Groot-Brittannien behaagd heeft, Zyn Koninglyke Lettre Patent te verleenen, waarby de Uitvinders eene uitsluitende Privilegie word toegestaan, tot het maaken en verkoopen van hetzelve, wegens deszelfs klinkende en sterke Toonen, faciliteit in behandeling en delicate uitvoering, evenaard de Forte Piano zelfs; en als zodanig heeft het de algemeene goedkeuring van het Publicq weggedragen, zo wel in Engeland als in andere voornaamste Landen der Waereld. Het groot onderscheid tusschen dit Instrument en de gemeene Guitar, bestaat in de Sleutels, wiens beweeging zo veel gemakkelijker is als deszelfs die der Snaaren overtreft; de Toets is op dezelfse wijze als die der gemeene Guitar verdeeld, en de Strop in 't midden van de Sourdine kunnende op en neder bewoogen worden, doet het effect van een Swell, en maakt een aangenaam onderscheid van klank. De inwendige Constructie, waar door dit Instrument zo bijzonder uitmunt, durven de Geprevilegeerden zeggen, dat zeer langen tyd duuren kan, en staan goed, dat het twintig Jaaren uithouden moet; ook zyn zy niet ongenegen eenig afgekeurd Instrument binnen den tyd van twaalf Maanden te rug te neemen, mits er geen toeval aangekomen zy. De Dames en Heeren die er van gelieven gediend te zijn, zullen hunne orders getrouwelijc zien uitgevoerd, addresseerende aan de Geprevilegeerden als boven'. Amsterdamse Courant of April 7 1785.

<sup>58</sup> Jennifer Nex, 'The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London'. (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh 2013) 92 and Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'The guitar in the British Isles, 1750-1810'. (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011), 253.

<sup>59</sup> London guitarist Taro Takeuchi has recorded on keyed- and other guittars, for instance here: <<http://youtu.be/N4HxtTR49Js>>, accessed October 26 2014.

<sup>60</sup> Thanks to Panagiotis Poulopoulos for this information. The expenditure in Clauss' books for having the advertisement translated into Dutch is documented by Jennifer Nex in her dissertation 'The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London'. (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh 2013).

Most of these instruments are of the wire-strung kind, with two notable exceptions: a five course Spanish, or ‘Baroque’ guitar by Gosewijn Spijker which will be discussed below and another exceptional instrument by him, a two-string colascioncino.

The sixteen surviving guitar- and cittern-like instruments identified during this study are listed in Appendix D. In the paragraphs below I will discuss in roughly chronological order the instruments’ makers, and some characteristic features of the instruments themselves.

### 1.5.1 Gosewijn Spijker

#### 1.5.1.1 Life

Relatively much is known about the life of the respected and established Amsterdam instrument maker Gosewijn Spijker, who made the earliest surviving guitar made in the Netherlands. Born in the Dutch village of Eibergen near the German border, Spijker (c.1706-1782) moved the 165 kilometers to Amsterdam when he was young, probably with his father Pieter Spijker, who lived for a while in Amsterdam and died there in 1739. As for Spijker’s training, it is not certain who his master was in the field of instrument making, but considering location and time-frame, a very likely candidate is the famous violin and viol maker Pieter Rombouts (1667- 1728).<sup>61</sup> Rombouts was the step-son of luthier Hendrick Jacobs, and had his workshop at the Botermarkt in Amsterdam, very close to all of Spijkers known addresses. An inventory after the death of Rombouts’ widow shows the presence of three ‘citters’ (citterns). Boys like young Spijker could be apprentices from the age of about twelve, so that would give the time frame of about 1718 to 1728 for an apprenticeship, after which he would have established his own workshop.

Spijker was married four times and had at least eleven children. He must have been quite poor when younger, living in unhealthy conditions, as most of his children from his earlier years died young and were buried in one of the city’s graveyards for the poor. Later in life Spijker seems to have been slightly better off, becoming a poorter of the city of Amsterdam in 1744.<sup>62</sup> After ca. 1750 his financial situation seems to have gradually improved further: all three children from his third marriage survived into adulthood and all the known surviving instruments are from this period. As well as a building string instruments Spijker was active as an instrument dealer: active enough to have used printed labels. In 1782 Spijker died in the charitable ‘Diaconie Oude Vrouwen en Mannen Huis’, a protestant home for the elderly (then also known as the ‘Besjeshuis’, now the Hermitage Amsterdam Museum), and was buried at the ‘St. Anthonis

---

<sup>61</sup> The Amsterdam Rijksmuseum has four viols by Rombouts.

<sup>62</sup> A poorter is a citizen with additional privileges in the city. Being a poorter implies status and some wealth.

Kerkhof', a cemetery for the poor.<sup>63</sup> His son Anthonij Spijker bought a house in the Kattenburgerstraat in 1793, which implies some material wealth.

Spijker's violins and violas are highly collectible and still played. Prominent twentieth-century violin dealer Max Möller called him a 'very talented violin maker'<sup>64</sup> and wrote about him:

This excellent old-Amsterdam violin-maker is one of the few who has created really important works in the Netherlands at that time. Apart from a number of violins which bear his name and which have passed through my hands, there are particularly his violas which are, to this day, recognised as of excellent measurements (length of body 16½ inch). The execution is, sometimes, superior to that of Cuijpers at his best. His treatment of details is extremely delicate. He used very good materials and a yellow varnish of equally good, soft composition. Fine sound-holes and beautifully inserted purfling.<sup>65</sup>

#### 1.5.1.2 Spijker's five-course guitar, 1760

In 1760 Gosewijn Spijker made the large five-course, gut-strung guitar which is now in the collection of Kasteel Duivenvoorde, a country house museum near Leiden<sup>66</sup>. It is a generously proportioned instrument with a 710 mm scale and a rather deep soundbox of 93 to 102 mm (see figure 17). The guitar has a printed label stating 'GOSEWYN SPYKER / Muzyk Instrument Maaker / in Amsterdam A[nn]o: 1760' (the last two digits in ink, see figure 18). With the guitar is a fitted black wooden case, clad inside with green textile.

---

<sup>63</sup> Johan H. Giskes, 'Tweehonderd jaar bouw van strijkinstrumenten in Amsterdam (1600-1800)' in Lindeman, Fred J. *Vioolbouw in Nederland*. Amsterdam 1999, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Max Möller, *The violin-makers of the Low Countries*. Amsterdam, 1955, 18.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 151.

<sup>66</sup> In the collection it is inventory number DV11357.



Figure 17: Overall view of the guitar by Gosewijn Spyker (1760) in Huis Duivenvoorde.



Figure 18: Label of the guitar by Gosewijn Spyker.



Figure 19: Floral bridge finial.

The floral ornaments on both sides of the bridge are slightly crude and asymmetrical, but the edge binding, the internal linings between sides and back, and the top block inside the guitar are

quite refined. The soundboard is made of a reasonably fine and straight-grained spruce and has been scraped back carefully to a thickness of between 1.8 and 3.9 mm. The soundboard is fortified with four internal lateral braces plus two short braces leading at an angle from the bridge to the edge of the instrument. The sides are made of flamed maple. The wood of the back looks relatively plain and consists of one piece of relatively thick wood.<sup>67</sup>

The inside of the guitar shows markings of a tooth plane, and glue spillage that may indicate later repairs. The name 'SPYKER' has been branded or carved into the soundboard at the location of the bottom block, inside an inlaid curved-line decoration (see figure 20). This is an unusual location for a maker's name on a guitar, but it is likely to be authentic, as an almost identical mark is seen inside a 1760 viola by Spijker.<sup>68</sup>



Figure 20: Decoration on the end block of the Spijker guitar.

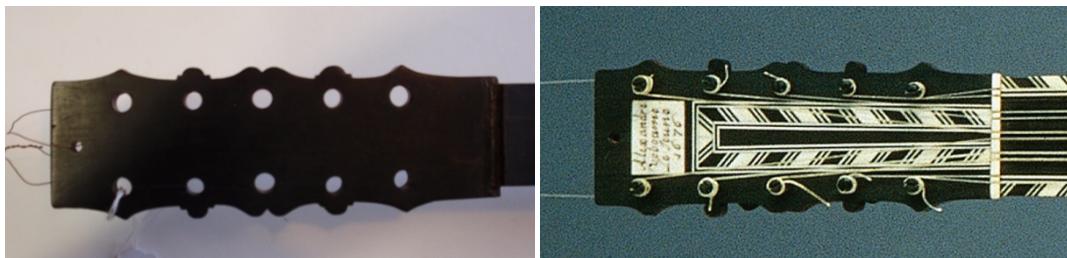


Figure 21: Characteristic shape of the headstock of the Spijker guitar (left) compared to headstock of a guitar by Alexandre Nicolas Voboam, Paris 1676 (right, collection Philharmonie de Paris, inv. nr. e.1532).

The guitar has at present fixed frets of ivory that are likely to be 19<sup>th</sup> century addition, as a gut-strung instrument would usually have had tied gut frets in 1760. There is no decoration or binding around the sound hole, which seems incongruent with the refined finishing elsewhere. Careful examination of the inside surface of the soundboard around the soundhole reveals traces of the former attachment of a wood or parchment rosette in the soundhole. The rather raw edge of the

<sup>67</sup> For very detailed measurements, see the plan/drawing by Jan van Cappelle made in 2019, available on <http://www.javaca.eu>.

<sup>68</sup> Möller 1955, 111. This viola carries a label that is almost identical to the one in the 1760 guitar.

wood around the soundhole, together with the slightly too-large size of it, suggests that the sound hole may have been enlarged at some point and the rosette removed. The guitar shows scratches on the soundboard, traces of intensive playing, possibly strumming, between the sound hole and bridge.<sup>69</sup>

The instrument – remarkably – appears to have been modelled largely on much earlier guitars by members of the French Voboam family of luthiers, who flourished in France the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in three respects. First, the shape of the soundbox with a shallow waist is not at all typical for the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but very reminiscent of Voboam guitars. Second, the placing of the bridge, quite close to the ‘bottom side’ of the guitar is unusual for the time, but is often seen on Voboam’s and other seventeenth-century guitars. Third, the contour of the guitar’s pegbox, which as a design element is an important signature of the individual maker, is almost identical to some Voboams, and the similarity to that of a guitar from 1676 by Alexandre Nicolas Voboam is striking.<sup>70</sup> (See figure 21, right hand side image). Where Spijker saw or copied this design is unknown, but in the 1750s and 1760s several Italian musicians with guitars, colascioncini and mandolins performed in Amsterdam: Giacomo Merchi, the Colla brothers, and the Rossi – Molinari duo. Spijker may well have been too poor to attend a public performance by these artists, but travelling musicians do often need repairs to their instruments, and that may also have led to contact with Spijker.

One could think that this might be an older instrument from the circle of the Voboam family, that was sold and labelled much later by Spijker. However, a dendrochronological analysis of the soundboard proves that (that part of) the guitar must have been made after 1741. This analysis, comparing patterns found in many different bowed string instruments, suggests similarities between this wood and wood used by instrument makers Willem van der Seyde, Pieter Rombouts, Caspar Strnad, Neuner, en Johannes Cuijpers (among others).<sup>71</sup>

Another argument the instrument not being made by Spijker this is that he had special labels printed for instruments he merely sold, which state: ‘Werd verkogt / by Gosewyn Spyker / in Amsterdam’ (‘Was sold / by Gosewyn Spyker / in Amsterdam’).<sup>72</sup> The wording of the label in the Duivenvoorde guitar (‘Muzyk Instrument Maaker’, meaning ‘musical instrument maker’) implies that Spijker made the instrument himself.

---

<sup>69</sup> I went to measure and examine the instrument at location in Duivenvoorde on three occasions. The second and third time I was accompanied by instrument maker and researcher Jan van Cappelle, who took part in the measuring and photographing of the instrument, for which I am very grateful. This has resulted in a technical drawing and a replica of the guitar by Jan van Cappelle, and in the future hopefully a collaborative scholarly article.

<sup>70</sup> Florence Gétreau, ‘Voboam’ in Oxford Music Online.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/51258>>, accessed January 25 2017. I am grateful to Taro Takeuchi for pointing out the resemblance.

<sup>71</sup> The dendrochronological analysis was done by Arjan Versteeg in March 2019, on the basis of specially-made high-resolution photographs by Ben Stuys. I am grateful for their help.

<sup>72</sup> Max Möller, *The violin-makers of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam, 1955) 18.

Gosewijn Spijker's guitar seems to have been a high-quality instrument given its refined finish, and has been played frequently, considering the many traces of use and repairs on both the instrument and the case. There were probably three periods when the instrument was played, and it was repeatedly modified and repaired:

- First period, from 1760 - c. 1810; the instrument was used as a five-course guitar, judging from the bridge and headstock that are designed for five double strings. There were ten tuning pegs, and there was a rosette in the sound hole.
- Second period: c. 1810 to at least 1839, possibly later. Used as a six-string (single-string) guitar. The original bridge was intact in this period, but modifications were made to allow for six strings. Adjustments were also made to the headstock: six holes are larger than four others, and six new (thicker) tuning pegs probably fitted there. Perhaps the rosette was removed around this time. Fixed frets were installed. Several rough repairs were made.
- Third period: after 1912 to possibly after the 1960s. The visible white PVA glue used at one point to reattach the bridge was not invented until 1912. This repair probably led to the disintegration of the bridge, since with modern glues it is the wood that breaks under too much bridge tension, instead of the bridge coming loose when hide glue is used.

It is not possible to determine exactly who commissioned Gosewijn Spijker to build the guitar, or who the first owner was. It is also not known how the guitar came to Huis Duivenvoorde, as the house was not lived in from 1760 to ca. 1830.<sup>73</sup> The guitar must have been somewhere during that time. There are several candidates for ownership of the instrument during those years: Assuer Jan Torck (1733-1793) was the owner of Duivenvoorde in 1760, and it is known that his seven children had music masters.<sup>74</sup> He might have bought the guitar for one of them. Maria countess van Regteren (or Rechteren) (1789-1808) was Torck's granddaughter.<sup>75</sup> She was an amateur musician, and was in contact with well-known musicians from The Hague. Henriette Neukirchen Baroness Nijvenheim (1807-1849), daughter of Maria van Regteren, was the first resident of Duivenvoorde after 1760, and brought with her much of the castle's current inventory. She may have inherited the guitar from her mother or great-grandfather, and brought it with her when she moved into Duivenvoorde.

No sheet music for explicitly for guitar survives in the music collection of Huis Duivenvoorde, but there are songs in the library with basso continuo accompaniment from the right time, published

---

<sup>73</sup> Elias A. Canneman and L. J. van der Klooster: *De geschiedenis van het Kasteel Duivenvoorde en zijn bewoners*. Den Haag, Staansuitgeverij, 1967, 36.

<sup>74</sup> Johan C. Bierens de Haan, 'Rosendael, groen hemeltje op aerde' (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1994), 177.

<sup>75</sup> Elias A. Canneman and L. J. van der Klooster: *De geschiedenis van het Kasteel Duivenvoorde en zijn bewoners*. Den Haag, Staansuitgeverij, 1967, 78-79.

in Amsterdam by Hummel. A handy guitarist could easily perform these on a guitar. The guitar's long scale makes it very suitable for basso continuo and other vocal accompaniments. The editions of songs for voice and guitar by the aforementioned Merchi are also ideally suited to this instrument.

### 1.5.1.3 Spijker's two-string colascioncino, 1757

A second surviving plucked-string instrument by Spijker is a 'colascioncino', a small colascione. A colascione is an instrument that resembles the Turkish *saz* and has only two or three strings, a small corpus and a relatively long neck. Colasciones were known from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and were used in popular music in Naples. Spijkers' colascioncino is now in the collection of the Musical Instruments Museum in Brussels.<sup>76</sup> It would have been strung with two gut strings, probably tuned to a-d' or a-e'. It was mostly known in the Netherlands as an instrument of visiting Italian musicians such as Merchi or Domenico Colla (see chapter 4 on performance).



Figure 22: Colascioncino or mezzo colascione by Gosewijn Spijker (1757), collection of the MIM in Brussels.

The author Reijnvaan (mentioned above) spends two lemmas on the colascione, but provides no illustration of it. He describes it as follows:

COLASCIONE (Italian.) In French: Colachon: an instrument of Turkish women, with two strings, a long neck, and having a body similar [in shape] to half a melon, being a kind of Lute, or Mandolin.<sup>77</sup>

[...] Being called in French 'Calcedon'; is a certain string instrument named as such, being a kind of Cittern, having only two strings, that are tuned in the Fifth, the same is very much

<sup>76</sup> Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels, inventory nr. 1568.

<sup>77</sup> Joos Verschueren Reijnvaan 1795 p. 155. 'COLASCIONE. (Italiaansch.) In het Fransch, Colachon: het is een speeltuig der Turksche vrouwen, met twee snaaren, eenen langen hals, en een ligchaam als eene halve meloen hebbende, zijnde een soort van Luit, of Mandoline'.

used in Italy, where, in spite of having only two strings, quite agreeable obbligato pieces are performed on it.<sup>78</sup>

Spijker's instrument, which conforms to the Reijnvaan description as having two strings, has a long neck with 19 tied frets of gut, giving the instrument a range of about two octaves. The rosette is carved into the soundboard as on a lute, in a grid pattern. The bowl is composed of 13 ribs of flamed maple and a slightly a-symmetrical end-cap. The woods used are spruce and maple and a tropical hardwood with a spotted pattern for the fingerboard. The scale of the instrument is 69.3 cm and its overall length is 83 cm. There is a very fine dark edge binding around the top. Inside the instrument there is a printed label that states: 'GOSEWYN SPYKER / Muzyk Instrument Maaker / Amsterdam A[nn]o 1757' (the last two digits are handwritten).

So far it has been assumed that no instruments by Spijker from before 1760 have survived, an assumption which the label in this instrument disproves.<sup>79</sup> Dendrochronological analysis of the one-piece soundboard reveals a similarity in the woodgrain pattern with woods used for instruments by Benoit Joseph Boussu, a Flemish maker mentioned later in this chapter.<sup>80</sup> What adds to the intrigue about this unusual instrument is that the colascioncino and the guitar were sometimes played together as a duo by Italian musicians, heard in concerts in Amsterdam in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as I will describe in the chapter on performance.

### 1.5.2 Instruments by Johannes Theodorus Cuijpers<sup>81</sup>

In 1764, four years after the Spijker guitar, the oldest surviving plucked instruments by Johannes Theodorus Cuijpers (1724-1818) were made: 'English guitar'-style citterns, very probably intended to be strung in wire. Generally, it is possible to determine which instruments were made for gut strings and which for wire strings by their bridge arrangement: gut-strung plucked instruments generally have their strings tied to a bridge that is glued to the soundboard, while wire strung instruments generally have their strings led over a movable bridge on the soundboard and attached to the 'bottom' of the instrument.

Cuijpers's instruments make up the majority of surviving Dutch plucked instruments from this period. The fact that relatively many instruments by this maker survive may be because he

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. p. 92. "CALESCIONE. (Een Italiaansche Term.) Wordende in het Fransch, Calcedon genoemd: het is een zeker Snaarspeeltuig zodanig genaamd, zijnde een soort van Citer, niet meer dan twee snaaren hebbende, welken in de Quint gesteld worden: hetzelve is in Italiën heel sterk in 't gebruik; wordende er, alhoewel maar twee snaaren hebbende, vrij aartige obligate stukken op gespeeld."

<sup>79</sup> Fred J. Lindeman, *Vioolbouw in Nederland*. Amsterdam, 1987, 16.

<sup>80</sup> The analysis was again done by Arjan Versteeg in March 2019, on the basis of specially-made high-resolution photographs provided by the museum.

<sup>81</sup> Except for the instruments in the Barcelona museum (1776) and two in the The Hague Kunstmuseum (1767 and 1782) I have seen, handled and measured all the Cuijpers instruments. The 1767 and 1782 instruments in the Kunstmuseum could not be located within museum storage by the staff. During the writing of this thesis a number of musical instruments were being transferred from the The Hague Kunstmuseum (where they have not been exhibited for many years) to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Hopefully the very interesting 1782 guitar will resurface.

produced larger numbers of instruments in his workshop compared to for instance Spijker, having his sons working with him. A second reason may be that bowed strings instruments by Cuijpers have been highly collectible for years. A biography of Cuijpers appeared in the music journal *Caecilia* as early as 1847, and the famous luthier has been mentioned in virtually every publication on violin making in the Netherlands since.<sup>82</sup> Cuijpers's citterns may therefore have been considered valuable by collectors, and more desirable than instruments by lesser names.

Cuijpers was born in 1724 in Dornick, Germany. From ca. 1750 he resided in The Hague, where he was 'the most productive of all Dutch violin makers', building violins, violas, and violoncello in a style that is considered French, and a number of interesting (wire-strung) guitars.<sup>83</sup> Two sons worked in his workshop, Johannes Franciscus and Johannes Bernardus.<sup>84</sup> There are eight (possibly nine) plucked string instruments by Cuijpers – all of them very likely intended for wire stringing, and all made between 1764 and 1782.

Möller judges that Cuijpers's bowed string instruments from before 1775 'show remarkable refinement' and that they are made of very fine wood. After 1775 he is said to have had a 'heavier touch'. From c. 1780 there was an increase in productivity from the workshop, which coincided with the time when the older of Cuijpers's two sons started collaborating with his father. Johannes Theodorus Cuijpers died in 1808.

Besides building new instruments, the Cuijpers workshop was involved in maintenance and repair. There are receipts from the household of the Van Reede van Athlone family in Huis Amerongen, where a collection of guitar music survives (see also chapter four on repertoire) with the signature 'J. Cuijpers'. One receipt is from 1779 and mentions:

One guitar glued and raised the bridge and nut and furnished with new strings	f 1.8
Supplied eight wound strings	f 1.12
Besides eight bobbins of string	f 0.8 <sup>85</sup>

There is a second receipt signed 'J. Cuijpers' from 1792-1793 for repairs to a harp and 'a tin box of strings'. The craftsman doing the repairs was almost certainly a member of the same Cuijpers' workshop.

---

<sup>82</sup> George H. Broeckhuizen, 'Biographische schetsen van Nederlandsche toonkunstenaars'. In: *Caecilia. Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland*. 12, p 133. (June 1847). Newer publications include for instance: Jaap Bolink (ed.). *400 jaar vioolbouwkunst in Nederland*. Amsterdam, 1999.

<sup>83</sup> Max Möller 1955, 136.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid 136 -137.

<sup>85</sup> Documents in Het Utrechts Archief; see Bibliography; Archive Items.

Table 1.1: Surviving plucked wire-string instruments by the Cuijpers workshop:

	Year, collection	Sounding string length (scale, in cm)	Shape	Tuners
1	Unknown, Victoria & Albert Museum, London (possibly by Cuijpers)	33.4	Octoform	10 pegs
2	1764, Kunstmuseum, The Hague	33.8	Octoform	10 pegs
3	1764, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels	33.8	Octoform	10 pegs
4	1767, Kunstmuseum The Hague (probably), formerly Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp collection.	42.2	Teardrop	10 pegs
5	1768, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (was: Kunstmuseum The Hague, NL)	42.4	Teardrop	10 pegs
6	1769, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels	45.5	Teardrop	10 pegs
7	1776, Museu de la Música, Barcelona	47.6	Teardrop	11 pegs
8	1778, collection Andreas Post, Amsterdam	38.4	Teardrop	10 pegs
9	1782, Kunstmuseum, The Hague	41.8	Pear	8 pegs
10	1782, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels	39.0	Teardrop	8 pegs

Looking at the list of the proportions and shapes of Cuijpers' instruments, it becomes clear that they fall roughly into two groups. There seems to be a group of smaller instruments with a special octoform design and with a ca. 34 cm string length, and a group of larger instruments with a string length between ca. 38 and 42 cm, which would accommodate the English c-e-g-c'-e'-g' tuning, with two larger outliers with string lengths of 45.5 and 47.6 cm.



Figure 23: Anonymous instrument in the Victoria & Albert Museum London (inventory number 224-1882), presumably by Cuijpers. Instrument number 1 in table 2 above.



Figure 24: Instrument from 1764 by Cuijpers in the Kunstmuseum, The Hague, instrument 2 in table 2 above.



Figure 25: Instrument from 1764 by Cuijpers in the MIM, Brussels, instrument 3 in table 2 above.

The group of smaller instruments with a scale of about 34 cm (plates 23, 24 and 25) is quite remarkable: they feature a figure-eight shaped soundbox, that is relatively deep, and strongly

arched. This exact model was not made by any other maker, Dutch or foreign. There are other short-scale citterns extant in the more common teardrop shape, for example one by Rauche, with a 33 cm string length,<sup>86</sup> and there are instruments with a figure-of-eight shape,<sup>87</sup> but this combination of size and shape so far belongs exclusively to Cuijpers. Assuming a stringing with materials known to have been used on other ‘English guittars’, the tuning for this type would be a minor third above the common c-tuning, so: e flat; g; b flat; e flat’; g’; b flat’. There is no written documentation about these smaller citterns, so their exact use remains unclear. The instruments may have been intended for children, though the string length would be playable for an adult.

Alternatively, with an appropriate bridge, and because of their waisted shape, they may have been used as small-sized bowed ‘English guittars’. Such instruments were called *salterios* or *sultanas* and were used in the Netherlands.<sup>88</sup> The final intriguing detail about the smaller Cuijpers citterns is that both the Brussels and The Hague instruments have tiny engraved mother-of-pearl plaques on their finials; one with a depiction of two doves (The Hague), the other with crowned initials ‘A.L.’ (Brussels). The use of decoration could point towards ownership by amateur players.



Figure 26: Headstock finial on instrument presumably by Cuijpers in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 27: Headstock finial on guitar by Cuijpers 1764 in Kunstmuseum, The Hague.

<sup>86</sup> A small Rauche instrument was offered for sale by the Sinier-de Ridder workshop in 2017. See: <http://www.sinier-de-ridder.com/divers/rauche-eng.html>, accessed 11-09-2017.

<sup>87</sup> There is – for example – a guitar-shaped cittern by Sveno Beckman in the collection of the Royal College of Music, dated 1757. Inventory number is RCM0023.

<sup>88</sup> Panagiotis Poulopoulos and Rachael Durkin. “A very mistaken identification”: the “sultana” or “cither viol” and its links to the bowed psaltery, viola d’amore and guitar. *Early Music*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2 (2016).



Figure 28: Headstock finial on guitar by Cuijpers 1764 in MIM, Brussels.

The second group of the more ‘regular’ instruments has a median scale of around 42 cm, allowing for the conventional c-tuning mentioned in Reijnvaan and other sources (see plates 29, 30, 31, and 32). The number of tuning pegs varies: most have a ten-peg configuration which conforms to an ‘English guitar’ setup.<sup>89</sup> The two later instruments (1782) both have eight tuning pegs, which could suggest for example a setup of four single and two double courses, or a five-course setup with two single basses and three double courses. The Barcelona instrument (1776) is an outlier concerning scale with a 47.6 cm scale. It may have been used for a lower pitch tuning, or the neck could be a later replacement.

All of Cuijpers’ instruments in this group have slightly arched tops with a recurved channel around their perimeter, similar as seen on violins (which may be explained from Cuijpers’ background as a violin maker) and rather flat backs. The outlines of the sound-boxes are teardrop-shaped.<sup>90</sup> The sound-boxes are all of maple with a light yellow-orange varnish, and the tops of spruce. This uniformity in materials, if not in size, is in contrast to the wide variety of designs and materials used by British builders.

---

<sup>89</sup> In Britain, where most wire-strung guitars had six courses, the number of tuning pegs could differ; as the exact distribution of single and double courses varied.

<sup>90</sup> I have not been able to examine the 1767 and 1782 Cuijpers instruments in the Kunstmuseum collection, as the museum could not locate the instruments.



Figure 29: Cuijpers 1768, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.



Figure 30: Cuijpers 1769, MIM Brussels.

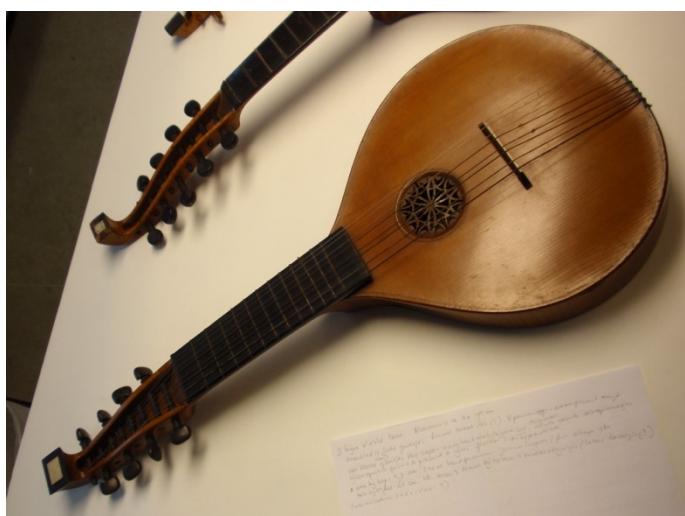


Figure 31: Cuijpers 1782 MIM Brussels (left).



Figure 32 (left): Cuijpers 1776, Barcelona.

Figure 33 (right): Cuijpers 1778, collection of Andreas Post Amsterdam.



Figure 34: 'Blunt arrowhead'-shape heel of Cuijpers 1768, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.



Figure 35: 'Blunt arrowhead'-shaped heel on Cuijpers 1769, MIM Brussels.

A special feature of all of Cuijpers' standard-sized instruments is the shape of the heel, a blunt arrowhead shape (see plate 34 and 35). This feature is seen on the larger Cuijpers' instruments and on the larger Swarts cittern, but on no other plucked string instruments of the time I have seen. It does occur however on viols, for instance those by Joachim Tielke (1641-1719), made a century earlier in Germany, and on 17<sup>th</sup> century citterns.

All Cuijpers' instruments except one have similar rosettes of inset thin wood or veneer, that appear to have been made using templates and/or callipers. One can easily distinguish scratched calliper lines on the surface of the rosette (see figure 37). This rosette design of overlapping circular lines is similar to rosettes on some German instruments (see figure 36). As to their material, compared to the alternatives, a parchment or metal rosette such as found in most French and English instruments, the thin wood ones by Cuijpers must have been faster and cheaper to make, and no craftsmen outside the workshop would have to be paid. Other decorations are restrained.



Figure 36 (right): rosette insert of cardboard in a German Halszither<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Instrument by Peter Zaugg (1832) in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inventory number MIR851.

Figure 37 (left): Typical rosette insert of Cuijpers guitars. This photo is of the 1769 MIM Brussels instrument.

It is remarkable that while contemporary British and French makers of citterns had been increasingly using the ingenious metal watch-key tuners that were developed by Hintz or Preston in London around 1760, all of Cuijpers' instruments have side-standing wooden tuning pegs, again like the six course 'cittern' in Verschuere Reijnvaan's *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek* (see figure 4). This can not merely be a matter of availability, as there would have been craftsmen capable of making watch-key tuners in The Hague. The reason for using pegs may have had to do with pricing, with aesthetics, weight, cost, and the fact that wooden tuning pegs were already available or easy to make in the own workshop. A more interesting reason could be the flexibility of use: a cittern with pegs can be re-strung in gut if desired while one with watch key tuners can not. Summarising, the significant design features of Cuijpers' instruments are:

- The unique (for citterns of the time) 'blunt arrowhead' heel profile
- Identical (in all but one) 'signature' wood rosettes, over a timespan of 18 years.
- The presence of wooden tuning pegs, instead of watch-key tuners
- In the case of the smaller octoform instruments: a unique combination of shape and size
- In the case of some of the smaller instruments: mother-of-pearl finial decoration
- Otherwise: very sparse decoration.

My general impression is that these are very neat, unadorned and classical instruments of a design that is much sparser than that of contemporary French and British makers. Functionally they are most similar to British-made instruments, with which they share the same (presumed) tuning.

### 1.5.3 An instrument by Benoit Joseph Boussu

The biography of Benoit Joseph Boussu has only recently been clarified.<sup>92</sup> Boussu (1703–1773) was born in Fournies in northern France near the Belgian border. He trained and worked until c. 1748 as a notary in the town of Avesnes-sur-Helpe. Around 1748 he moved to Liège, where he established himself as an instrument maker, and then moved to Brussels. From about 1760 he probably lived in Leiden and afterwards in Amsterdam, where he was recorded as a witness at the weddings of two of his daughters in 1771. In that same year he built an impressive wire-strung

---

<sup>92</sup> Geerten Verberkmoes, 'Benoit Joseph Boussu (1703-1773): Violin Maker and Notary'. *Galpin Society Journal*, Volume LXVI (March 2013) 117-135.

'guitar' or cittern, which is now in a private collection (see figure 38). Boussu died in his hometown of Avesnes-sur-Helpe. Benoit Joseph Boussu built violins, violas, cellos, double basses, examples of which are in the Musical Instruments Museum in Brussels. He labelled, numbered and signed his instruments, in particular the earliest ones, very thoroughly.<sup>93</sup>



Figure 38: Wire-strung guitar by Boussu, 1771. Image provided by Geerten Verberkmoes. Photography by Jan Stragier and Patrick Alliet of the School of Arts, Ghent.

Organologist Geerten Verberkmoes has written an excellent article on the one remaining cittern by Boussu, dating from 1771.<sup>94</sup> The main features of Boussu's impressive instrument are: a string length of 45 cm, metal watch-key type tuners for an unusual twelve strings, a pear-shaped sound

---

<sup>93</sup> Ibid 4.

<sup>94</sup> Geerten Verberkmoes, 'Made in Amsterdam: a 1771 cittern by Benoit Joseph Boussu'. *Early Music*, vol. 44/4 (2016) 627–641.

box, and an elaborate soundhole rosette. The instrument is signed and dated both inside and outside. The longer string-length would have made the instrument suitable for a lower tuning than the ‘English guitar’ c-tuning. Perhaps the French A-tuning was used. The twelve tuners and twelve end-pins are highly unusual, but after all according to Reijnvaan, ‘all [courses] may be single or some double, according to people’s taste’ so the instrument may have been strung with six double courses.<sup>95</sup> The instrument is similar to ‘cistres’ by Deleplanque and Le Blond, but also – with its pear-shaped soundbox – to the larger undated Johann Swarts that is discussed below.

#### 1.5.4 Instruments labelled Johann Swarts

The name ‘Johann Swarts’ (or ‘Iohann Swartz’) is found on labels inside two wire-strung plucked instruments, but he remains quite an obscure figure. So far is has not been possible to identify him with certainty in the records of the Amsterdam city archives or elsewhere, so there is no biographical information about him. A guitar by him is mentioned though in an advert from 1784, announcing the sale by auction of the estate of a surgeon: ‘A beautiful Guitar by J. Swarts’.<sup>96</sup>



Figure 39: Wire-strung guitar marked IOHANN SWARTZ. Collection of the author. Photos made by Jan van Cappelle.

<sup>95</sup> Joos Verschueren Reijnvaan 1795, 139-141.

<sup>96</sup> Verloop, Gerard. *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623-1775. Musical instruments in Dutch book auctions, 1623-1775*. Schagen: Stichting Collectie Verloop te Schagen, 2002, 15. More references to Swarts: He is mentioned as a violin maker in *Vioolbouw in Nederland* p. 16 and in J. H. Giskes: ‘Tweehonderd jaar bouw van strijkinstrumenten in Amsterdam (1600- 1800)’ in *Negenenzeventigste Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* (Amsterdam: Genootschap Amstelodamum, 1987)

The first remaining cittern (see figure 39) is branded 'IOHANN / SWARTZ' on the inside back. It is pear-shaped, has ten peg tuners, and is simply built out of spruce and maple. It has undergone in the past what could be called either a heavy restoration or a crude repair, replacing a a large part of the soundboard with new wood, of a rougher grain than the original. This has left the instrument looking a-symmetrical from the front. The instrument is modestly decorated with black-white-black inlay around the soundboard, two circles of black-white-black inlay around the soundhole, no rosette insert, and an elegant accolade shape to the end of the fingerboard. The finial of the headstock is inlaid with a square of a white material, probably ivory. The instrument has four holes through the fingerboard and neck for a capotasto. The loose bridge looks like a crude later replacement. Where the strings touch the edge of the soundboard, there is an ivory inlay strip, presumably to protect the wood from the wire strings. Johannes Cuijpers used a strip of a dark brown hardwood for this purpose. The scale is 42.2 cm, which would make it suitable for the English c-e-g-c'-e'-g' tuning. The maximum depth of the soundbox is 7.7 cm.

Looking at 18<sup>th</sup> century wire strung guitars outside the Netherlands, the instrument looks very similar to an instrument in the GlinkaMuseum, made by Joh. Wilhelm Bindernagel in 1798<sup>97</sup>, and a second (assumed) Bindernagel instrument from the Leipzig Muzikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> GlinkaMuseum, instrument labelled 'J. Bindernagel, Gotha, Saxony, 1798', inventory number MI-240. I would like to thank Stuart Walsh for bringing the similarity to my attention.

<sup>98</sup> Depicted in Andreas Michel's *Zistern*, on page 20. It is inventory number 621 in the Muzikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität Leipzig.

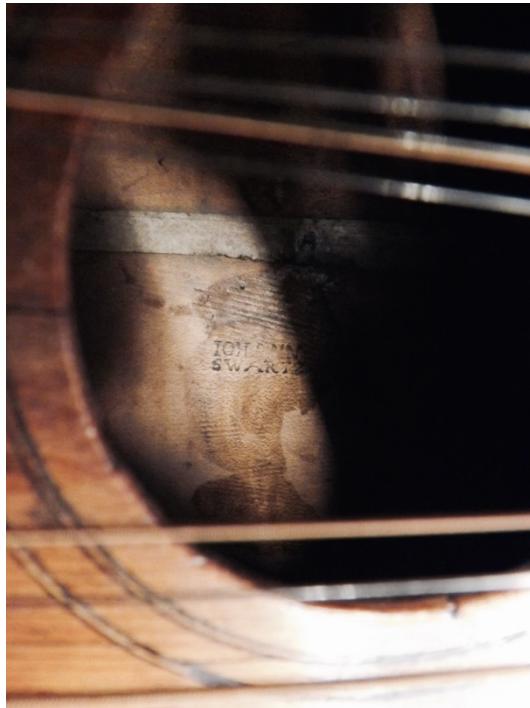


Figure 40: The stamp inside the smaller Swartz instrument ('JOHANN/SWARTZ') and the traces of a tooth plane.

The second remaining instrument is signed 'JOH. SWARTS / Fecit Amsterdam 1791', the last digit unclear, formerly in the collection of Taro Takeuchi of London but recently acquired by an Amsterdam musician. This is the latest Dutch cittern currently known, and it is very elaborately constructed. The instrument is heavily ornamented with mother-of-pearl and ebony lozenges around the edges of the soundboard, a band of mother-of-pearl dots and lozenges in mastic around the sound hole, and a white metal rosette insert. These last two features could well be 19<sup>th</sup> century additions. The cittern has a flattened arrowhead-shaped heel (very like the Cuijpers instruments) and watch-key tuners (for 10 strings). The strip of wood and mother-of-pearl inlaid lozenges around the soundboard is similar to that found on French instruments. The scale length is 41.4 cm, which makes it suitable for the English c-tuning, and its soundbox has a very generous maximum depth of 11.0 cm. This instrument is in playable condition. The headstock is similar to the Boussu instrument, having a teardrop-shaped cut-out.



Figure 41: Wire-strung guitar signed 'Joh. Swarts'. Private collection. Right hand photo made by Jan van Cappelle.

The two Swarts instruments have a number of subtle similarities. First the accolade-shaped edge of the fingerboard is very similar, and dissimilar to the style of Cuijpers or Boussu. Second, there is again an ivory strip to protect the soundboard from the wire strings at the 'bottom' of the instrument.

On the other hand, in many other ways the instruments are dissimilar, and both resemble instruments by other makers. One is relatively early and simple, the other one is very late, very large and sophisticated, with traces of 19<sup>th</sup>-century remodelling. In some details it is similar to the Boussu cittern. Considering this, it is quite possible that Swarts was the seller of one or both these instruments, and not the maker, or that these two instruments were made for very different clients.

## 1.6 Chapter conclusions

From the whole spectrum of sources we can say that various types of plucked fretted instruments were known and played in the Republic. Organist and early musicologist Joos Verschuere Reijnvaan describes a number of them very precisely in his 1795 dictionary *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek*.

Gut-strung five course guitars were known and played: they had single or double courses. The only physical example of an instrument like that, made in the Netherlands, is the spectacular Spijker guitar in Huis Duivenvoorde. This guitar was modelled after 17<sup>th</sup>-century French guitars by the Voboam family, but simplified as to its decoration. The guitar was already somewhat old-fashioned in style when it was made. It was played and repaired until half way the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Spijker's colascioncino – a briefly fashionable Italian instrument -- is even more surprising coming from an Amsterdam instrument maker.

Wire-strung six course 'English' guitars were known, made, and played more extensively. A number of them survive, by Cuijpers, Boussu and Swarts. There is great variation in body shape, body size, design, and stringing configuration among the instruments, but most of them are suitable for an 'English' tuning of c-e-g-c'-e'-g'. Cuijpers' guitars are classic and almost unadorned instruments, with some archaic features such as the flattened arrowhead-shaped heel. They all feature wooden tuning pegs instead of the more advanced and presumably more expensive metal watch-key tuners used increasingly by other makers. The rosettes in Cuijpers' surviving instruments are all similar and very recognizable, and maybe of German inspiration. Benoit Joseph Boussu's instrument is large and very beautifully decorated, as is the larger Johan Swarts instrument. The smaller and probably earlier Swarts is simple and unadorned, like the Cuijpers instruments. With all these instruments, subtle features such as the signature shape of heels, rosettes, fingerboard edges serve as hints towards authorship.

Wire-strung instruments from Germany and France must have been available as they are depicted in artwork by Dutch artists. Newspaper adverts confirm that more unusual guitar types were known and played in the Netherlands as well: keyed guitars were available from London dealers, and extended guitars as well, both of the wire-strung -- French 'archicistre'-- style and the gut-strung kind, as is shown by Reijnvaan's mentions and the teaching material in the Amerongen collection.

Stringing was more experimental than expected: wire and gut strings were sometimes combined on the cittern-like instruments, and different combinations of single, double and even triple course stringing were known.

The Dutch instrument makers in this chapter (all of them made bowed string instruments as well) moved considerable distances in their lives. Gosewijn Spijker moved as a child from Eibergen to Amsterdam, but seems not to have left the city afterwards. He lived most of his life in poverty, yet managed to build refined instruments: his guitar was modelled after French examples and his colascioncino after Italian instruments. The regular performances of Italian guitar players and other foreign musicians in the city in the 1750s must in some way have led to commissions for the five-course guitar and colascioncino in 1757 and 1760.

Johannes Cuijpers, born in Germany and settled in Amsterdam, seems to have been doing slightly better materially, repairing instruments for the very wealthy and powerful Van Reede van Athlone family at Huis Amerongen. He made at least two different types of the fashionable wire-strung guitar: a smaller type of which we don't know the exact use, and the more conventional kind that is tuned c-e-g-c'-e'-g' in the English style. It is likely that the family at Huis Amerongen (who had English relations, and even held British titles) owned at least one guitar by Cuijpers. We do not know exactly what Benoit Boussu's relation to the Netherlands was, but a stunning instrument by his hand survives. Johann Swarts, whose name is found in two further wire-strung guitars, is an even more mysterious figure.

## Chapter 2 Teaching and learning the guitar

### 2.1 Introduction

Having established in the previous chapter that guitars were indeed known, produced, bought, and sold in the Netherlands, the following question is how they were used and by whom. In this chapter I will be examining who were teaching, and who were learning to play guitar in the Netherlands between ca. 1750 and 1810, and what is known about the practical side of music teaching. Besides that, I will attempt to answer the question *why* one would learn to play the guitar or have one's children learn -- what benefit was expected from an activity that cost time and money. To answer that, I will have to examine what place and meaning music lessons in general had in Dutch society.

That way, I hope to explore the connection between active music making (for which music education is a preparation and a prerequisite) with the main cultural discourse of the time, and the values that formed the basis of these. I am considering the teaching of both the wire-strung and the gut-strung guitar, since (as mentioned before in the general introduction) they occupied largely the same niche in the musical world.

### 2.2 Views on education in the Republic

In the Netherlands, as in other European countries, there was an increasing discourse on the education of children and the forming of the citizen. This was reflected in publishing: the education of the citizen was a frequent subject of articles in *Spectator*-style journals, and charitable societies initiated essay competitions on subjects like moral, spiritual, and physical education, or the preferability of a private or public education.<sup>99</sup> The first novels were published in the Netherlands around this time, and they dealt among other subjects with education and self-education, such as Wolff and Deken's *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1785) or *Cornelia Wildschut of, de gevolgen der opvoeding* (1793).<sup>100</sup> An underlying theme in much contemporary writing on education is the idea that the Netherlands were perceived to be in a state of decline, after the glory and economic success of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that was seen as, and called, the 'Golden Age'. The Dutch felt that their seventeenth-century ancestors had been far more dynamic and

---

<sup>99</sup> Willeke Los: 'Opvoeding tot Mens en Burger', PhD Diss., Utrecht: Universiteit van Utrecht, 2005, 13.

<sup>100</sup> Elizabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken: *Cornelia Wildschut of, de gevolgen der opvoeding* ('Cornelia Wildschut, or, The Consequences of Education') (The Hague: Cornelis van Cleef, 1793).

successful, and that their own time was one of social and economic stagnation. Education was seen as a means to correct this decline.

As part of the increased interest in education, the first children's books and children's poetry were printed, such as Hieronymus van Alphen's *Kleine gedichten voor kinderen* from 1778 as well as the first collections of children's songs.<sup>101</sup>

Besides halting the decline of the country, we can distinguish several other 'purposes' of education from contemporary sources. First, the wish to raise 'good citizens' in a social sense, which in the Netherlands would mean, civic-minded, responsible people, aware of their place and role in society, behaving within its proper boundaries. Education would thus have to be suitable for the role and place of the individual in society, and would therefore be delineated by class, gender, and religion.

Another purpose of education, often mentioned but less tangible, is the wish for the child (and the adult) to be happy, fulfilled and entertained in a harmless way; to be morally autonomous and fulfil their personal potential. This purpose we find in writings by the more progressive, Rousseau-influenced authors such as Hieronymus van Alphen, Elisabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken. It is also found embedded in fictional narratives or poetry. The clergyman and writer Cornelis van Engelen (c. 1722-1793) expresses in an article called 'Letter on the moral education of children' in 1765 the sometimes contradictory purposes of education when he comments on Rousseau's *Emile* from 1762, stating that education should take into account the social context:

[...] Rousseau makes *Emile* happy for himself, but useless for Society. The wish for the child to become a happy person at some point appears to me, besides that, to be insufficient or not specific enough. The happiness must be related to the class of the one that is being educated.<sup>102</sup>

## 2.3 Views on music teaching

Dutch authors of the time express rather different opinions on the use of music education. Here is a Calvinist opinion, written by a Dutch clergyman in the Spectator-like journal *De Denker*, (Amsterdam 1765):

[...] do not think that I would take pleasure in a [woman], who excelled in singing, or the playing of string instruments; far from it. Such a woman at first enchants her lover, but after that constantly demands new admirers; she makes an effort to seem charming to a

---

<sup>101</sup> Frits Noske: 'Het Nederlandse Kinderlied in de achttiende eeuw' in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol 19, No. 3/4 (1962 - 1963), 173-185.

<sup>102</sup> Cornelius van Engelen. 'Brief over de Zedelyke Opvoeding der Kinderen'. *De Denker*. No. 123 Deel 3. 6 May 1765. 'De Denker' is an example of a Spectator-style journal, comprising essays on moral and societal subjects, sometimes written under an assumed identity.

Strangers; which may flatter the husband at first, but makes him jealous later, or at least suspicious. She will be adored for her voice, not her virtues. If only she knew how to moderate [her behaviour] she would be happy; but with her head always full of Arias, Cantatas, and Recitativo's she only dreams of company where there is always playing and singing. Even if her behaviour remains untainted; but how can a sensible man take pleasure in a wife who thinks all day of music, singers and string players? And thus spends the whole day getting dressed, sitting in front of her keyboard and forgets the housekeeping, her husband and her children?<sup>103</sup>

Dancing is less harmful; it gives a graceful and modest posture to an elderly lady to be able to bow well; and enter a room with elegance.<sup>104</sup>

Again, the playing of an instrument makes the woman more attractive, dangerously so in this case. Things are different for men, though:

A soldier or an officer has no duties beyond hunting and practicing music, after having learned the essentials of the military profession. Hunting makes his body strong, and Music kills his time, when he walks around in the Garrison in winter, and prevents him from thinking too much of his job.<sup>105</sup>

Two examples of children's poetry from 1782 by Hieronymus van Alphen, Holland's legendary children's poet (1746-1803) give a different view. Van Alphen was a proponent of the 18<sup>th</sup> century European fashion for children's literature and a protestant. He invented a genre of poetry for children that was highly moralistic, but also well-written and relatable enough to be immensely popular until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That popularity suggests that Van Alphen's values represent the values of many Dutch concerning education and morals.

Each poem describes one particular child (or occasionally two) in a particular situation. The child is often tempted to do something bad, starting to do something naughty, or is afraid and reconsiders, or is corrected by an adult. So the outcome of the poem is a good indication of socially desirable behaviour according to van Alphen. Desirable behaviours comprise piety,

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 278. 'Denk daarom niet dat ik behaagen zoude hebben in eene, welke in zangkonst, of snaaren spel uitblonk: het zy verre. Zulk eene bekoort eerst haaren minnaar met kragt, dog daar naa geduurige nieuwe verwonderaars vereischende, legt zy zig toe om beminelyk te schynen aan eenen Vreemden; het welk in het begin den man wel vleit, maar naderhand minnenydig, ten minsten agterdenkend maakt; Zy wordt om haare stem, en niet om haare deugden aangebeden. Wist zy zig te maatigen, zy was gelukkig, maar geduurig het hoofd vol hebbende van Airia 's Cantata 's en Recitativo 's droomt zy niet als van zulke gezelschappen, daar geduurig gezongen en gespeeld wordt. Ik onderstelle, haar gedrag blyft onbevlekt, maar hoe kan een verstandig man genoegen hebben in eene vrouw, die den geheelen dag aan muzyk, zangeressen, en Snaarspeelers denkt? en derhalven den geheelen dag zig opschikt, voor het Clavier zit, en haar huishouden, man, en kinderen vergeet?'.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 279. 'Het danssen is minder schadelyk; het geeft eene bevallige en deftige houding aan eene bejaarde vrouw, zig wel te kunnen buigen, en met zwier in eene kamer te koomen. Het overige wordt van zelf onnut'.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 248. 'Een Krygsman, een Officier moet niets doen als jaagen of Musyk oeffenen, naa een weinig het noodige van de Krygskonst geleerd te hebben. De jagt maakt zyn lichaam sterke, de Musyk doot zyn tyd, als hy 's winters in het Guarnisoen omloopt, en belet hem te konstig te denken aan zyn beroep'.

kindness, common sense and hard work. In this collection, several poems are about music-making. I will discuss two of those poems.

### MIETJE AT THE HARPSICHORD<sup>106</sup>

[Mietje:] The lovely tones  
already please me,  
though I am but young  
I love to sing along  
when my older brother  
plays the harpsichord.  
[...]

So I say “dear boy  
play some more for me.  
I wish I could learn too  
I would do my best like you”.

[...]  
I said “Dear mother,  
Do me this favour  
that I may learn to play  
and sing artfully”.  
and said: “In the new year”!  
Now I am looking forward,  
Oh, I wish the music master came.

\*\*\* [Moral:] \*\*\*

The young enjoy themselves usefully  
by singing and playing  
for when one's tired from study  
then the sweet sounds  
give new joy and energy.  
Thus one lives happily and sweetly  
and shuns company  
that leads one astray.

---

<sup>106</sup> From *Tweede Vervolg Der Kleine Gedichten Voor Kinderen*, Van Mr. Hieronimus van Alphen. Utrecht: Weduwe Jan van Terveen en zoon, 1782.

Moral of this poem: learning to play an instrument is to be encouraged, because it is enjoyable, a refreshing contrast to study, and keeps one occupied and out of harm's way. A second van Alphen poem assigns a different purpose to music:

THE SINGING GIRL

Evening song

The sunlight was already waning  
 the moon began to shine as beautifully as ever  
 when sweet Chris, a girl I guess  
 of eight or nine years old, took her little cittern  
 and came to me skipped my way, smilingly pairing voice with strings  
 and sang the merry evening song, that you see written here:

“The sun may lower her beams in the west;  
 It does not make me sad  
 God created the night  
 For us to sleep  
 My heart praises Him for that”.  
 [...]

The moral of this song is a little bit less explicit but the narrator in this poem delights in the rather young child playing a cittern and singing. It is also one of the few mentions and depictions of a child with a wire-strung guitar in the Netherlands. The guitar (cittern) here becomes a conduit for the expression of appropriate moral sentiments: the idea that one should trust in God and not fear the night that is his creation. It was common to include morning and evening hymns in domestic hymnals, so here the poem can be seen as rehearsing a scenario reflecting a real use of the guitar as part of this practice.

Another implicit opinion on music education comes from the 1793 novel *Cornelia Wildschut of, de gevlogen der opvoeding (Cornelia Wildschut, or, The Consequences of Education)* by Elizabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken. Here another young man, the character Mr Reinier Walter, describes his own upbringing and the ‘civilized education’ his mother provided for him after his father died. At age thirteen he started working at an office, but his mother:

[She] provided for me a music master, an art she both esteemed and deemed useful for young people who had to work much and were occupied with dry and solitary things.<sup>107</sup>

In the novel, Mr Walter is portrayed as a stable, good citizen, who mostly educated himself and did a very good job. That leads me to think that the above is the authors' voice we hear and that the music lessons are depicted as a positive contribution to the boy's education. Summarizing, it seems that instrumental music teaching was mostly serving the second, 'well-being', purpose of education.

## 2.4 Women teaching at home

Most of what we know on music teaching concerns professional, paid teachers, but we should not forget that a lot of teaching was done at home, by mothers to daughters for instance. This activity went largely unrecorded, like much music-making by women, but must have been ubiquitous. Women, by transmitting repertoire and musical practices, have an essential role in establishing wider cultural patterns in the home, the cosmopolitan strand as well as the moral, spiritual and other values that are more conventionally associated with women's work with children and in domestic spaces.

We see glimpses of this practice in private documents like letters and diaries. The German Nina D'Aubigny (1770-1847) for example, who as a young woman travelled extensively in the Netherlands, was taught guitar and singing by her mother, and composed, performed and taught music for the rest of her life.<sup>108</sup> In her 1803 treatise on singing she wrote: *Jede Mutter soll die Singlehrmeisterin ihrer Kinder werden*, or, 'every mother should become a singing teacher for her children'.<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Wolff writes in her 1774 *Proeve over de opvoeding aan de Nederlandse moeders* ('Essay on education to the Dutch mothers') that:

You, Mothers, must raise your own Children! The Boys, at least until they can usefully attend school, and not just because, for some hours per day, to be relieved of those wildlings. The Girls are all yours. No rough male hand should lead them; the soft voice of the beloved Mother is far more suitable to shape their sensitive minds.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> '[Zij] gaf mij ook een meester in de muziek, eene kunst die zij zo hoog schattede, als nuttig hield voor jonge lieden, die veel moesten werken en droog een zelvig bezig zijn' Wolff & Deken, *Cornelia Wildschut* Zesde deel, 85.

<sup>108</sup> 'Nina [d'Aubigny] kreeg met haar drie zusters en enige broer een brede opvoeding: Frans, Engels, Italiaans en Latijn stonden op het programma van het huisonderwijs. Zingen en gitaar spelen leerde zij van haar moeder. Al op jonge leeftijd traden Nina en haar eveneens muzikale oudere zuster Susanna ('Susette') Christina (1768-1845) op als zangeres op informele concerten: Nina als alt, Susette als sopraan.' <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Aubigny>>, accessed 21/03/2018>

<sup>109</sup> d'Aubigny; *Briefe an Natalie über den Gesang, als Beförderung der häuslichen Glückseligkeit und des geselligen Vergnügens*. Leipzig 1803.

<sup>110</sup> Wolff, *Proeve over de opvoeding aan de Nederlandse moeders* p. 15. 'Gy, Moeders, moet uwe eigen Kinderen opvoeden! De Jongens, ten minsten zo lang tot zy, met nut, naar school kunnen gaan, en niet alleen om, eenige uren 's daags, van die raasbollen ontslagen te zyn -- De Meisjes zyn geheel voor uwe rekening -- Geen ruwe manlyke hand moet haar leiden; de zachte stem der beminde Moeder, is veel geschikter om hare aandoenlyke gemoederen te vormen.'

How many Women, already Mothers, are [themselves] learning Languages, Music, or Painting (I will not mention trivial entertainments!) without fearing that this will be perceived as a disgrace. And would you, virtuous Mothers, be ashamed, to learn [teach] what would be of such advantage to your Children? Because, which Truths, which Lessons, which Teachings, will penetrate as deeply into the minds of your Children, as when the heart-warming voice of the loved and respected Mother recites them?<sup>111</sup>

## 2.5 External, professional music teachers

Domestic tuition by family members was often supplemented or replaced by lessons with musical professionals. Music masters were hired by parents or adults to furnish the technical expertise needed for music making, to be a guide in matters of musical taste and aesthetics, and, more practically, to provide sheet music, method books and instruments for the lessons. Music masters who taught guitar(s) can be found on several levels of society, and can be roughly grouped into three categories. First, there are those we know about because they advertised in newspapers. They seem to have been relatively poor, and often of French descent. Second, there are the established and well-connected professional music masters like David Leonardus van Dijk in Amsterdam or Petrus Albertus van Hagen in Rotterdam.<sup>112</sup> Third, there are the travelling virtuosos, known mostly as performers, who teach the upper classes in for short periods of time.

Here is a contemporary opinion on the status of music masters, again from *De Denker*. Its author takes on the voice of a fictional wig-maker who describes his clientele. Music masters are grouped together with young fashionable gentlemen who 'have no occupation but finery', but also with clerks and young lawyers who do in fact have an occupation. The text is satirical in intention:

[...] it is mostly my job to make wigs for young Gentlemen of the *Beau Monde*, as those have no other exercise or occupation besides finery, so I have taken care to give them continuous variation [and entertainment]; I have invented for them wigs [named] Wings of a Dove, Comet-style, Cauliflower-style, Royal Bird-style, Staircase-style, Shell-style, Broom-style, Temple-style, the Garrotted Woolf, the Rose, the Crutch, the Cut-Face, the Chain, the Board, the Loose Curl, Jansenist-style<sup>113</sup>, Spinach Seed-style, etc. etc. etc. All of these can serve for

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 29. 'Hoe vele Vrouwen, reeds Moeders zynde, leren Talen, de Muziek, of het Schilderen, ('k zwyg van beuzelachtinge uitspanningen!) zonder dat zy vreezen dat haar dit tot schande zal geduidt worden. En zult gy, rechtschapene Moeders, U schamen, datgeen te leren, 't welk voor uwe Kinderen van zo groeten voordeel zoude zyn? Want, welke Waarheden, welke Lessen, welke Onderrichtingen, zullen zo diep in den geest uwer Kinderen door dringen, dan wanneer de hartroerende stem eener beminde en geëerbiedigde Moeder die voordraagt?'

<sup>112</sup> Petrus Albertus van Hagen was an organist, composer, music master and organizer of concerts. See Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* (= *Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een*), Hoofdstuk Vijftien: *Beroeps- en Amateurmusici* <<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek15-Musici.pdf>>, 37.

<sup>113</sup> Jansenism was a Catholic theological movement, starting in about 1640, that had Calvinist affinities.

young lawyers, office servants, clerks, music-, dance-, and fencing masters, in one word, all those amphibians who exist somewhere between Jan Hagel [the rabble] and [proper] Humanity.<sup>114</sup> (my underlining)

The status of music masters was ‘amphibious’ – they were social shape-shifters of an unclear class who could fit into different contexts in the way amphibians can function on land as well as in water.

### 2.5.1 Mr Vauvicq and his wife, a case study

On the circumstances of the first class of music teachers mentioned before, often French and probably not wealthy, much information can be gathered from their adverts in Dutch newspapers. From the 1750s onwards, newspapers in the Netherlands were printed in a larger format than before, and had more space for advertisements and announcements, some of them music-related.

There are five adverts in the 1780s for guitar lessons by a husband-and-wife team of teachers, monsieur Vauvicq and his wife. These adverts, both from the ‘s-Gravenhaagse Courant, provide further details on the status of music teachers as well as some information on their mode of living:

(2 Dec. 1785) Mr Vauvicq and his Wife having arrived from Paris, have the honour to announce to the Public, that they intend to establish themselves here in The Hague; they teach Music and the art of Singing, the Cittern and Spanish Guitar, as well as accompanying oneself with these Instruments. By their instructions they can within one year enable their Pupils to do without Masters, of which they can show various testimonials, mostly from [the town of] Breda. Mentioned Miss Vauvicq paints Portraits in Miniature, for Bracelets, Medallions, Rings etc, she makes them resemble [the sitters] perfectly and teaches this Art as well as Drawing. Their domicile is with J. Frits at the Kalvermarkt.<sup>115</sup>

(9 May 1786) The Sr. Vauvicq Music master, for the Cittern and Guitar has the Honour to announce to the Amateurs, that he possesses a Musical Instrument, which is the most beautiful, that one can desire and of which he plans to hold a Raffle. This Mechanical piece

---

<sup>114</sup> ‘Maar byzonderlyk is myne zaak Paruiken voor de jonge Heeren du beau monde te maaken, gelyk de zulken geene andere oeffening of tydkorting hebben, dan den opschik, zo heb ik zorg gedragen, om hen geduurige verandering te verschaffen; ik heb dan voor hen uitgevonden Pruiken EN AILES DE PIGEON, A LA COMETE, A LA CHOUX FLEUR, A L'OISEAU ROYAL, EN ESCALIER, EN ECHELLE, EN BROSSE, A LA TEMPLE, A LA LOUP GAROTTE’, EN ROSE, EN BEQUILLE, A LA FACE COUPEE, EN CHAINE, A LA BORDAGE, EN De BOUCLE DETACHÉ, A LA JANSENISTE, EN GRAIN D'EPINARDS enz. enz. enz. Deze allen kunnen dienen voor jonge Advocaaten, Komtoir-biedenden, Klerken, Muzyk- Dans en Schermmeesters, met één woord, voor al dat soort van Amphibies, ‘t welk tusschen 't Janhagel en het Menschdom in is’. From: *De Denker*. No. 123. Den 6. May 1765. ‘Brief over de Zedelyke Opvoeding der Kinderen’.

<sup>115</sup> ‘s-Gravenhaagse Courant, 2 Dec. 1785. See Appendix C.

draws attention to itself by its operation and the longevity of the sound, which creates the most harmonious pieces [of music] without a Person touching it. Until now an Instrument in this fashion has never been seen in this Country. The Raffle mentioned will consist of 72 tickets of a Ducat each.<sup>116</sup> One can acquire these today Friday and tomorrow Saturday at Saint-Mars at the Kalvermarkt, where the draw shall take place and where the Instrument can be seen daily. In case anyone is willing to buy the same directly, he can acquire it at a lower sum.<sup>117</sup>

Then there are adverts from Amsterdam:

(Nederlandse Courant, 3 July 1786) Mr DE VAN VICQ has the honour to announce to the Music lovers, that he intends to sell a MECHANICAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, that plays 50 little Airs by itself, and that by its beauty and correctness of harmonies deserves the amazement of Experts. The mentioned Gentleman teaches the Vocal and Instrumental Music on the Spanish Cittern and Guitar. His Wife paints PORTAITS in miniature in an excellent way and for a civil price. He will have the honour to show the Instrument to Gentlemen and Ladies, afternoons from 4 o'clock until the evening. His Address is in the Nes in the Alliantie in Amsterdam.<sup>118</sup>

(Amsterdamsche Courant, 27 July 1786) Mr Vanvieq, Musician Composer Teaches the Vocal, the cittern and guitar[.] His wife paints Portraits in miniature, pastel and silhouette; teaches lessons in miniature [-painting] and drawing in every genre: he announces the sale of a Mechanical [Instrument] of a rare beauty, that plays 50 airs, without being touched; this piece has gained the admiration of all connoisseurs. He stays with J.T. SCHEFFER, living at the Oudezijds Agterburgwal, between the Hoogstraat and Betanjestraat in Amsterdam.<sup>119</sup>

(Amsterdamse Courant, 23 November 1786) Mr VANVICQ and his Wife, paints portraits in Miniature and in Pastel for 2 Ducats, they give drawing lessons in every Genre in town and at their home [...] they also teach Vocal Music and to pluck the Cittern and Guitar[.] they are provided with good Testimonials as they have trained good pupils in Breda and The Hague, where they have taught[.] he is lodged at the Spuy, in the Wapen van Bern, opposite the Lutheran Church, in Amsterdam.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> A (gold) ducat was worth about five guilders, and about € 44.86 in contemporary currency. Source: IISS website converter  
<sup>117</sup> 's Gravenhaegse Courant, 9 May 1786, see Appendix C.

<sup>118</sup> Nederlandsche Courant, 3 July 1786, see Appendix C.

<sup>119</sup> Amsterdamsche Courant, 27 July 1786, see Appendix C.

<sup>120</sup> Amsterdamse Courant, 23 November 1786, see Appendix C.

The Vauvicqs claim to have just arrived from Paris, which is supposedly a recommendation. Within the Netherlands, they move address very frequently. They mention that they lived and worked in the town of Breda, where taught the guitar and 'cistre', before intending to 'establish themselves in The Hague' in December 1785.<sup>121</sup> In May of the next year they appear to be actually living in The Hague, but by July 1786 they have an address in Amsterdam, in the street called the Nes. In December 1786 they are still in that city, but have a different contact address (Oudezijds Voorburgwal).

Mr and Mrs Vauvicq offer to teach 'Music and Singing, the Cittern and Spanish Guitar, as well to accompany oneself with these instruments while singing'. They claim that with their teaching, their pupils will not need a master anymore after one year; which implies that the financial commitment is not open-ended, since one only needs to pay for one year of lessons. The Vauvicqs offer testimonials, presumably to their efficiency in teaching, and to allay possible worries about having strangers -- music masters from a different, lower social class, and foreigners -- in contact with one's children.

The guitars are used to accompany singing, but not exclusively so. Besides teaching music and painting Vauvicq is attempting to sell a kind of sophisticated mechanical musical instrument that is said to play up to fifty different tunes. This could be a mechanical organ with a music cylinder, or a 'serinette'-style music box with that also had a cylinder but had metal tongues to produce sound. Other types of mechanical instruments of the time are musical automatons and musical clocks, but somehow it seems likely that Vauvicq would have mentioned the additional features of those types in his adverts.

The impression from the Vauvicqs' adverts is that they are not professional musicians in the traditional sense: in that case Mr Vauvicq would have played a bowed string- or woodwind instrument, or the harpsichord. I have found no mentions of Monsieur Vauvicq as an instrumental or vocal performer in any public concerts. It seems likely that he had a different occupation in France and he and his wife had to resort to painting portraits and giving music lessons after leaving France. The text of the first ad seems to imply that Mrs Vauvicq is involved in the teaching, but that she mainly teaches drawing and draws miniature portraits. Between the couple we see a wide range of taught subjects, but all, including the guitars, within the domain of domestic entertainment. The repeated attempts to sell the mechanical instrument, and the frequent changes of address give the impression of financial precariousness, but also resourcefulness.

---

<sup>121</sup> 's Gravenhaagse Courant, Dec 2, 1785.

Another (presumably) French music master, Mr Dupré, was active in the 1790s in Groningen. He posted the following modest advertisements:

(Groninger courant, 31 December 1793) Mr Du Pré has the honour to communicate, to anyone wanting to learn the playing of the Piano or Harpsichord, to address themselves to the Widow Masmeyer in the Kromelleboog[-street], where this Gentleman resides.<sup>122</sup>

(Groninger courant, 15 July 1794) Monsr. Dupré teaching the Keyboard, Cittern and French Language, recommends himself to the favour of the Public, and promises an adequate service; he lives in the Kijk in 't Jat-straat above the butcher named Sluiter.<sup>123</sup>

Here we see again a range of skills, all within the domestic sphere.

### 2.5.2 Monsieur Darme, a case study.

Another guitar teacher from the newspaper archives is monsieur Darme, a 'French Music Master' who taught in the Hague and who advertised at least eleven times in 1798 and 1799, in newspapers in his town. Here are three representative adverts from the eleven I found in several papers:

(De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse courant, 26 February 1798) Mr Darme has the honour to let the Public know that he gives instruction in music, both for the Voice and for the Violin, the French guitar and the Flageolet. He will observe the greatest care in his lessons, and make every effort for the progress of the Persons who do him the honour of being his students. He is lodged with Mr de Wit in the Agterom[-straat] in The Hague.<sup>124</sup>

(De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse courant, 12 October 1798) Darme, a Frenchman, Music instructor, has the honour to offer to Amateurs of both sexes his talents, of which he hopes to deserve by his enthusiasm to the advantage of those who will do him the honour of being his pupils, and by his exactitude and his care [deserve] their trust and esteem. He teaches Vocal and Instrumental music; he also teaches the violin, the flageolet and the art of plucking the two types of guitar: the Spanish or Mandolin, the Cittern or the English Guitar; he observes that those are the two instruments that combine best with the voice. If the intention answers to the spirit which it enlivens, they will in little time do honour to the

---

<sup>122</sup> Groninger Courant, 31 December 1793. See Appendix C.

<sup>123</sup> Groninger Courant, 15 July 1794. See Appendix C.

<sup>124</sup> De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant, 26 February 1798. See Appendix C.

lessons they receive from him, and will see their progress soar to the most flattering reward. He is lodged with F. Hoffman, in the Lammetje-groen, behind the Poorhouse in The Hague.<sup>125</sup>

(De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse courant, 13 November 1799) J. Darme, Frenchman by birth, teacher of music, has the honour to inform the public, that he has settled in this town. He gives lessons in vocal and instrumental music, the violin, the flageolet, the playing of the Spanish and English guitar. He hopes by his care and diligence to gain the approval and trust of those who will be so kind to address themselves to him, living in The Hague at the Vennestraat nr 148 with J. Grundel Wig-maker.<sup>126</sup>

Darme's French origin is again meant as a recommendation, as it is the first thing that is mentioned about him in the October 1798 advert. He teaches singing, the violin, the cittern or English guitar, the 'French' guitar (once called the 'Spanish guitar') and flageolet. These are all domestic instruments mostly used by amateur players, except for the violin which was used for both domestic and public performance. The emphasis on domestic instruments suggests that Darme may have been an amateur musician himself, or a teacher who targeted amateurs, before he left France and started teaching in The Hague.

Darme's advert states that the two types of guitar are 'the two instruments that combine the best with the voice', which confirms the idea that guitars (of both kinds) were considered eminently suitable for vocal accompaniment, maybe even more so than the harpsichord. Also, the advert mentions that Darme teaches 'Amateurs des deux sexes' or amateurs of both genders. The last remark suggests that *usually* music teachers would teach either men or women, but not both genders.

### 2.5.3 David Leonardus van Dijk as a teacher, a case study

Then (secondly) there are the music teachers, somewhat more established, who are known from other sources to have been involved in guitar teaching. These musicians did not need to advertise for students: they worked as performers or conductors, were well-connected and had large networks. Often they were members of freemasons' lodges, which would provide them with

---

<sup>125</sup> De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant, 12 October 1798. See Appendix C.

<sup>126</sup> De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant, 13 November 1799. See Appendix C.

opportunities to earn money, and meet people who could provide further work.<sup>127</sup> Teaching was part of a 'portfolio career' that could comprise conducting, teaching, publishing and performing.

The best example of this category of teachers is David Leonard van Dijk (ca.1736-after 1794), born in Belgium. The first record of him is his registration as a law student at the university of Leiden in 1765, where it was noted that he was 28 years of age and a 'musicus', and that he originated from Ghent in Belgium. From 1771 to 1794 he was music director of the Roman Catholic Mozes and Aäron church in Amsterdam. He conducted the choir there and a small professional orchestra, the Collegium Musicum, that consisted of a choir of amateur singers and a small orchestra of professional instrumentalists for which he also provided scores and parts.<sup>128</sup>

In the 1770s van Dijk published among other music four collections of music for 'sixtre ou guitare Angloise', and on the title page of the first collection (published around 1770) he calls himself 'Maître de Musique pour la Vocale & la Guitarre à Amsterdam' which shows he taught singing and 'guitarre'. Between 1781 and 1787 he is mentioned as a musician in the orchestra or choir of the Amsterdamse Stadsschouwburg (the city's main theatre),<sup>129</sup> and in 1788 as a singer in a series of concerts organised by the Felix Meritis society for the inauguration of its new building.<sup>130</sup> In 1791 a singer named Van Dijk, who may have been the same person, sang in concerts organised by a music society in Maastricht: an *Ariette* by Anfossi, a duo by Piccini, a part in a trio by Monsigny, and a part in a quintet by Cimarosa.<sup>131</sup> Van Dijk was a member (a *frère à talent*) of the Masonic lodge *La bien aimée*.<sup>132</sup>

Van Dijk was active as a publisher and music dealer; besides providing music for his Collegium Musicum he published sets of keyboard sonatas ('clavecin ou piano-forte') by the Flemish composer Ferdinand Staes (1748-1809), the German Valentin Roeser (1735-after 1782) and the German-Dutch Johann August Just (1750-1791), who was a music master to the princes of Orange.<sup>133</sup> A vaudeville from Just's opera *De koopman van Smirna* (1773) ('The merchant of Smyrna') appears in Van Dijk's *Troisième Recueil*, arranged for guitar solo, shortened, and slightly embellished.

---

<sup>127</sup> Davies, Malcolm George, 'The Masonic muse. Songs, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry: 1730-1806.' PhD Diss, Den Haag, 2002.

<sup>128</sup> Paul van Reijen, 'David Leonardus van Dijk. Een 18de-eeuws "muziekmeester" en uitgever te Amsterdam', in *Mens en Melodie* 14 (1969), 75-79.

<sup>129</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*. Hoofdstuk Tien: De Theaters I: Amsterdam. (Utrecht 2013) 38.

<sup>130</sup> Rudolf Rasch *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen 36 and R. Rasch *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*. Hoofdstuk Vijftien: Beroeps- en Amateurmusici 16.

<sup>131</sup> Rudolf Rasch *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen, 42.

<sup>132</sup> See among others Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* Hoofdstuk Vijftien: Beroeps- en Amateurmusici, 16.

<sup>133</sup> Paul van Reijen 'David Leonardus van Dijk: een 18de-eeuws "muziekmeester" en uitgever te Amsterdam', in *Mens en Melodie* 14 (1969) 78.

Van Dijk must have sold sheet music to his students, as is strongly suggested by a letter from him, written in 1777 to the Italian musician Francesco Ricci (1732-1817) who then resided in The Hague<sup>134</sup>, in which he proposed to exchange sheet music:

Dear Sir!

As published in the Paper of this month the opus number[s] 7 and 8 of Mr Just will appear. I would be delighted to exchange these works with you [for other scores], as you teach much music, we could arrange this accordingly.

These two works surpass the previous ones, and they have cost me much money. I am making this offer exclusively to you in The Hague. Please [...] me with a response.

Infinitely obliged,

Monsieur

Your very humble servant,

David Leon: van Dijk

Maître de musique<sup>135</sup>

In 1794 Van Dijk was dismissed from his job as music master of the Mozes en Aäronkerk, after a petition by parishioners who wanted the German violinist Schmidt to be appointed in his place.<sup>136</sup> Exactly why they preferred Schmidt is not known. It is likely that Van Dijk moved to Paris in 1794, as three further publications by him appeared there.<sup>137</sup>

#### 2.5.4 Other teachers

The Italian Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732-1817) mentioned above as a correspondent of David Leonardus van Dijk is another example case of a successful international, upper class music teacher. He was Italian, an ordained priest, composer and musician. In spite of having a regular position as chapel master and organist of the Cathedral of Como he travelled in Europe between 1764 and 1780, often together with his friend and colleague the cellist Francesco Zappa (1717-1803). Ricci spent much time in the Netherlands, performing in public concerts and at court, mostly on violin but also on the 'salterio'.

---

<sup>134</sup> I am grateful to Helen Metzelaar for sharing this information.

<sup>135</sup> 'Monsieur! Comme dans le Courant de ce mois paraîtront le 7e & 8e Ouvrage de Mr Just. Je serais charmé de faire quelques trocs avec vous pour ces ouvrages, comme vous êtes professeur de beaucoup de musique; nous pouvions nous arranger en conséquence.' Letter from Van Dijk to Ricci of 6 April 1778. Mr Just is probably the Dutch composer Johan August Just (c.1750-1791) mentioned before. Info on Just: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek Eerste Deel* 1911, 1235-1236.

<sup>136</sup> Paul van Reijen 'David Leonardus van Dijk: een 18de-eeuws "muziekmeester" en uitgever te Amsterdam', in *Mens en Melodie* 14 (1969) 76.

<sup>137</sup> Dick van Heuvel, 'De koor- en orkestbezetting bij de inwijding van het Felix Meritis-gebouw in 1788', in *Tijdschrift van de KVNM* 55 (2005), 35-66.

Ricci built friendships and relationships with local noble and patrician families. He educated members (children, adults, male, female) of wealthy families in composition, figured bass, the '(p)salterio' and keyboard instruments, and composed music on demand for his wealthy pupils. A document about payments for sheet music supplied by him between 1773 and 1777 is in the library of Huis Amerongen and specifies among other items a 'Sonata for Clavecin', a 'Mottet Dies Irae', 'Quartetti Ricci opus VIII' and several 'Airs Français avec l'Accompagnement'.

What is meant exactly by the term '(p)salterio' in this context is problematic. [explain, more, and why Ricci is still an interesting figure. The salterio has been identified as a hammered zither, or a bowed English guittar. Nevertheless, his life sheds light on another way of being a music teacher]

His students included Josina van Boetzelaer (1733-1797) who was a baroness and a composer of arias, and (specifically for salterio) Catherina van Lijnden van Swanenburg (c. 1757-1799, also a baroness), and Ida Elisabeth Brunings (1768-1818) who was about seven years-old at the time and who lived near Amsterdam. Ricci wrote salterio sonatas especially for her.<sup>138</sup> The many letters from former pupils to Ricci that survive are affectionate in tone, and pupils often comment on Ricci's excellent teaching skills. The widowed father of Ida Elisabeth Brunings Christiaan Brunings (1736-1805), an ambitious Dutch hydraulic engineer and musical amateur, wrote in 1776 in a letter to Ricci:

Won't we have the pleasure of seeing you again soon in our country? I burn with envy to make you hear my child on the Salterion. She already plays six of your Sonatas, and I dare say she plays them quite well for her age, even with feeling. The other day having played one of your Trios, where there is a very expressive passage that she likes very much, she kissed the music, saying: 'I must thank Mr. Ricci for the beauty of this idea'. Even though the endorsement of a 7-year-old child cannot add to your glory, your heart is too good not to be sensitive to the selfless and sincere praise of a child [...].<sup>139</sup>

This shows that Ricci taught a young child (and probably her father as well), and composed at least six sonatas for the salterio. Another letter shows that Ricci sold salterios. It is from the horn player Giovanni Punto (1746-1803), from 1773, and again mentions six sonatas. Punto uses 'Salterie' as a plural.

---

<sup>138</sup> All information on Ricci comes from: Metzelaar, Helen. 'Mon cher ami. A new source on Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732-1817) His Music Career and His Dutch Pupils' in *TVNM* LX-1/2 2010.

<sup>139</sup> Source. Original: 'N'avons nous pas le plaisir de vous revoir bientôt dans notre païs [sic]? Je brûle d'envie de vous faire entendre mon Enfant sur le Salterion. Elle joue déjà six de vos Sonates, et j'ose qu'elle les joue assez bien pour son age, même avec sentiment. L'autre jour ayant joué un de vos Trios, où il y a un passage fort expressif qu'elle aime beaucoup, elle baisoit la musique, en disant: "Je dois remercier Mr Ricci pour la beauté de cette idée". Quoique le suffrage d'un enfant de 7 ans ne peut pas ajouter à votre gloire; vous avez pourtant le cœur trop bon pour ne pas être sensible à des louanges desinteressées et sincères come celles d'un enfant. [...]'

[...] Be so kind as to send me also the three Sonatas for Salterie, which I do not have and which are numbers 2, 3, and 4. I have I first, the fifth in the sixth. Give me the last price of your Salterie, and don't be so expensive, for it is for me, I want to practice.<sup>140</sup>

Similarly catering for an upper class clientele is a guitar teacher named J. P. Kaulbach, who taught guitar to the noble freule B. de Reede van Athlone<sup>141</sup>, daughter of Frederik Christiaan van Reede count Athlone (1743-1808) in 1788 and 1789. From a collection of receipts of education expenses from Huis Amerongen near Utrecht we know that Kaulbach also repaired her guitar case, and provided her with sheet music and strings. Kaulbach was otherwise known as a bassoon player.<sup>142</sup> It is very likely that he taught the young lady the wire-strung guitar, as the strings he provided are described as 'iron wire' and 'silver strings'. The sheet music he provided comprised 'Airs for the Giutaar' [sic], 'small airs', 'large airs' and a 'Duett for the giutar' [sic].

Lastly, there is Alexandre Stiévenard, who fled France in 1794. I am writing more about him in chapter four on performance. He was mostly active in Groningen, where he probably taught guitar and singing, as is shown by his concert adverts: his students would occasionally join as performers in the concerts he organized. He would keep teaching guitar and the French language until the 1820s, when he lived in Germany.

It seems very likely that other foreign guitar players who visited the country for performances may have given lessons as well: between 1760 and 1810 at least Giacomo Merchi, Domenico Colla, Salvador Castro de Gistau, and Lorenzo Molinari visited the Netherlands, and may well have instructed wealthy amateurs.

## 2.6 The practical side of teaching guitar

The sources of information on the practical side of teaching, such as the frequency of lessons, the fee of the teacher, and the choice of group- or individual teaching, are somewhat fragmented. As to fees, we know from newspaper adverts that some instrumental teaching was given as part of normal school education, but if this is also true for guitar lessons is unclear. Here is a 1752 example of a school where the curriculum included instrumental tutoring:

The Schoolmaster on the Bikkers Eyland past the Church, instructs the Children in Writing for 3 Months 50 stuivers, including spelling, reading in French language, and arithmetic for a

---

<sup>140</sup> Original: 'Ayez la bonté de m'envoyer aussi les trois Sonates de Salterie, que je n'ay pas et qui sont nombre 2, 3, et 4. J'ay je premier, le cinquième en le sixième. Mandez moy le dernier prix de vos Salterie, et ne soyez pas si cher, car c'est pour moy, j'ay envie de m'exercer'.

<sup>141</sup> Since the initial 'B' is mentioned on both receipts, I suspect that the pupil may be Christina Henrietta Maria Isabella (Bella?) van Reede (1770-1800), one of four daughters of Frederik Christiaan II, rijksgraaf van Reede (since 1790), 5th earl of Athlone (1743-1808).

<sup>142</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795, Hoofdstuk Twaalf: De Muziekcolleges*, 14.

civil fee, teaches playing wind instruments, one month for 3 guilders; the Confession of the Faith of the Reformed Religion is taught, and children are also accepted for full board, in the year for f150.<sup>143</sup>

This implies a fee per lesson of between three stuivers (0.15) assuming twenty daily lessons, or five stuivers (0.25) assuming twelve lessons in a month.

Here is a rare Amsterdam music master who mentions his fees for keyboard lessons explicitly in a newspaper advert in 1783:

A MUSIC MASTER, presenting himself to give thorough instruction on harpsichord and organ, for 4 guilders for 20 lessons, in music, Reformed and Lutheran psalms and hymns; address at the Widow OLOFSEN's Books and Paper Shop, near the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam [...].<sup>144</sup>

This means he charged four stuivers (0.20 guilder) per lesson. This is less than half of what J. P. Kaulbach charged for his guitar lessons at Huis Amerongen in 1788. Kaulbach charged eleven stuivers (0.55) per lesson, as one item on one of the receipts states: '14 Lessons ... 7 guilder 7 stuivers'.<sup>145</sup> A different item on the same receipt states: 'one month of lessons 10 guilders 10 stuivers', which suggests twenty lessons were given in one month, meaning about five lessons a week, again at eleven stuivers per lesson. This means either that there were almost daily lessons, or that there was more than one student in the household. Summarizing, the fee for instrumental lessons could probably vary between three stuivers (0.15) and eleven stuivers (0.55).

---

<sup>143</sup> Amsterdamsche Courant 115 (September 23 1752): 'De Schoolmeester op het Bikkers Eyland voorby de Kerk, instrueert de Kinderen in 't Schryven voor de 3 Maenden 50 stuuv., daer onder begrepen't Spelde [sic], Leezen in de Fransche Tael, en het Reekenen voor een civiele prys, leert na de Musiek op Blaas-Instrumenten speelen, een maend voor 3 gl.; men onderwyst de Belydenis des Geloofs van de Gereformeerde Religie, neemt ook Kinderen in de heele kost, in 't jaer voor f150'.

<sup>144</sup> Amsterdamsche Courant October 16 1783: 'Een MUZIEKMEESTER, presenteerd zig aan om grondig Onderwys te geven op 't Clavecimbaal en Orgel , voor 4 Gulden de 20 Lessen, in de Muziek, Gereformeerde en Luthersche Pfalmen en Gezangen; adres in den Boek- en Papierwinkel van de Weduwe OLOFSEN, by de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam, of in de Rozestraat, 't 3de Huis voorby de Koning van Engeland, alwaar verkogt word alle soorten van Koffy en Thee, Chocolaad en Kruideniers Waaren, beste Groene Thee voor 28 St. 't pond.'

<sup>145</sup> From a set of receipts in the archive of Huis Amerongen, in Het Utrechts Archief, See Bibliography / Archive items.



Figure 42: Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne. 'Music master with students' (1714). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-P-OB-62.347.

As to teaching individuals or groups, there is a small print in the Rijksmuseum titled 'Music Teacher with Pupils', from 1714, by Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne. This is from before the period of my focus, but it is explicitly and unambiguously called a music master and quite a rare depiction of the metier. It depicts the teacher and his pupils: a flageolet player, a violinist, another wind instrument player and a singer playing together around a table. The teacher waves his arms. In the background a woman has turned her back to the group and leans on a harpsichord. It is hard to say if this print is meant to be satirical, but I find it remarkable that the teaching happens in a group of different instruments.

## 2.7 Teaching materials and method books

There are no surviving Dutch method books for the guitar from this time, nor mentions of guitar methods published in the Netherlands. That is not that strange, as there are very few method books by Dutch authors for other instruments either. Instrumental method books from other countries must have been available though, as the music shops in the cities were well-stocked, and the Netherlands were a hub of European printing and publishing. Two foreign guitar methods from the period survive in Dutch collections: a tutor for four different guitar types, published by Wheatstone in London c.1805-1810, and one for the six-string (or rather six-course) gut-strung

guitar, written by Salvador Castro de Gistau, published in 1810. Both are in the country house music collection of Huis Amerongen, that contains guitar music from ca 1780 to ca 1840.

The Wheatstone method mentioned above is titled 'Instructions for the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish & English Guittar'. The comma after the 'Harp' in the title must be a mistake, as the book has sections on the harp-lute, the lyre, the Spanish guitar and English guitar.



Figure 43: Title page of Wheatstone's Instructions [...] music library of Huis Amerongen.

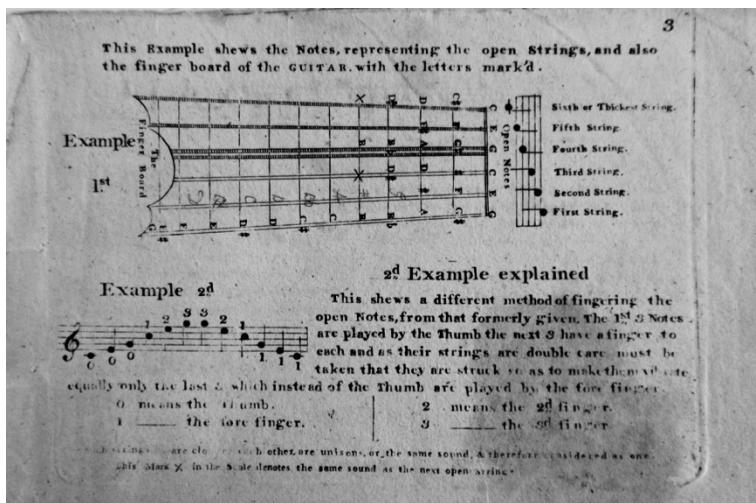


Figure 44: Page 3 in Wheatstone's *Instructions* [...], with pencilled notes in the fingerboard diagram for an 'English Guitar'.

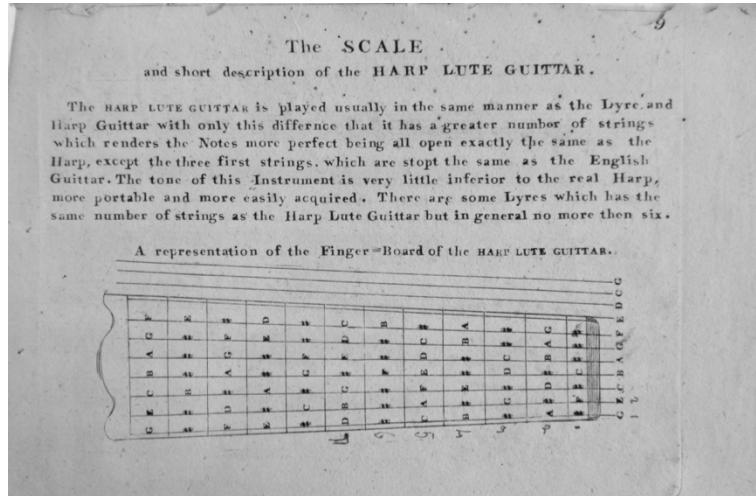


Figure 45: Page 9 of Wheatstone's *Instructions* [...], with pencil marks under the fingerboard diagram, for a 'Harp lute guitar'.

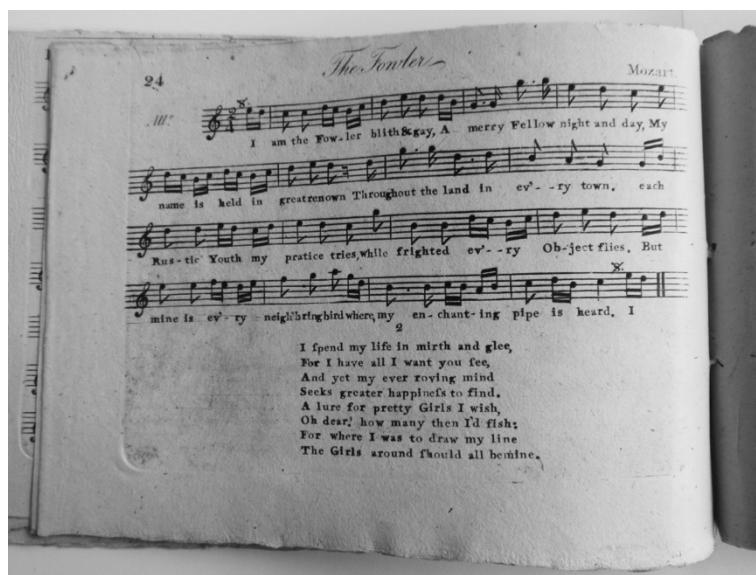


Figure 46: Page 28 of Wheatstone's *Instructions* [...], with an arrangement of an aria by Mozart.

This is a curious British-published method that attempts to provide instructions for four different instruments. The copy in the Huis Amerongen collection looks well-used and misses a number of pages. The first eight pages of the book provide instructions and fretboard diagrams. It contains pencil notes in the sections on the English wire-strung guitar and the harp-lute. From page 16 the book provides pieces to play; probably meant to be suitable for all the guitars in question. Most of them are simple C-major settings of well-known songs such as 'Malbrouk (sic)', 'Air from Paul et Virginia', and 'Ah vour derai je Maman' (sic), as well as 'The Fowler' by Mozart, and 'Pleyel's German Hymn'.

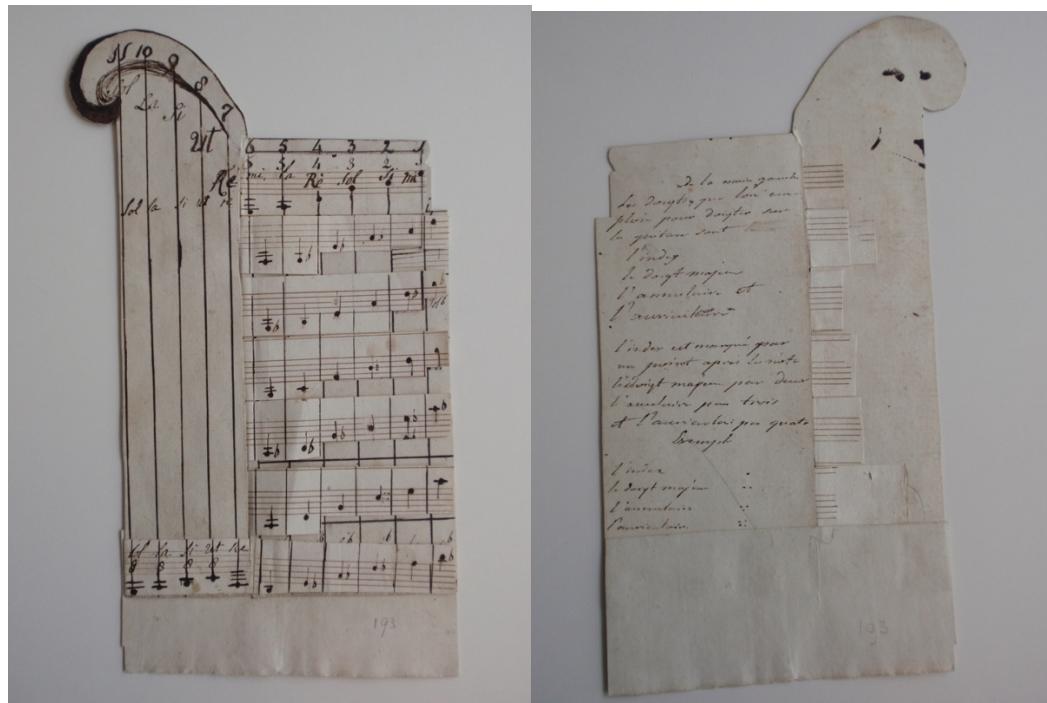


Figure 47: Diagram of the fingerboard of a harp-guitar, probably a teaching aid.

Figure 48: Back of the diagram of the fingerboard of a harp-guitar, probably a teaching aid.

Additionally, in the Amerongen collection, there is a fingerboard diagram, maybe a teaching aid, for an extended guitar that is tuned in the standard 19<sup>th</sup> century tuning with five added un-fretted bass strings (see figures 47 and 48). This kind of instrument is usually called a harp-guitar, but its tuning is very different from the one used in the Wheatstone method mentioned above. This looks like a tool a guitar teacher would put together for a pupil, or something an adult learner would make for themselves.

In the Amerongen collection there is also a rare copy of the guitar method of the Spanish guitarist Salvador Castro de Gistau's, published in 1810. Castro is known to have worked as a performer in the Netherlands in the 1820s and it is likely that the method ended up in the Amerongen collection around that time. This method is intended for the 'Spanish' six-string guitar, or even for the six (double-)course Spanish guitar that Castro probably played.<sup>146</sup> The method was published in ca 1810 in Paris. It consists of twelve booklets and is highly unusual in different ways: Castro's method has no textual instructions and gives no technical advice. Castro's chief concern is to familiarise the player with the twelve major and minor keys. Booklet 1a presents all the major keys, each with a one-octave scale, a chordal cadence, and a brief prelude-like exercise; all in the lower positions. Booklet 1b presents the minor keys similarly. Booklet 2a contains brief exercises or 'Phrases' as Castro calls them for each major key, 2b for the minor keys. In booklets 3a/b all the

<sup>146</sup> 'La Vihuela Ilustrada. La música de guitarra de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII' in: *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 40/1 (2017), 282-290.

major and minor scales are harmonised, predominantly with various arpeggios. Booklets 4a/b and 5a/b present brief pieces in all major and minor keys, and 6a/b contain twelve rondos in all the major keys.<sup>147</sup>

The method seems suitable for a reasonably advanced player, someone who is interested in composing for the guitar, or who is interested in harmony and musical analysis. Some of the keys used (anything beyond four sharps or flats) would remain very unusual in guitar repertoire until the twentieth century. The method furthermore features technically advanced guitar techniques such as *rasgueado* (strumming), *étouffé* (muffled/partly muted sound), *tambour* (strike the strings with the right-hand thumb close to the bridge, resulting in a drum-like sound), harmonics, and *imitazione del Mandolino* ('imitation of the mandolin'). It seems that Castro was intending to be thorough and encyclopedic.

## 2.8 From the perspective of students

An unexpected source from close to a someone who was learning the guitar is a book of letters (*Grammata apo to Amsterntam*) written by the servant of a Greek merchant's son. Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) was sent by his parents to live in Amsterdam in his twenties (1771-1778) and brought his servant, Stamatis Petrou. Between 1772 and 1774 Petrou wrote letters to the young man's parents, describing how Korais examined and adopted Western culture and habits; he had regular conversations with Dutch clergymen, went to different churches, and to the opera. He started dressing in Western clothes. One of the letters by Petrou (the servant) mentions:

He [Korais] has four teachers, the first one teaches him Dutch, the second Hebrew and Spanish, the third geometry, the fourth the guitar, which is an English instrument. The same teaches him also French songs with their music; he is a master of the craft.<sup>148</sup>

This tells us a lot: Korais had lessons on the guitar, here described as an *English* instrument, so probably the wire-strung kind. It is imaginable that he had lessons with the enterprising David Leonard van Dijk or someone very much like him. The guitar was used to accompany French songs, and singing was part of the lessons. The young man was organizing an education for himself, with subjects from science as well as languages that would give him access to further reading.

We know that Korais visited the opera while living in Amsterdam, and he may well have learnt to play and sing arias he heard there on his English guitar. He visited various churches outside his own Greek orthodox religion and befriended protestant clerics. This all points towards a truly

---

<sup>147</sup> Erik Stenstadvold: *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods 1760-1860*, 73.

<sup>148</sup> Stamatis Petrou, *Grammata apo to Amsterntam* (Athens, 1976), 7. Letter from 1772.

cosmopolitan blend of interests and people. Later in life, after more adventures, the remarkable Korais would end up as the main figurehead of Enlightenment in Greece.

Another example of the perspective of a learner (used before in this chapter) comes from the 1793 novel *Cornelia Wildschut of, de gevolgen der opvoeding (Cornelia Wildschut, or, The Consequences of Education)* by Elizabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken. Here the character Mr Reinier Walter, describes his own upbringing and the ‘civilized education’ his mother provided for him after his father died. At the early age thirteen he started working at an office, but his mother:

[...] provided for me a music master, an art she both esteemed and deemed useful for young people who had to work much and were occupied with dry and solitary things.<sup>149</sup>

The authors portray Mr Walter as a stable, good citizen, who mostly educated himself and did a very good job, so music must in their minds have been a positive contribution.

## 2.9 Chapter conclusions

Views on music teaching and learning were mostly positive. The benefits of music making were for women to be more attractive, for children to be innocently entertained, and in general to stave off boredom and improve mental health.

Most guitar teachers we know about were foreign, often French. There were different categories of music teachers. Mothers could teach their young children at home. There were the music masters who advertised in news papers, almost all of French origin and some of them possibly refugees, who lived financially precarious lives. Other teachers, more established, such as David Leonard van Dijk, had ‘portfolio careers’ combining teaching with performance, conducting, composition, and publishing. Music teaching was also provided by the travelling virtuosos like Francesco Ricci and Salvador Castro de Gistau.

Adverts for lessons as well as teaching materials show that teaching guitar was often combined with (teaching) singing, often in French or other foreign languages. In that way, music lessons were a gateway to larger culture, and connected instrumental practice to public music: much of the repertoire was derived from contemporary opera.

There are no original Dutch method books for guitars, but some of the music in Van Dijk’s *Recueils* is very suitable for beginners. Foreign method books would have been available, such as the anonymous *Instructions for the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish and English Guittar* from London and

---

<sup>149</sup> “[Zij] gaf mij ook een meester in de muziek, eene kunst die zij zo hoog schatteerde, als nuttig hield voor jonge lieden, die veel moesten werken en droog een zelvig bezig zijn” Wolff & Deken, *Cornelia Wildschut Zesde deel*, 85.

Castro de Gistau's *Méthode de guitare ou Lyre*, maybe purchased from Salvador Castro de Gistau while he performed in the Netherlands. Teachers created their own teaching materials, as is clear from manuscript song arrangements (more about those in chapter three) and the harp-guitar fingerboard diagram in the Amerongen collection.

# Chapter 3 Repertoire

## 3.1 Introduction

During and after the phase of instrumental learning, both the amateur and professional guitarist need repertoire: music to play on their instrument. This chapter explores repertoire that would have been available for players of guitars in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1810. It can be music that was published in the Netherlands for guitars or music that was published elsewhere but was available for Dutch amateur musicians, as well as guitar music in manuscript that originated in the Netherlands.<sup>150</sup> Figured bass playing was also a common practice for guitarists on the five course guitar. Both the music played in public as well as the music played in private is relevant, as are the ways that repertoire from the public sphere found its way into the private sphere.

Some guitar music by Dutch composers survives: the four *Recueils* by David Leonard van Dijk, printed in Amsterdam, contain over a hundred works for the wire-strung guitar and are together the largest corpus of Dutch guitar music. They demonstrate what a local music master and guitarist thought would be desirable and saleable music, based on his knowledge of his musical surroundings. A large part of this collection consists of songs with guitar accompaniment. After van Dijk, the Dutch composer Christian Ernst Graf wrote music for the wire-strung guitar, but of that only two children's songs survive.

Much of the available repertoire for guitar players in the Netherlands came from other European countries. The guitar music contained in the library of Huis Amerongen is a wonderful corpus of both foreign-published and manuscript music for different types of guitars, from ca. 1760 to 1830. More than half the items in that corpus are – again – some type of vocal work with guitar accompaniment, in French, Italian, German, or English. Some of the music was very likely used in a pedagogical context.

Music merchants sold scores for guitar, as is known from newspaper adverts, catalogues, and invoices. Travelling performers probably provided scores for the guitar (the Colla brothers, Merchi, and later Alexandre Stiévenard and Salvador Castro de Gistau) and their public concerts and sales of sheet music must have been mutually profitable. The music played in public performances was probably somewhat different from that played by amateur players in domestic situations, but there must have been an exchange of repertoire and styles between the two

---

<sup>150</sup> All kinds of music could and can be played on guitars via adaptation and arrangements, but here the focus is on what music was specifically designated for the instrument and/or represents a major component of most players' experience of it.

spheres. The consumption by Dutch players of foreign scores and the performance of songs in foreign languages show that the guitar served as a ‘channel’ for participated and performed cosmopolitanism.

### 3.2 Matters of notation

While in many ways the wire-strung and gut-strung guitars play similar roles in musical life, the notational styles that were used for them developed differently: the wire-strung guitar used staff notation from its re-invention around 1750 (with just very few exceptions), while the five-course guitar transitioned from the traditional and guitar-specific tablature notation to staff notation between ca 1750 and 1800.

The reasons for the immediate use of standard staff notation for the wire-strung guitar may have been to make it easier to learn the instrument for players who had already had lessons on the keyboard or singing lessons, but also to have the guitarist play music that was written originally for other instruments. Staff notation would also have made it easier for publishers to print the multi-functional scores with integrated vocal and guitar parts that we often see in publications for or with the guitar.

The five course, gut-strung ‘baroque guitar’ however had evolved and developed very gradually through the past two centuries. It thus came with historic quirks that somewhat restricted its players. The notational styles used for it historically are staff, tablature (French and Italian styles), alfabeto,<sup>151</sup> and figured bass, in both printed and manuscript music. The most common notational style among these from 1550 to 1750 was tablature, which became increasingly sophisticated (and complex) during the period. Tablature is very suitable for the intricacies of the different re-entrant tunings that make the five course guitar from before 1750 so interesting and idiosyncratic, and also for the baroque styles that integrate *rasgueado* (strummed) and *punteado* (plucked) style playing. However, changing aesthetics, music with a clear melody-bass distinction, and functional harmony made the great variation in five course guitar tunings unpractical, and made staff notation a more desirable option. Tablature was gradually replaced by staff notation between 1750 and 1800, except in Spain. Staff notation assumes a guitar in a standard tuning with low basses, and an attention to chord shapes and inversions. Staff notation thus makes the

---

<sup>151</sup> Francisco Valdivia uses the term ‘abbreviated chord notation’ in: Francisco Alfonso Valdivia Sevilla: *La guitarra rasgueada en España durante el siglo XVII* Málaga, Universidad de Málaga, 2015. This is probably a better term, but it is not generally used. Alfabeto died out around 1700, except in Spain.

guitar more accessible to players of other instruments, and makes it easier to exchange music between instruments.

In this transitional period there are several examples of guitar scores featuring double notation, having the same accompaniment part notated in both staff and tablature. One of the musicians who published some of his work in this style was Merchi (see image 45).

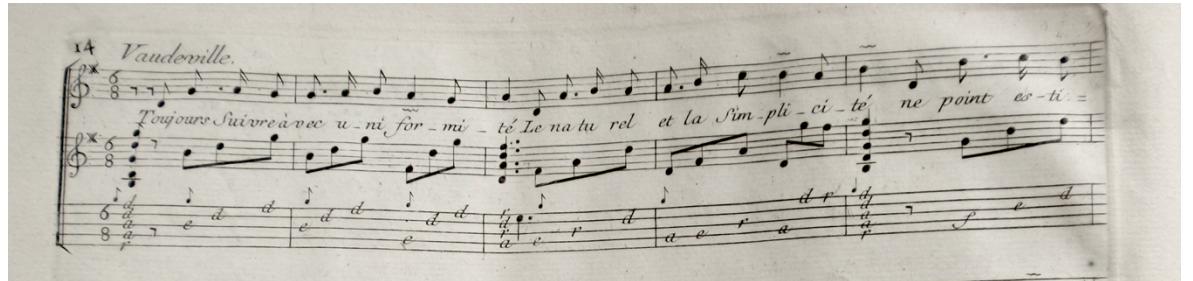


Figure 49: Example of double (staff and tablature) guitar notation in Merchi's *Ariette et Vaudevilles Nouveaux* from ca. 1760.

Even though accompaniment of the voice is acknowledged as a principal use for the guitar, the practice of playing figured bass on guitar is generally not integrated in historic guitar studies. It is worth considering though that when looking at historic music collections, it is not only explicit 'guitar music' that guitar players could have performed, but also every song that has a figured bass part. The five-course guitar (and even the six course and six string guitar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) was used for figured bass performance, as confirmed by for example Lukas Jacob Burgvliet in *De Muzykonderwijzer Of Volledig Onderwijs In De Gronden Der Muzyk-Kunde*; (Rotterdam 1780). Among the other instruments that Burgvliet deemed suitable for figured bass playing (in a chapter on Figured Bass playing) in 1780 were the harp, lute, theorbo, calichon, pandor, and viol.

Guitarra, suitable for the execution of the General Bass, though slightly more forced, than other Instruments.<sup>152</sup>

Among these [instruments suitable for figured bass] now are counted the following as are: the Harp, the Lute, the Theorbo; the Calichon and Pandor; also, though somewhat more forced, the Viola di Gamba [sic] and Guitarra; however among all Instruments the Organ or Keyboard is the main one, since one finds difficulties with the others; and therefore we decided to focus mostly on the Keyboard, and this, as is well-known, is the most usual these days for the performance of BASSUS CONTINUUS or General Bass.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Lukas Jacob Burgvliet *De Muzykonderwijzer* [...] 133: 'Guitarra, bekwaem tot Uitvoeringe van de Generale Bas, doch een weinig gedwongener, dan andre Speeltuigen'.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid. 133.

### 3.3 The contributions of the Colla brothers and Giacomo Merchi

As will be discussed in chapter 4 the Colla brothers performed in the Netherlands in 1751, 1762, and 1765, on colascioncino and guitar.<sup>154</sup> No printed music by them survives, or other information on what they played in concerts, but we can get an impression of what their repertoire may have been from a ca. 1766 manuscript in the Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung in Dresden that contains six sonatas for colascioncino and figured bass by Domenico Colla.<sup>155</sup> The first five sonatas are marked ‘Sonata per colascioncino [...]’ and the sixth sonata has the indication ‘colascioncino di due corde’, or ‘colascione with two strings’, implying a larger colascioncine with at least three strings for the previous works. A colascioncino with two strings is also mentioned in an advert for a concert by the Collas in 1751 in The Hague.<sup>156</sup> It is not far-fetched to think that this manuscript could represent the kind of music the Collas would have played in their Dutch concerts, either on colascioncino and guitar, with the guitar playing the figured bass accompaniment, or alternatively on a colascioncino and a (full-size) colascione, with the latter playing either the bass line or a figured bass part.

The Colla manuscript contains sonatas in three movements, in the conventional *style galant*, all alternating fast-slow-fast movements except for sonata number five which has Andante – Giga – Minuetto as movements. The colascioncino parts are very elaborate and often marked *prestissimo*. They are mostly single-note, with occasional short passages in parallel thirds, demonstrating that the colascioncino is a melodic instrument capable of very fast and highly ornamented play. This style lends itself for the use of a plectrum (see figure 50).

---

<sup>154</sup> See Appendix C and chapter 4 on Performance for the Collas’ known performances in the Netherlands.

<sup>155</sup> Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung, Dresden, shelfmark Mus.c Cn LIVa. Ca. 1766.

<sup>156</sup> Concert of 14 July 1751, see Appendix C.

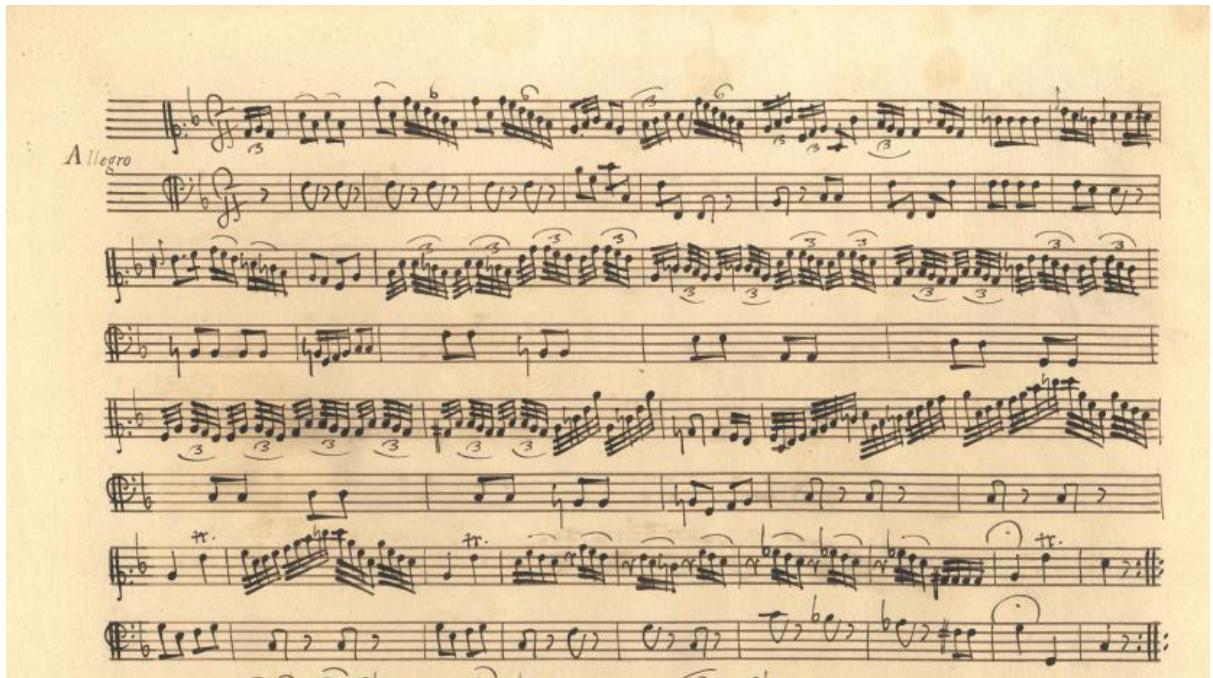


Figure 50: Detail from *Sonata per Colascioncino di due corde*, fragment of the first movement ('Allegro'), by Domenico Colla, for colascioncino and figured bass.

In the case of (Giacomo) Merchi much more is known about his repertoire. Merchi and his brother published a great quantity of guitar music, and it is likely that their public performances were meant partly to help the sale of their scores, or that the activities of performance and music publishing were supposed to benefit each other. This idea is supported by the fact that Merchi would adapt publications to suit the place where he was performing: in Britain he published songs with accompaniment for English wire-strung guitar, in France and the Netherlands with accompaniment for a gut-strung five course guitar. Another clue that Merchi's concerts were meant to help the sale of his scores is that some of his music was sold by Hummel in Amsterdam, who also sold the tickets to his concerts there, and was mentioned in the adverts for the concerts in question. This implies that Hummel was involved in organizing Merchi's concerts and distributing his scores.

We don't know exactly what Merchi played at his Dutch concerts, but we can derive some information from his concert announcements, and try to combine that with the music he and his brother published before and during the time of the concerts in the Netherlands. The Dutch newspaper adverts for Merchi's concerts (1759, 1762, 1764) show that he usually played solos on guitar, mandolin and colascioncino in concerts, and that there was usually a singer involved as well, often an Italian singer who lived locally. The usual formula in adverts is:

He will play a concert and solo, on the instrument Calisancino, a solo on the Chitarra and a solo on the Mandollino, and Mad. Lepri will sing.<sup>157</sup>

That means he would have used the guitar, colascioncino and mandolin as solo instruments, possibly with accompaniment.<sup>158</sup> Also, it is likely that he would have accompanied the singer. The Dutch adverts do not provide exact repertoire, but do occasionally state that he performed his own compositions:

[...] he will play on the calisoncino, guitar and mandolino and execute concert Trios, Duos and Solos, all of his own composition [...]<sup>159</sup>

A concert advert from Britain (see figure 51) states that that songs performed by the singer were composed by Merchi:

Between the First and Secord acts, Signora PIATTI [the singer] will sing some Barcarolle Airs, composed by Mr MERCHI for the English Guittar, and accompanied by that instrument.<sup>160</sup>

That means that Merchi – at least in Britain -- performed *his own* songs with the local singer.

Figure 51: Advert for a concert by Merchi and Mrs Piatti on 1 December 1768 in Bath from the *Bath & Bristol Chronicle* of 18 November 1768.

If Merchi habitually performed his own compositions, what could he have played in his Dutch concerts? By the time of Merchi's first Dutch concert (1759) he had already published his *Six*

<sup>157</sup> This is from the advert for his March 1759 performance, see Appendix C.

<sup>158</sup> It seems likely that there would have been a basso continuo group of local musicians (or a single harpsichord) that would have accompanied both Merchi and the singer. Hendrik Chalon, who probably organized the Amsterdam concert, had a small orchestra or continuo band for just that purpose. See Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795. Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen*, p 8.

<sup>159</sup> Advert for a performance in Utrecht, on 29 april 1764, see Appendix C.

<sup>160</sup> Bath & Bristol Chronicle 18 November 1768. I am grateful to Stuart Walsh for this find.

*Barcarolles Italiennes* for voice and basso continuo, as these were published before 1757 in France.<sup>161</sup> In Merchi's dedication of the publication to the Duc d'Ayen he calls these compositions 'mes premiers Essais' or 'his first attempts'.

Presumably, these could be the *Barcarolles* Merchi played with Signora Piatti in Britain, and maybe with Mme Lepri in Amsterdam as well. The first Barcarolle of the set (titled 'Balletto / Arietta Prima' on the page) is set for two violins, a figured bass part and soprano. It has eight verses. The other five Barcarolles are set for voice and figured bass without obbligato instruments. All six Barcarolles are in Italian and have non-singable French translations. The writer of the texts is unknown. The vocal parts are quite florid and demanding for the singer, and it seems very possible that Merchi would have accompanied these songs or very similar ones in public concerts (see figure 52).



Figure 52: Barcarolle terza 'Sul margine fiorito', for voice and figured bass from *Six Barcarolles Italiennes* by Giacomo Merchi.

Another edition from before he performed in the Netherlands is *Quattro duetti a due chitarre e sei Minuetti a solo con variazioni... Li duetti possono essere anche accompagnati dal Violino / Opera Tersa* [sic] published in Paris ca. 1757.<sup>162</sup> This publication contains six minuets for the five course guitar (solo) which are sophisticated enough to have been played in his Dutch concerts.

<sup>161</sup> Giacomo Merchi: *Six Barcarolles Italiennes*. Paris, chez l'auteur, before 1757.

<sup>162</sup> Giacomo Merchi: *Quattro duetti a due chitarre e sei Minuetti a solo con variazioni... Li duetti possono essere anche accompagnati dal Violino / Opera Tersa*. Paris, chez l'auteur, 1757.



Figure 53: 'Minuetto' from *Quattro duetti a due chitarre e sei Minuetti opus 3* for five-course guitar solo, by Giacomo Merchi.

In the years between 1757 and 1764 (Merchi's last known performance in the Netherlands) he or his brother published many songs in French and Italian, and in 1761 *Le Guide des Écoliers de Guitare*, a method book for the five-course guitar.<sup>163</sup> This method contains -- besides written text and didactic material -- fifteen pages of solo music at the end: a long chromatic prelude, gigues, many minuets, some with *doubles*, and *La Folia di Spagna con Variationi*, with thirty variations. This last work not only offers an impressive catalogue of Merchi's technical skills, but is also quite effective as a concert piece. I think some of the minuets as well as this set of variations may have been played in public concerts, either largely as they were published, or in more technically demanding versions. I assume that the songs published between 1757 and 1764<sup>164</sup>, as well as for example the chromatic prelude and the *Folia di Spagna* from the *Guide des Écoliers* may have been on the programme in Merchi's Dutch concerts in that period.

<sup>163</sup> Mr Merchi: *Le guide des écoliers de guitare ou Préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles, sur tous les modes, les positions et les Arpégemens [...] opus 7*. Paris, chez l'auteur, ca. 1761.

<sup>164</sup> The Merchi brothers' works are in some cases hard to date, but between 1757 and 1764 they probably published the following music containing items for voice and guitar:

- *Raccolta d'ariette francesi ed italiane per la chitarra li accompagnamenti sono in musica e tavolatura [...] opus 4*,
- *Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux*
- *Quatrième Livre de Guitare, ou Recueils d'airs avec accompagnement de Guitare; par M. Merchi*,
- *Le guide des écoliers de guitare ou Préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles, sur tous les modes, les positions et les Arpégemens [...] opus 7*,
- *Recueil d'airs avec accompagnement de guitare,.. Vle livre de guitarre. opus 8*,
- *XII Ariette e IV Duetti per cantare o sonare [...] opus 10*.

See also the section on Printed music in the Bibliography.

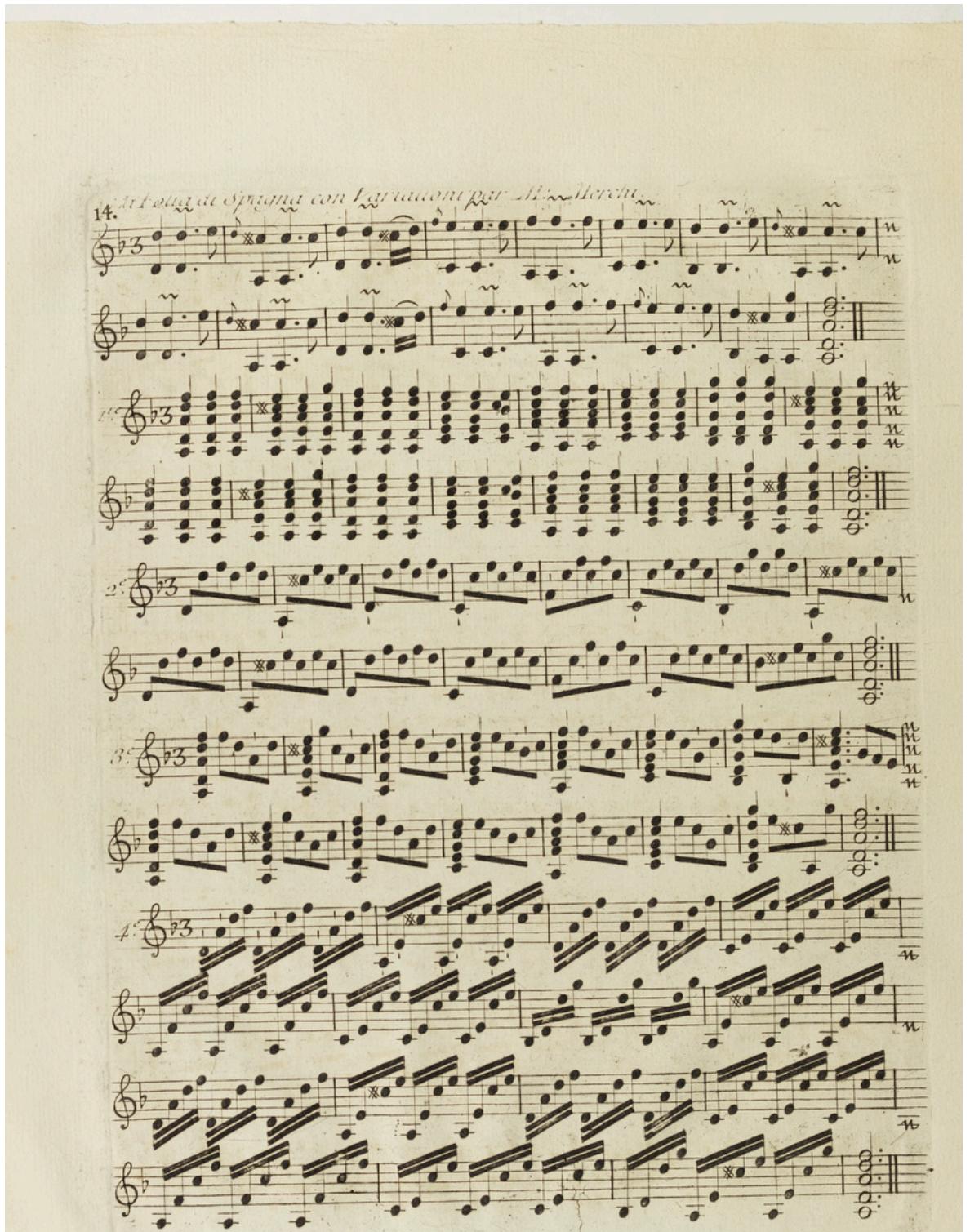


Figure 54: 'La Folia di Spagna con Variazioni' for five course guitar solo (first page only) from Merchi's *Guide des Ecoliers*, Paris, 1761.

At least two of Merchi's opus numbers have another connection to the Netherlands; they are labelled as 'available for sale' in Dutch music shops; and in the case of opus 10, they may have been (co-) published there.<sup>165</sup> That means they were available for Dutch guitar musicians to buy

<sup>165</sup> Brought to my attention by Damián Martin Gil, though I don't think these can be considered as 'published in the Netherlands' per se.

and play. The Hague Music merchant B. Hummel mentioned in the adverts was a brother of J. J. Hummel who sold Merchi's music in Amsterdam as well as tickets to his Amsterdam concerts. These are the works in question:

- *Sei trio a due violini e basso composti da Giacomo Merchi di Brescia*. Opera V. Se vend a La Haye chez Homel [Hummel] et aux adresses ordinaires.<sup>166</sup>

- *XII Ariette e IV Duetti Per Cantare o Sonare con il Violino, Flauto, Cembalo o Chitarra con Accompagnamento di Basso* [...] opera X. [...] Se vend a Amsterdam chez J. J. Hummel, a La Haye chez B. Hummel, a Paris aux adresses ordinaires.<sup>167</sup>

The latter, opus 10 from c. 1760, is remarkable for its variable instrumentation. The guitar part is in staff notation. Some of the *Ariette*, though short, are sufficiently virtuosic to have been used in concerts by Merchi's singers.

Merchi occasionally re-worked a song to suit a different country or a different type of guitar.

Below is an example of how In Paris in c. 1760 he published a song in French, with accompaniment for the gut-strung guitar, in a collection named *Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux*. Please note that the accompaniment is printed in both tablature and staff notation. The key is G major:



Figure 55: Merchi *Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux* no. 1 for voice and five course guitar (detail).<sup>168</sup>

Then about six years later (c. 1766 according to the British Library), the same melody appears with Italian words in the London-printed collection *Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi, con Accompagnamento di Chitarra Opera XV*, now in F, and set for the wire-strung guitar in C.<sup>169</sup> The notes in the guitar accompaniment are very similar to the other version, transposed almost note-

<sup>166</sup> Mr. Merchi: *Sei trio a due violini e basso composti da Giacomo Merchi di Brescia* [...] opus 5. The Hague, Hummel, ca. 1760.

<sup>167</sup> Giacomo Merchi: *XII Ariette e IV Duetti per cantare o sonare* [...] opus 10. Amsterdam, chez J. J. Hummel, ca. 1760.

<sup>168</sup> Mr. Merchi: *Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux*

<sup>169</sup> Giacomo Merchi: *Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi, con Accompagnamento di Chitarra* [...] opus 15. London, printed for the author, ca. 1766.

by-note to F major, which is a much more convenient key on the wire-strung guitar in C. The words however are not a translation but a wholly different text: the French setting a reasonably serious love song, while the Italian-language, British-published version is a text from the narrative perspective of a parrot, in distorted Italian, presumably meant to be comical:

*French text:*

Un trait vainqueur  
Perce mon coeur  
Et je fais à jamais mon bonheur  
de ma naissante ardeur [...]

*Italian text:*

L'é qua'vardel  
Come l'é bel  
tiolelo tiolelo Subito  
Cara no' sté a tardar [...]



Figure 56: Merchi 'Il Papagallo' – Arietta 4 -- from *Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi [...] opus 15*, for voice and wire-strung guitar (detail).<sup>170</sup>

This shows that Merchi was aware of musical instrument fashions in different countries and able to adjust his publications to them. This London publication also contains Scottish songs, 'God save the King', and Italian songs, showing Merchi adapting to the British taste.

### 3.4 Guitar music from Huis Amerongen

The stately home Huis Amerongen near Arnhem used to contain an extensive music library, which is now housed in the Utrechts Archief. The collection contains scores from the 17<sup>th</sup> until the 20<sup>th</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Giacomo Merchi: *Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi, con Accompanamento di Chitarra [...] opus 15*. London, printed for the author, ca. 1766.

century, acquired and used by successive members of the Van Reede van Athlone family. The family was strongly allied to the Orangist movement and had ties to Great Britain, where they held the title of count Athlone. When the Bataafse Republiek was announced in 1795 they fled to Britain, as did the Stadhouder Willem V van Oranje.

Among the music in the library are about thirty-five scores for guitar or with guitar parts, originating from between 1750 and 1850, some hand-written, some printed in France or Britain.<sup>171</sup> The guitar music must have belonged to several different guitar players. The repertoire requires three different types of guitar: at least an English-style wire strung guitar, a 6-string guitar, and some type of 'harp guitar'. There is no explicit indication of five-course guitars although there is plenty of music for voice and figured bass in the collection as well that could be performed on a five-course instrument. Many items have vocal parts. Among the guitar players in the castle were probably the freule Christina Henrietta Maria Isabella van Reede<sup>172</sup> (1743-1808), daughter of Frederik Christiaan van Reede count Athlone, as mentioned on receipts for guitar lessons in 1788 and 1789. She very likely played the English wire-strung guitar.

### **3.4.1      Music for the wire-strung guitar**

Among the items from between 1750 and 1810 that include guitar parts are scores with popular songs from the English stage, arranged for voice and keyboard with a version for flute and/or English guitar on the last page. These song sheets are from ca. 1760-1790, printed in Britain, often on a single folded page. The guitar versions generally constitute of the vocal part of the original song, transposed to an easy key like C or F major. The same process is used to create the flute part, only that is generally in D major or G major. The parts were not meant to be performed together. Multitudes of these are found in British collections. The presence of these scores confirms the family's strong ties to Britain and popular British culture, but they may have been the property of the flute player in the household, not the guitarist. Figures 57-59 show an example of a song sheet like this.

---

<sup>171</sup> A full list of all the guitar-related items is in Appendix B.

<sup>172</sup> Since the initial 'B' is mentioned on both receipts, I suspect that the pupil may be Christina Henrietta Maria Isabella (Bella?) van Reede (1770-1800), one of four daughters of Frederik Christiaan II, riksgraaf van Reede (since 1790), 5th earl of Athlone (1743-1808).

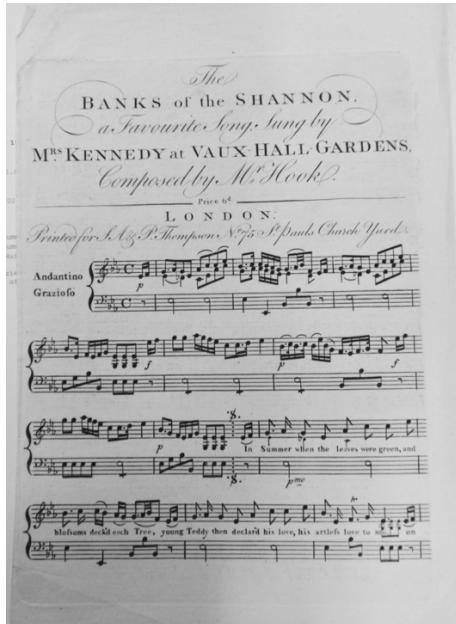


Figure 57: James Hook: *The Banks of the Shannon*. London, S. A. & P. Thompson, 1783, first page.

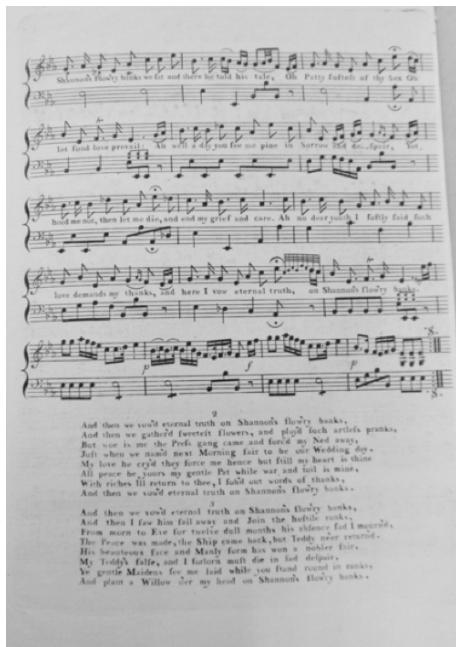


Figure 58: James Hook: *The Banks of the Shannon*, second page.

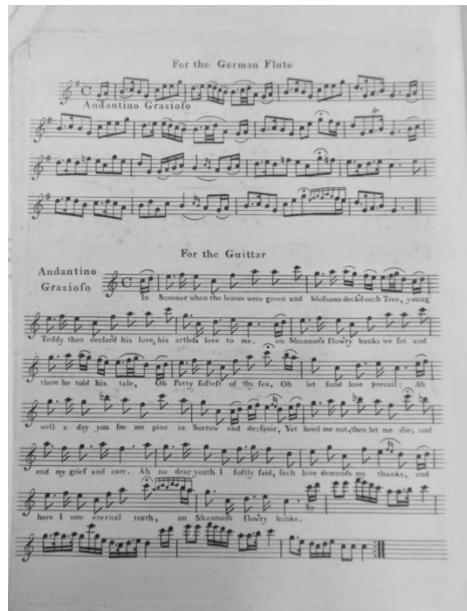


Figure 59: James Hook: *The Banks of the Shannon*, third page with guitar version below.

Another item from England is an anonymous printed guitar method called *Instructions For the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish & English Guittar* from ca 1810 (see figure 60) that provides instruction for the wire-strung guitar, gut-strung guitar and harp-lute, and after that some short solo pieces and songs. This method book contains handwritten notes in the section explaining the fingerboard of the 'English guittar' or wire-strung guitar, proving that it was used by a member of the household. The method contains some interesting remarks on the 'Spanish' guitar, in this case a six-strung one, on page 13 and 14:

The Spanish guittar is an Instrument when properly studied is superior to the Harp or Piano  
Forte as an accompaniment to the Voice.

It may appear on the first view to be more difficult than the modern Lute Lyre etc. but when  
acquired its execution is greater and more capable of executing Scientific music. [...]

The Music for the Lute, Lyre, Harp guitar etc. are mostly set in the Major key of C or F and  
the Spanish guitar is capable of playing through the whole system of Major and Minor Keys.

By 'scientific music' the author maybe means more sophisticated or ambitious music outside the  
realm of the guitar, and as mentioned afterwards, capable of playing in all keys.



Figure 60: *Instructions For the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish & English Guittar*, from ca 1810, printed in London by Wheatstone. Het Utrechts Archief, access number 1183, inventory number 31.

Then there are four songs for voice and English guitar in manuscript in the Amerongen collection, written or copied in very regular and beautifully readable handwriting, probably by the same scribe. They must be for wire-strung guitar with English tuning, since the accompaniment never goes below C, and it contains chord shapes that are not playable on other guitar types.

The simplest song is arguably *Mon honneur dit que je serois coupable* (inventory number 245, incomplete) from "Les amours d'été, divertissement en 1 acte et en vaudevilles" from 1781 by an unknown composer. This and the next song were often used as melodies for contrefacts in Dutch literature.



Figure 61: *Mon honneur dit que je serois coupable*, for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.

Another relatively simple accompaniment is seen in *Vermeille rose que le zéphir vient d'en trouvrir* [sic] (inventory nr. 243, see figure 62). This song is also known as 'Hymne de la Rose', probably by Pierre-Joseph Bernard (1708-1775), alias 'Gentil-Bernard'.

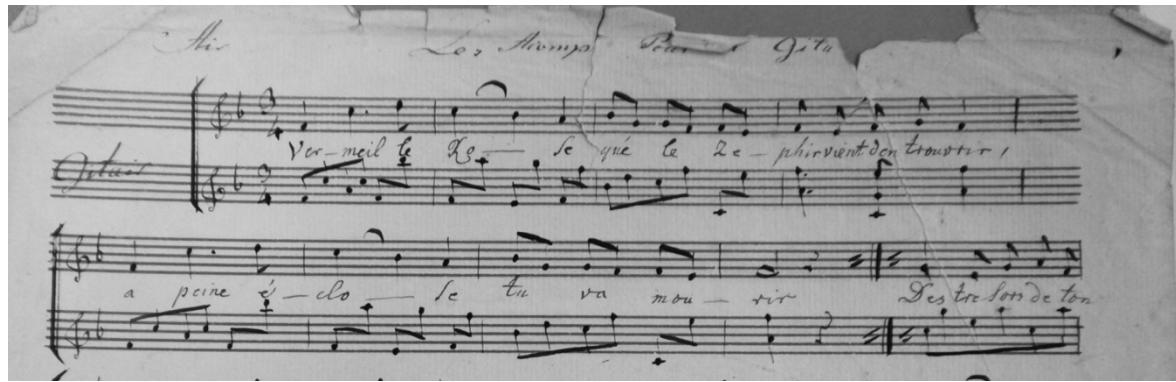


Figure 62: *Vermeille rose que le zéphir vient d'en trouvrir* (sic) for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.

More challenging is *Un militaire doit avoir trompette et tambour* (inventory nr. 302, see figure 63) for three voices that enter one by one, and English guitar, originally from *L'Amant Statue* by Dalayrac (1785). It has a more advanced guitar accompaniment (though all four of these songs are playable by a competent amateur).

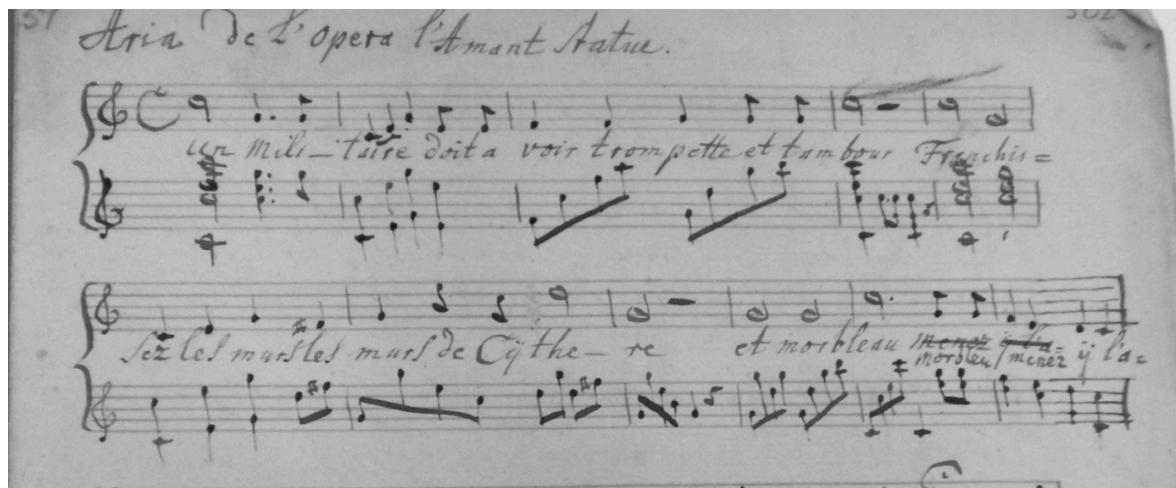


Figure 63: *Un militaire doit avoir trompette et tambour* for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.

The last of this group, *Quel beau jour* for one voice and English guitar, is an arrangement of an aria from *La Rosière de Salency* (1773) by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) (inventory nr. 306, see figure 64). Again a very nice guitar part, this time with grace notes and articulation signs added.

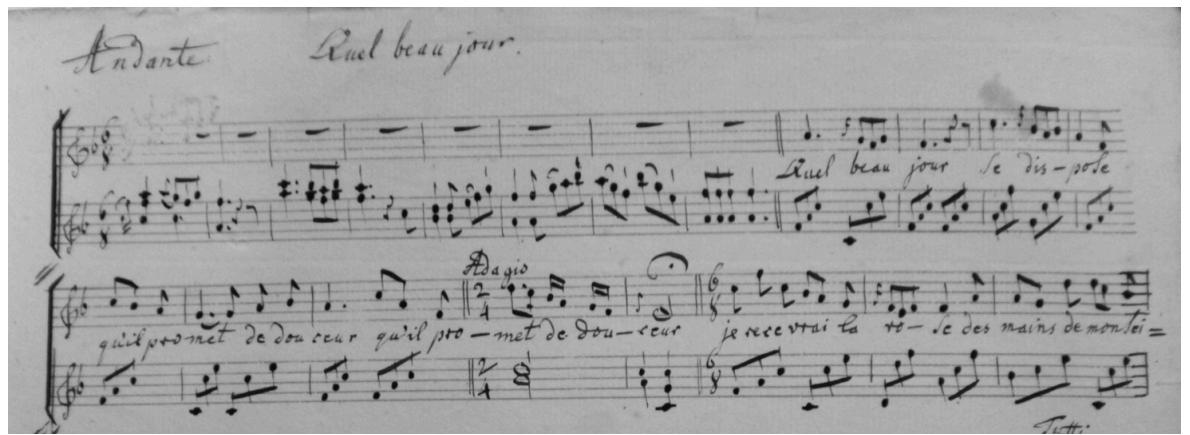


Figure 64: *Quel beau jour* for voice and wire-strung guitar in C-tuning.

It seems likely that this is the handwriting of a teacher, given the readability and confidence of the hand, and the progress between pieces. It is remarkable that person with a cosmopolitan mindset in Huis Amerongen arranged French arias for the English guitar. On the other hand, these examples are reminiscent of the remark in Stamatis Petrou's 1772 letter that 'the fourth [teacher teaches him] the guitar, which is an English instrument. The same teaches him also French songs with their music' (see paragraph 2.8 above).

## 3.4.2 Music for the five- and six string gut-strung guitar

NOCTURNES A DEUX VOIX.

Musique de BLANGINI.

Accomp. de Lyre ou Guitare, par LE MOINE.

Au PARNASS 'Chez F. J. WEYGAND à la HAYE.

(N<sup>o</sup> 6. Les Notes qui ont un (8) de sous se font à l'octave en bas pour la Lyre.)

Propriété des Éditeurs. Enregistré à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Lento.

N<sup>o</sup>. 6.

425

Figure 65: *Nocturne* by Blangini for two voices and five course gut-strung guitar or lyre, first page. Sold by music merchant Weygand in The Hague.

The Amerongen collection also contains a few scores printed in France around 1800 with songs accompanied by the six string guitar, but most of the six-string guitar repertoire from before 1810 in the collection is by the Spanish guitarist-composer Salvador Castro de Gistau, from between ca. 1800 and 1810. This comprises his very idiosyncratic guitar method that does not contain performable pieces, but contains scales and fragments in all possible keys. See also section 2.7 in the chapter on teaching. Additionally there are songs in Italian (with non-singable French translations) and French arranged by Castro, some of them by his compatriot Vincenzo Martin y Soler. There are also solo pieces for the six course or six string guitar by Castro (and two minuets

composed by the famous Catalan Fernando Sor). Some of these have a distinct Spanish flavour, and could well be the sort of music Castro would have played at his public concerts (see figure 66).

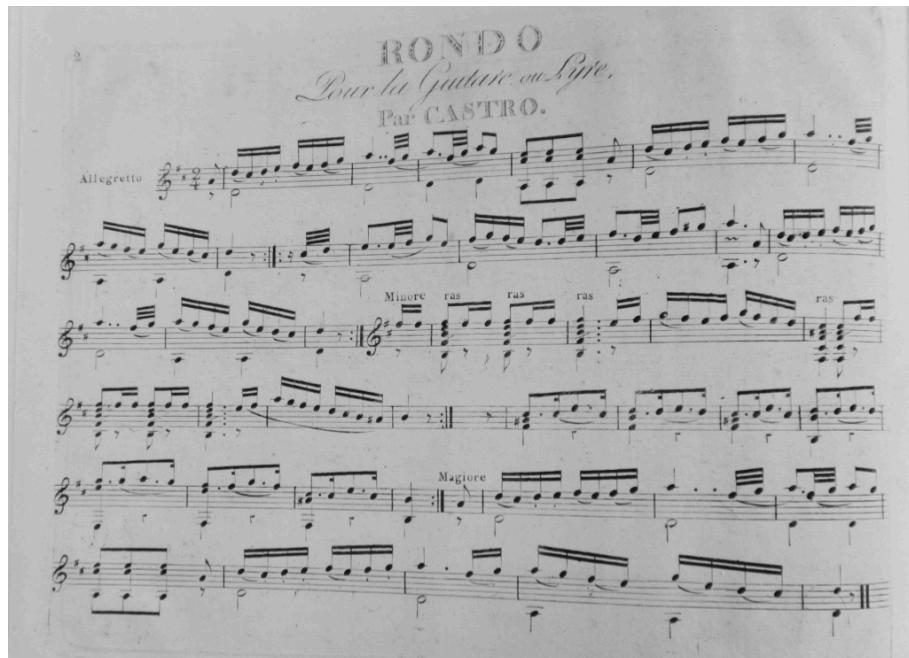


Figure 66: *Rondo* by Salvador Castro de Gistau, page 1. Note the 'Ras[gueado]' indication. Access number 1183, inventory number 6.

All the Castro items were bound into similar-looking albums in the Netherlands, using paper with a Dutch water mark. Someone bought the scores either in France or the Netherlands and had them bound there at the same time.

### 3.4.3 Music for other guitars

Another printed item is *A select collection of songs, duetts, airs, marches [...] properly arranged for the lyre and harp guitar. Book 4*, by Felice Chabran, published by Wornum in London in ca. 1800. Felice Chabran (1756-1829) was an Italian dancer and music teacher, living in London, who published several guitar methods.<sup>173</sup> What is meant exactly by 'lyre' here is not clear, and neither is the exact meaning of Chabran's use of the term harp-guitar; judging from the scores, it is not an instrument with an extended bass range. Looking at the scores, both the lyre and the harp guitar seem to be within the range of an 'English guitar', and are almost all in C major, so very likely meant for instruments with the C-tuning (c-e-g-c'-e'-g').

<sup>173</sup> Guido Salvetti, revised by Simon McVeigh: 'Chiabrano [Ciabran, Ciabrano], Carlo (Giuseppe Valentino) [Chabran, Charles]' <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05558>.

The title page states that the music is 'to be used either as Solos or Duetts / for one or both instruments'. Chabran's collection contains equal amounts of short solo pieces and duets, some of which ask for a violin for the second part. Some works have an indication of 'lyre-guitar' before a staff that also has lyrics for singing. The book contains short songs in English, French, and Italian. The impression is that the collection was designed to be used with different combinations of voice and guitar-like instruments in the domestic sphere.

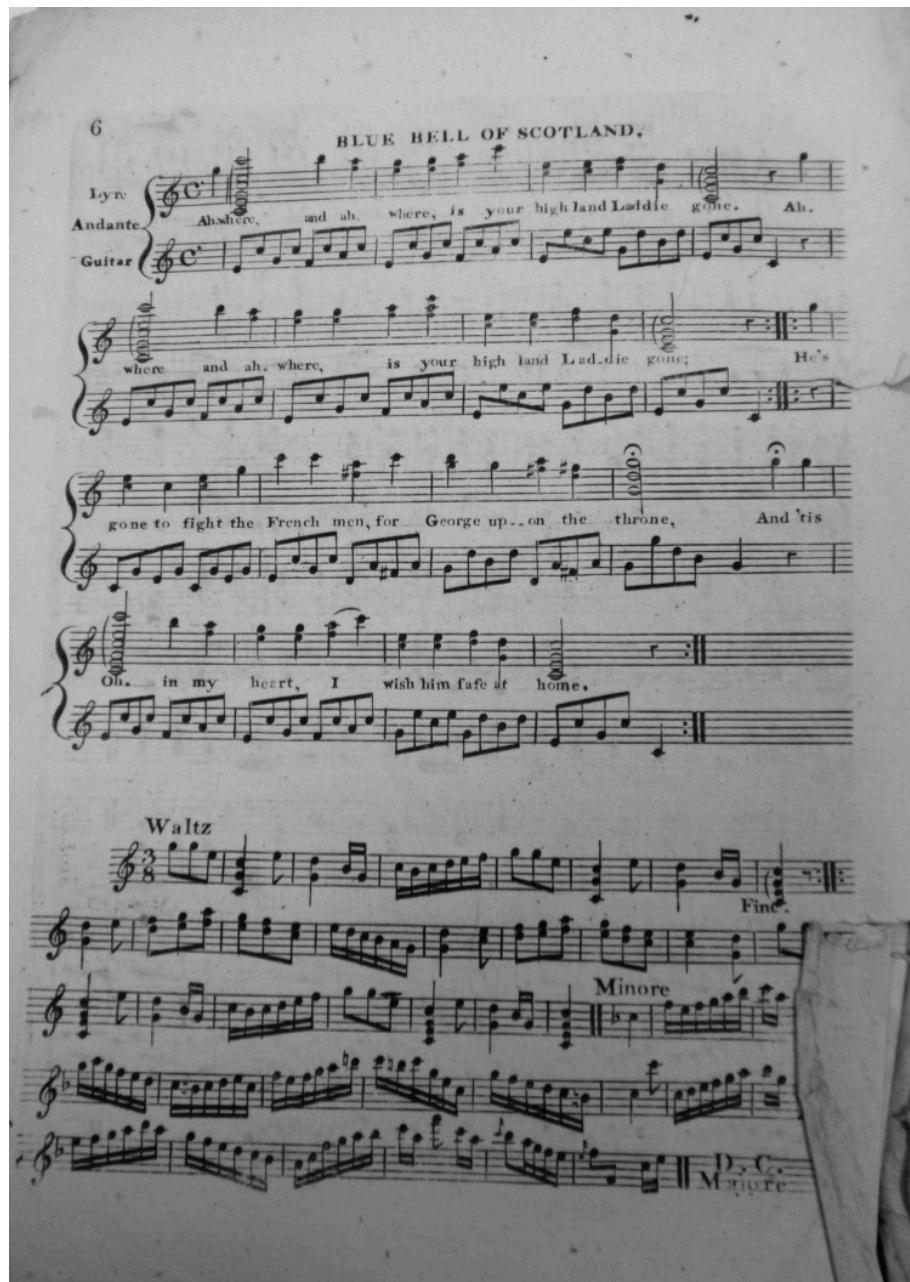


Figure 67: Page 6 from Chabran's 'select collection of songs, duetts,...', showing a duet / song, and a solo piece.

Summarizing, Huis Amerongen has a wide-ranging collection of printed and manuscript guitar music, collected and owned by several different players, with items from England, France and

Spain and Italian music. The collection points to three different types of guitar: at least an English wire-strung guitar, a 6-string or six course gut-strung guitar, and some type of ‘harp guitar’.

The wire-strung guitar that was played could be one of the Cuijpers’ instruments since there is an invoice for repair and stringing of a guitar in Huis Amerongen’s archive, signed by Cuijpers, proving a connection between him and the family.

Many items have vocal parts, confirming that guitars were used for accompaniment. There are all sorts of wonderful cosmopolitan cross-overs between (for example) French opera arranged for English guitar, Italian canzonette for the six-string, English and French songs arranged by an Italian, and several traces of the mysterious harp guitar.

### 3.5     Guitar music published in the Netherlands

One of the first mentions of music for guitar, published in the Netherlands is this advert from 1758:

Published in Amsterdam by Joh. Covens Junior, Bookseller on the Vygendam (on behalf of the Author): Santo Lapis [...] Solos for Violoncello and Basso Continuo, until mid-July for the price of f 3:-, and after that time not less than f 4-10-. As well as *Il Passa Tempio della Ghitarra*, being XII Ariette for Guitarre [sic] or Harpsichord by the same author, at 30 st. As well as a new Catalogue of Music, free. Works mentioned Above are also available in the Hague by N. Selhoff and J. Berkoske [...].<sup>174</sup>

Santo Lapis (1699-1765) was an Italian singer, composer and concert-organizer who had been living in the Netherlands since 1740. He left for Britain in 1757; one year later the advert above in a Dutch newspaper mentions *Ariette* with guitar accompaniment for sale in The Hague, so the claim for this music to be published in the Netherlands is somewhat questionable. While in Britain Lapis published other works with (presumably wire-strung) guitar accompaniment, for example *A Libro aperto. Light airs with minuets for the harpsichord and for all sorts of guittars; containing 36 easy lessons [...] Opera XVII* from 1760, notable for the indication ‘for all sorts of guittars’.

The four *Recueils* by David Leonard van Dijk however are the main corpus of music for the wire-strung guitar published in the Netherlands. These books contain over a hundred short pieces in all, own compositions, well-known opera arias, pirated works from other composers, technically ranging from very easy to rather sophisticated, and with a strong ‘European’ signature: Van Dijk

---

<sup>174</sup> ‘s Gravenhaagse Courant, 7 June 1758. Original text: ‘Te Amsterdam by Joh. Covens Junior, Boekverkoper op den Vygendam werd (voor rekening van den Autheur) uytgegeeven: Santo Lapis [...] Solos voor de Violoncello en Basso Continuo, tot half July voor de prys van f 3:-, en na die tyd niet minder als f 4-10-. Als meede *Il Passa Tempio della Ghitarra*, zynde XII. Ariette voor de Guitarre of de Clavecimbel door dezelfde Autheur, à 30 st. Als meede een nieuwe Catalogue van Musicq, gratis. Bovenst. Werken zyn meede te bekomen in 's Hage by N. Selhoff en J. Berkoske, [...]’

must have been *au courant* with guitar publications from France and Britain, and with the operas being performed locally. The music was published in Amsterdam between 1772 and 1776, while Van Dijk was the choir master of the Amsterdam Mozes and Aaron Church. More about Van Dijk and his work in a case study below.

### 3.5.1 David Leonardus van Dijk (c.1737 – after 1794)

One of the most remarkable material traces of guitar playing in Holland is a set of four books of music for 'sixtre ou guitarre angloise', published in Amsterdam in the 1770s by David Leonardus van Dijk. We can be certain that these pieces were not written for the Spanish guitar because of the occurrence of chord shapes that are impossible to play on a Spanish guitar and exceedingly easy on the English one, and because most pieces are in the keys C or in F, very convenient on an English guitar, but not particularly so on a five course Spanish guitar. A set of copies of Van Dijk's four *Recueils* is in the library of the Nederlands Muziek Instituut in Den Haag, bound together. A further copy of the *Deuxième Recueil* only is in the library of the Royal Academy of London, and was formerly in the Robert Spencer Collection. This copy bears a shop label of the London music shop G. Smart, so not only were Dutch guitarists obtaining music from outside the Netherlands, players in London could have bought music produced in the Netherlands.<sup>175</sup>

As the publisher of the four *Recueils*, and one of the few Dutch guitar players and teachers known by name, David Leonardus van Dijk is of special interest. What is known about his life and his work as a performer, music master and published has been described in chapter 2 (paragraph 2.5.3, starting on page 68).

---

<sup>175</sup> This copy was brought to my attention by Stuart Walsh, for which I am grateful.



Figure 68: Interior of the Mozes en Aäronkerk where Van Dijk led the Collegium Musicum. Anonymous, ca. 1750-1800. Collection of the Stadsarchief, inventory number 10094008222.

### 3.5.2 Van Dijk's *Recueils*

Four volumes of guitar music were compiled and published by David Leonardus van Dijk. From the wording of the title pages it appears that Van Dijk was the arranger most of the music, but he may have been the composer of some of it as well. The books contain only scores and no textual instructions or introductions, so the volumes are clearly not intended as a guitar method. The scores, for 'guitarre Angloise' solo and with voice, are beautifully engraved and printed in an oblong format. The title page of the first book states:

Premier Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement, Menuets, Marches, Allemandes etc. /  
 Arrangés / pour le sixtre ou guitarre Angloise, / Dedié / a Monsieur Archibald Hope. / Par M.  
 David Leon. van Dyk Maitre de Musique pour la vocale & La Guitarre à Amsterdam. / Prix f  
 3.10. / A Amsterdam / Chés L'Editeur sur le Heere Graght entre le Warmoes Graght & la Drie  
 Konings Straat / et chés J. Mol Marchand Libraire & d'Estampes dans le Raamsteeg. / Pre.  
 Mol Graveur de Musique.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>176</sup> 'J. Mol' may be the same person as 'Jan Mol and Co. in the Rozemarynsteeg' in a 1771 newspaper advertisement mentioned below.

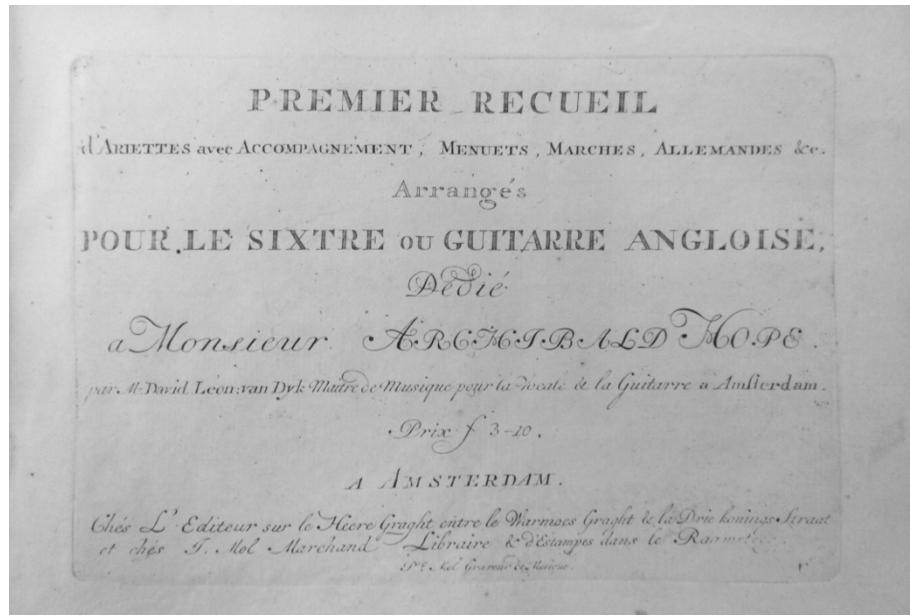


Figure 69: Title page of *Premier Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement [...]* by David Leonard van Dijk.

The dedication is quite interesting: Archibald Hope is in all likelihood Archibald Hope III (1747-1821), member of a very prominent Dutch merchants and bankers dynasty of Scottish descent. The Hope family – who were Quakers – made their fortune mostly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, by shipping other Quakers to North America at the expense of the city of Rotterdam, by trading in enslaved people, and by providing loans to governments. Archibald Hope, of the third generation of this family, became a politician (a member of Dutch parliament, and regent of the West Indian Company), was an art collector, and owned the former palace Lange Voorhout in Den Haag. By the end of the 18th century the Hopes had offices in London, employed English cousins in Amsterdam and married English women. The family must therefore have been well-informed of events and fashions in Britain. The fact that D. L. van Dijk dedicated two of the four books to Archibald Hope may also mean that one or more members of the Hope family played the English guitar.

The second book has a similar title page, and is again dedicated to Archibald Hope:

Deuxième Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement, Rondeaux, Marches, Allemandes etc. /  
 Arrangés / pour le sixtre ou guitarre Angloise, / Dedié / a Monsieur Archibald Hope. / Par /  
 M. David Leon. van Dyk. / A Amsterdam / Chés Pierre den Hengst, Libraire dans le  
 Kalverstraat. / De l'imprimerie de Lablon. Prix f 3.10.177

<sup>177</sup> Petrus den Hengst was a well-known Amsterdam publisher and book dealer.

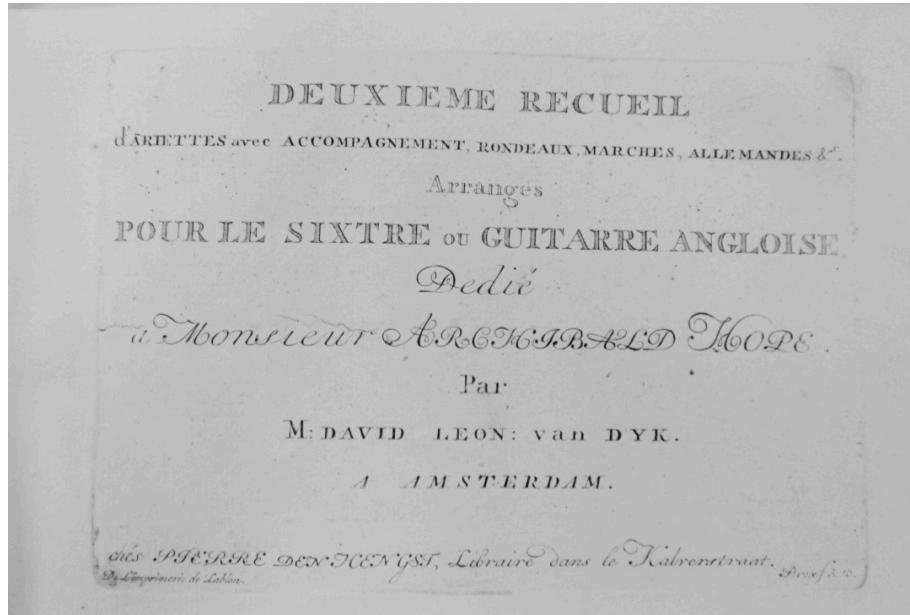


Figure 70: Title page of *Deuxième Recueil d'Ariettes avec Accompagnement [...]* by David Leonard van Dijk.

The title page of the third book is quite different:

Troisième Recueil d'Ariettes / Arrangés / pour le sixtre ou guitarre Angloise, / Dedié / à  
Monsieur Jean François Cellier. / Docteur en Droit etc. / Par / Mr. D. L. van Dyk. / A  
Amsterdam. / Chés l'Editeur D: L: van Dyk, Sur le Reguliersgracht, / entre le Heere &  
Keyzersgracht; / De L'imprimerie de Lablon. Prix f 3.10.

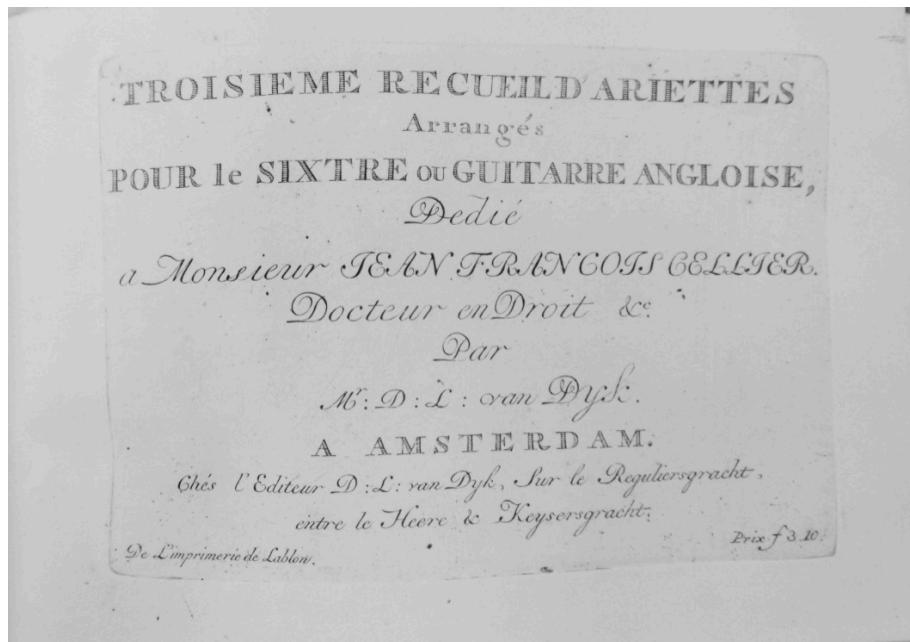


Figure 71: Title page of *Troisième Recueil d'Ariettes [...]* by David Leonard van Dijk.

It is unclear who Jean-François Cellier was. He may have been the French lawyer by that name who was a member of Parliament in France (1705-1777), or a relative of his.<sup>178</sup> At least we are certain about his connection to the legal profession and thus his social standing.

The fourth title page states:

Quatrième Recueil. / d'Ariette, Menuets, Marche, Allemandes etc. / A[r]ranges / pour le  
sixtre ou guitarre Angloise. / Didié / a Monsieur \*\*\* / Par M. D. L. van Dyk. / a Amsterdam. /  
Chez Arend Fokke, Libraire sur le Marché aux Fleurs. / Prix f 3.10.



Figure 72: Title page of *Quatrième Recueil d'Ariette, Menuets, Marche, Allemandes etc [...]* by David Leonard van Dijk.

A notable detail when comparing the title pages is how the fourth page is more similar to the first one than to the second or third, with its listing of 'Ariette, Menuets, Marche[s], Allemandes'. This time the book is dedicated to an anonymous gentleman. Arend Fokke Simonsz (1755-1812), the publisher of the fourth *Recueil*, was a well-known Amsterdam citizen from a family of artists and actors, and a member of twelve Amsterdam cultural societies, among which the famous Felix Meritis. He was a prolific writer, poet and public speaker and established his book firm in 1774. He ended this business in 1793, and became a private tutor. He was a critic of the French occupation of 1795, ended up in prison for a few years and died in 1812.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>178</sup> *L'investigateur, Journal de l'institut historique*. Tome X, 1<sup>re</sup> série (1850) 11-18.

<sup>179</sup> <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1780-1830/lemmata/data/Fokke>> accessed 21/3/2014.

### 3.5.3 Musical contents of the *Recueils*

The four *Recueils* by David Leonardus van Dijk contain 108 pieces in all. Over half of these are short solo works: marches, menuets, sets of variations and instrumental versions of well-known tunes (the first *Recueil* has a piece titled *La Hoorn Pyp Dans Hollandois*).

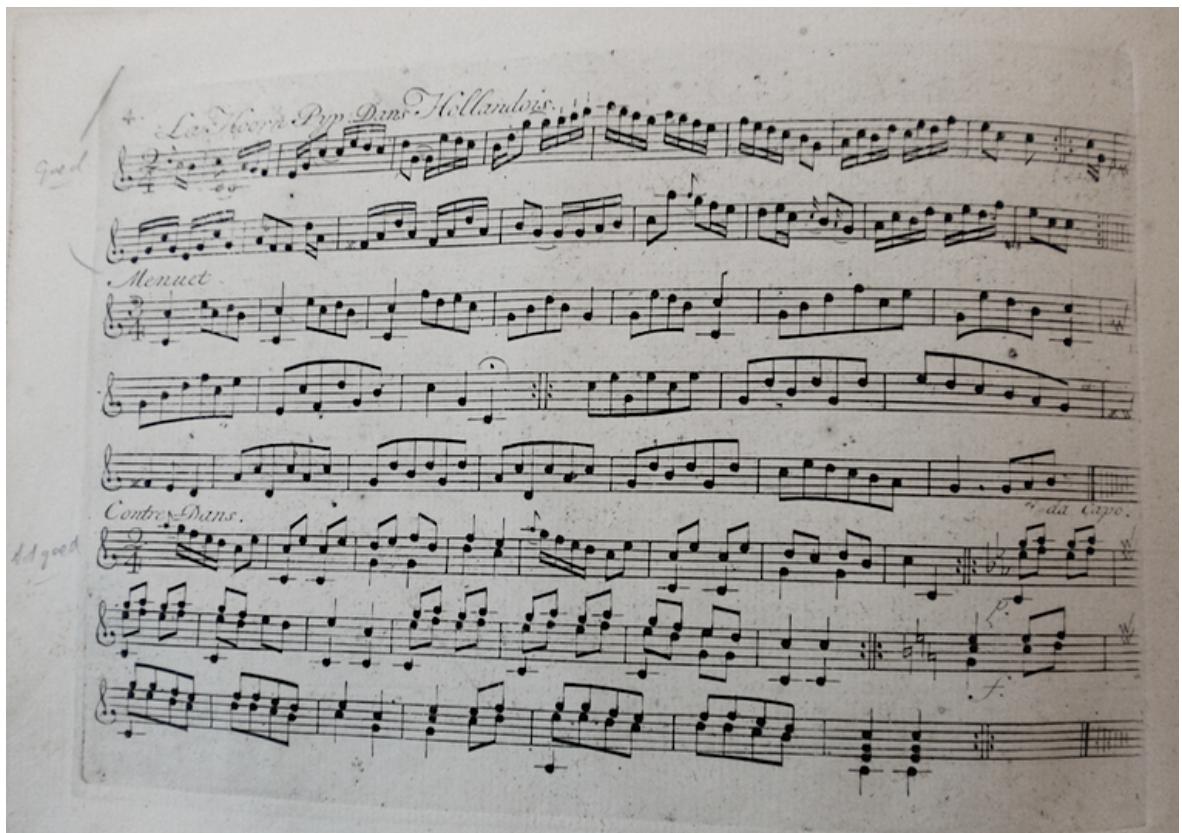


Figure 73: Page 4 of the *Premier Recueil*, with 'La Hoorn Pyp Dans Hollandois', 'Menuet' and 'Contre Dans'. The first and third pieces are marked 'good' and 'quite good' in pencil.

Furthermore, the collection contains works for voice and guitar, some of which may be performed by two singers and guitar, and some that offer the option for either guitar solo or guitar and voice performance. One or two works look at first sight like vocal duets with guitar accompaniment, but on close inspection appear to be more suitable for two guitars, with or without voice.<sup>180</sup> This flexibility of instrumentation is comparable to that of some works in Rudolph Straube's 1768 large anthology *Three Sonatas for the Guittar* (London 1768), one of the keystones of the British repertoire for the instrument, which also contains many songs that can be performed on a guitar with or without voice (see figure 74).

<sup>180</sup> For instance: *Troisième Recueil*, pp. 16-17.



Figure 74: An example of 'integrated' voice and guitar notation, page 14 of the *Premier Recueil*. Pieces notated in this style can be performed either as songs or as solos.

Many of the works in the *Recueils* are arrangements of movements from fairly recent operas, mainly by Philidor, Monsigny, Grétry, Sacchini, Gluck and Paisiello. However, we also find individual romances in French, Italian and German, and a single English song: Holcombe's *When here Lucinda first we came*, also known as *Arno's Vale*, going back to at least 1745.<sup>181</sup>

A number of Van Dijk's solo pieces are very similar to works in other sources and have probably been stolen or derived from those: pieces in Pollet's publications for *guitare Allemande* in France, works by Carpentier and works from British sources. Then there are of course well-known tunes that also appear in many British or French 'cistre' collections ('Ah, vous dirais-je maman', 'The sailor's hornpipe') in different arrangements. A first example is the song that appears as 'Guardian Angels' in Longman, Lukey & Broderip's *Pocket Book for the Guitar* (c.1770), and as 'Si votre flamme' in Van Dijk's *Deuxième Recueil*:

Figure 75: 'Guardian Angels' from the *Pocket Book for the Guitar* (c.1770) compared to 'Si votre flamme' from Van Dijk's *Deuxième Recueil*.

<sup>181</sup> On p. 11 of the *Deuxième Recueil*.

Notable is that Van Dijk provides a full two-part counterpoint, and in m.4 adds a third voice, where the *Pocket Book* version consists of just the melody with a just few added notes. A second case of a popular tune appearing in other collections is the theme from the Concerto for oboe by Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800)<sup>182</sup>. Arrangements of that work feature in at least three European collections of wire-strung guitar music:

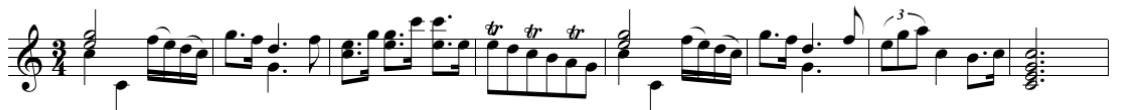


Figure 76: 'Fishers Menuet' [sic] from Robert Ross' *Select collection of lessons [...] for the guittar* (Edinburgh ca.1770), mm. 1-8.



Figure 77: 'Menuet de Mr. Fischer' [sic] from Charles-François Pollet's *Journal de musique pour le cistre* (Paris 1778, no. 3), mm. 1-8. Transposed by me from the original A to C major. In this version the minuet is followed by one variation.



Figure 78: 'Rondeau par m Fischer' from Van Dijk's *Troisième Recueil* (Amsterdam ca. 1773), mm. 1-8.

Here Van Dijk also provides a more sophisticated and complete bass part when compared to the other versions, and distinguished himself from his peers.

Other pieces however appear to have been pirated straight away: for instance Van Dijk's 'Menuetto Con Variatione' (*Premier Recueil* p. 22), is virtually identical to 'Lovely Nancy with Variations' from Friedrich Theodor Schuman's *A Second set of Lessons For one and two Guitars*, published in London around 1765.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>182</sup> The same theme was used in 1774 by W. A. Mozart for a set of variations for piano, as K.179/189a.

<sup>183</sup> I am grateful to Stuart Walsh for pointing out many of these appropriations to me.

The works with vocal parts show the same range of textures and notational styles that one can find in British and French guitar collections of the time. Two main notational styles were used: the first one could be called an 'integrated' style, where the vocal and guitar part are notated together on one staff. This is comparable to the style of most of the vocal pieces in for instance the *Three Sonatas for the Guittar* (London, 1768) by Rudolph Straube, or Longman, Lukey & Broderip's *Pocket Book* (London, ca. 1775). In this style, mainly a British phenomenon, the vocal part is always doubled in the guitar accompaniment, which makes (amateur) performance easier and also turns every song into a possible guitar solo piece. The integrated style of notation was never used for gut-strung guitar music.

The second style of notation is more conventional: the guitar accompaniment is on a separate staff and does not double the vocal part. Generally, French music for 'guitarre Anglaise', cistre and 'guitare Allemande' is written this way. Van Dijks conventionally notated accompaniments are sometimes in an arpeggiated accompaniment style like Giacomo Merchi (1730 - after 1789) uses in his guitar songs, and sometimes in a melodic accompaniment style like that of Charles Pollet.



Figure 79: *Romance de l'Aveugle de Palmyre* by Jean-Joseph Rodolphe (1730-1812), conventional voice-guitar notation on separate staves, with the accompaniment in a melodic style, from Van Dijks *Premier Recueil*.

The level of technical difficulty of Van Dijk's solo works and accompaniments ranges from quite easy to rather sophisticated, with some works proscribing arpeggiated chords in fifth position and therefore requiring an advanced player's skills. The books also contain a relatively large number of works (or sections of works) in minor keys, especially c-minor and f-minor, when compared to British repertoire like Straube. A few notable pieces of a clearly Dutch origin give the Recueils some Dutch flavour: first the vaudeville from *De Koopman van Smirna* by Johann August Just (c.1758-c.1791), and second an arrangement of a march composed in 1775 for the Leiden University 200-year Anniversary, or *Dies*, by Giovanni Andrea Colizzi (c.1740-c.1808), in the

*Troisième Recueil* on page 29. In the copy from the NMI collection, it is marked 'Studentenmars' or 'Student March' in pencil.

So, considering style and origin of the works, a provisional conclusion would be that the collection as a whole carries an eclectic 'European' signature: it shows that Van Dijk and possibly the buyers of his books must have been well-informed about contemporary music life in Holland and abroad, that Van Dijk himself was a proficient player and a rather inventive and careful arranger. He must have known a number of both British and French guitar-, cistre-, and *guitarre Allemande* publications. The flexibility of the instrumentation suggests that the *Recueils* were intended for domestic music making, as one could perform many pieces either as solos, as songs or as duos, depending on the available musicians. This is similar in intention to the Chabran publication discussed earlier, which also appeared suitable for different sets of instruments and voices.

### 3.5.4      **Dating the Recueils**

Although there is no publishing date to be found on the physical books, is possible to date them within a margin of a few years. The first *Recueil* contains the two items from Nicolas-Alexandre Dezède's opera *Julie* from 1772, which would mean this collection must have been printed in or after 1772. The second *Recueil* offers fewer clues, but it also contains a piece from *Julie* ('Lison dormoit dans un bocage', p. 26), so it must be from 1772 or later as well. The third *Recueil* must be from 1773 or later, again judging from its newest items (Johan Just's 'Vaudeville de L'Opera den Coopman van Smirna', 1773, *Troisième Recueil* p. 25). The fourth book must be from 1775 or later, as the item on p. 10, 'Air de l'Opera la Colonie' is derived from Sacchini's *La Colonie*, first performed in French in 1775. The *Quatrième Recueil* may also be from 1776, which would be confirmed by an advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* of November 13 of that year:

[...] Quatrième Recueil d'Ariettes, Menuets &c, pour le Sixtre ou Guitarre Angloise, dédié a Monsr. P. H. G. LA FARGUE, Docteur en Droit, par Monsr. D. L. VAN DYK; Prix à f 3:10.

This announcement was made on November 13 1776 by the publisher Arend Fokke Simonsz, so in all likelihood the first three *Recueils* date from 1776 or earlier. Notable is however that the dedication to Monsieur La Fargue mentioned in the *Leydse Courant* is not there in the NMI's copy, which presents a minor mystery. Combined with the exact wording of the title pages mentioned above this makes it possible that these four books were not printed and published chronologically in the order that they are bound now, or that there have been other editions of this series or just of the fourth *Recueil*. For the identity of M. La Fargue (another 'docteur en droit') there are several candidates, however none of whom have a connection to Van Dijk.

### 3.5.5      **Guitar music by Christian Ernst Graf**

Van Dijk has some Dutch items in his recueils -- such as de 'Vaudeville de L'Opera den Coopman van Smirna', 'Marche du Sr. Colizzi', 'La Hoorn Pijp Dans Hollandois', -- but composer Christian Ernst Graf posits himself right in the middle of Dutch culture with his settings of Hieronymus van Alphen's *Kleine Gedichten*.

Graf (1723-1804) was born in Rudolstadt, Germany, as the son of a Kapellmeister. He settled in the Netherlands in the 1750s. From about 1757 to 1790 he worked as a composer and conductor at the Dutch court in The Hague. He was a productive and influential figure in Dutch musical life and a freemason. He died in The Hague in 1804.<sup>184</sup> The wire-strung guitar makes an unexpected appearance in Graf's *Kleine Gedichten voor Kinderen* (1779-1780), songs on poems by Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803).

The choice of lyrics for these songs is notable: these 'Small Poems for Children' were extremely well-known in their time and still are, in the Netherlands. Poet and lawyer Van Alphen published the first set of these in 1778. The subject matter is considered to be innovative and showing an enlightened (and protestant Christian) attitude towards education.<sup>185</sup> Many songs present the child with a moral dilemma, a fear (of thunderstorms, of Jews, of death, of loneliness) or a great worry, but the issue is always solved or reframed through rationality or prayer, or by a parent. Van Alphen is thus both an example of how to mitigate – in a very pragmatic Dutch way -- Christianity and rational thinking. The publication was also part of the international rise in children's literature, poetry, and songs comparable to the *Romances* (1776) by Arnoud Berquin (1747-1791) in France.

Graf was one of the first composers to set Van Alphen's poems to music (starting in 1779). The songs are almost all written for voice and keyboard and notated in a way that the vocal part is also the right hand of the keyboard part. I am not sure if they were meant to be performed by children, with children, or for children, but some of them seem simple enough to have been performed by a competent child. It seems likely that the songs were meant for domestic performance (as were the poems) considering their small scale and domestic subjects. Two songs in Graf's *Kleine Gedichten* require a 'citter' i.e. wire-strung guitar. These are the only guitar songs in the Dutch language from the period.

---

<sup>184</sup> Adolf Layer: 'The Graf family' in: Grove Music Online <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42860>>.

<sup>185</sup> Frits Noske: 'Het Nederlandse kinderlied in de achttiende eeuw' in: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 19, 3/4 (1962 - 1963): 173-185.

### The little songstress

In the third book of the *Kleine Gedichten voor Kinderen* there is a song called *De Kleine Zangster* ('The little songstress') set on a poem by Van Alphen of the same title.<sup>186</sup> The original poem has two sections. In the first section the narrator describes how a little girl of eight or nine years old sings a song, accompanying herself on a 'little cittern'.<sup>187</sup> The second section represents the girl's song itself, in six stanzas of six lines each. The narrator speaks directly to the reader when he ends the first section with the words

Zy paarde lagchend Stem en Snaren; / En zong het vrolijk avondlied, / Dat Gij hier uitgeschreeven ziet.

Smiling she joined Voice and Strings; / And sang the cheerful evening song, / That You see written here.

This is followed by the words of the song-within-the-song.

In Graf's setting of the poem the first section is divided in two by a change of meter (from 2/4 to 6/8, a few words before the mention of the verb 'huppelen' (to skip). It seems most likely that the guitar played along with the right hand part of the keyboard. Then follows a 16-bar interlude for guitar solo in 3/4, featuring the same melody as the third section, which is the song-in-song (the original second section of the poem). In this section the cittern plays an obbligato part, in mostly 16<sup>th</sup> notes. If all verse are performed, this third section is repeated five times.

Graf transforms the poem to a kind of musical 'scene' in sections, starring the guitar. Graf makes the instrument mentioned in Van Alphen's poem 'real' or literal. What is the moral lesson of this song? Not to be afraid of the dark; because God protects the child. The moral message is sung by the child herself: the fear is acknowledged but a solution is offered.

An interesting technical detail is that Graf suggests that when performing the song without a 'Citter', it could be transposed down a third. The wire-strung guitar was obviously not very suited to play in other keys than C major.

'NB: In dit Stuk moeten zich Zang en Clavier naar de Stemming der Citter rich[t]en; en op het Clavier, zonder de Citter, moet het eene tert[er]t laager gespeelt worden'.

'NB: In this Piece Voice and Keyboard shall adapt to the Tuning of the cittern; and on the Keyboard, without the Cittern, one should play a third lower'.

---

<sup>186</sup> Actually Van Alphen's full title is 'De kleine Zangster / Avondlied' ('The little songstress / Evening Song').

<sup>187</sup> Van Alphen's original book has an illustration here of a little girl with what looks like a small lute. Of course there were citterns with lute-shaped soundboxes.

Figure 80: 'De kleine Zangster – Avondlied'. From *Kleine Gedichten voor Kinderen*, Christian Ernst Graf, ca. 1780

## Solitude

The second song with cittern involvement is *De Eenzaamheid* ('Solitude', see figure 81). It seems that the right hand of the provided keyboard part serves both as vocal part and cittern part, since it perfectly fits the range of the cittern. Bars 10 and 11 are quite awkward on a keyboard but very easy on a wire-strung guitar nominally in C. The intention for performance may have been cittern, keyboard, and voice, or just keyboard and voice when no cittern was available. Maybe it was also performed on voice & cittern in a sort of unison, which does in fact sound rather nice (and is similar to how the English often arranged music for the wire-strung guitar). This song is in 2/2 meter throughout, and is not divided into sections. The three verses are set to the same music, and the only adjustment of the words by the composer have been to repeat every 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> line. The gist of this poem is not to fear being alone, but welcoming time without companions, to read books and gain wisdom. Looking at the range of the song, it might also work better at a third lower.



Figure 81: 'De Eenzaamheid' from *Kleine Gedichten voor Kinderen*, Christian Ernst Graf, ca. 1780. 'Don't think, dear playmates, that I regret the time yesterday when I sat alone. He who enjoys reading has no fear of solitude and is always content'.

A third work by Graf including a guitar part is mentioned in The 's Gravenhaagse Courant of Wednesday 24-5-1786 in the following advert:

At B. WITTELAER, Book seller in The Hague are available: (1) New settings of the Economische Liedjes by Mss E. BEKKER, Wed. WOLFF and A. DEKEN, for Voice and Keyboard. (2) Duo pour un Violon à 2 Mains & 2 Archets. (3) Sonate pour la guitarre, Viol. & Violonc., all composed by C. E. Graaf, chapel master of His Royal Highness.<sup>188</sup>

This sonata for guitar, violin and cello, which would have been a welcome addition to the repertoire, is unfortunately missing.

### 3.6 Other guitar music from the period

The French musician Alexandre Stiévenard, who taught music and gave concerts in Groningen in the 1790s left a number of compositions including the guitar. One song, a romance titled 'Du sort

<sup>188</sup> 's Gravenhaagse Courant 24 May 1786 By B. WITTELAER, Boekverkoper in 's Hage, zyn te bekomen: (1) Nieuwe wyzen op de Economische Liedjes van de Jufvrouwen E. BEKKER, Wed. WOLFF en A. DEKEN, voor Zang en Clavier. (2) Duo pour un Violon à 2 Mains & 2 Archets. (3) Sonate pour la guitarre, Viol. & Violonc., alle gecomponnerd door C.E. Graaf, Kapelmeester van Z. Doorl. Hoogheid.

cruel qui loin de vous', for voice and harpsichord, was published in Paris before 1800.<sup>189</sup> Then a set of various didactic compositions in manuscript is held in the Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: *Recueil d'airs aisez avec accompagnement de Guitare*. It comprises eight songs for high voice and guitar, some with obbligato violin, as well as five works for guitar solo.<sup>190</sup>

Stiévenard's most interesting guitar composition is *Ah! Vous dirai-je Maman? Varié*, a theme and variations set for 2 violins, violoncello and guitar, opus 48, published originally by Hofmeister in Leipzig before 1819.<sup>191</sup> Of this piece there is a modern edition. It is not equivocally clear for which type of guitar it was written: the only available edition is the modern one, whose editor proposes performing it on a modern guitar with a capostasto on the third fret. The guitar part never goes below c.

The texture of the composition is a very busy guitar part with accompanying strings, so it may in fact be the same composition as the 'Concert for the GUITAR, composed and performed by Mr Stievenard' from 27 December 1794, or the *Ariette en Variations voor Guitare* that appears in the 26 May 1801 concert.

Var. 2.

58

Figure 82: First four bars of Stiévenard's *Ah! Vous dirai-je Maman? Varié*, second variation.

<sup>189</sup> MGG2 says "hs. Kopie in D-HVs". Another source (Gerber) says this is printed in Paris before 1800.

<sup>190</sup> Source: MGG2, RISM, and the Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

<sup>191</sup> Sources: modern edition, but also announced in 1818 in Meysel: *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* [...]. The latter mentions also a viola part which is not in the modern edition.

### 3.7 Chapter conclusion

The repertoire for guitars between 1750 and 1810 consists of mostly small scale but varied works. For solo music, there are mostly dances, marches, minuets, and variation works. For voice and guitar: many strophic romances in foreign languages, a small number of settings of Dutch poems, as well as transcription of opera highlights.

The guitar's notational style was changing from tablature to staff, especially in the case of the gut-strung guitar. This development is connected to the standardization of guitar tuning and -stringing and the end of re-entrant stringings, and is also a matter of practicality: it makes the guitar easier to learn for someone who already plays an instrument, and it makes non-guitar music accessible to guitarists.

Printed music, for both types of guitar, was often flexible in its instrumentation: a song could be used as a guitar solo piece or duet, a supporting violin part could also be used for a second guitar.

Dutch guitarists had access to music printed in other countries through music merchants such as the Hummel brothers, from their teachers such as Van Dijk, and through travelling performers like Merchi and Castro. Some of the wealthier amateur musicians travelled to other countries themselves and may have bought guitar music there to bring home.

Some music for guitars was printed locally. The main example of that is Van Dijk's set of *Recueils*. These collections show a strong awareness of music in other countries. They contain dances, songs and transcribed opera arias of different levels of technical difficulty, from very basic to quite demanding. His collections are not a guitar method, but were suitable for using with students. To a modest extent, Dutch music for guitars also reached other countries: one of van Dijk's *Recueils* that was sold in G. Smart's London Music Shop. A second example of locally published music for guitar is the insertion of guitar parts by Christian Ernst Graf in his setting of *Kleine Gedigten*, where a wire-string guitar part is used in a song about a cittern. Graf's other composition for the guitar, a Sonata for guitar, violin and cello is unfortunately lost.

Castro's guitar method is both idiosyncratic and unpractical, but also encyclopedic, ambitious and systematic in true Enlightenment style. It heralds the ascent of the 'scientific' 6 string guitar as Wheatstone's method put it, ideally able to play in all keys much more easily than other guitars.

The repertoire of professional performers and amateur players would probably be similar, though the music played by the professionals would no doubt be more demanding technically. Solo pieces for guitars were often variation works, dance forms, marches, or opera movements transformed to solo works. Graf's children's songs were most likely meant for domestic use, but arrangements of opera arias, Merchi's elaborate Barcarolles and Castro's attractive French and Italian songs may well have performed in public concerts.

## Chapter 4 Performances, performers, and musical spaces

The choice of repertoire, the acquisition of instruments, and the learning of musical skills all serve to enable musical performance. In this chapter I examine performance, performers, performance spaces in relationship to guitars (in the Netherlands between 1750 and 1810). For the purpose of this chapter I am taking a very broad view of what performance is: this is necessary to do justice to the subject, since guitars were played both in public and in private and informal situations, where the audience is just a few people or even just the performer themselves.

### 4.1 Performance spheres and -spaces

The public part of Dutch musical life between 1750 and 1810 is mostly situated in the cities and the large towns, and to a lesser extent in a number of country houses. Music was performed in different 'realms': the churches of different denominations had organs for congregational singing, choirs, and sometimes a small orchestra. Masonic lodges had music performed at their meetings and rituals.<sup>192</sup> Members of civic and political societies sang songs, some of which political.<sup>193</sup> On the street one could find music at parades, musical performances by street musicians, and carillons. In the drawing room, people performed music for themselves or their friends. There was music at the court. There were opera performances by travelling groups, and concerts in inns, riding schools, but also in the first purpose-built concert halls. The playing of guitars happened in some of these spheres.

The questions that I am trying to answer in this chapter are: in which spheres and spaces are performances including guitars found? Who are the (guitar) performers, and what was their gender, nationality, and class? What makes the Dutch music life of the time cosmopolitan, how does that show, and how are guitars involved? Does musical performance somehow reflect of the enlightenment-religion divide in thinking, or the patriot-orangist division in politics?

---

<sup>192</sup> See Malcolm George Davies, 'The Masonic muse. Songs, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry: 1730-1806.' PhD Diss, Den Haag, 2002.

<sup>193</sup> See Renée Vulto, 'Singing Communities : Politics of Feeling in Songs of the Dutch Revolutionary Period (1780-1815).' PhD Diss, Ghent: Ghent University, 2022.

## 4.2 Performers

### 4.2.1 The Colla brothers

In the spring and summer of 1751 we find (some of) the earliest public concerts including a guitar in the Netherlands. The Italians Domenico Colla and his brother performed on the guitar and a two-string colascione or colascioncino. They played in Amsterdam in 't Wapen van Embden on May 26 and June 9 (see figure 83) and on June 16 in the Manegezaal (see figure 84).<sup>194</sup> On July 14 1751, at six o'clock they gave a public concert in The Hague. One brother played the 'guitard' superbly, the other played a two-string instrument 'unknown in this country', probably a colascioncino. That wording implies that the guitar was not unknown. The Collas were 'renowned Italian musicians', and their nationality was mentioned as a recommendation in several newspaper advert such as this one from the 's Gravenhaagse Courant:

At the request of several prominent distinguished persons here in The Hague, Messrs. Colla, renowned Italian musicians, one of whom plays an instrument of two strings unknown here in the country and the other superbly on a Guitard, will give a concert tomorrow, Wednesday, at Mr Gautier's at the Buytenhof. It will start in the evening at 6 o'clock sharp, and the entrance tickets for each Person are at the aforementioned Mr. Gautier at the Buytenhof here in The Hague for 3 guilders.<sup>195</sup>

The Collas were at the beginning of an international career that would see them perform in Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and England. The Collas would return to the Netherlands and perform in Amsterdam in 1762 and 1765.<sup>196</sup> The tickets for their Amsterdam concerts were sold by the music merchant J. J. Hummel.<sup>197</sup> The rooms they performed in are notable. 't Wapen van Embden in Amsterdam was an inn (figure 83) where later in the century patriot rebels would meet.

<sup>194</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen, 24, 25, 50.

<sup>195</sup> 's Gravenhaagse Courant, 14 July 1751. See Appendix A.

<sup>196</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* Hoofdstuk Een: Inleiding.

<sup>197</sup> See the newspaper adverts in the *Amsterdamse courant*, on March 6 and March 25 1762 in Appendix C.



Figure 83: A satirical image of the interior of the inn named 'Het Wapen van Embden'. The image is full of Patriot – Orangist political symbolism and allusions, for instance the dog sitting on the Law book. Drawing by Jacob Smies, ca. 1795. Collection of the Stadsarchief, Amsterdam.

The Manegezaal in Amsterdam, mentioned above, was a room above a riding school that was used for different events like auctions and musical performances.

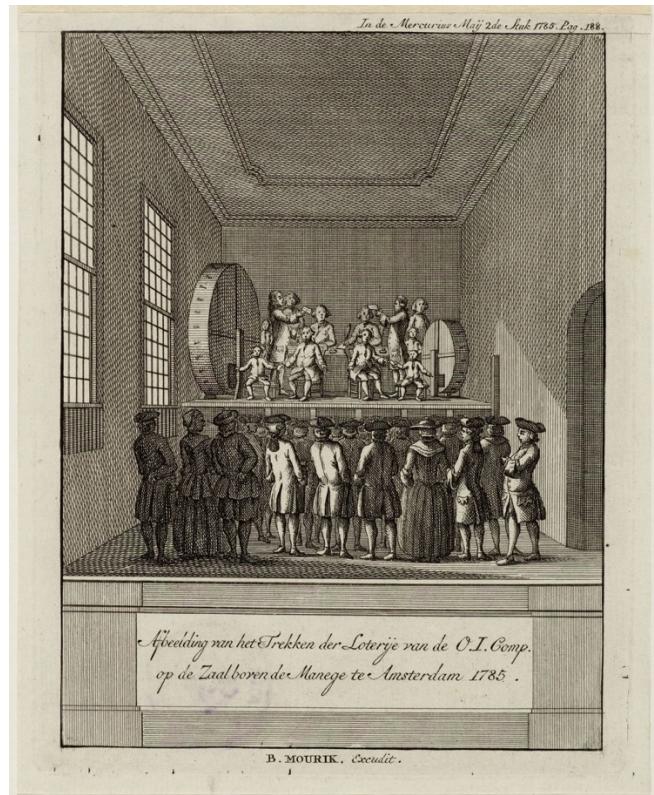


Figure 84: 'Illustration of the Drawing of the Lottery of the East Indian Company in the Hall above the Manege in Amsterdam 1785'. Print by Bernardus Mourik (1709-1791). The hall above Manege (riding school) was also used for concerts. Collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097003530.



Figure 85: 'Domenico con suo fratello Bresciani'. Engraving based on a drawing by Pier Leone Ghezzi, depicting the Colla brothers ('Domenico and his brother') performing on colascioncino and guitar in 1765. The text below the image says: *Domenico con suo Fratello Bresciani. Il primo, che é di facciá suona mirabilmente il Calascioncino á due Corde, l'altro che é di Schiena, l'accompagnava con la Chitarra. Furono nell Mese di Aprile 1765; nell Palazze à Sans Souci, dove Sua Maestà il Ré di Prussia li intese ambedue à Suonare. Cav: P. L. Ghezzi del Rome. Matth: Oesterreich Sculps:Dresdae 1752.* Image in the public domain.

There is an image (figure 85) of the Colla brothers from shortly before their first Dutch tour, based on sketches made by Pier Leone Ghezzi (Rome, 1674-1755). The artist Ghezzi hosted the Collas in his musical salon in Rome in 1749 and saw them perform. His remarkable image shows the brothers playing their instruments standing back-to-back. The musician facing us, presumably

Domenico, plays a two-string colascioncino similar to the one made by Gosewijn Spijker (see chapter one). Similar two- and three string instruments survive in museum collections. Colla plays the colascioncino with a narrow elongated plectrum or quill. The instrument appears to have 18 frets. The loose ends of the strings beyond the tuning pegs are very curly which is interesting from a historic string making perspective: modern gut strings are not that flexible.

Domenico's brother plays a five-course gut-strung guitar of which only the headstock and part of the neck are visible. The frets of the guitar are tied on, there are eight tuning pegs. The ends of the strings are also left quite long, and are very curly. The usual arrangement of strings on a five-string guitar would consist of four double and one single string, so this number of tuning pegs could be an inaccuracy by the engraver, or could depict a four-course guitar. It could also depict a five-course guitar with an unusual constellation of two single and three double courses. Both brothers wear wigs or long hair with a long ponytail at the back. It is highly unusual for musicians who play duets to perform back-to-back, and it is only possible to play well in this position if the two musicians know each other very well, like brothers, or who have performed together for a long time.

As mentioned in the previous chapter there is a manuscript containing six sonatas for colascioncino and basso continuo by Domenico Colla.<sup>198</sup> The sixth sonata is composed for a 'colascioncino a due corde' like the one in the image. It is very likely that the Collas performed music similar to that sonata in their concerts.

#### 4.2.2 Giacomo Merchi, a case study

Another Italian musician who frequently performed on in the Netherlands on various plucked string instruments between 1759 and 1764 was (Giacomo) Merchi (1726-c.1789) from Brescia: he played in all major Dutch towns. He collaborated with local musicians, or locally settled Italians, and published instrumental music, songs, and method books for guitars and mandolins. There is a relative wealth of historical information on the two guitar-playing Merchi brother Giacomo and Giuseppe Bernardo, but unfortunately it is not always possible to know which brother is playing where, since both are indicated as 'M. Merchi' or 'G. Merchi'.

Giuseppe Bernardo Merchi, the oldest musician brother, was born in Brescia on 28th November 1723, and Giacomo Antonio Giuseppe Merchi on 18 August 1726. Their parents Giovita Merchi and Lucia Tartaglia were married on 10th January 1723. Giovita was the son of Giuseppe Bernardo Merchi, who was a tailor by profession, and the couple's eldest son was given the name of his

---

<sup>198</sup> Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung, Dresden, shelf mark Mus.c Cn LIVa.

paternal grandfather. The couple had seventeen children in all.<sup>199</sup> The youngest son, Gaetano Merchi (1747-1823), became a sculptor and worked in France, Spain, and Russia.<sup>200</sup> He is well-known for his portrait busts in marble and plaster.

Where and how Giuseppe Bernardo and Giacomo received their musical training is not certain. Brescia had a flourishing musical life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with busy *Collegi dei Nobili*, a theatre for opera, church music, and music in noble households. Since the Merchis were from a modest family with many children, and probably not rich, musicologist Ugo Orlando thinks they were taught music in an *Ospedale*, a charity institution:

[...] that they were formed in one of those many pious places (of which there were at least ten in the 18th century in Brescia) that carried out a cultural-welfare activity for boys and girls (as is traditional in Venetian hospitals), among other things by teaching them various arts including music. Particular attention was paid to music in the Ospedale della Maddalena which was located at the end of the small square of S. Lorenzo, the parish where Giacomo was baptized.<sup>201</sup>

The first known public appearance by the Merchis is in 1751 in Rennes, where the brothers performed on theorbo, lute, mandolin, and colascione. Paolo Russo states: 'The announcement of the concert (25th May) defines them as Venetians, chamber musicians of His Majesty the King of Sardinia and points out that the two brothers claimed the invention of a two-string 'calasoncino' which could, however, simply be the colascione already in use for over a century in Naples'.<sup>202</sup> In the same year they also performed in Dijon.<sup>203</sup> In 1752 the Merchis performed in Frankfurt am Main<sup>204</sup> and in Hannover, Germany.<sup>205</sup> In 1753 (22 Jan) the Merchis played in Paris at the Concert Spirituel in a concert for 2 colascioni.

#### 4.2.2.1 Giacomo Merchi's Dutch concerts

In 1759 (on March 29) one of the brothers, 'G. Merchi', played in Amsterdam:

Mr. G. Merchi of Brescia, will today, on Thursday the 29<sup>th</sup> of this month, give a vocal and instrumental CONCERT, in the Room above the Manege, where he will be heard with a solo concert on the instrument [called] Calisoncino, and with a solo on Chitarre and a solo on

---

<sup>199</sup> I am greatful to musicologist Ugo Orlandi of Milan for providing this information in a private correspondence.

<sup>200</sup> Gaetano (or Gaëtan) Merchi lived in Paris between 1777 and 1795. He may have been an apprentice of Charles-Antoine Bridan (1730 – 1805) who lived in Italy from 1756 to 1762. (Louis Reau, *L'Europe française au siècle des Lumières*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, (1938))

<sup>201</sup> Ugo Orlandi, private correspondence. I am greatful for his help on Merchi's biographical data.

<sup>202</sup> The Merchi brothers are called 'Venetians' because Brescia was still part of the Republic of Venice.

<sup>203</sup> Jürgen Libbert, 'Joseph Bernard Merchi' in *Oxford Music Online*.

<sup>204</sup> Paolo Russo, 'Merchi' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 73 (2009)

<sup>205</sup> Hannu Annala and Heiki Matlik, *Handbook of Guitar and Lute Composers*, (Fenton: Mel Bay, 2010) 16.

Mandollino, and also Mme Lepri will sing. A gentleman with a lady pays f3, and without a lady f2. The tickets can be obtained at H. Chalon, J. J. Hummel Music Salesman in the Nes, and in 't Logement de Keyzers Kroon in Amst[erdam]. At the mentioned Hummel are published free of charge today, conditions of subscription for 6 keyboard sonatas op. 2 composed by J. Chalon and for 6 new symphonies, with violins and other Instrum[ents] composed by F. X. Richter.<sup>206</sup>

In this advert the information on the concert is seamlessly integrated with publicity for new publications by music merchant and publisher Hummel, who was also involved in the Colla brothers' concerts. Hendrik Chalon (ca. 1718-1790), mentioned here as one of the addresses to buy tickets, was a violinist, composer, and conductor, well-known for organizing concerts with foreign visiting musicians such as Carlo Besozzi and his son, oboists from Dresden.<sup>207</sup> Chalon had a small orchestra to accompany them on those occasions.<sup>208</sup> Hendrik's son Johannes ('Jan') Chalon (1738-1795) was a musician and artist. He was the organist of the Nieuwezijdschapel in Amsterdam from 1754 to 1763, and was (very likely) the 'J. Chalon' whose violin sonatas were promoted in the same advertisement as the Merchi concert.<sup>209</sup>

'Mme Lepri' who performed in many similar concerts was Dionisia Lepri, later Dionisia Prospri, who came to the Netherlands while working with the Giordani travelling opera troupe, and stayed in Amsterdam from 1750 to 1760 after a rather successful career singing in Italy and France.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup> Amsterdamse Courant, 29 March 1759. See Appendix C.

<sup>207</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795 Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen 28.*

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, 8. Rasch calls him 'Hendrik Chalon, a notorious series-organizer'.

<sup>209</sup> <<https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/363815>>

<sup>210</sup> See among others Rudolf Rasch 'Operatrocen in Amsterdam', 1750-1763 in *De Achttiende Eeuw. Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw 1997 169-190* as well as Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795 Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen*

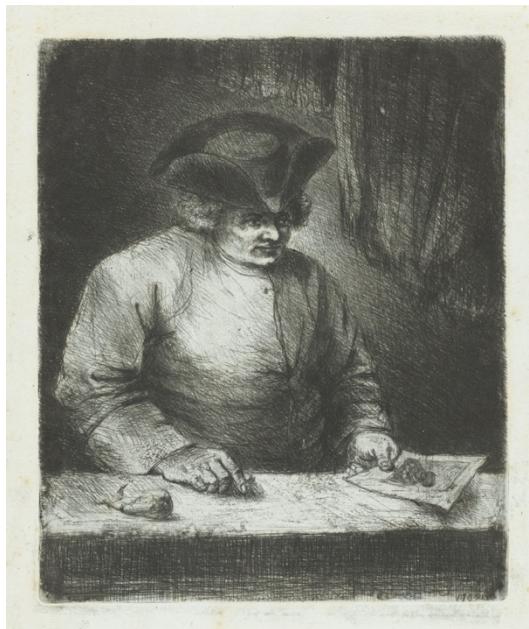


Figure 86: Hendrik Chalon (ca.1718-1790), well-known for organizing concert in Amsterdam. Portrait engraving by his son Johannes Chalon (1738-1795) who was both an artist and a composer. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inventory number RP-P-1887-A-11622.

Shortly after this concert, there was a similar one in The Hague on Sunday, April 23

With permission of the Noble and Respected Magistrate, Mr Merchi, Italian, will on Monday April 23<sup>rd</sup> in the Oude Doelen in The Hague give a Concert, where he will execute some new pieces on different instruments, on the Guitar, the Mandolin and the Calascioncino, which are all unknown here. He flatters himself, that the curious Public and Connoisseurs will be extremely satisfied with him. The Concert will start at half past Six in the evening exactly.<sup>211</sup>

The wording of 'new pieces' suggests that Merchi was playing his own compositions. There is no mention of collaborating singers here. However, since both the mandolin and colascioncino are mostly melodic instruments, there must have been at least one figured bass player involved. The Oude Doelen is a former shooting range. The next year Merchi performs in Amsterdam again:

[...] Mr Merchi of Brescia, will on Thursday January 24 give a Vocal and Instrumental Concert, at the large Room in the Oude Doelen in Amsterdam, where he will be heard with Concerto and Solo on an instrument [called] Colascioncino, with a Solo on the Chitarra, and with a Solo on the Mandolino; Mme Mellini will sing different Arias and a Cantata by Terradeglias; the Tickets can be had from Mr Merchi in the Angenietenstraat, and from J. J.

---

<sup>211</sup> Advert in the 's-Gravenhaagsche Courant of Monday 16 april 1759. See Appendix C.

Hummel, Music Merchant in the Nes for f2, and with a Lady for f3. On Monday J. Hummel will deliver the first 6 Sonatas by G. Schiati to the Subscribers.<sup>212</sup>

This time in the Doelenzaal, with a different Italian singer, Mme Mellini, who was quite well known and lived in Amsterdam. There must have been an ensemble or small orchestra for the accompaniment. 'Terradeglias' must be the opera composer Domenico Terradeglias (1713-1751). Note that Merchi now sells tickets himself as well: gentlemen attending alone pay two guilders, and accompanied by a lady three guilders. Women alone were not expected to attend. The Oude Doelen room was a former shooting range that by then became a hotel. In 1760, 1761 and 1762 Merchi performs in The Hague with similar concerts, often in the French Theatre.

In 1764 Merchi performs in Amsterdam again, this time together with Carl Michael von Esser who sings, plays violin and viola. Hummel is again involved with ticket sales. The concert is advertised in newspapers in Amsterdam and The Hague:

Sr. MERCHI will have the honour of giving a great vocal and instrumental concert on Wednesday 28 March at the Keizerskroon in Amsterdam, in which he will play the Calisoncino, Guitarre and Mandolino. Sr. MICHAEL ESSER, will sing a few Airs and play a Solo and Concert on the Violin, as well as a Solo on the Alto-Viola. Tickets are available from J. J. Hummel in the Nes and at the entrance. A gentleman pays f2, and with a lady f3.<sup>213</sup>

The Keizerskroon was a boarding house. Von Esser was known as an elegant violinist and singer of German origin, who also performed novelty items such as whistling a melody while accompanying himself on the violin.<sup>214</sup>

In 1764 Merchi plays several times in Utrecht, in the Aalmoezenierskamer in the Brighetenstraat and in the Vredenburg concert room. The Aalmoezenierskamer (still existing) is the meeting room of a Roman Catholic charity for the poor – which is why no tickets were sold at the door. There is a remarkable advert of one of the Utrecht concerts which confirms that Merchi was performing his own compositions, and was presumably accompanying a singer:

Mon 30 April 1764, Utrechtsche Courant 52: Sieur Marchi advertises that today, Monday 30 April, 6 p.m., in the Aalmoezenierskamer in the Brighetenstraat in Utrecht, he will give a large vocal and instrumental concert in which he will play on the calisoncino, guitar and mandolino and execute concert Trios, Duos and Solos, all of his own composition and that he will exert his entire art and ability to please the beholders and earn their approval. Also, Ms Linders will sing Italian grand arias and minor ariettes accompanied by the guitar. A ticket is one daelder for each person. Since no money will be accepted at the Aalmoezenierskamer,

---

<sup>212</sup> Amsterdamse Courant of 12, 22, and 24 January 1760, see Appendix C.

<sup>213</sup> Amsterdamse Courant of 27 March 1764, see Appendix C.

<sup>214</sup> Dirk J. Balfoort: *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, Amsterdam 1938, 108.

everyone is requested to take the tickets at O. Winter's in Romerborgerstraat. NB. Mrs Linders will stay here to give instruction in singing.<sup>215</sup>

In the years after that Merchi performs in Britain on a number of occasions but there are no more references to performances in the Netherlands.<sup>216</sup>

What makes Merchi's and the Collas' Dutch performances remarkable is: they return several times, which shows that their performances must have been at least reasonably profitable and well-received. Merchi seems to perform gradually more of his own compositions (discussed in the previous chapter) or is franker in advertising them.

On almost every occasion we know about they collaborate with locally established singers and a local publisher-promotor. The songs would have been in French and Italian. Very probably more musicians were involved besides Merchi and the singer; at least a keyboard player or a small basso continuo group. The guitar and mandolin were somewhat known in the Netherlands, the colascioncino less so.

None of the spaces where Merchi or the Collas performed were purpose-built: they performed in several lodging houses, and inn, a meeting room, shooting ranges and a room above a riding school. Acoustically, these may have been challenging spaces. Tickets were priced between 1.50 and 3 guilders per person. Women were expected to only attend accompanied by a man.

Merchi's concert programmes were of the 'variety' kind as described by William Weber: Songs and instrumental pieces in alternating larger and smaller instrumentations in a somewhat symmetrical order, including some 'novelty' items like the whistling Mr Esser, to offer contrast and entertainment, and encouraging musicians to collaborate.

#### 4.2.3      Alexandre Stiévenard

The Frenchman Alexandre Stiévenard (1769-1855) is a completely overlooked guitarist. Fleeing France at the start of the Revolution, he seems to have made his way working as a musician in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany thanks to his versatility, charm, and a good general education. His career comprised teaching and performing on violin, guitar and voice, composing music, and language and elocution lessons. He left extensive personal memoirs that survive in manuscript form, and a number of compositions for and with the guitar.

---

<sup>215</sup> Utrechtsche Courant zondag 29 april 1764. See Appendix C.

<sup>216</sup> Andrew Britton, 'The Guitar in the Romantic Period', 210.

Alexandre Stiévenard was born in 1769 in the northern French city of Cambrai. He was the son of a wealthy fabric merchant and had extensive music lessons as a child.<sup>217</sup> Stiévenard played the violin and guitar and must have been at least a competent singer. He seems to have been destined to join the family business, and enrolled at the university of Douai in 1784, where he spent a year. After that he travelled in France and Switzerland, and started working as a merchant's apprentice in Lyon. In 1788 he travelled in the role of a secretary to a sea captain Defou to Portugal, Cuba and Jamaica.<sup>218</sup> In 1789 he returned to Cambrai. It seems his family or the family business suffered greatly from the effects of the French revolution that broke out in that year, and Stiévenard left, ca. 20 years old, to what is now Belgium. He worked in Ostend as a music teacher and a second violinist in a theatre, and after that he moved further north.

#### 4.2.3.1 Stiévenard's activity in the Netherlands

We find Stiévenard in the Dutch town of Groningen in 1794, working as a music teacher and performer. The town of Groningen was and still is a regional administrative centre and the main town in the province of Groningen, in the north of the Netherlands. Because Stiévenard publicized his concerts in the local newspapers in great detail, often including a full list of works to be played, we get an insight in the role of the guitar in the music life in one of the smaller cities in the Netherlands, and even a good impression of his concert programmes.

Because of the geographical distance to the larger cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague, the concert life in Groningen was somewhat separate from that in those places. Important locations in the Groningen music life were for instance the Concerthuis in the Poelenstraat, the university, and the churches. There were wealthy music amateurs around such as the music enthusiast and collector Michiel van Bolhuis (1713-1764), who left behind several manuscripts of popular music, and compiled a musical instruments collection including German citterns and a guitar.<sup>219</sup> Because of a slightly conservative Calvinist cultural climate Groningen did not have a theatre until the 19<sup>th</sup> century but travelling opera troupes would visit regularly.<sup>220</sup>

As to instrumental music, there was among other music masters a musician active by the name of Dupré who taught 'Clavier, Cyther, en in de Fransche taal': keyboard, cittern and the French

---

<sup>217</sup> Andreas Waczkat, 'Stiévenard, Alexandre' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and Urte Härtwig, 'Stiévenard, Alexandre' in *Oxford Music Online*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26768>>.

<sup>218</sup> Hugo Garrels: *Posener Kartoffeln in der Griesen Gegend. Erzählbericht*. Norderstedt, BoD -- Books on Demand GmbH, 2018. 109-111.

<sup>219</sup> See Albert Rice, 'The Musical Instrument Collection of Michiel van Bolhuis' in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* vol XVIII (1992), 5-21 and Jos Koning, 'Hollandse deuntjes: Wat vertellen muziekhandschriften over het gebruik van Nederlandse populaire speelmuziek in de achttiende eeuw?' in: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol 61, no. 1/2 (2011), 113-146.

<sup>220</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, 'Hoofdstuk Tien: De Theaters I: Amsterdam' p. 5 and ibid., 'Hoofdstuk Elf: De Theaters II Buiten Amsterdam', 20.

language, according to an advert from 1794.<sup>221</sup> He may have been another refugee from the French revolution. The dominant figure in the Groningen music life however was Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (1706-1796), who was organist of the Grote Kerk or Martinikerk from 1728 to 1796.<sup>222</sup> Lustig was born in Germany, a former student of Telemann and Mattheson, a composer, and a music theorist. He wrote *Inleiding tot de muziekkunde* (1771), a comprehensive music theory guide, and other theoretical works.

Stiévenard's music activity in Groningen comprised music teaching and performing, on violin, guitar and voice. There are several announcements in local newspapers that tell us about those performances. His first appearance, still without guitar, is in a concert on December 11 1794 centred around a singer named Piunerdi:

On THURSDAY December 11 a large Vocal and Instrumental CONCERT, in which Mr PIUNERDI will have the honour to be heard singing from the Concert of Mr Stevenart [sic], singing different Arias, both Italian and French, a young female pupil of Mr Stevenard will sing a duo with Mr Piunerdi, and a Trio from Evelina will be performed, in which Mr Piunerdi will sing the first part, Mr Louis the second, and the third by a Gentleman from this Town. Mr Stevenard will play a Concert by Jarnovick. – The Concert will be in the usual Concert Room in the Poelenstraat, the fee is one guilder. The tickets are to be had from the servant of Mr Graaf de la Ferté in the Poelenstraat with Mrs Scholtens.<sup>223</sup>

A singer named Piunerdi performed as a soloist at the court of William V.<sup>224</sup> An 'Abbee Piunerdi', probably the same individual, performed in a concert on September 19 1795 in Denmark.<sup>225</sup> The 'Trio from 'Evelina' on the programme probably refers to Antonio Sacchini's opera *Arvire et Évelina* that premiered in Paris in 1789. 'Jarnovick' is probably the violinist and composer Giovanni Giornovichi or Jarnovic (1747-1804) whose violin concertos were published, and were considered relatively easy to play.<sup>226</sup> There are at least five performers involved in this concert: Stiévenard, Piunerdi, the singer Mr. Louis, the local gentleman singer, and Stiévenard's female pupil.

---

<sup>221</sup> Groninger courant 15 July 1794, see Appendix C.

<sup>222</sup> Rudolf Rasch: *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, 'Hoofdstuk Zeven: De Steden'.

<sup>223</sup> Groninger courant 5 December 1794, see Appendix C.

<sup>224</sup> Monique de Smet: *La musique à la cour de Guillaume V, Prince d'Orange (1748-1806)*, 155.

<sup>225</sup> Thomas Overskou: *Den danske Skueplads: i dens Historie, fra de første Spor af danske Skuespil indtil vor Tid, Volume 3.* (1860), 630.

<sup>226</sup> Chappell White, 'Giornovichi, Giovanni' in Oxford Music Online, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11178>>.

Then there is an announcement for another concert in the Groninger courant of November 25 1794, this time including the complete concert programme and featuring a guitar. I have translated it and added some line returns to make the composition of the programme clearer:

Mr STIEVENARD will have the honour on Thursday December 27 [1794], to give a large VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT. Works that will be performed:

*First part.*

1. A large Symphony by Heiden (sic).
2. A scene, sung by Mr Louis.
3. A concerto for violin, performed by Mr Stievenard.
4. An Arietta, accompanied on the GUITAR, sung by a female pupil of Mr Stievenard.
5. A Quadretto by Heiden.
6. A symphony by Wranisky.

*Second part.*

1. The opening of Demophon.
2. Concert for the GUITAR, composed and performed by Mr Stievenard.
3. A symphony concertante by Viotti, performed by Stievenard and one of his pupils.
4. A Duett, sung by Stievenard and one of his female pupils.
5. A pot-pourri for the violin.
6. A symphony by Wranisky.

At five o'clock precisely. Entry fee is one guilder per person. Is given in the ordinary Mondays and Saturdays *Concert Room*.<sup>227</sup>

Stiévenard played violin and guitar in this concert, and also sang. He performed with several of his students, which makes this a mixed amateur – professional concert, and presumably also a showcase event to attract more students. The word for guitar (the rather unusual variant ‘guitterre’) is capitalized here, maybe because the instrument was slightly unusual in concerts in Groningen, and a novelty item. The guitar is used both to accompany the voice, and as a solo instrument in a ‘concerto’, composed by Stiévenard himself.

---

<sup>227</sup> Groninger courant, November 25 1794, see Appendix C.

Looking closer at the programme: 'Heiden' is probably Josef Haydn. 'Wranisky' must be Anton Wranitzky (1761-1820).<sup>228</sup> 'The opening of Demophon' could be the overture to Cherubini's 1788 opera *Démophon*,<sup>229</sup> (libretto by Marmontel) but it could be another work, as there is a very popular libretto (*Demofonte*) by Metastasio that has been set to music by Vivaldi, Gluck, Jommelli, Paisiello, Piccini, and others. This is a highly symmetrical concert programme; with both the first and second half bookended by symphonic movements, and having vocal and chamber-music items in between.

Work first half:	Genre:	Work second part:
1. Haydn Symphony	Symphonic	1. [Cherubini?] Ouverture
2. A scene	Novelty item	2. Guitar concerto
3. Concerto for violin	Concertant	3. Viotti symphony concertante
4. Arietta with guitar	Small-scale vocal work	4. Vocal duet
5. Quartet by Haydn	Instrumental chamber music	5. Potpourri for violin
6. Symphony by Wranitzky	Symphonic	6. Symphony by Wranitzky

Figure 87: Schematic representation of Stiévenard's concert of December 29, 1794. Both sections of the program are highly symmetrical, within themselves and towards each other.

About a month later, on January 22, there was to be a second large-scale concert in Groningen by Stiévenard. It was again publicized in the Groninger Courant; there is a short announcement on January 16, and an extensive one on January 20 1795. The first one gives the bare facts:

On Thursday January 22 of this month Mr A. STIEVENARD will have the honour, to give to the esteemed Public a large *Vocal* and *Instrumental* CONCERT, at the house of De Kok *Mulder* at the Poel Straat, in the evening at five o'clock exactly. The entry fee for every person is 1 Guilder.<sup>230</sup>

The second advert however features once more the complete programme:

<sup>228</sup> Milan Poštolka, revised by Roger Hickman, 'Wranitzky [Vranický, Wraniczky, Wranizky], Anton [Antonín]' Oxford Music Online, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30595>>.

<sup>229</sup> Michael Fend, 'Luigi Cherubini' in in Oxford Music Online, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.53110>>.

<sup>230</sup> 'Op Donderdag den 22-January aanstaande, zal da Heer A. STIEVENARD de eer hebben, aan het geëerd Publicq een groot Vocal en Instrumentaal CONCERT te geven, ten Huize van de Kok Mulder in de Poel Straat, des avonds om vyf uur piecies. De prys voor ieder persoon is 1 Gulden'.

Mr STIEVENARD will on Thursday January 22 1795 give a large *Vocal and Instrumental* CONCERT. Works that will be performed:

- Nr 1. A large Symphony.
2. Concerto performed by *Stievenard*.
3. Aria, sung by *Louis*.
4. Symphony concertant by *Plegel* [sic].
5. Scene by *Caruso* sung by \*\*\*.
6. Symphony.

—

1. Symphony.
2. Concerto by *Mestrino* performed by *Stievenard*.
3. Scene [unreadable] sung by *Louis*.
4. Pot Pourri, for Violin.
5. Duo from *Sephale et Procris*, sung by [unreadable] \*\*\*.
6. Petite Airs Varies pour Guitare [sic].
7. A Chorus à grand Orchestre.

At the Room of the [unreadable] in the evening at five o'clock exactly. The entrance fee for every person is one guilder. One can obtain tickets [unreadable].<sup>231</sup>

The composer 'Plegel' should probably be Ignaz Pleyel. 'Caruso' is probably Luigi Caruso (1754-1823), an Italian opera composer, mentioned by Charles Burney as one of the 'many young dramatic composers of the Neapolitan school in different parts of Italy, whose works have not yet penetrated into other countries'.<sup>232</sup> The 'Duo from Sephale et Procris' very likely refers to the opera *Céphale et Procris* (1773) by André Grétry (1741-1813). The 'concerto by Mestrino' is probably a composition by the violin virtuoso Nicola Mestrino (1748-1789). Twelve violin concertos by his hand were printed in Paris.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> Groninger Courant of 20 January 1795, see Appendix C.

<sup>232</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [...] Volume 4 London 1789, 572.

<sup>233</sup> M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet and David Charlton 'André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry' in Oxford Music Online, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43361> and Boris Schwarz, revised by Chappell White. 'Nicola Mestrino' in The Oxford Dictionary of Music, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18505>>.

Shortly after that concert, on January 29 1795, Stiévenard took part in another concert, organized by the singer Belville. This concert is announced in the Ommelander Courant newspaper (also a Groningen newspaper) of 27 January 1795. The whole programme is again cited:

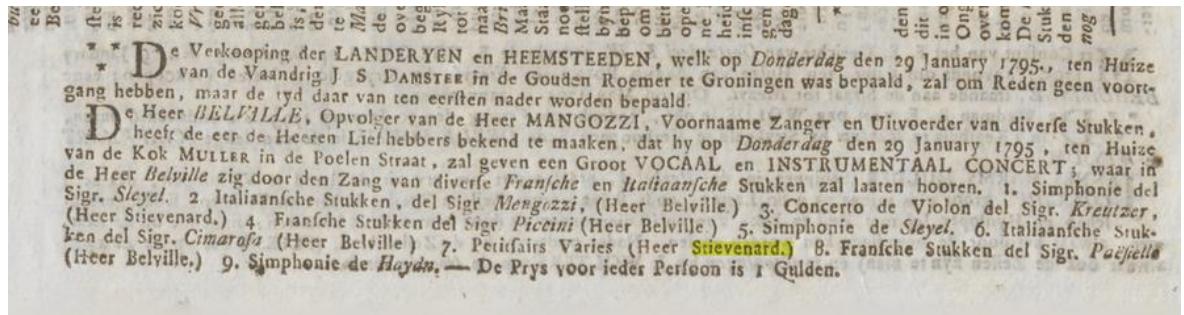


Figure 88: Newspaper advert from the Ommelander Courant of 27 January 1795.

Mr *BELVILLE*, successor of Mr *MANGOZZI*, Eminent Singer and Performer of various Works, has the honour to make it known to the Messrs. Amateurs that he will on *Thursday* January 29 1795, at the House of Mr *Kok MULLER* in the Poelenstraat give a large VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT, where Mr Belville will be heard singing various *French* and *Italian* Works.

1. Symphony by Sigr. *Sleyel*
2. Italian works by Sigr. *Mengozzi* (Mr Belville)
3. Concerto de Violon by Sigr. *Kreutzer* (Mr Stievenard)
4. French works, by Sigr. *Piccini* (Mr Belville)
5. Symphony de *Sleyel*
6. Italian works by Sigr. *Cimarosa* (Mr Belville)
7. Petits airs Varies (Mr Stievenard)
8. French works by Sigr. *Paësiello* (Mr Belville)
9. Symphony by *Haydn*.

The entrance fee for each person is 1 guilder.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>234</sup> Ommelander Courant, 27 January 1795, see Appendix C.

Not much is known about Mr. Belville. A singer of that name is mentioned as having performed in 1794 at the Stadholder's court in The Hague, together with other singers and instrumentalists.<sup>235</sup> In which sense Belville was the successor of Mangozzi is not known. Mangozzi is probably the Italian singer and opera composer Bernardo Mengozzi (1758-1800), who was also a singing teacher at the Paris Conservatoire.<sup>236</sup>

#### 4.2.3.2 Move to Germany

In 1795 the Bataafse Revolutie happened in the Netherlands: the Dutch Patriots, supported by France, declared the Bataafse Republiek ('Batavian Republic') which was to be a sister-republic to the French Republic. The Stadholder fled to Britain and many Orangists followed his example. Groningen was part of the Bataafse Republiek. This political turmoil was probably why in 1795 or 1796 Stiévenard moved to Hamburg where he worked as a principal violinist in a theatre. There he met the count Von Rantzau, who hired him in 1796 as an elocution teacher for his children.<sup>237</sup> This meant Stiévenard moved to Rantzau's home in Ludwigslust, Germany. After that, in 1801, he was recruited as a violinist in the orchestra (Hofkapelle) of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, led by Louis Massonneau (1766-1848). There, in Schwerin, Stiévenard often performed as a soloist. He is said to have earned a yearly salary of 300 Reichstalern, and kept this job until his retirement in 1837.

Some years after moving to Germany, Stiévenard returned to Groningen for a concert. There is an advert in the Groninger courant of 26 May 1801 that states the following:

Mr STIEVENARD, first violinist in the orchestra of the Duke of *Mecklenburg Schwerin*, &c. will have the honour to give a *Vocal-Instrumental* CONCERT, on Wednesday May 27.

PIECES.

1. A grand symphony by Haydn.
2. A Violin Concerto, composed and performed by Stiévenard.
3. An Aria.
4. A Clarinet Concerto.
5. Aria accompanied with the guitar by Stievenard.

---

<sup>235</sup> Rudolf Rasch *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795*, 'Hoofdstuk Zes: Het Stadhouderschap Hof', 31.

<sup>236</sup> Michel Noiray, 'Mengozzi [Mengocci, Mingozzi], Bernardo' in Oxford Music Online <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.47887>>

<sup>237</sup> Andreas Waczkat, 'Stiévenard, Alexandre' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

Pause

1. A grand Symphony
2. A Violin-Concert, composed and performed by Stievenard
3. An Aria composed by Stievenard with the Guitar
4. Concerto.
5. Ariette and Variations for Guitar.
6. A Concertante for two violins.

It will start at. exactly 6 o'clock in the usual Concert Hall. – The Entry fee per person is 1 Guilder.<sup>238</sup>

From the context it is likely that this concert takes place again in the Concerthuis in the Poelenstraat. Stiévenard must have maintained friendly contacts with musicians and music lovers in Groningen after he had left there for Germany, and proudly mentions his new position in the advert.

### **Performances in Germany**

Although this phase in Stiévenard's life is outside the scope of the thesis it is worth looking at because it demonstrates both that he kept teaching guitar and that the concerts he was involved in were now in the newer styles of solo-recital or one-work concert.

In 1812 Stiévenard is mentioned as first violinist and soloist in a list of the members of the Ducal Mecklenburg-Schwerinischen Hofkapelle in Ludwigslust published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.<sup>239</sup> In 1819 Stiévenard is mentioned as a composer for guitar, in the review of a solo recital by the young guitarist Franziska Rosa:

Schwerin. On November 17 the already well-known young artist Franziska Rosa was heard in a Guitar Concert, and gained much applause and admiration for her masterly performance. Those who know the difficulties of the guitar, will not have failed to notice, which what power, purity and dexterity she performed the very difficult and beautiful compositions of Mr. Stiévenard. Through tireless diligence she has in her playing – which is the hardest on the guitar – achieved an smoothness of tone, and so [she] will after further study soon be the first artist on this instrument.[...]<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Groninger Courant 26 May 1801, see Appendix C.

<sup>239</sup> *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Volume 14, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1812, 500-501.

<sup>240</sup> *Staats und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen Unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, 11 December 1819, see Appendix C.

A very enthusiastic concert review of what appears to have been a solo recital on guitar. It seems very likely that the young Franziska Rosa had been a student of Stiévenard. The facts that she performed in the town where Stiévenard lived, and apparently played several works by him that as far as we know were not printed, seem to point that way. This means that Stiévenard kept teaching guitar until well into his fifties, probably using different types of guitar during his lifetime.

#### **4.2.3.3 Stiévenard's contributions to Dutch musical life**

Like Merchi earlier in the century, Stiévenard sought collaboration with local singers but also had his students perform in concerts. His performing was connected to his teaching, and was probably meant to promote it. Stiévenard's concerts in Groningen are characterized by their extreme symmetry in organizing the musical items: the section before the interval always mirrors the section after the interval, and each section in itself is symmetrical as well.

Stiévenard programmes works that are wide-ranging in style and genre, and are also quite recent compositions. He must have been travelling with a good collection of scores from his years conducting and playing violin in opera orchestras, and must have been an able music arranger. Stiévenard puts the guitar on an equal footing with for instance the violin as a concert instrument, which is unusual for the time.

Stiévenard's concert programmes are representative of the 18<sup>th</sup> century 'variety' style of programming, and the much later concert by his student Franziska Rosa however is typical of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century single-genre recital style with one performer or one large-scale work. This shows how concert programming changed during Stiévenard's lifetime.

Stiévenard must have started teaching (in Groningen) a few years before his first known Groningen concert in 1794, considering the level of difficulty of the programmes in which his students participated. He must have been a sociable and confident person to involve so many people in his concerts and work together with very different singers and instrumentalists, and to return for a concert in Groningen years after he left the town.

Stiévenard had different skills that he used in different stages in his career: singing, the violin, the guitar, French language, teaching skills. The direction of his travels seems to have been determined by politics; he did not however try his luck in England, America, or other countries so there are factors that we don't know about.

Stiévenard took the guitar quite seriously as a concert instrument. What type of guitar did he use is unclear. His composition *Ah! Vous dirai-je Maman? Varié* that he seems to have played throughout his career appears to have been intended for a five string or five course terz guitar. It

seems an old-fashioned choice, but for example Antoine de Lhoyer (1768-1852), a better-known guitarist-composer, was also still writing for five-course string guitars well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also in northern Germany. Terz guitars are known to have a bright and penetrating sound that is quite suitable to use together with a multiple string players.

#### 4.2.4 Other notable public performers

There were of course other people performing in public on guitars. In 1764 a musician named 'Menezes' played in the Manegezaal, Amsterdam.<sup>241</sup> This is very likely the Portuguese guitarist Roderigo Antonio de Menezes who played a gut-strung guitar.<sup>242</sup> This possible Dutch appearance falls between English and German appearances by Menezes. He performed with the singer Miss Smeling who herself performed at Hagen's Concert Hall in Rotterdam in 1765, both singing and playing guitar. Menezes published 'lessons' and divertimenti for the guitar when he was in England (1763, artikel Panos gsj67)].

Another curiosity is a performance in 1772 by a mr Gerlin on the 'Citere Augmenté', which could be an arch-cittern in the French style or a wire-strung instrument enhanced in a different way:

Sr. GERLIN, Musician at The Hague, will have the honour of giving on Thursday 16 Jan. at the Hall of the Manege, a great CONCERT, in which he will perform various Pieces from the CITERE Augmenter, the Price per Person is f2, and with a Lady f3. Tickets are available from J. J. HUMMEL, on the Vygendam, Amsterdam.<sup>243</sup>

One of the most interesting lesser-known guitar performers was the French actress Mme Dorceville, who sometimes accompanied herself on guitar on stage when singing. She performed in the Netherlands several times between 1777 and 1779. This advert announces her playing a Spanish air, accompanied on guitar in a benefit concert for her husband, the actor M. Dorceville.

The French Comedians of the Hague will give on Thursday 11th February 1779, for the benefit of Mr. Dorceville, a first Performance of the *Trois Sultanes*, Comedy in three Acts & in Verse by Mr. Favart, mixed with Ariettes. Mad. Dorceville will play the Role of Roxelane, sing an Italian Air on her Harpsichord & accompany a Spanish Air on the Guitar.<sup>244</sup>

I suspect that French actors and actresses played guitars on stage more often than is realized. There are paintings of famous contemporary actors like Mme Favart, Jélyotte and others playing guitars.

---

<sup>241</sup> Amsterdamse courant, 18 December 1764. See Appendix C.

<sup>242</sup> See among others "'Wha sweetly tune the Scottish lyre': A Guitar by Rauche & Hoffmann and its Connection to Robert Burns" in *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 67 (March 2014), 143-170.

<sup>243</sup> Amsterdamse courant, 14 January 1772. See Appendix C.

<sup>244</sup> 's Gravenhaagse Courant 5 February 1779. See Appendix C.

#### 4.2.5 Domestic guitar performance in Dutch fiction

The role of music in Dutch 18th century fiction is still largely unexplored. However, fiction can certainly offer an interesting insight into contemporary attitudes toward music, and into the meanings attached to different instruments and repertoires. For reasons of scope and space I will discuss (only) two notable examples of 18th century novels featuring guitars, but they both give some insight into domestic music making and the meaning attributed to the guitar. The first one – *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst* – is relevant because the novel is known to have been based on actual events, and because the guitar is employed as a metaphor for domestic harmony. The second example – *De historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* – is interesting for many reasons: the novel is considered to be more realistic than is usual in this time in Dutch literature, and the authors use (domestic) music and musical instruments in inventive ways.



Figure 89: 'In een tuin luisteren Louize en Willem hoe hun vader Reinhart en hun moeder muziek maken', ('In a garden, Louize and Willem listen to their father Reinhart and their mother play music'). Illustration for *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst*, a novel by Elisabeth Maria Post (1755-1812). Reinier Vinkeles (I), 1792 – 1802. Collection Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-OB-65.552.

*Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst* was written by Elisabeth Maria Post (1755-1812), a 'sentimentalist' author who excelled in descriptions of nature. It has a number of remarkable illustrations by Reinier Vinkeles (see plate 88). *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst* (1791) is an epistolary anti-slavery novel, set in colonial Guyana, in a Dutch-English household. The author herself never left the Netherlands, but based the story and much of the local colour on letters written to her by her brother Hermanus Hillebertus Post, who did live and work in Guyana. Many of the details of the novel have been shown to be based on his experiences.<sup>245</sup>

The novel's protagonist, Reinhart, travels from the Netherlands to Guyana in South America in search of well-payed employment, to be able to support his mother financially. After some adventure he becomes the owner of a small plantation and a number of slaves, although he is in principle opposed to slavery. The plantation thrives after hard work, and he meets and marries his ideal woman, the English Nannie. They live an idyllic life and have two children. Reinhart and Nannie's music-making on flute and guitar is described in some detail in the novel, and, as Vinkeles engraving illustrates, the children like to listen to them:

Sometimes I play, seated besides my sweet Nannie, on one of the rural benches, under a fragrant tree, a morning song on my flute; she accompanies my sound with the sweet organ-tones of her own voice, or the guitar, or we sing together, and, whether we sing, play, or have a conversation, our hearts thank the loving God with a peaceful joy; and a shared prayer for his guidance and protection hovers on our lips, or rises in our hearts, before the eye of the Omniscient.<sup>246</sup>

When Nannie dies Reinhart at first loses interest in music, until his young son hands him the guittar:

The good child had not run off for his toys, but to find my guitar; with it in his little hands he soon returned to me, and, as he still found me in a pensive posture, he softly touched the arm I leaned my head on, and said: 'Father should not cry, Father should play for Willem and Louize, so they will not also cry for Mother.'<sup>247</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Albertus N. Paasman, 'Reinhart, of literatuur en werkelijkheid' in: *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 41-42 (1979), 40-61.

<sup>246</sup> E. M. Post *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst*. (Amsterdam 1791) Vijfde boek, 14. ' [...] somwijl speel ik, naast mijn lieve Nannie, op een der veldcanapés, onder eenen geurigen boom nedergezeten, een morgenlied op mijne dwarsfluit; zij accompagneert mijn geluid met de lieve orgeltoonen van haare eigen stem, of de guithar, of wij zingen ook wel met elkander, en, 't zij wij zingen, speelen, of met elkander spreken, ons hart dankt den liefdevollen God met eene rustige vreugde; en een gemeenschappelijk gebed, om zijn geleide en bescherming, zweeft op onze lippen, of rijst in ons hart, voor het oog van den Alweetenden, op.'

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., Zesde boek, 290. ' [...] het goede wicht was niet naar zijn speelgoed van mij afgelopen, maar om mijn guithar te haalen; met deeze in zijne handjens, keerde hij welrasch tot mij weder, en, daar hij mij nog in eene nadenkende houding vond zitten, stiet hij zachtjes aan den arm die mijn hoofd ondersteunde, en zeide: 'Vader moet niet schreien; vader moet voor Willem en Louize speelen, anders zouden zij ook om moeder schreien:'

So within the context of this novel, the guitar is used domestically, to express intimacy, to thank God and to comfort children.

An even more notable appearance of an English guitar in Dutch literature is when it appears in *De historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1782), generally considered the first Dutch novel. The book tells the story of an orphaned young woman who runs away from her abusive aunt and a hypocritical and intolerant protestant cult. She moves into a boarding house for young ladies, run by the respectable Mrs Buigzaam. Sara Burgerhart is bright, attractive, well-read, moderately religious and very musical. The boarding house is depicted as an Enlightenment paradise of tolerance, order and reasonability, where the women spend their days reading and making music, and where we witness Sara sing, and play the keyboard and the guitar. In these new circumstances, Sara finds new friends and admirers, but is almost sexually assaulted by a devious gentleman.<sup>248</sup> The novel ends with Sara marrying the honourable Mr Hendrik Edeling, and starts a family.

The book, an epistolary novel, was written by two women, Elisabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken, and appeared in 1782. It was an instant success, and was translated into French in 1787. The book refers to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Alexander Pope's *The rape of the lock* (from 1712) and, on several levels, to Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* (from 1748). Its preface is directed at the 'Nederlandsche Juffers!' or 'Dutch Young Ladies!' and very explicitly extols Enlightenment virtues.

The fact that Sara's guitar is an English wire-strung guitar is clear from a letter from her kind uncle and warden Mr Abraham Blankaart, who writes:

The guitar I brought for her from London, when she was only ten years old; it cost me several guineas; but it is all you can hear, I tell you.<sup>249</sup>

Sara believes – like some of our non-fictional sources – that the purpose of the guitar is to accompany the voice:

We had a little music party: Miss Buigzaam played keyboard, but while she is still so weak, we dared not ask her to sing. Letje played keyboard as well, mine is still in Aunts house, but

---

<sup>248</sup> Piet J. Buijnsters 'Sara Burgerhart' en de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse roman in de 18e eeuw (Groningen 1971).

<sup>249</sup> Elisabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken. *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (Den Haag 1782), 343.

the lovely woman's guitar was at my service; I sang with it, as is customary. Brunier had a flute, Hartog a violin, Mr Edeling had his bass brought: Lotje was an extra.<sup>250</sup>

This novel and 'women's Bildungsroman' sheds a fascinating light on late 18th century Dutch attitudes toward music and different musical instruments.<sup>251</sup> First, music-making plays an important role in *De historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*'s narrative, as it serves to create emotional intimacy and as an alternative means of interaction besides conversation. Sara is obsessed with music, and her uncle provides her with scores from Paris as a token of his affection: 'but I do like it when sweet girls are well-entertained; and you are music-crazy'.<sup>252</sup> Sara's friend Letje suggests singing a song for Sara when she is upset, as she knows that music will improve her mood more than words will:

'Come, Burgerhart', she resumed, 'you are not cheerful; neither am I always, but I must be in your company to be so. Shall I sing that solo again that you always love to hear? That will remove you somewhat from yourself'.<sup>253</sup>

Later in the novel, after the widow Buigzaam, an important maternal figure, has recovered from a grave illness, there is a music party where Sara finds out that her admirer Mr Edeling plays the violoncello beautifully. At the party, Mrs Buigzaam offers to sing a 'little Air', and all her friends gather around her and listen, while holding hands: this is the first time Sara touches her future husband Hendrik Edeling, and she is rather impressed with his taste and sensitivity. She writes:

'I have here', that sweet Woman said while opening her music drawer, 'a little English Air; it is short, and as it is easy to sing I will sing it at the keyboard'. All of us put down our instruments and formed a circle around her and the Keyboard: Mr. Edeling stood between me and Letje, and held our hands; was he allowed to, Naatje? Here is the little Air. You may have a use for it, it is by the great Garrick, and we think that its beauty is unrivalled:

A I R.

Ye fair married Dames, who so often deplore,

---

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, 377-380.

<sup>251</sup> The idea of a 'women's Bildungsroman' comes from: Aagje Swinnen. *Het slot ontvlucht. De 'vrouwelijke' Bildungsroman in de Nederlandse literatuur* (Amsterdam 2006).

<sup>252</sup> Elisabeth Wolf and Agatha Deken. *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (Den Haag 1782) 3: ' [...] maar ik heb zo graag, dat zoete meisjes zich wel divertieren; en gy zyt toch een muziekgekje.'

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, 57: 'Kom, Burgerhart, hervatte zy, gy zyt niet vrolyk; ik ben 't ook niet altoos, en dien wel by u te zyn om het te wezen. Wil ik die solo eens zingen, die gy zo graag hoort ? Dat zal u wat van u self verwyderen'.

That a Lover, once blest, is a Lover no more,  
Attend to my counsel; nor blush to be taught,  
That Prudence must cherish, what Beauty has caught.

[...]

Use the Man, that you wed, like your fav'rite Guitar;  
Tho' Music in both they are both apt to jar.  
How tuneful and soft, from a delicate touch,  
Nor handled to roughly, nor plaid on to much.<sup>254</sup>

[...]

All during this singing no-one moved a finger; we feared, as it were, to breathe. [Hendrik]

Edeling was enchanted, and having thanked the lovely woman, kissed her hand; surely, he is not unattractive.<sup>255</sup>

Through the performance Mrs Buigzaam proclaims the idea that women have to 'handle' their husbands 'like their favourite Guitar' to 'rivet the fetters of Love'. Sara is again more moved by music than by words, and notes that Edeling's response to the music is similar to hers: enchanted by the singing he kisses Mrs Buigzaam's hand, in an intense non-verbal act of communication.

There is still a second layer of meaning to the music making in Sara Burgerhart, constructed by the authors in a way that shows they understood the workings of the chamber music of their time. Just as the characters of this novel (and many other novels of the time) have been given apposite surnames describing their nature -- for instance: 'Buigzaam' means 'flexible', 'Rien-du-tout' means 'nothing-at-all', 'Edeling' means 'noble one' – most of the characters have besides that been given a musical instrument that resembles the main feature of their personality; one could say 'apposite instruments'. The foppish Mr Bruinier, who is an airhead of little substance, plays the flute. Both Sara and Mrs Buigzaam who strive for (social) harmony and order play the keyboard, and the slightly mannish and intellectual Miss Cornelia Hartog plays the violin – in those days still very much a male instrument. Mr Edeling, the man who will provide a safe future and emotional and material solid ground for our heroine plays the cello. It would thus be fair to say that as the two guitar-players in the novel (Sara Burgerhart and Mrs Buigzaam) are depicted as enlightened and

---

<sup>254</sup> This is an actual song by Garrick, set to music by Thomas Arne (1710-1778). It is found in for instance: *A select collection of English songs, Vol. III*, London, 1783.

<sup>255</sup> Elisabeth Wolf and Agatha Deken. *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (Den Haag 1782) 377-380: 'Ik heb, zei de lieve Vrouw, haar Muzieklade openende, hier een Engelsch Airtje; het is kort; en dewyl het maklyk zingt, zal ik het eens by 't Clavier zingen. Wy lagen allen onze Instrumenten neder, en vormden een kring om haar, en het Clavier: de Heer Edeling stondt tusschen my en Letje, en hieldt ons beide aan de hand: mogt hy wel, Naatje? Zie hier het Airtje. Het kan u mooglyk ook nog te pas komen, 'tis van den groten Garrick, en ons dunkt, dat het in fraaiheid weinig zyne weergade heeft' [...] Gedurende deezen zang was er geen mensch, die zyn vinger verroerde; wy vreesden, als 't ware, om te ademen. Edeling was geheel verrukt, en de beminlyke Vrouwe bedankt hebbende, kuschte hy hare hand; zeker, 't is geen onbevallig man.' In the original the words to the song are in English.

educated women of principle, striving for a harmonious home life, the English wire-strung guitar (an instrument capable of playing chords and thus representing harmony) would have carried a similar meaning to the authors.<sup>256</sup>

#### 4.2.6 Performance in Felix Meritis and other iconography

Although pictorial evidence of music performances can be difficult to analyse (which elements of the image are meant to be realistic, and which are idealized or prescriptive?) I will discuss a small number of images that are interesting because they show instruments and situations that are not described elsewhere. The first two images are by the artist Jacob Smies (1764-1833) who was a student of the artist Jan Gerard Waldorp, a member of Felix Meritis, a drawing master and book illustrator.<sup>257</sup> The first drawing (figure 90), depicting a performance in the music room of the Felix Meritis building, shows a gentleman performing on a peg-tuned wire-strung guitar for an audience of other gentlemen. It does remind us of a mention of 'Mr. Giglio on the Sistre and singing by Corbiere' in Felix Meritis of 1796.<sup>258</sup> The guitar is provided with a strap that is not in use. The guitarist plays from a score on a music stand. Eight gentlemen in the audience listen attentively to his performance.

---

<sup>256</sup> That idea is confirmed by a mention of a guitar in a poem by the same authors, where the guitar is used to accompany a rather philosophical song. Elisabeth Wolf and Agatha Deken, *Economische liedjes*, (Den Haag 1781) 204.

<sup>257</sup> A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Zeventiende deel. Tweede Stuk.* (Haarlem 1874) 761. Smies worked among others for Arend Fokke.

<sup>258</sup> Dick van Heuvel, 'De koor- en orkestbezetting bij de inwijding van het Felix Meritis-gebouw in 1788', in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 55/1 (2005): 47.



Figure 90: *Muziekuitvoering in Felix Meritis aan de Keizersgracht 324* ('Musical performance in Felix Meritis, Keizersgracht 324') drawing by Jacob Smies. Collection Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097001452.



Figure 91: *Twee vliegen in een klap* ('Two birds with one stone'). Etching, coloured by hand. Jacob Ernst Marcus (1774-1826), based on a drawing by Jacob Smies. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, inventory number 010097005799.

There is a second and very similar illustration of a guitar player, from 1803 in the same collection (figure 91). This one, an etching by Jacob Ernst Marcus (1774-1826) is more of a caricature in style and clearly based on Smies' drawing (see figure 90). The original caption of the second image, 'Twee vliegen in één klap' translates as 'Two birds with one stone'. The guitar player sits in virtually the same slightly awkward position as in Smies' drawing, on a low stool, and the whole composition of the image is very similar to the earlier one. In this version however the audience is larger, and also comprises two ladies with prominent cleavages. This detail, and the title of the composition on the guitarist's music stand – 'Sexe charmante' – suggest that the virtuoso was charming the 'charming gender' with his performance. Behind the guitarist musicians with a violoncello, bassoon and violin are seated but not playing, implying that the guitar performance may have been part of a concert in 18<sup>th</sup> century variety style, where solos and orchestral works alternated. The set of images together confirm that the audience in *Felix Meritis* were mostly male. The wire-strung guitar is portrayed as an instrument of seduction, but reverses expectations as is usually female players who are thought to be rendered attractive by playing a guitar.



Figure 92: Jacques Kuijpers: 'Dame met een gitaar', 1771-1808. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number RP-T-00-1674.

The artist Jacques Kuijper (1761-1808) was acquainted with Arend Fokke Simonsz, Van Dijk's publisher for the *Quatrième Recueil*, and worked for him on occasion.<sup>259</sup> Both Kuijper and Fokke Simonsz were members of Felix Meritis, where Van Dijk performed as a singer. This drawing of a young woman playing a wire-strung guitar (figure 92) – and perhaps singing – is relatively important, because since Kuijper lived a short life and travelled very little, the work is very likely to have been made in Amsterdam. Kuijper is said to have been an amateur musician himself and to have composed several songs, so he would have been familiar with the musical instruments of his time. The young lady in the drawing is playing a wire-strung guitar or guitare Allemande with a pear-shaped body, in the style of the French luthier Deleplanque.<sup>260</sup> It appears to be equipped with watch-key tuners in the style of Preston, as there are no tuning pegs visible. The guitar appears to be resting on the tabletop (or even a square piano), a performance practice that is also documented in lute and Spanish guitar sources, and that helps the playing posture and gives added resonance to the instrument.

---

<sup>259</sup> Van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek*. Tiende deel (Haarlem 1862), 440.

<sup>260</sup> A very similar instrument is in the Cité de la Musique collection in Paris, listed as 'Cistre, Deleplanque Gérard J., Lille, 1790, E.980.3.1Æ.



Figure 93: Charles Howard Hodges: 'Two ladies making music', 1806. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number RP-T-1890-A-2332(R).

Charles Howard Hodges (1746-1837) was an English painter who lived in Holland (Den Haag and Amsterdam) from 1792. Hodges was a friend of Reinier Vinkeles and a member of Felix Meritis as well, and specialised in portraiture of prominent Dutch men and women. The instrument in the pastel drawing from 1806 (figure 93) appears to have a curved fingerboard and Preston-style tuners, and a rather long neck. Its pear-shape and longer neck could indicate that this is an instrument of French origin, in the French 'A'-tuning that require a longer string length. The girl playing the guitar is probably Hodges' daughter Emma Jane Hodges, who would have been about sixteen years old here, and who went on to become an artist herself.<sup>261</sup>

Although the corpus of images selected here is relatively limited, the impression made is of an instrument played in domestic settings by women and more public settings by men. There is a

---

<sup>261</sup> I assume that the sitter is Emma Jane Hodges because of the great similarity between this girl and Hodges' 1810 portrait of his daughter, also in the Rijksmuseum.

suggestion that guitar players accompany themselves singing. Some of the instruments depicted are probably of British or French origin.

### 4.3 Chapter conclusion

Most of the musicians in the public realm were immigrants, or foreigners who stayed for longer or shorter times. They brought ideas, repertoire, and skills and appear to have formed a kind of loose network with other foreign instrumentalists and singers. Their Dutch performances sometimes fit into a pattern of travel from France and Italy, towards Germany, Britain or America. To an extent musicians also came to Amsterdam because it was a centre of music publishing.

Foreign musicians were generally met with enthusiasm by the Dutch. Proof of that is in concert announcements, and for example correspondence about the employment of Van Dijk and his successor. Maybe the reception of musical foreigners by the Dutch is part of the Dutch cosmopolitan attitude. We can also find cosmopolitanism in the way concert programmes were put together: the ratio of foreign versus Dutch music is heavily in favour of foreign music.

We see in this period a move from general purpose music spaces such as inns and shooting ranges toward purpose-built public music rooms. This implies that music was a growing part of the Dutch affluent, enlightened lifestyle and that concert-going was useful for ‘networking’, as dedicated music spaces require wealth in the community and good collaboration. Maybe it also implies a move towards thinking of music as an art form that needed dedicated spaces and focused listening.

In the case of Felix Meritis and other contemporary ‘public’ music venues, this listening to musical performance was still a gendered and privileged activity: one had to be a member to attend concerts and membership was only open to men. Women would be allowed in only if accompanied by a man or on special evenings. Music performance was still heavily gendered: men tended to play outside or in public, women domestically.

Domestic performance on guitars is harder to research as there is less factual data to harvest from for instance newspapers. Iconography and fiction offer an impression: they tell us that women made music mostly in the domestic sphere, as part of participation in culture from home through books, scores and prints. We know from the novel *Reinhart* and van Alphen’s *Kleine Zangster* that singing with a guitar at home could also be a kind a worship activity, and something that could comfort and unite people. Similarly, for Sara Burgerhart guitar playing and other forms of music making served as an acceptable form sociability and even intimacy.





## Synthesis and conclusion

The authors Elisabeth Wolf and Agatha Deken had a good understanding of domestic music in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when they described their protagonist Sara Burgerhart's guitar playing: it is there in the novel to show her as cultured, attractive, of a certain social class, and cosmopolitan in attitude. Dutch guitarists such as Sara Burgerhart had access to music from France and England through book sellers, music merchants, and their teachers. Even music for guitar printed in the Netherlands had a strong international flavour: a large part of the repertoire consisted of arias and duets from popular operas, adapted for guitar with or without the voice.

Performance at home, alone or in small groups, represents one aspect of performance on guitars. Public performance on guitar between 1750 and 1800 was mostly done by foreigners: touring Italian virtuosos on their way to England, the odd Portuguese and Spaniard, and French musicians on the run from the Revolution. Instrumental and vocal concerts could be held in multi-purpose rooms like inns or a riding school, while gradually more purpose-built concert rooms were established. In the theatre one could see and hear French actresses accompanying themselves on a guitar while singing, transferring the intimacy of domestic music making to the stage.

Guitars were available to buy in music shops and auctions for modest sums, and were to an extent also made by local violin makers. Those artisans would base their generally unadorned designs on foreign examples but added personal touches in the form of interesting soundhole rosettes or other design details.

Learning the guitar could be a part of a broad education for children and young adults. A majority of authors on education were in favour of learning music. The guitar could serve for women to look elegant, for children to be innocently entertained, and in general to stave off boredom and improve mental health. Guitar playing was depicted in fiction and iconography as a domestic activity, expressing familial harmony. The first steps in learning an instrument could be supervised by the mother; after that instrumental tuition could take the form of a teacher visiting the home, or of lessons provided for an extra fee at a (boarding) school. Learning the guitar often included singing, as that was what the guitar excelled at. Learning the guitar always implied a degree of cosmopolitanism: the pupil learned songs in other languages, from their teacher who was very likely French, on an instrument that may have come from abroad.

Teaching, performing and music publishing were all connected: J. J. Hummel in Amsterdam published scores and sold tickets for concerts; Giacomo Merchi performed in Amsterdam and had some of his music printed there; David Leonard van Dijk published guitar scores, taught guitar, and exchanged music with fellow music master Francesco Ricci.

There were few musical events or publication in the Netherlands that were not largely created by people born elsewhere; and that is true for guitar playing and guitar making too. The question as to cosmopolitanism and Dutch guitar players has to be answered with: the Dutch guitar world was very internationally oriented and very cosmopolitan.

The period between 1750 and 1810 saw a number of transformations concerning guitars: notation changed from tablature to staff for the gut-strung guitar, and stringing and tuning were simplified and standardized. The wire-strung guitar bloomed until the turn of the century, but then became obsolete very quickly, to make place for the six string gut-strung guitar, virtually similar to the instrument we know now and one that would meet the demands of 19<sup>th</sup>-century aesthetics much better.

There are many directions for further research after this: The memoirs of Alexandre Stiévenard and his time as a musician in the Netherlands deserve more attention, as do the mysterious smaller instruments by Cuijpers. The role of music in 18<sup>th</sup> century fiction needs examining. More guitar-like instruments or scores from the period may be discovered in the future and may still change the way we look at Dutch 18<sup>th</sup> century music. A modern edition of music from David Leonard van Dijk's *Recueils* would help modern classical guitarists to connect to the long history of their instrument in their country. All in all, it would be good to have the sounds of various guitars become part of the soundscape of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in our perception and performance practice.

## Appendix A      Contents of Van Dijk's *Recueils*

In this table, 'guitar' always means 'wire-strung guitar'. 'La' in the header of column six means 'Language'.

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
1	Premier Recueil	1	<i>Air de Chasse</i>	C		Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817)	guitar solo
2	Premier Recueil	1	<i>Menuet</i>	C			guitar solo
3	Premier Recueil	1	<i>Tambourin</i>	C			guitar solo
4	Premier Recueil	2	<i>Giga</i>	C			guitar solo
5	Premier Recueil	2	<i>Menuet</i>	C			guitar solo
6	Premier Recueil	2	<i>Contre dans</i>	C			guitar solo
7	Premier Recueil	3	<i>La Sylvie Allemande</i>	C/c			guitar solo
8	Premier Recueil	3	<i>La Marche de l'Opera le Huron</i>	C		André Grétry (1741-1813)	guitar solo
9	Premier Recueil	4	<i>La Hoorn Pijp Dans Hollandois</i>	C			guitar solo
10	Premier Recueil	4	<i>Menuet</i>	C			guitar solo
11	Premier Recueil	4	<i>Contre Dans</i>	C/c			guitar solo
12	Premier Recueil	5	<i>Contre dans</i>	C			guitar solo
13	Premier Recueil	5	<i>Trio</i>	C			guitar solo
14	Premier Recueil	5	<i>Polonoise</i>	C			guitar solo
15	Premier Recueil	6	<i>March</i>	C			guitar solo
16	Premier Recueil	7	<i>Aria: un tonelier</i>	C		From <i>Le Tonnelier</i> , music by Gossec, Philidor and Trial.	guitar solo
17	Premier Recueil	7	<i>Menuet</i>	F			guitar solo

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
18	Premier Recueil	7	<i>Contre dans</i>	C			guitar solo
19	Premier Recueil	8	<i>Maestoso</i>	F			guitar solo
20	Premier Recueil	8	<i>Allemande</i>	F			guitar solo
21	Premier Recueil	9	<i>Air De l'opera le Deserteur</i>	C	French	Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817)	voice & guitar separate staves
22	Premier Recueil	10	<i>Vaudeville de L'opera le Sorcier</i>	C	French	François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795)	voice & guitar separate staves
23	Premier Recueil	11	<i>Vaudeville De l'aveugle de Palmyre</i>	C	French	Jean-Joseph Rodolphe (1730-1812)	voice & guitar separate staves
24	Premier Recueil	12	<i>Andantino</i>	C	French	Unknown. This melody ('En amour c'est aux villages') was used for contrefacts.	voice & guitar separate staves
25	Premier Recueil	13	<i>Romance De l'aveugle de Palmyre</i>	C	French	Jean-Joseph Rodolphe (1730-1812)	voice & guitar separate staves
26	Premier Recueil	14	<i>Romance Du roi et son Fermier</i>	C/c	French	Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817)	voice & guitar integrated notation
	Premier Recueil	15	continuation of p. 14				voice & guitar integrated notation
27	Premier Recueil	16	<i>Romance ('Je ne suis qu'une bergère')</i>	C/c	French	Prob. François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795)	voice & guitar integrated notation
28	Premier Recueil	17	<i>Romance de L'opera Zemire &amp; Azor</i>	C	French	André Grétry (1741-1813)	voice & guitar integrated notation
29	Premier Recueil	18	<i>Qu'il est doux. Ariette de Lucile.</i>	C/c		André Grétry (1741-1813)	guitar solo
30	Premier Recueil	19	<i>Air Vous amans que j'interesse</i>	C		Unknown composer, but occurs in France ca. 1760. Used for contrefacts.	guitar solo
31	Premier Recueil	20	<i>Air. J'avois égaré mon fuseau</i>	F		Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817)	guitar solo

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
32	Premier Recueil	20	<i>Air. Vous voila la petite laitière</i>	F		From <i>Les Deux Chasseurs et la Laitière</i> by Egidio Romualdo Duni 1708 -1775	guitar solo
33	Premier Recueil	21	<i>Vivace</i>	C			guitar solo
34	Premier Recueil	21	<i>Dès que L'on à douze a treize ans</i>	C		Perhaps François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829)	guitar solo
35	Premier Recueil	22	<i>Menuetto Con Variatione</i>	C			guitar solo
	Premier Recueil	23	(continuation of p. 22)				guitar solo
36	Premier Recueil	24	<i>Variatio</i> (continuation of p. 23)	C			guitar solo
37	Premier Recueil	24	<i>Allemande</i>	C			guitar solo
38	Premier Recueil	25	<i>Menuet</i>	C			guitar solo
39	Premier Recueil	25	<i>Variatio</i>	C			guitar solo
40	Premier Recueil	26	<i>Marche des Janissairs dans L'Opera les Deux Avares</i>	C	French	André Grétry (1741-1813)	voice & guitar integrated notation
41	Premier Recueil	27	<i>Ariette</i>	C/c	French	Prob. François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795)	voice & guitar integrated notation
42	Premier Recueil	28	<i>Romance de L'opera Julie</i>	C/c	French	Nicolas Dezède (1742-1792)	voice & guitar integrated notation
	Premier Recueil	29	continuation of p. 28	C/c			voice & guitar integrated notation
43	Premier Recueil	30	<i>Le Choeur de L'opera Julie</i>	C	French	Nicolas Dezède (1742-1792)	voice & guitar integrated notation
44	Premier Recueil	30	<i>Vaudeville du Tableau Parlant</i>	C/c	French	André Grétry (1741-1813)	voice & guitar integrated notation
45	Deuxième Recueil	2	<i>Andantino</i>	C	French	Prob. Antoine Albanese (1729-1800)	voice & guitar separate staves

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
	Deuxième Recueil	3	continuation of p. 2				voice & guitar separate staves
46	Deuxième Recueil	4	<i>Allegro non tropo</i> [sic]	C	French	Antoine Albanese (1729-1800)	voice & guitar separate staves
	Deuxième Recueil	5	continuation of p. 4				voice & guitar separate staves
47	Deuxième Recueil	6	<i>Rondo</i>	C	French		two voices & guitar separate staves
	Deuxième Recueil	7	continuation of p. 6				two voices & guitar separate staves
48	Deuxième Recueil	8	<i>Air comique</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate staves
	Deuxième Recueil	9	continuation of p. 8				voice & guitar separate staves
49	Deuxième Recueil	10	<i>Andante</i>	C	French		voice & guitar integrated notation
50	Deuxième Recueil	11	<i>Amoroso – Air Anglois</i>	C	English	Holcombe	voice & guitar integrated notation
51	Deuxième Recueil	12	<i>Amoroso</i>	C	French		voice & guitar integrated notation
52	Deuxième Recueil	13	<i>Contre Dans</i>	C			guitar solo
53	Deuxième Recueil	13	<i>Allemande</i>	C			guitar solo
54	Deuxième Recueil	14	<i>Vivace</i>	C			guitar solo
55	Deuxième Recueil	14	<i>Tambourin</i>	C			guitar solo
56	Deuxième Recueil	15	<i>Gratioso</i> [sic]	C			guitar solo
57	Deuxième Recueil	15	<i>Allemande</i>	C			guitar solo
58	Deuxième Recueil	16	<i>Rondeau</i>	C/a			guitar solo
59	Deuxième Recueil	17	<i>Allemande – mineur</i>	C/c			guitar solo

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
60	Deuxième Recueil	18	<i>Allemande – mineur</i>	C/c			guitar solo
61	Deuxième Recueil	19	<i>Allemande</i>	C			guitar solo
62	Deuxième Recueil	20	<i>Allemande</i>	C/F			guitar solo
63	Deuxième Recueil	21	<i>Ah, vous dirais-je maman</i>	C			guitar solo
	Deuxième Recueil	22	continuation of p. 21				guitar solo
	Deuxième Recueil	23	continuation of p. 22				guitar solo
64	Deuxième Recueil	24	<i>Rondeau</i>	C/c			guitar solo
	Deuxième Recueil	25	continuation of p. 24				guitar solo
65	Deuxième Recueil	26	<i>Allegretto</i>	C	French	Nicolas Dezède (1742-1792)	voice & guitar separate staves
	Deuxième Recueil	27	continuation of p. 26				voice & guitar separate staves
66	Deuxième Recueil	28	<i>Ronde – Allegro</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate staves
67	Deuxième Recueil	29	<i>La Marche des gardes Suisses</i>	C			guitar solo
68	Troisième Recueil	2	<i>Grazioso – Parodie de la romance Du Sorcier</i>	C	French	Prob. François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795)	voice & guitar integrated notation
69	Troisième Recueil	3	<i>Andante</i>	C	French		voice & guitar integrated notation
70	Troisième Recueil	4	<i>Andante</i>	C	French		voice & guitar integrated notation
71	Troisième Recueil	5	<i>Air – La Magnanime</i>	C	French		voice & guitar integrated notation
72	Troisième Recueil	6	<i>Romance</i>	C/c	French		voice & guitar integrated notation

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
	Troisième Recueil	7	continuation of p. 6				voice & guitar integrated notation
73	Troisième Recueil	8	<i>Ariette de la Rosière</i>	C	French	Philidor/Blaise/Monsigny/Duni or Grétry	voice & guitar integrated notation
	Troisième Recueil	9	continuation of p. 8 ('2e couplet')				voice & guitar integrated notation
74	Troisième Recueil	10	<i>Vaudeville de Tom Jones</i>	C	French	Prob. François-André Danican Philidor (1726-1795)	voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	11	continuation of p. 10				voice & guitar separate
75	Troisième Recueil	12	<i>Air de Lucile</i>	c	French	Prob. André Grétry (1741-1813)	voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	13	continuation of p. 12				voice & guitar separate
76	Troisième Recueil	14	<i>Andante</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	15	continuation of p. 14				voice & guitar separate
77	Troisième Recueil	16	<i>Air de Sara</i>	C	French	Pierre Vachon? (1738-1803)	voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	17	continuation of p. 16				voice & guitar separate
78	Troisième Recueil	18	<i>La Boulangere de Gonaise</i>	C/c	French		voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	19	continuation of p. 18				voice & guitar separate
79	Troisième Recueil	20	<i>Andantino</i>	C	Italian		voice & guitar separate
	Troisième Recueil	21	continuation of p. 20				voice & guitar separate
80	Troisième Recueil	22	<i>Andantino</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate
81	Troisième Recueil	23	<i>Air: Maman me Voulut engager.</i>	C			guitar solo
82	Troisième Recueil	23	<i>Air Allemand</i>	C			guitar solo

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
83	Troisième Recueil	24	<i>Mon destin est assés doux</i>	C			guitar solo
84	Troisième Recueil	25	<i>Vaudeville de L'Opera den Coopman van Smirna</i>	C		Johann August Just (c.1758-c.1791)	guitar solo
85	Troisième Recueil	26	<i>Siciliano</i>	C			guitar solo
86	Troisième Recueil	27	<i>Tempo di Minuetto</i>	C			guitar solo
87	Troisième Recueil	28	<i>Rondeau par m. Fischer</i>	C		Fischer	guitar solo
88	Troisième Recueil	29	<i>Marche du Sr. Colizzi</i>	C		Giovanni Andrea Colizzi (c.1740-c.1808)	guitar solo
89	Quatrième Recueil	2	<i>Air de l'Opera Le Barbier de Seville</i>	C	French	Antoine-Laurent Baudron (1742-1834)	voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	3	continuation of p. 28				voice & guitar separate
90	Quatrième Recueil	4	<i>Le Tirelintintin</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	5	continuation of p. 4				voice & guitar separate
91	Quatrième Recueil	6	<i>Andante – J'ai perdu mon Euridice</i>	F	French	Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714-1787)	voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	7	continuation of p. 6				voice & guitar separate
92	Quatrième Recueil	8	<i>Colin et Colette</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	9	continuation of p. 8				voice & guitar separate
93	Quatrième Recueil	10	<i>Air de l'Opera la Colonie</i>	C/c	French	Prob. Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786)	voice & guitar integrated notation
	Quatrième Recueil	11	continuation of p. 10				voice & guitar integrated notation
94	Quatrième Recueil	12	<i>Ariet</i>	F	French		voice & guitar separate

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
	Quatrième Recueil	13	continuation of p. 12				voice & guitar separate
95	Quatrième Recueil	14	<i>Air par M. Trial l'ainé</i>	F	French	Prob. Antoine Trial (1737-1795)	voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	15	continuation of p. 14				voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	16	continuation of p. 14				voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	17	continuation of p. 14				voice & guitar separate
96	Quatrième Recueil	18	<i>La Guitare Angloise</i>	C	French		voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	19	continuation of p. 18				voice & guitar separate
97	Quatrième Recueil	20	<i>Andante</i>	C	Italian		voice & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	21	continuation of p. 20				voice & guitar separate
98	Quatrième Recueil	22	<i>Andante</i>	C	Italian		two voices & guitar separate
	Quatrième Recueil	23	continuation of p. 22				two voices & guitar separate
99	Quatrième Recueil	24	<i>Andante</i>	C	Italian		voice & guitar separate
100	Quatrième Recueil	25	<i>Air Allemand</i>	C			guitar solo
101	Quatrième Recueil	25	<i>La Bourbonnaise</i>	C			guitar solo
102	Quatrième Recueil	26	<i>Vaudeville de L'indienne</i>	C		Prob. Giovanni Cifolelli (1735-?)	guitar solo
103	Quatrième Recueil	27	<i>Allemande</i>	C			guitar solo
104	Quatrième Recueil	27	<i>La jolie Fille</i>	C/c			guitar solo
105	Quatrième Recueil	28	<i>Menuetto</i>	C/c			guitar solo
106	Quatrième Recueil	29	<i>Contredans</i>	C			guitar solo
107	Quatrième Recueil	29	<i>Contredans</i>	C			guitar solo

Item number	Recueil	P	Title in source	Key	La	Original composer	Instrumentation & notation
108	Quatrième Recueil	30	<i>Marcia</i>	C			guitar solo
109	Quatrième Recueil	31	<i>Menuet</i>	C			guitar solo
	Quatrième Recueil	32	continuation of p. 31				guitar solo
	Quatrième Recueil	33	continuation of p. 31				guitar solo



## Appendix B      Guitar music in Huis Amerongen

Guitar music from between ca. 1750 and 1830 in the Huis Amerongen collection. All of this sheet music is part of the section with Access Number 1183 'Huis Amerongen: muziekbibliotheek', section 3: 'Niet nader ingedeelde muziek', in the Utrechts Archief in Utrecht.

Inventory Number	Title	M/P	Composer	Instrumentation	Type of guitar	Approximate Date
6	<i>Journal de Pièces de Musique pour la Guitare. Tirées de divers Auteurs Espagnol &amp; autres</i>	P	Edited by Salvador Castro de Gistau. Music by Castro and Fernando Sor.	Guitar solo	Six string / six course gut-strung guitar or lyre-guitar.	Ca. 1810
7	<i>Méthode de Guitare ou Lyre. Traité de Modulations Majeures et Mineures Divisé en deux Parties</i>	P	Salvador Castro de Gistau	Guitar solo	Six string / six course gut-strung guitar.	Ca. 1810
31	<i>Instructions For the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish &amp; English Guitar [...]</i>	P	Anonymous, published by Wheatstone in London.	Guitar solo, voice and guitar	Wire-strung, gut-strung, harp guitar	Ca. 1810
80	<i>Journal d'Airs Italiens. Barcherolla Veneziana 'O pescator de l'onda'</i>	P	Salvador Castro de Gistau	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	Ca. 1805
81	<i>Journal de chansonnettes Italiennes.</i> 1. <i>Ah se tu fossi o Nina. Barcherolla Veneziana</i> 2. <i>La Pastorella. Canzonetta Italiana</i>	P	Arranged by Salvador Castro de Gistau except for 9 and 10 that are arranged by [Vincenzo] Pucitta. Nrs 2, 5, 7, 8, 11 are compositions by 'Signor Vincenzo Martin', i.e. Vicente Martín y Soler (1754-	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	Ca. 1805

Inventory Number	Title	M/P	Composer	Instrumentation	Type of guitar	Approximate Date
	<p>3. <i>Paga fui. Aria del Signor Mortellari.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Stanco di pascolar. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>5. <i>L'innocenza [sic]. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>6. <i>In questi crudi giorni. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>7. <i>No che lasciar non posso. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>8. <i>Il padron colla padrona. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>9. <i>L'amor xe una pietanza [sic]. Canzonetta Veneziana.</i></p> <p>10. <i>Ninetta da seno. Canzonetta Veneziana.</i></p> <p>11. <i>La Valubile. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p> <p>12. <i>Le notte non riposo. Canzonetta Italiana.</i></p>		1806), arranged by Castro.			
125	<i>Lieder für die Gitarre</i>	M	Mozart and others	Voice and guitar, sometimes with flute or violin	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century, (ca. 1820-1840)
170	<i>Se tutti i mali miei. Nocturnes a deux voix.</i>	P	Giuseppe Marco Maria Felice Blangini, arranged by Lemoine.	Two voices and guitar	Five- or six string gut-strung or lyre guitar	Ca. 1790-1820
171	<i>Journal d'airs Italiens avec accompagnement de guitare</i>	P	Salvador Castro de Gistau, Girolamo Crescentini		Six string gut-strung	Ca. 1800-1825

Inventory Number	Title	M/P	Composer	Instrumentation	Type of guitar	Approximate Date
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Per valli, per boschi</i></li> <li>2. <i>Aria, Se m'abbandoni</i></li> <li>3. <i>Arietta</i></li> </ol>					
174	<i>Airs françaix avec accompagnement de guitare</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Le Volant</i></li> <li>2. <i>L'amour t l'amitié</i></li> <li>3. <i>L'amour et la peur</i></li> </ol>	P	Salvador Castro de Gistau	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	1819
186	<i>Erlkönig</i>	M	P. C. Blum	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
189	<b>GUITTAR</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Son perfetta</i></li> <li>2. <i>Senza costrutto</i></li> <li>3. <i>Donne Belle</i></li> <li>4. <i>Quattro è quattro</i></li> <li>5. -</li> <li>6. <i>La ci darem</i></li> <li>7. <i>Face caro</i></li> <li>8. -</li> </ol>	M	Antonio Zaneboni and others.	2 voices, guitar, bass	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
193	Teaching aid; fretboard diagram for harpguitar	M			Harp guitar	18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century
203	<i>Per valli, per boschi</i>		Girolamo Crescentini	voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
228	German language songs with guitar accompaniment	M		Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
237	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Souvenir du jeune age, du Pré aux clercs</i></li> <li>2. <i>Das Alpenhorn</i></li> </ol>	M	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ferdinand Hérold</li> <li>2. Heinrich Proch</li> </ol>	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	1836 or later
243	<i>Vermeille rose que le zéphir vient d'en trouvrir</i>	M		Voice and guitar	Wire-strung	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> century

Inventory Number	Title	M/P	Composer	Instrumentation	Type of guitar	Approximate Date
245	<i>Mon honneur dit que je serois compable</i>	M		Voice and guitar	Wire-strung	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> century
264	<i>Polonaise die Männer taugen all'nicht viel</i>	P	Arrangement by Joseph Küffner	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
268	<i>Der Troubadour</i>	P		Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	19 <sup>th</sup> century
269	Convolute of songs in German	P	Winter, e.a.	Voice and guitar	Six string gut-strung	1828
302	<i>Un militaire doit avoir trompette et tambour, aria de l'opera l'Amant statue</i>	M	Nicolas Dalayrac (1753-1809)	Three voices, guitar	Wire-strung	1785 or later
306	<i>Quel beau jour</i>	M		Voice and guitar	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
322	<i>A favourite song in the new comedy of the heiress</i>	P	Giovanni Paisiello and Thomas Linley	Voice, harpsichord, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
326	<i>La pipe de tabac. Air du Petit Matelot.</i>	P	Pierre Gaveaux	Voice, keyboard or harp, with alternative versions for pedal harp and for guitar, guitar	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
332	<i>My lodging is on the cold ground</i>	P	John Danby	Three voices or one voice, alternative versions for keyboard and flute or guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
334	<i>O! what a charming creature.</i>	P	John Danby	Voice, violin, bass, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
338	<i>A select collection of songs, duetts, airs, marches [...] properly arranged for the lyre and harp guitar. Book 4.</i>	P	Francesco (Felice) Chabran	Guitar solo, songs with guitar accompaniment, duets.	Lyre [guitar], harp guitar	Ca. 1800

Inventory Number	Title	M/P	Composer	Instrumentation	Type of guitar	Approximate Date
339	<i>Blow high, blow low</i>	P	Charles Dibdin	Voice, keyboard, alternative version for flute or guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
341	<i>The banks of the Shannon</i>	P	James Hook	Voice, keyboard, alternative versions for flute and guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
342	<i>Encompass'd in an angels frame</i>	P	William Jackson	Voice, keyboard, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	Second half 18 <sup>th</sup> century
343	<i>Still the lark finds repose</i>	P	Thomas Linley	Voice, figured bass, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	On or before 1787 (Signed R[enard] de Reede 1787)
356	<i>A favourite song in the new comedy of the heiress.</i>	P	Giovanni Paisiello and Thomas Linley	Voice, keyboard, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	1760-1790
357	<i>In my pleasant native plains</i>	P	Thomas Linley	Voice, keyboard, alternative versions for flute and for guitar.	Wire-strung	1760-1790
360	<i>The maid of the mill</i>	P	W. Shield	Voice, keyboard, alternative versions for flute and for guitar and voice.	Wire-strung	1760-1790
376	<i>Lieder mit Guitarr-Begleitung</i>	M		Voice & guitar, sometimes additional flute.	Six string gut-strung	1826

## Appendix C      Newspaper adverts in the original language

This appendix contains newspaper adverts for music teaching and public performances. Most of them were retrieved by me from the excellent Delpher website of Dutch historic newspapers (<https://www.delpher.nl>). The adverts marked "s Gravenhaagse Courant" originate from a data set by Aldo Lieffering (1999): *Eighteenth-Century Music and theatre advertisements from the 's-Gravenhaagsche Courant and Gazette de La Haye (in the Netherlands)*. The data is deposited in DANS, the Dutch repository for Science data sets: <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2bt-y638>. A few adverts came from Rudolf Rasch, *Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1756-1760* on <<https://muziekinderepubliek.sites.uu.nl/>>.

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
1	Op 't verzoek van verschedene voornaeme Persoonen hier in 's Gravenhage, zullen de Heeren Colla, beyde zeer vermaerde Italiaense Muzikanten, waer van de eene op een hier te Land onbekend Instrument van twee snaeren en den anderen op een Guitard zeer superbe speeld, op morgen zijnde Woensdag, bij Mr. Gautier op het Buytenhof een Concert gheeven. Het zelve zal 's avonds ten 6 uuren precies beginnen, en de entrée-Briefjes voor iedere Persoon zijn bij de bovengenoemde Mr. Gautier op het Buytenhof hier in 's Hage voor 3 gulden te bekomen.	's Gravenhaegse Courant	14 July 1751
2	Sr G. MERCHI di Brescia, zal op heeden Donderdag den 29 deezer, een Vocaal en Instrumentaal CONCERT gheeven, op de Zaal boven de Manege, waar hij zig zal laaten horen met een Concert en Solo, op een Instrument Calisoncino, met een Solo op de Chitarra en met een Solo op de Mandollino, ook zal Mad. LEPRI zingen. Een Heer met een Dame betaalt f 3, en zonder Dame f 2. De Lootjes zijn te bekomen bij H. Chalon, J. J. Hummel Musiekverkoper in de Nes, en in 't Logement de Keyzers Kroon t'Amst. By gem. Hummel worden op heden gratis uitgegeven, Conditien van Inschrijvinge op 6 Clavier Sonaten Op. 2 door J. Chalon gecomp. en op 6 Nieuwe Sinfonien, met Violins en andere Instrum. gecomp. door F. X. Richter.	Amsterdamse Courant	29 March 1759
3	Met permissie van de Edele Agtbaere Magistraet, zal Sieur Merchi, Italiaender, op Maendag den 23 April in den Ouden Doelen in 's Hage een Concert gheeven, waer in hij eenige nieuwe stukken op verschede Instrumenten staet te executeren, als op de Guitar, de Mandoline en Calascioncino, die hier alle bijne onbekend zijn. Hij durft zig vlijen, dat het nieuwsgierige Publicq en Kenners ten uitersten over hem voldaen zullen weezen. Het Concert zal 's avonds ten half 7 uuren precies beginnen.	's Gravenhaegse Courant	16 April 1759
4	Sr. MERCHI di Brescia, zal op Donderdag den 24 January [24 januari: deezen avond te 6 uuren], een Vocaal en Instrumentaal Concert gheven, op de groote Zaal in de Oude Doeles t'Amst., waar in hy zig zal laaten horen met een Concert en Solo, op een Instrum. Colascioncino, met een	Amsterdamse Courant	12, 22, 24 January 1760

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	<p>Solo op de Chitarra, en met een Solo op de Mandolino; Mad. Mellini zal differente Arien en een Cantata van Sr. Terradeglias zingen; de Billetten zyn te bekomen by Sr. Merchi in de Angenietenstraat, en by J.J. Hummel, Musik Verkoper in de Nes a f 2, en met een Dame f 3. [alleen 12.1;] Op aanstaande Maandag zal J. Hummel, de 6 eerste Sonaten van G. Schiatti, aan de Intekenaars afleeveren.</p>		
5	<p>Op Zaturdag den 14 Maart, sal B. J. v. Hagen voor sijn Benefice in het EXTRA CONCERT by P. A. v. Hagen, op de Luyt, Viool en Callicioncino sig laten horen; Mademoiselle Rosette Baptiste sal zingen, en het Dogtertje van P.A. v. Hagen, een Concert Carillon op Glaasen, en een Concert op de Viool speelen.</p>	Amsterdamse Courant and Rotterdamsche Courant	8 March 1761 and other dates
6	<p>Sieur MERCHI, Italiaender, zal de eer hebben, aenstaende Maendag den 8. Februari 1762 een groot Vocaal en Instrumentael CONCERT, in de Zaal van de Comedie, in de Casuaristraet in 's Hage, te geeven, alwaer hy op de Calsiconcino, de Mandolino en de Guitar zal speelen. Madame Baptiste staet er Italiaense Aria's te zingen. Men zal ten half zeven uuren precies beginnen. De prys der Entree is dezelfde als die van de Comedie.</p>	's Gravenhaegse Courant	3 February 1762
7	<p>Op aanstaande Donderdag den 11 Maart, 's avonds ten 6 uuren, zullen de Gebroeders Srs. COLLA geboortig uit Italië de eere hebben een Vocaal en Instrumentaal Concert te geven, op de Zaal boven de Manegie, waarin zy zullen executeeren differente Muziekstukken van hun eigen compositie, op twee Instrumenten, genaamt Calascionciro en Calasciorie, Sr. Magali zal enige Ariën zingen. Een Hr. bet. f2, en met een Dame f3. De Lootjes zyn te bekome by J. J. Hummel, Muziekv. in de Nes.</p>	Amsterdamse Courant	6 March 1762
8	<p>Op verzoek van Heeren en Dames, zullen de Gebroeders Sr. COLLA op Woensdag den 31 Maart, 's avonds ten 6 uuren, een tweede Vocaal en Instrumentaal Concert geven, op de Zaal van de Manege, waarin zy zullen executeeren differente nieuwe Musiekstukken, op do Calascioncino en Calascione, Sr. Magalli zal enige Arien zingen: een Heer betaalt f2 en met een Dame f3. De Billetten zyn te bekomen by J. J. Hummel, Musiekverkoper, in de Nes te Amsterdam.</p>	Amsterdamse Courant	25 March 1762
9	<p>Le Sr. Merchi aura l'honneur de donner Mercredi le 28 de Mars 1764, à six heures du soir, dans la Salle du Keyzers Kroon dans le Kalverstraet un Grand Concert Vocal &amp; Instrumental, il y jouera du Calisoncino, de la Guitare, &amp; de la Mandolino. Le Sr. Michel Esser s'y fera entendre sur le Violon &amp; y chantera, il executera également un solo sur l'Alto Viola. On peut avoir les Billets chez J.J. Hummel, dans le Nes &amp; a l'entrée de la Salle en payant f 2- pour une Personne &amp; f 3- avec une Dame.</p>	's Gravenhaegse Courant	26 March 1764
10	<p>Sr. MERCHI zal de eer hebben op Woensdag den 28 Maart, t'Amst. in de Keizerskroon, een groot Vocaal en Instrumentaal Concert te geven, waarin hy zig zal laaten</p>	Amsterdamse Courant	27 March 1764

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	hooren op de Califoncino, Guitarre en Mandolino. Sr. MICHAEL ESSER, zal eenige Airen zingen en op de Viool een Solo en Concert, zo ook op de Alto-Viola een Solo speelen. De Lootjes zyn to bekomen by J. J. Hummel in de Nes en by den Ingang. Een Heer betaald f2, en met een Dame f3.		
11	Sieur Marchi adverteert dat hij heden, Maandag 30 April, 's avonds 6 uur, in de Aalmoezinerskamer in de Brigittenstraat te Utrecht, geven zal een groot vocaal en instrumentaal concert waarin hij op de calisoncino, gitaar en mandolino spelen zal en de concert Trio's, Duo's en Solo's executeren zal, alles van zijn eigen compositie en dat hij zijn ganse kunst en bekwaamheid inspannen zal om de aanschouwers te behagen en hun goedkeuring te verdienen. Ook zal mevr. Linders geaccompagneerd door de gitaar, Italiaanse grote aria's en kleine ariettes zingen. Een biljet is voor ieder persoon een daelder. Vermits ter Aalmoezinerskamer geen geld aangenomen zal worden wordt een ieder verzocht de biljets te nemen bij O. Winter in de Romerborgerstraat. NB. Mevr. Linders zal hier blijven om instructie in 't zingen te geven.	Utrechtsche Courant	29 April 1764
12	Sieur Merci zal de eer hebben op a.s Dinsdag 13 November te Utrecht in de concertzaal op het Vreeburg te geven een groot vocaal en instrumentaal concert waarin hij op de calisoncino en gitaar spelen en sieur Francesco Maggiore, Napolitaans kapelmeester, grote Italiaanse aria's zingen zal, gelijk ook zal doen mejuffrouw zijne dochter die insgelijks met haar vader duo's zal zingen. De prijs voor ieder persoon is 2 guldens. Vermits in de zaal geen geld ontvangen zal worden wordt een ieder verzocht lootjes te nemen bij Sieur Winter, Gorgy of Kirchner. Het concert zal precies om 6 uur beginnen.	Utrechtsche Courant	12 November 1764
13	Ceux, qui ont souscrit au Concert du Sr. MENEZES, sont pries de faire leurs Billets pour le dit Concert, qui se donnera dans la Salle du Manege en ectte ville le 19 du courant. les Billets se trouvent chez le dit Sr., au Kalverstaraat vis-à-vis la Chapelle, & chez le Sr. Hummel, Marchand de Musique sur le Vygendam, ainsi qu'au Caffé François. Personne ne sera reHue à l'entrée de la Salle du Concert, pas même pour argent, à moins qu'il ne soit muni d'un Billet.	Amsterdamse Courant	18 December 1764
14	De Heer Kramer, kamer Muzikant van Sijn Doorlugtige Hoogheyd den keurvorst van de Paltz, zal de eer hebben op Saturdag den 20 April 1765, in de Groote Concert-Zael in de Bierstraet bij de Heer van Hagen, te Rotterdam een groot Vocael en Instrumentael Concert te gheeven, alwaer Mademoiselle Smeling verscheyde Italiaensche en Engelsche Aria's zal zingen en op de Guitarre speelen en Sieur Kramer zig op de Viool met Concerten en Solo's zal laeten horen. Het Concert begint ten 6 urenn.	's Gravenhaegse Courant	17 April 1765
15	Sr. Smid, zal de eer hebben op Woensdag den 6 April, in de Zaal boven de Manége, een groot Vocaal en Instrum[entaal] Concert te gheeven, waar in hy zig zal laaten horen met Solos	Amsterdamse Courant	5 April 1768

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	en Trios op de Engelse Guittar, en met een Concert op [Cla]rinetto; de Heer van CRÖNER, Concertmeester van Zyne Keurvorstelike Doorl. van Beijeren, zal en Solo en Concert [op] Viool Executeren, en Madame LENDER, zal verscheiden Italiaanse Arias zingen. Een Heer betaald f 2, en met [da]me f 3. De Lootjes zyn by J. J. Hummel, op den Vygendarp te bekomen.		
16	Les Srs. ANDRE ROSSI eu LAURENT MOLINARI, Italiens, auront l'honneur de donner Mardi le 27 Novemb. 1770, à la Salle du Manege un grand Concert Vocal & Instrumental de CALISONCINO & CHITTARA le prix de chaque Personne est de f2, et avec une Dame f3, on peut avoir les Billets d'entrée chez HUMMEL, March. de Mus., sur le Vygendarp a Amsterdam.	Amsterdamse Courant	24 November 1770
17	Le Sr. GERLIN, Musicien à la Haye, aura l'Honneur de donner Jeudi lè 16 Jan., à la Sale du Manége, un grand CONCERT, dans lequelle il Executera differents Morceaux de sur le CITERE Augmenter, le Prix par Personne est f2, & avec une Dame f3. Les Billets se distribuent chez J. J. HUMMEL, sur le Vygendarp, à Amsterdam.	Amsterdamse Courant	14 January 1772
18	Les Comediens Français de la Haye donneront Jeudi 11 Fevrier 1779, pour le Benefice de Mr. Dorceville, une premier Representation: Des Trois Sultanes, Comedie en trois Actes & en Vers de Mr. Favart, mélè d'Ariettes. Mad. Dorceville jouera le Rôle de Roxelane, chantera a son Clavecin un Air Italien & accompagnera de la Guitare un Air Espagnol. Mlle Cenas jouera le Rôle de Delia & Chantera trios Ariettes avec une Musique Nouvelle. Mad. D'Humainbourg jouera le Rôle Delmire & Dansera seule un Pas. le Spectacle sera terminé par une premiere Representation: Du Droit D'Ainesse, opera Nouveau en un Acte, parole de Mr. Dorceville & la Musique par Mr. Colizzi.	's Gravenhaegse Courant	5 February 1779
19	il y aura a la Salle du Manége GRAND CONCERT Vocal & Instrumental, dans lequel la Dame SAINT QUENTIN premiere Chanteuse du Théâtre de La Haye, chantera différentes Ariettes Italiennes avec des paroles Françaises plusieurs Duo nouveaux, & des petits Airs accompagnés de la Guitare avec la Flute ou le Houtbois. Madame CHAUVIGNI chantera un Duo avec Mad. St. QUENTIN, & une Ariette seule. Le Sieur G. SCHOUW Professeur de Musique exécutera plusieurs Concerto fur le Basson & le Violon. Le Sieur LE PETIT pensionnaire de l'Academie Royale de Musique chantera plusieurs Ariettes nouvelles, Duo, & accompagnera de la Guitare Espagnole. Ou commencera à six heures du soir. Le prix pour chaque Personne est f2:-. L'on peut avoir les Billets chez B. HUMMEL & FILS, au Grand Magazin de Musique, dans la Warmoesstraat, au Lion d'Or, près la premiere Bible, & l'escalier de la Salle. Personne n'entrera sans Billets.	Diemer- of Watergraafsmeersche Courant	9 April 1783
20	Aujourd'hui il y aura à la Salle du Manège, a 6 heures du soir grand Concert Vocal & Instrumental, dans lequel la Dame Saint Quentin, premiere Chanteuse du Théâtre de la Haye,	Journal d'Amsterdam	15 April 1783

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	<p>chantera différentes Ariettes Italiennes avec des paroles Françoises, plusieurs Duo nouveaux, &amp; des petits airs accompagnés de la Guitarre avec la Flûte ou le Hautbois.</p> <p>Madame Chauvigni chantera un Duo avec Mad. St. Quentin, &amp; une Ariete seule. Le Sieur G. Schouw, Professeur de Musique, exécutera plusieurs Concerto sur le Basson &amp; le Violon.</p> <p>Le Sieur le Petit, Pensionnaire de l'Academie Royale de Musique, chantera plusieurs Ariettes nouvelles, Duo, &amp; accompagnera de la Guitarre Espagnole.</p>		
21	<p>De Heer Vauvicq en zijn Huisvrouw uit Parijs aangekomen, hebben de eer het Publicq te adverteeren, dat zij voorneemens zijn, om zich alhier in 's Hage neer te zetten; zij onderwijzen den Muziek en Zangkunst, den Citter en Spaansche Guittar, als meede om zich zingende te accompagneeren met deze Instrumenten Door middel van hun onderwijs kunnen zij in den tijd van een Jaar hun Eleves in staat maken om geen Meesters meer van noden te hebben, waar van zij verscheide bewijzen kunnen toonen en voornamentlijk uit Breda. Gemelde Juffrouw Vauvicq Schildert Portraiten in Migniatuur, voor Brasseletten, Medaillons, Ringen &amp;c., zij doet dezelve volmaakt gelijken en leert ook deeze Kunst als meede het Teekenken. Hun Woonplaats is bij J. Frits op de Kalvermarkt</p>	's Gravenhaegse Courant	2 December 1785
22	<p>De Sr. Vauvicq Muziekmeester, voor de Citer en Guitar heeft de Eer de Liefhebbers te Adverteeren, dat hij een Muziek Werktyg bezit, welke het fraaiste is, dat men kan wenschen en waar van hij voorneemens is een Loterij te maaken. Dit Werktuiglyk stuk trekt de aandagt naar zich door zijn werking en langdurigheid van het geluid, welke de harmonieuste stukken voortbrengt, zonder dat een Persoon het aanraakt. Tot deezer tijd toe is nog nooit een Werktyg in die smaak alhier te Lande gezien. Gemelde Uitlooting zal bestaan uit 72 Briefjes ieder à een Ducaat. Men kan dezelen heden Vrijdag en op morgen Zaturdag bekomen bij Saint-Mars op de Kalvermarkt, alwaar de uitlooting zal geschieden en bij wien het Werktyg dagelijks kan gezien worden. - Indien iemand geneegen om het zelve uit de hand te koopen, kan hij hetzelve tot een minder prijs bekoomen.</p>	's Gravenhaegse Courant	9 May 1786
23	<p>De Heer DE VAN VICQ heeft de eere aan de Liefhebbers bekend te maaken, dat hy voorneemens is te verkoopen een MECHANISCH MUZIEKSTUK, dat van zich zelven 50 Airtjes speeft, en door deszelfs fraaiheid en overeenstemming der accorden de verwondering der Kenners wegdraagt. De gemelde Heer onderwyst de Vocaale en Instrumentaale Muziek op de Spaansche Cyther en Guitarn. Zyne Huisvrouw schildert op eene voortreflyke wyze PORTRAITEN in miniatuur tot een civiele prys. Hy zal de eere hebben het gemelde Kunststuk aan Heeren en Dames te laten zien, 's namiddags van 4 uuren tot 's avonds. Zyn Woonplaats is in de Nes in de Alliantie te Amsterdam.</p>	Nederlandsche Courant	3 July 1786

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
24	<p>De Heer DE VAN VICQ heeft de eere aan dc Liefhebbers bekend te maaken , dat hy voorneemens is te verkoopen een MECHANISCH MUZIEKSTUK, dat van zich zelven 50 Airtjes speelt, en door deszelfs fraaiheid en overeenstemming der accorden de verwondering der Kenners wegdraagt. De gemelde Heer onderwyst de Vocaale en Instrumentale Muziek op de Spaansche Cyther en Guitarn. Zyne Huisvrouw schildert op eene voortreflyke wyze PORTRAITEN in miniatuur tot een civiele prys. Hy zal de eere hebben het gemelde Kunststuk aan Heeren en Dames te laten zien, 's namiddags van 4 urenn tot 's avonds. Zyn Woonplaats is in de Nes in de Alliantie te Amsterdam.</p>	Amsterdamsche Courant	27 July 1786
25	<p>Le Sr. Vanvieq, Musicien Componiste Enseigne le Vocal, le sistre et guitarre son Epouse peint les Portrait [sic] en mignature, pastel et filoette; donne leçon de mignature, et dessein en tous genre: le dit annonce a vendre l'une Méchanique d'une rare beauté, jouant 50 airs, sans y toucher; cette piece a fait l'admiration de toutes les connoisseurs. Il loge chez J.T. SCHEFFER, woond op de Oudezijds Agterburgwal, tusschen de Hoogstraat en Betanjestraat te Amsterdam</p>	Amsterdamsche Courant	27 July 1786
26	<p>Le Sr. VANVICQ et son Epouse, peint les Portraits en Mignature et en Pastelle a 2 Ducat, ils donne [sic] leçon de dessein en tous Genre en ville et chez heux de même ils Enseigne la Musique Vocal et pencer le Sistre et la Guitarre il sont munie des bonne Attestations tels qu'ils ont formée des bonne Eleve a Breda et a la Haye, ou les dit out Enseignez il loge sur 't Spuy, in het Wapen van Bern, vis-à-vis l'Eglise Lutherienne. à Amsterdam.</p>	Amsterdamsche Courant	23 November 1786
27	<p>J. P. BOEKHOF, Castelein in het <i>Huis ten Bosch</i> te Amsterdam adverteerd aan het geëerd Publieck ; als dat hij op hun [...] verwagft heeft bekomen een Italiaansche Comique ZANGER, dewelke zig des avonds ten zyne Huize zal laaten hooren met differente comique en serieuse Aria's, zig zelven à compagneerende op Mandoline en Spaansche Guitaar, en twyffelen niet of genoemde Zanger zal tragten om alle Heeren en Dames te voldoen: de Entree voor ieder Perfoon is 12 Stuivers, waar voor men kan [...] een halve Fles Wyn.</p>	Leydse Courant	13 July 1792
28	<p>Myn Heer DU PRÉ heeft de eer te communicereen, iemand genegen zynde te leeren het Speelen der Piano Forte ofte Chvecimbel, addressere zich by de Weduwe MASMEYER in de Kromelleboog, alwaar zich dezen Heer ophoudt.</p>	Groninger Courant	31 December 1793
29	<p>Monsr. DUPRÉ onderwys gevende op de Clavier, Cyther, en in de Fransche taal, recommandeert zich in de gunst van 't geëerde Publicq, en belooft een accurate bediening; hy woond in de Kyk in 't Jat Straat boven de Vleeshouwer Sluiter.</p>	Groninger Courant	15 July 1794
30	<p>De Heer STIEVENARD zal de eer hebben op Donderdag den 27 December, een groot VOCAAL en INSTRUMENTAAL-CONCERT te geven. Stukken die daar zullen worden</p>	Groninger Courant	25 November 1794

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	<p>uitgevoerd. — Eerste Deel. 1. Simphonie van Heiden [sic]. s. Een toneel,- gezongen door den Heer Louis. 3. Een Concerto de Viool, uitgevoerd door den Heer Stievenard 4. Een Ariette, geaccompagneerd van de GUITERRE, gezongen door een Scholierster van den heer Stievenard. 5. Een Quadretto van Heiden [sic]. 6. Een Simphonie van Wranisky. — Tweede deel. 1. Opening van Demophon. 2. Concert van de GUITERRE, componeerd en uitgevoerd door den Heer Stievenard. 3. Een Simphonie concertante de Viotti, uitgevoerd door Stievenard en een van zyne Scholieren. 4. Een Duett, gezongen door Stievenard en eene van zyne Scholiersters; 5. Een Pot pourri voor de Viool. 6. Een Simphonie van Wranisky. Om vyf uur precies. De Entree is één gulden à perzoon. Word gegeven op de gewoone Maandaags en Saturdaags Concert-Zaal.</p>		
31	<p>Op DONDERDAG den 11 December groot CONCERT Vocaal en Instrumentaal, in welke de Heer PIUNERDI de eer zal hebben zig te doen hooren in 't zingen uit 't Concert van de Hr. <i>Stevenart</i>, zullende differenten Arien zingen zo Italiaans als Fransch, een Schoolmeisje van de Heer <i>Stevenard</i> zal een <i>Duo</i> zingen met den Heer Piunerdi, ook zal men uitvoeren een <i>Trio d'Evelina</i>, waar in de Heer <i>Piunerdi</i> het eerste gedeelte zingen zal, de tweede zal gezongen worden door Mr. <i>Louis</i>, en de derde door een Heer dezer Stad, De Heer <i>Stevenard</i>, zal een Concerce de Jarnovick spelen. — De Concert zal zyn op de gewone Concert Zaal in de Poele straat, de prys is een gld. De Entrebillets zyn te bekomen by de bediende van de Heer <i>Graaf de la Ferté</i> in de Poelen Straat by Juffer <i>Scholtens</i>.</p>	Groninger Courant	5 December 1794
32	<p>De Heer STIEVENARD zal op Donderdag den 22 January 1795 een groot Vocaal en Instrumentaal CONCERT geven. — Stukken dewelke executeerd zullen worden: No. 1. Een groote Simphonie. 2. Concerto executeerd door Stievenard. 3. Aria gezongen door Louis. 4. Simphonie concertant van Plegel. 5. Scene van Carufo gezongen door ***. 6. Simphonie. — 1. Simphonie. 2. Concerto van Mestrino executeerd door Stievenard. 3. Scene fr [...]coffe, gezongen door Louis. 4. Pot Pourri, voor Viool. 5. Duo van Sephale et procris gezongen door [...]. 6. Petite Airs Varies pour Guitare. 7. Een Corus a a grand Orchestre.' — Op de Zaal by de [...] des avonds om vyf uur precies. De prys voor ieder persoon is 1 gulden. Men kan briefjes voor ing [...].</p>	Groninger Courant	20 January 1795
33	<p>De Heer Belville, Opvolger van de Heer MANGOZZI, Voornaam Zanger en Uitvoerder van diverse Stukker, heeft de eer de Liefhebbers bekend te maaken, dat hy op Donderdag den 29 January 1795, ten Huize van de Heer Kok Muller in de Poelen straat zal geven een Groot VOCAAL en INSTRUMENTAAL CONCERT; waarin de Heer Belville zig door den Zang van diverse Fransche en Italiaansche Stukken zal laaten hooren. 1. Simphonie del Sigr. Sleyel 2 Italiaanse Stukken del Sigr Mengozzi, (Heer Belvilie.) 3. Concerto de Violon del Sigr. Kreutzer (Heer Stievenard) 4 Fransche stukken, del Sigr Mengozzi, (Heer Belville) 5. Simphonie de</p>	Ommelander Courant	27 January 1795

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	Sleyel 6. Italiaansche Stukken del Sigr Cimarosa (Heer Belville) 7. Petits Airs Varies (Heer Stievenard.) 8. Fransche Stukken del Sigr. Paësiello (Heer Belville.) 9. Simphonie de Haydn. — .De prijs voor ieder Persoon is 1 Gulden.		
34	De Heer DARME heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MUZIEK, zo voor de Zang als voor de Fiool, de Fransche Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zyne lessen hebben, en alles tragten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd ny Mr. de Wit in het Agterom in den Haage.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	26 February 1798
35	De Heer DARME, heeft de eer aan het publiek te berichten dat hy orderwys geeft in het Musiecq, zoo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Fransche Guitarre, en de Flageolet, hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zyne Lessen hebben, en alles tragten toe te brengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd by WESDOM in het Kettlingstraatje.	Haagsche Courant	5 March 1798
36	De Heer DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MUZIEK, zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zyne lessen hebben, en alles tragten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	6 June 1798
37	De Heer DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MUZIEK zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zyne lessen hebben, en alles tragten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	8 June 1798
38	De Heer DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het M [...] zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zy [...] hebben, en alles tragten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onder [...] worden. Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	11 June 1798
39	De Heer DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MUZIE[K] zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Engelsche Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettenheid in zyne lessen hebben, en alles tragten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	15 June 1798

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.		
40	De Heer DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MU[ZIEK] zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Engelsche Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste opletten[dheid in] zyne lessen hebben, en alles trachten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	18 June 1798
41	DARME Fransch Muziekmeester, heeft de eer aan het Publiek te berigten, dat hy onderwys geeft in het MUZIEK, zo voor de Zang als voor de Viool, de Cyther of de Engelsche Guitarre, en de Flageolet. Hy zal de grootste oplettendheid in zyne lessen hebben, en alles trachten toetebrengen tot vordering der Persoonen welke hem de eer aan zullen doen van door hem onderwezen te worden. Hy is gelogeerd by Mr. Morgenroodt, in de Veenestraat, No. 168, in den Haag.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	22 June 1798
42	Darme, François, Instructeur de Musique a l'honneur d'offrir aux Amateurs des deux sexes ses talens, dont il espere mériter par son empressement à l'avancement de ceux qui feront l'honneur d'être ses élèves, & par son exactitude & ses soins leur confiance & leur estime. Il enseigne la Musique vocale & instrumentale; il enseigne aussi le violon, le flageolet & l'art de pincer les deux sortes de guitarres, l'Espagnol ou la Mandoline, le Sistre ou la Guitare Anglaise: il observe que ce sont les deux instrumens qui s'allient le mieux avec la voix. Si l'intention répond au zèle qui l'anime, ils feront en peu de tems honneur aux leçons qu'ils recevront de lui, & verront éclore leurs progrès par la récompense la plus flatteuse. Il est logé chez F. Hoffman, dans le Lammetje-Groen, derrière la maison des Pauvres à la Haye.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	12 October 1798
43	J. Baptiste, Fransman van geboorte, Leermeester in de Muzick, heeft de eer het Publiek te informeeren, dat hy zich in deze Stad heeft nedergezet. Hy geeft lessen in het Vocaal en Instrumentaal Muziek, de Viool, de Flageolet, het speelen op de Spaansche en Engelsche Guitaar. Hij hoopt zich door zyne zorgen en vlyt de goedkeuring en vertrouwen der geenen te verdienen die zich zullen gelieven om hem te adresseeren, woond in 'sHage in de Veenestraat, No. 148, by J. Grundel, Pruikmaker.	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandse Courant	6 November 1799
44	J. DARME, Fransman van geboorte, Leermeester in de Muziek, heeft de eer het Publiek te informeeren, dat hy zich in deze Stad heeft nedergezet. Hy geeft lessen in het Vocaal en Instrumentaal Muziek, de Viool, de Flageolet, het speelen op de Spaansche en Engelsche Guitaar. Hij hoopt door zyne zorgen en vlyt de goedkeuring en vertrouwen der geenen te verdienen die zich zullen gelieven aan hem te adresseeren,	De nieuwe Haagse Nederlandsche Courant	13 November 1799

Nr	Advert text	Publication	Date of publication
	woond in 's Hage in de Veenestraat, No. 148 by J. Grundel Paruikmaker.		
45	<p>De Heer STIEVENARD, Concertmeester in de Capelle by den Hertog van <i>Mecklenburg Schwerin</i>, &amp;c. zal de eere hebben te gheeven een <i>Vocal-Instrumentaal CONCERT</i>, op Woensdag den 27 May.</p> <p>PIECES.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Een grande Simphonie van Haydn.</li> <li>2. Een Violin Concert, componeert en geëxecuteerd door Stievenard.</li> <li>3. Een Aria.</li> <li>4. Een Clarinet-Concert.</li> <li>5. Aria geaccompagneert met de Guitarre door Stievenard.</li> <li>1. Een grande Simphonie.</li> <li>2. Een Violin-Concert, componeert en geëxecuteerd door Stievenard</li> <li>3. Een Aria componeerd door Stievenard met de Guitarre.</li> <li>4. Concert.</li> <li>5. Ariette en Variations voor Guitarre.</li> <li>6. Een Concertante voor 2 Violen.</li> </ol> <p>De aanvang is precies te 6 uuren in de gewoonlyke Concert Zaal. De Entree a Persoon is 1 Gulden. De Ondergetekende adverteert als dat hy thans woont in de Poelen Straat in het Huis van Wylen de Kock <i>Mulder</i>, en aldaar continueert met Ordinaire Tafel en extra Maaltyden, als, meede het geene dat aan die affaire dependeert, belooft een akkurate en civiele bediening. Ook zyn by de ondergsteekende 3 gemeubileerde Onder Kamers uitzigt hebbende aan de Straat te Huur. H. DIKKEN.</p>	Groninger Courant	26 May 1801
46	<p>Schwerin: 'Am 17ten November ließ sich die bereits bekannte junge Künstlerin Franziska Rosa in einer Concerte auf der Guitarre hören, und erwarb sich durch ihr meisterhaftes Spiel Beyfall und Bewunderung. Wer die Schwierigkeiten der Guitarre kennt, dem wird es nich entgangen seyn, mit welcher Kraft, Reinheit und Gewandtheit sie die äuserst schwierigen und schönen Compositionen des Hrn Stievenard ausführte. Durch unermüdeten Fleiß hat sie in ihrem Spiele – das das schwerste auf der Guitarre – Gleichheit der Töne erlangt, und wird daher bey fortgesetztem Studium bald die erste Künstlerin auf diesem Instrumente seyn.[...]'.</p>	Staats und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten	11 December 1819



## Appendix D      Surviving guitars made in the Netherlands 1750-1810.

	Type	Maker	Year	Collection
1	Small colascione	Gosewijn Spijker	1757	Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels (inventory nr. 1568).
2	Five-course gut-strung guitar.	Gosewijn Spijker	1760	Kasteel Duvenvoorde, Voorschoten (DV11357)
3	Wire-strung cittern, small size	Attributed to Johannes Cuijpers	undated	Victoria and Albert Museum, London (224-1882)
4	Wire-strung cittern, small size	Johannes Cuijpers	1764	Kunstmuseum, The Hague (1958-0007)
5	Wire-strung cittern, small size	Johannes Cuijpers	1764	Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels (0551)
6	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1767	Part of The Carel van Leeuwen Boomcamp Collection of musical instruments in 1971, current whereabouts unknown.
7	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1768	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-11430-17); formerly Kunstmuseum, The Hague (1952x0110).
8	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1769	Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels (2917)
9	Wire-strung cittern	Benoit Joseph Boussu	1771	Collection of Geerten Verberkmoes.
10	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1776	Museu de la Música, Barcelona (MDMB 459)
11	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1778	Collection of Andreas Post

12	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1782	Kunstmuseum, The Hague (Ec 36-1983), missing.
13	Wire-strung cittern	Johannes Cuijpers	1782	Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels (0259)
14	Wire-strung cittern	Johann Swarts	undated	Collection of Jelma van Amersfoort
15	Wire-strung cittern	Johann Swarts	1791	Formerly collection of Taro Takeuchi, now in a private collection in Amsterdam.
16	Six-string gut-strung guitar	Johannes Bernardus Cuijpers	1806	Collection of Jelma van Amersfoort. <sup>262</sup>

---

<sup>262</sup> This instrument came to my attention just before finishing the thesis. I hope to research it more in the future.

## Glossary of Terms

Cittern..... Wire-strung plucked fretted musical instrument.

Guitar..... When not specified further this can mean any type of guitar, wire-strung or gut strung, with or without added unfretted bass strings, called 'guitar' or similar, in use between 1750 and 1810 in the Netherlands.

Guitar..... Commonly used term for wire-strung 18<sup>th</sup> century guitar or cittern, also 'English guitar' or 'Scottish guitar'.

Harp guitar..... Commonly used term for gut-strung guitar with unfretted additional bass strings.

Terz guitar..... A six-single string gut-strung guitar tuned a third above standard tuning, used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for chamber music.



## List of References



# Bibliography

## Archive items

### Nederlands Muziek Instituut, Den Haag:

Dijk, David Leonard van, *Premier recueil d'ariettes avec accompagnement, menuets, marches, allemandes etc, arrangés pour le sixtre ou guitarre angloise [...]* (Amsterdam, chez l'auteur, c.1770). Shelf mark NMI II C 63 (1).

---, *Deuxième recueil d'ariettes avec accompagnement, rondeaux, marches, allemandes, etc. arrangés pour le sixtre ou guitarre angloise [...]* (Amsterdam, Pierre den Hengst, c. 1772). Shelf mark NMI II C 63 (2).

---, *Troisième recueil d'ariettes arrangés pour le sixtre ou guitarre angloise [...]* (Amsterdam, chez l'Editeur D. L. van Dyk, c. 1773). Shelf mark NMI II C 63 (3).

---, *Quatrième recueil d'ariette, menuets, marche, allemandes etc. arrangés [sic] pour le sixtre ou guitarre angloise [...]* (Amsterdam, Arend Fokke, c. 1775). Shelf mark NMI II C 63 (4).

### Het Utrechts Archief, access number 1001 (Huis Amerongen):

Section 2.1.20.1. Persoonlijk / 4011-4020: Kwitanties voor Frederik Willem van Reede en/of zijn echtgenote, 1785-1795 (Receipts for Frederik Willem van Reede and/or his wife, 1785-1795).

- Folder 3828: Kwitanties wegens muziekboeken, muziek- en danslessen en reparatie en onderhoud van instrumenten, 1773-1794 (Receipts due to music books, music and dance lessons and repair and maintenance of instruments, 1773-1794).

- Folder 4017: Boeken, visitekaartjes, abonnementen, restaurants en lessen in Engels, schermen en muziek, 1790-1795 (Books, business cards, subscriptions, restaurants and lessons in English, fencing and music, 1790-1795).

### Het Utrechts Archief, access number 1183 (Huis Amerongen music collection):

- *Instructions For the Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish & English Guittar*, from ca 1810, printed in London by Wheatstone. Het Utrechts Archief, inventory number 31.
- Paper teaching aid for harp guitar, hand-written. Het Utrechts Archief, inventory number 193.
- Salvador Castro de Gistau, *Méthode de guitare ou Lyre. Traité de Modulations Majeures et Mineures [...]* (Paris, ca. 1810). Inventory number 7.

## Bibliography

- James Hook, *The Banks of the Shannon*. London, S. A. & P. Thompson, 1783. Inventory number 341.
- *Mon honneur dit que je serois coupable*. Inventory number 245, incomplete.
- *Vermeille rose que le zéphir vient d'en trouvrir* [sic]. Inventory nr. 243.
- *Un militaire doit avoir trompette et tambour*. Inventory nr. 302.
- *Quel beau jour*. Inventory nr. 306.
- Felice Chabran, *A Select Collection of Songs, Duetts, Airs, Marches, Minutes, Waltzes, and Dances properly aranged for the Lyre and Harp Guitar [...] Book 4*. (London, Wognum, ca 17??). Inventory number 338.

## Printed music

Carpentier, Joseph, *Méthode distribuée par leçons pour apprendre en peu de temps à jouer de l'instrument appellé Cytre où Guitthare Allemande 1ère partie [...]* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1771)

Colla, Domenico. *Sechs Sonatas*. Manuscript. Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung, Dresden, shelf mark: Mus.2702-V-1. For colascioncino and figured bass.

Corrette, Michel, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer en très peu de tems la mandoline [...] Plus la tablature du cistre en musique à 5, à 6, et à 7 rangs de cordes, avec des préludes, menuets, allemandes, marches et sonates, avec la basse pour ces deux instruments*. Paris, 1772.

Graf, Chistian Ernst, *Kleine Gedigten voor Kinderen van Mr H. van Alphen in Muziek gezett door C. E. Graaf [...]* Amsterdam: Markordt, c. 1790.

Halbertsma, Eeltsje, and Joost Hiddes Halbertsma, *De lapekoer fen Gabe Skroor*. Deventer: J. de Lange, 1822.

Merchi, Giacomo, *Six Barcarolles Italiennes* Paris: chez l'auteur, before 1757.

-- *Quattro duetti a due chitarre e sei Minuetti a solo con variationi... Li duetti possono essere anche accompagnati dal Violino* opus 3. Paris, chez l'auteur, 1757.

-- *Raccolta d'ariette francesi ed italiane per la chitarra li accompagnamenti sono in musica e tavolatura [...]* opus 4. Paris, chez l'auteur, ca. 1760.

-- *XII Ariette e IV Duetti per cantare o sonare [...]* opus 10. Amsterdam, chez J. J. Hummel, ca. 1760.

-- *Scelta d'Arietta Francesi, Italiane ed Inglesi, con Accompagnamento di Chitarra [...]* opus 15. London, printed for the author, ca. 1766.

Merchi, Giacomo or Giuseppe Bernardo,

-- *Sei trio a due violini e basso composti da Giacomo Merchi di Brescia [...]* opus 5. The Hague, Hummel, ca. 1760.

-- *Ariettes et Vaudevilles Nouveaux avec Accompagnemens de Guitare En Musique et Tablature*. Paris, chez l'auteur, ca. 1760.

-- *Le guide des écoliers de guitare ou Préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles, sur tous les modes, les positions et les Arpégemens [...]* opus 7. Paris, chez l'auteur, ca. 1761.

-- *Recueil d'airs avec accompagnement de guitare [...]* opus 8. Paris, chez l'auteur, ca. 1762.

Pollet, Charles-François-Alexandre-Victor, *Méthode pour apprendre à pincer du Cistre, ou Guittare Allemande, précédée d'un Abrégé des principes de musique [...]* Op. 5. (Paris, 1786)

## Bibliography

Straube, Rudolph. Three Sonatas for the Guittar [...] London: Rauche, 1768.

## Primary sources

Alphen, Hieronymus van, *Proeve van kleine gedichten voor kinderen*. Utrecht: De Weduwe van Jan van Terveen, 1778.

Blankenburg, Quirinus van, *Elementa musica of Nieuw Licht tot het welverstaan van de musie en de bas-continuo [...]*. Den Haag: Laurens Berkoske, 1739.

Bouvink, Jan Abraham, *Verhandeling over de muziek [...]*. Den Haag: Jan Abraham Bouvink, 1772.

Bremner, Robert, *Instructions for the Guitar*. Edinburgh: Printed and sold at his music shop, 1758.

Burgvliet, Lukas Jacob, *De Muzykonderwijzer; of volledig onderwijs in de gronden der muzykkunde*. Rotterdam: Bij Lucas Jacob Burgvliet, 1780.

Casanova, Giacomo, *Aus den Memoiren des Venetianers Jacob Casanova de Seingalt, oder sein Leben, wie er es zu Dux in Böhmen niederschrieb*. Leipzig: F. M. Brockhaus, 1822.

Diderot, Denis, *Le neveu de Rameau*. Paris: Delaunay, 1805.

Ford, Anne, *Lessons and Instructions for Playing on the Guitar*. London: printed for the author, c.1761.

Graf, Chistian Ernst, *Proeve over de Natuur der Harmonie in de Generaal Bas [...]*. Den Haag: Bernardus Wittelaer, 1782.

Huijgens, Constantijn, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens. Bijeengebracht en vertaald door Rudolf Rasch*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2007.

Lustig, Jacob Wilhelm, *Inleiding tot de Muziekkunde*. Groningen: printed for the author, 1771.

Mattheson, Johann, *Das neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*. Hamburg: printed for the author, 1713.

Petrou, Stamatis, *Grammata apo to Amsterntam*. Athens: Estia, 1976.

Post, Elisabeth, *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst*. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1791.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Émile*. Den Haag: Jean Néaulme, 1763.

Verschuere Reijnvaan, Joos. *Muzikaal Kunst-Woordenboek*, 2nd edition. Amsterdam: Wouter Brave, 1795.

---, *Catechismus der muzijk, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: Wouter Brave, 1807.

Wolff, Elisabeth en Agatha Deken. *Economische liedjes*. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef, 1781.

---, *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef, 1782.

---, *Historie van mejuffrouw Cornelia Wildschut, of, De gevolgen der opvoeding*. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef, 1793.

Bibliography

---, *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw*. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef, 1802.

## Secondary sources

Acht, Rob van (ed), *Muziek voor het oog – Music for the Eye. The collection of the Kunstmuseum Den Haag*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2003.

Amersfoort, Jelma van. 'Miss Sara Burgerhart's English guittar. The "guitarre Angloise" in Enlightenment Holland'. In: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* vol. 64-1/2 (2014), 76-102.

-----, 'Extra Fine Guitars after the Newest Fashion'. Guitar- and cittern-making in the northern Netherlands, 1750–1800', *Early Music* vol. 46/1 (2018), 35-53.

Antcliffe, Herbert, 'Jacob Wilhelm Lustig' in *The Musical Times*, vol. 90, No. 1278 (1949), 276-279.

Balfoort, Dirk. *De Hollandsche vioolmakers*. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1931.

-----, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1938.

Belina, Anastasia, Kaarina Kilpiö and Derek B. Scott (ed), *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*. Oxon: Routledge, 2019.

Bierens de Haan, Johan C., *Rosendael, groen hemeltjen op aerd*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers / Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, 1994.

Brewer, John, and Roy Porter (ed), *Consumption and the world of goods*. Oxon, Routledge, 1993.

Britten Austin, Paul, *Carl Michael Bellman*. Malmö: Allhem Publishers, 1967.

Britton, Andrew, 'The Guitar in the Romantic Period: its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath.' PhD diss., Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2010.

Broeckhuizen, G. H., 'Biographische schetsen van Nederlandsche toonkunstenaars'. In: *Caecilia. Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland*, vol. 12, (1847) 133.

Brooks, Jeanice, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House. Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Hall'. In *Music and Letters*, vol. 91, nr 4 (2010) 513-535.

Bruinsma, Max (ed), *Felix Meritis 1787-1987*. Amsterdam: Uniepers, 1987.

Buijnsters, Piet J., 'Sara Burgerhart' en de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse roman in de 18e eeuw'. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1971.

----- 'Karakteruitbeelding in de roman Sara Burgerhart.' In *De Nieuwe Taalgids* vol. 64 (1971), 193-202.

----- *Spectatoriale geschriften*. Utrecht: Koninklijke Brill, 1991.

## Bibliography

Buisman, J. W. (ed.), *Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850. Vrede tussen rede en religie?* (Nijmegen, 2013)

Burgers, Jan W.J., *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

Canneman, Elias A. and L. J. van der Klooster, *De geschiedenis van het kasteel Duivenvoorde en zijn bewoners*. Den Haag: Staatsdrukkerij, 1967.

Charlton, David, *Opera in the Age of Rousseau: Music, Confrontation, Realism*. Cambridge Studies in Opera. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Clement, Albert, 'Migratie onder musici Een aspect van het muziekleven in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de achttiende eeuw'. In: *De Achttiende Eeuw*, 1994 (1994) 193-209.

---- 'Joos Verschuere Reynvaan: Auteur van het eerste Nederlandstalige muzieklexicon'. In: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 63, no. 1/2 (2013) 86-105.

Coelho, Victor (ed). *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Coggin, Philip, "'This Easy and Agreeable Instrument": A History of the English Guittar', in *Early Music*, vol. 15/2 (1987), 204-218.

Collins, Sarah and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 99/2, (2016) 139-165.

Cruyningen, Arnout van, *Stadhouders in de Nederlanden van Holland tot Vlaanderen 1448-1879*. Utrecht: Omniboek, 2017.

Davies, Malcolm George, 'The Masonic muse. Songs, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry: 1730-1806.' PhD Diss, Den Haag, 2002.

Dubois, Pierre, *Music in the Georgian Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Earle Johnson, H. 'George K. Jackson, Doctor of Music (1745-1822)', in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 29, nr. 1 (1943), 113-121.

Eeghen, Isabella Henriette van, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680-1725*. Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1978.

Eisenhardt, Lex, *Italian Guitar Music of the Seventeenth Century. Battuto and Pizzicato*. Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2015.

Fock, C. Willemijn, 'Het decor van huiselijk vermaak ten tijde van de Republiek' in: Jan de Jongste, Juliette Roding and Boukje Thijs (ed). *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1999.

Gerlagh, Bert (ed), *Kijk Amsterdam 1700-1800. De mooiste stadsgezichten*. Bussum: Uitgeverij Thoth, 2017 (Exhibition catalogue).

Gierveld, Arend J, 'The Harpsichord and Clavichord in the Dutch Republic'. In: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 31/2 (1981), 117-166.

Gietman, Conrad, Jaap Moes, Daniël Rewijk, Hanneke Ronnes, Jan N. Bremmer, Theo Spek (eds), *Huis en Habitus. Over kastelen, buitenplaatsen en notabele levensvormen*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2017.

Giskes, Johan Hendrik, 'Tweehonderd jaar bouw van strijkinstrumenten in Amsterdam (1600-1800)' in: *79e jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum*. Amsterdam, (1987), 56-80.

-----, (ed.) *400 jaar vioolbouwkunst in Nederland. 400 years of violin making in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: NGV, 1999.

Graf, Lani, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker, and the Use of the Cittern in Moravian Worship' in *Journal of Moravian History*, no. 5 (2008), 7-39.

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Guichard, L., 'Le cistre de Rousseau' in: *Revue de Musicologie* 50/129 (1964), 229-231.

Harrison, Frank, and Joan Rimmer, *European Musical Instruments*. London: Norton, 1964.

Haynes, Bruce and Geoffrey Burgess. *The Pathetick Musician: Moving an Audience in the Age of Eloquence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Hicks, Dan and Mary C. Beaudry (ed). *The Oxford handbook of material culture studies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018.

Heuvel, Dick van. 'De koor- en orkestbezetting bij de inwijding van het Felix Meritis-gebouw in 1788', in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 55/1 (2005): 35-66.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Revolution 1789-1848*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962.

Holman, Peter. 'Cittern References' in: *Early Music*, vol. 2/3 (1974): 203.

Hornbostel, Erich von, and Curt Sachs: 'Classification of Musical Instruments: Translated from the Original German by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann' in *The Galpin Society Journal* vol. 14 (1961): 3-29.

## Bibliography

Israel, Jonathan. *A Revolution of the Mind. Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Jacob, Margaret C. *The First Knowledge Economy: Human Capital and the European Economy, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Jacob, Margaret C. and Wijnand Mijnhardt (ed.), *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century. Decline, Enlightenment and Revolution*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Jacobsen Jensen, J. N. *Reizigers te Amsterdam. Beschrijvende lijst van reizen in Nederland door vreemdelingen vóór 1850*. Amsterdam: Genootschap Amstelodamum, 1919.

Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1995.

Kartomi, Margaret J., *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Kloek, Els en Maarten Hell. *Keetje Hodshon (1768-1829). Een rijke dame in Revolutietijd*. Haarlem: Koninklijke Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen, 2017.

Kloss, J. *The "Guitar" in Britain 1753-1800*. <<http://justanotherhertune.com/html/guitarinbritain.html>>, Accessed 18 November 2013.

Knuijt, Marieke and Clemens Romijn (ed.). *De muziekschat van Kasteel Amerongen. Aspecten van het muziekleven op een adellijk huis*. Amerongen: Stichting Vriendenkring Kasteel Amerongen, 2001.

Koning, Jos. 'Hollandse deuntjes: Wat vertellen muziekhandschriften over het gebruik van Nederlandse populaire speelmuziek in de achttiende eeuw?' In: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 61 no. 1/2 (2011) 113-146.

Laurentius, Theo. *Het vermakelijk Duivenvoorde. Een bundel wetenswaardigheden en herinneringen, in het licht gegeven ter gelegenheid van het 750-jarig bestaan van het huis Duivenvoorde*. Den Haag: Sijthoff, 1976.

Leppert, Richard, *Music and Image. Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

-----, *The Sight of Sound. Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1993.

Leeuwen Boomkamp, Carel van, and J. H. van der Meer. *The Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments. Descriptive catalogue*. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1971.

Libin, Laurence. 'A Dutch Harpsichord in the United States.' In: *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 28 (1975) 43-49.

Lieffering, Aldo. 'De Franse Comedie in Den Haag. Opera, toneel en het Stadhouderlijk hof in de Haagse stedelijke cultuur.' PhD Diss., Universiteit van Utrecht, 1999.

Lindeman, Fred J. (ed) *Vioolbouw in Nederland*. Amsterdam: KNTV, 1987.

Los, Willeke, 'Opvoeding tot Mens en Burger. Pedagogiek als Cultuurkritiek in Nederland in de 18<sup>e</sup>eeuw.' PhD Diss., Universiteit van Utrecht, 2005.

Lustig, Monika (ed). *Gitarre und Zister: Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800* : 22. Muskinstrumentenbau-Symposium Michaelstein, 16. bis 18. November 2001 / im Auftrag der Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein herausgegeben. Muskinstrumentenbau-Symposium (22nd : 2001 : Michaelstein, Germany) Blankenburg Harz : Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein ; Dössel : Stekovics, 2004.

Martín-Gil, Damián, 'A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758–1803', in *Revue de musicologie* vol. 107/2 (2021), 247-286.

McVeigh, Simon, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Metzelaar, Helen, "'Mon Cher Ami". A new source on Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732-1817), his music career and his Dutch pupils', in: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 60/1 (2010), 91-120.

-----, *From private to public spheres*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999.

Michel, Andreas. *Zistern. Europäische Zupfinstrumente von der Renaissance bis zum Historismus*. Leipzig: Verlag des Muskinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, 1999.

-----, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der Zister in Sachsen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte. Gitarre und Zister – Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*. (Blankenburg 2004), 87-120.

Moens, Els. 'De cister en aanverwante instrumenten in de Belgische verzamelingen'. PhD Diss., Rijksuniversiteit Gent 1995.

Möller, Max. *The Violin Makers of the Low Countries*. Amsterdam: Max Möller N.V., 1955.

Mongrédiens, Jean. *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*. Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996.

Nex, Jennifer. 'The Business of Musical-instrument Making in Early Industrial London'. PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013.

## Bibliography

Nieuwenhuis, Ivo. 'Satiric Self-Fashioning, or the Illusion of Independent Criticism. A "Greenblattian" Analysis of Eighteenth-Century Satire' in: *De Achttiende Eeuw*, vol. 47-1 (2015), 49-63.

Nimwegen, Olaf van, *De Nederlandse Burgeroorlog (1748-1815)*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2017.

Noske, Frits, 'Het Nederlandse kinderlied in de achttiende eeuw'. In: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol 19, nr 3/4 (1962 - 1963), 173-185.

Ophee, Matanya. 'Italian Guitar Music in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century'. Published on Academia.edu, <<https://www.academia.edu/12729585/>

Italian\_Guitar\_Music\_in\_the\_second\_half\_of\_the\_eighteenth\_century> accessed 23 Nov 2022.

Paasman, Albertus N. 'Reinhart, of literatuur en werkelijkheid' in: *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 41-42 (1979), 40-61.

Page, Christopher, 'The Spanish Guitar in the Newspapers, Novels, Drama and Verse of Eighteenth-century England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 44:1, 1-18.

-----, *The Guitar in Stuart England. A Social and Musical History*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

-----, *The Guitar in Georgian England. A Social and Musical History*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2020.

Petrou, Stamatis. *Grammata apo to Amsterntam*. Athens: Ekdotikē Hermēs, 1976.

Poel, Dieuwke van der, Louis P. Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij (ed). *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Poulopoulos, Panagiotis. 'The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810'. PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011.

Poulopoulos, Panagiotis. "'Wha sweetly tune the Scottish lyre': A Guittar by Rauche & Hoffmann and its Connection to Robert Burns" in *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 67 (March 2014), pp. 143-170.

Poulopoulos, Panagiotis and Rachael Durkin. "'A Very Mistaken Identification': The 'Sultana' or 'Cither Viol' and its Links to the Bowed Psaltery, Viola d'amore and Guittar'" In *Early Music*, vol. XLIV, nr. 2 (2016) 307-331.

Rudolf Rasch:

All the chapters below without indication of a publisher are from:

<<https://muziekinderepubliek.sites.uu.nl>>

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Zes: Het Stadhoudertelijk Hof

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Zeven: De Steden

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Tien: De Theaters I: Amsterdam

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Elf: De Theaters II: Buiten Amsterdam

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Twaalf: De Muziekcolleges.

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen.

----- Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795,  
Hoofdstuk Vijftien: Beroeps- en Amateurmusici.

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1751-1755

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1756-1760

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1761-1765

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1766-1770

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1771-1775

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1776-1780

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1781-1785

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1786-1790

----- Muzikale advertenties in Nederlandse kranten 1721-1794: 1791-1794

----- 'Operatrocen in Amsterdam', 1750-1763 in *De Achttiende Eeuw. Documentatieblad*  
*werkgroep Achttiende eeuw* (1997), 169-190.

---- 'Italian Opera in Amsterdam 1750-1756: The Troupes of Cossa, Giordani, Lapis, and Ferrari.' In  
Italian Opera in Central Europe, volume I: Institutions and Ceremonies, edited by Melania  
Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy and Reinhard Strohm, 115-146. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag,  
2006.

---- *Muziek in de Republiek. Muziek en maatschappij in de Republiek der zeven verenigde*  
*Nederlanden 1572-1795*, Utrecht: KVNM, 2018.

## Bibliography

Reijen, P. van, 'De familie Ruloffs en de Mozes en Aäronkerk', in *Mens en Melodie* vol. 13 (1968), 332-335.

-----, 'David Leonardus van Dijk: een 18de-eeuws "muziekmeester" en uitgever te Amsterdam', in *Mens en Melodie* vol. 14 (1969), 75-79.

Rice, Albert R., The Musical Instrument Collection of Michiel van Bolhuis (1764) in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* vol. XVIII (1992), 5-21.

Rock, Jan, 'Refashioning Poets, Fashioning Readers. Explorations of the self-fashioning of Jacob Arnout Clignett and Jan Steenwinkel, 1781-1785' in: *De Achttiende Eeuw*, vol. 47-1 (2015), 34-48.

Rohr, Deborah, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850 A Profession of Artisans*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Rossi, Gregory 'Doc', 'Citterns and Guitars in Colonial America' in: Monika Lustig (ed.) *Gitarre und Zister, Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*. Michaelstein: Blankenburg, 2005, 155-168.

Schlegel, Andreas and Joachim Lüdtke (ed), *Die Laute in Europa* 2. Menziken, 2011.

Scott, Derek B. *The Singing Bourgeois*. Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Scheurleer, Daniel F. 'Oude Gedichten' in: *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, Deel 9, 2de Stuk (1910), 98-132.

-----, *Het muziekleven te 's-Gravenhage in de tweede helft der 18e eeuw*. Den Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, 1911.

-----, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de tweede helft der 18e eeuw in verband met Mozart's verblijf aldaar*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1909.

Scrivener, Michael Henry. *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Age of Revolution and Reaction, 1776-1832*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007.

Segerman, Ephraim. 'A Short History of the Cittern' in: *The Galpin Society Journal* Vol. 52 (1999), 77-107.

Shepard, Tim and Anne Leonard, *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Shoemaker, Robert B. *Gender in English Society 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* London: Taylor & Francis, 1998.

Spain, Daphne. *Gendered spaces*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Spring, Matthew. 'Benjamin Milgrove, the musical 'Toy man', and the 'guitar' in Bath 1757-1790' in *Early Music*, Vol. xli, No. 2.

Stenstadvold, Erik, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860*. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2010.

Strien, C. D. van, *De ontdekking van de Nederlanden. Britse en Franse reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750-1795*, Amsterdam, Het Spectrum, 2001.

Swanson, A., 'Olof Åhlström and Popular Music-Making in Eighteenth-Century Sweden' in *Scandinavian Studies* 81/1 (2009), 73-94.

Swinnen, Aagje, *Het slot ontvlucht. De 'vrouwelijke' Bildungsroman in de Nederlandse literatuur*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Takeuchi, Toru, 'Rediscovering the Regency Lute. A checklist of musical sources and extant instruments' in: *Early Music*, vol. 46/1 (2018) 17–34.

Taruskin, Richard, 'Nationalism' in: New Grove / Oxford Music Online  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.50846>

Tichelen, Pieter van, 'The Mandolin in the Netherlands (ca. 1750 – ca. 1850)' on <<https://www.vanticelen.name/2021/09/26/the-mandolin-in-the-netherlands-ca-1750-ca-1850/>>, accessed 17 December 2022.

Tyler, James and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance To the Classical Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Tyler, James, 'Cittern' in New Grove.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05831>

Valdivia Sevilla, Francisco Alfonso, *La guitarra rasgueada en España durante el siglo XVII*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2015.

----- 'La Vihuela Ilustrada. La música de guitarra de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII' in: *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 40/1 (2017), 282-290.

Valois, Pascal, 'Les guitaristes français entre 1770 et 1830. Pratiques d'exécution et catalogue des méthodes'. PhD Diss., Université Laval, Québec, 2009.

Verberkmoes, Geerten. 'Benoit Joseph Boussu (1703–1773): Violin Maker and Notary' in: *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. LXVI (2013).

-----, 'Made in Amsterdam. A 1771 cittern by Benoit Joseph Boussu' in: *Early Music*, vol. 44/1, (2016): 627-641.

Verhoeven, Gerrit, *Europe within Reach. Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond (1585-1750)*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

## Bibliography

Verloop, Gerard. *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623-1775. Musical instruments in Dutch book auctions, 1623-1775*. Schagen: Stichting Collectie Verloop te Schagen, 2002.

Walter Vermeulen, 'The Amerongen Harp. Conservation of an Eighteenth-Century Musical Instrument' in *Aspects of the Historical Harp: Proceedings of the International Historical Harp Symposium*, ed. Marinus van Schaik, Utrecht: STIMU, 1994, 113-119.

-----, 'De muziekinstrumenten op kasteel Amerongen' in *De muziekschat van Kasteel Amerongen: Aspecten van het muziekleven op een adellijk huis*, ed. Marieke Knuijt and Clemens Romijn Amerongen: Stichting Vriendenkring Kasteel Amerongen, 2001, 77-84.

Vulto, Renée, 'Singing Communities. Politics of Feeling in Songs of the Dutch Revolutionary Period (1780-1815).' PhD Diss., Ghent University, Ghent, 2022.

Walsh, Stuart, 'Is the English guitar a guitar or a cittern?' in: *FoMRHI* vol. 47 (1987): 43-50.

Wall, Ernestine van der (ed.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding. Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007.

Weber, William, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste. Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.